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The Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden:

A Study in the History of Culture.

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Albert Moschander Friedlander
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INTRODUCTION.

IN THE LATE FALL OF THE YEAR 1819, a small group met in order to form the Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden; it is the purpose of this study to discover the motivations underlying this Verein, and, through this, to come to understand the young German Jew of that time and the world he lived in. Up until now, this small group of Jewish intellectuals has been dismissed by most historians with such stockphrases as "The Young Hegelians", or "The Young Palestine" group, and those writers who have taken it into closer consideration have generally done so in a one-sided manner. It is the contention of this study that the Verein must be understood in relation to the intellectual, social, and economic forces of that time, and that such an approach will give us valuable insights into a period of history whose importance upon Jewish history and development is only now receiving due recognition.

The subject matter in itself is of an exciting nature, leading to many speculations. Here, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the most brilliant men of the Jewish group, almost all of them in their early twenties, joined together to form one group. Perhaps this sounds like exaggeration; but let us look at the members of the Verein: Eduard Gans, considered by his contemporaries as perhaps the most brilliant man ever to work in the field of the philosophy and history of law; a full professor before he was thirty, a Hegelian scholar to whom was entrusted the task of editing and bringing out the authoritative edition of Hegel's works; one of the most popular lecturers ever to speak at the University of Berlin; a man whose studies in the laws of inheritance were acclaimed as definitive works -- surely he deserved that rating? Leopold Zunz:

his achievements in the field of the Science of Judaism are still surveyed with admiration; his "Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden" is an indispensable book in the library of every Jewish scholar; his is one of those names around which legends began to be woven while he was still alive; surely, there are enough claims here for the title of genius. The next name is that of Heinrich Heine, perhaps the greatest poet Germany has ever produced; is it necessary to establish his claims to fame? And there are other names in the membership list of the Verein, only slightly less illustrious, testifying to the high caliber of these men.

The importance of the Verein is attested to in other fields; thus, a study of Jewish life shows us that the concept of Wissenschaft des Judentums first received its formulation within this group, and that the modern pioneer work in this field was done by members of the Verein. For that reason alone an unbiased, careful study of their activities is an important desiderata.

Our work shall occupy itself principally with this thought: what is the totality of the Verein; i.e., what configuration becomes visible to us when we have seen and evaluated all of its aspects, from the lives of its members to its writings, its activities and institutions. In order to achieve this goal, the first sections occupy themselves with building up the frame of reference that is the nineteenth century, showing the social and economic changes that produced new trends of thought, and continuing with an evaluation of these trends. Then we proceed to our major task, the evaluation of the Verein, as judged through the lives of its most important members; these - Gans, Zunz, and Heine, - will be examined in three special chapters, and the other members in a fourth chapter. Our extensive use of biographies follows the lines for historical investigations as established by Wilhelm Dilthey, and will be explained at the proper place.

Once we have gained an acquaintance with the Verein through the lives of its members, we will turn to its activities and institutions, culminating in the Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judentums which was its most important accomplishment. Since this periodical has become almost unavailable even to the scholar, we are going to examine and summarize each one of the articles contained in it: 16 articles in all, comprising 539 pages of the three issues of the Zeitschrift which appeared. Recognizing space limitations, we have tried to make this analysis as concise as possible. Through our examination of this and other pertinent material we hope to gain a clearer view of the particular problems of the age; and the insights we gain in this manner will be used for a final evaluation of the Verein and its brief appearance on the stage of history.

Since many of the footnotes are an extension and amplification of the text, an individual section of footnotes and a bibliography follows each major section of the thesis. Unless otherwise indicated, all the translations within the body of this study are mine; and, while I constantly drew upon the knowledge and proffered help of many of my teachers, such theories as may meet with the disapproval of the reader must be made my direct responsibility.

With this in mind, we may now turn to a general survey of the historical situation forming the framework to the configuration of the Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden.

.....

Chapter One: The Historical Framework.

"Indem wir die Weltgeschichte begreifen, so haben wir es mit der Geschichte zunächst als mit einer Vergangenheit zu tun. Aber ebenso schlechterdings haben wir es mit der Gegenwart zu tun. Was wahr ist, ist ewig an und für sich, nicht gestern und nicht morgen, sondern schlechthin gegenwärtig, "Itzt" im Sinne der absoluten Gegenwart. In der Idee ist, was auch vergangen scheint, ewig unverloren. Die Idee ist präsent, der Geist unsterblich."

- Hegel.

THROUGHOUT OUR STUDY WE SHALL ENCOUNTER an idea in its development: the idea of the Wissenschaft des Judentums. It is an idea we shall have to understand first in the institutions of the past, in the light of the conditions of its environment, in terms of the intellectual movements that gave it shape and form. But it is also an idea with relevance to the present, and we must recognize the fact that though its first institutions, as the Verein and its program, failed and disappeared into the maelstrom of history, the idea itself lived on, found new expression in the rabbinical conferences of a later period, found new proponents in such men as Abraham Geiger, and came to exercise a profound influence on our present Jewish environment. Thus, in showing the economic and political conditions out of which the idea rose to prominence, we turn to a past that has constant relevance to the present.

In her study of the Court Jew Dr. Selma Stern-Taeubler writes:

"It has been said that social and economic revolutions precede intellectual ones, that the material situation of a society must be changed before men are ready for a spiritual revolution."

(1)

Even a cursory examination of this period's social and political structure, therefore, can give us needed insights into the development of the idea of the Wissenschaft des Judentums and the Verein that promulgated it.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Prussian state was still under the control of the feudalistic aristocracy, who gradually felt their hold upon the state slipping; and certainly the statutes of 1750 concerning the Jews are still in the spirit of a feudalistic approach, called 'barbarous' by men like Mirabeau.

At the same time, though, we have to recognize the changed economic status of the Jew that saw the Jews win a great deal of economic freedom long before these rights were given de jura recognition in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Partially, the slowly developing improvement of their position was due to the fact that many of Frederick II's officials did not share their king's opinionated and prejudiced viewpoint, but were aware of the fact that

"The commercial and industrial activity of the Jews was a powerful agent in the development of the economic life of Prussia and supplied a new impetus that continued to influence future developments. As exporters and importers, as moneylenders and brokers, as factors and bankers, as middle men and marginal traders, as suppliers of raw materials and manufacturers, they contributed most to transform the agrarian and economically undeveloped state of Prussia into a great European power of trade and industry.."

(2)

Also, together with the realization of the economic benefits the state could gain through its Jews, there was the recognition of those ideals of natural rights, of liberty and of humanitarianism, which were part of the climate of opinion of eighteenth century enlightenment. True enough, the liberal legislation of Stein and Hardenberg was placed within a framework of a Europe that saw a new spirit of liberty and modernity manifesting itself in all legislation, emanating from Napoleon; but to ascribe the liberal legislation within Prussia to these outside influences is to overlook completely the whole internal development of Prussian legislation. The Hardenberg legislation of 1810 gave the Jews all the rights of citizenship, except the right to hold office under the state; at the same time, the legislation also

freed the peasants from the state of serfdom in which they existed, and promulgated various other measures -- all of them intended by Stein and Hardenberg to modernize the state in accordance with longstanding theories held by them.

(3)

Marvin Lowenthal points out that the material situation of Jew was not immediately advanced to any appreciable degree through this legislation; and that 'the mass of Jewry remained as poverty stricken as before.' Yet the important point to note on this issue is the fact that the economic liberation of the Jews had already taken place at this time, even though the wealth of the Jewish group was concentrated in a minority; and these early economic pioneers were helping to transform the material basis of the society to the extent where complete emancipation would become possible. The first decades of the nineteenth century saw them winning social status on the basis of this earlier economic emancipation; and the literary salons of women like Henrietta Herz and Rahel Levin were partially made possible through the efforts of the Prussian court Jews preceding them.

Yet the optimistic hopes of this generation were to receive a severe setback; for the spirit of liberalism nurturing these hopes in a Napoleonic Europe was to fall before a determined reactionary coalition. Appealing to the newly emerging spirit of nationalism, the governments affected a temporary coalition of Europe in order to rid themselves of a foe who was threatening all of them. Napoleon fell; and the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) saw a return of the feudal aristocracy which had been in danger of losing their power; naturally, these men wanted to make certain that such a grave threat to their vested interests could not repeat itself, and we thus see the establishment of extreme conservatism throughout Europe, with such outward appurtenances as the police state, a system of spies, and vigilant censorship.

The restoration of these old political structures was principally desired by the ruling aristocracy, who thus saw their rights restored. In effect, it nullified many of the rights which the average citizen - not just the Jew alone - had received during the Napoleonic period. Therefore, some palliatives were needed to reconcile the middle class citizen to the loss of these rights. One of these palliative measures was the removal of the newly acquired status which the Jews had achieved; and indeed, part of the antisemitic feelings then breaking forth can be explained in terms of a scapegoat theory; for the bourgeois definitely needed an outlet for his feelings, and the Jew, seen in the new light of a philosophy of romanticism, was the 'disturbing stranger'.⁽⁴⁾

The commercial middle class was not completely duped; certainly they realized what had happened to them, and that they had been defrauded of their rights. To a certain extent, as in the development of the Zoll Verein, they fought back. For in thus breaking down the barriers standing between a commercially unified Germany, they were breaking down the structure of small individual states with a strong hierarchy dominating each state. Finally, in 1848, they rose up in rebellion against the structure; but by then it was too late. Industrialism was already a more than active competitor in the power structure, and the working class was slowly coming to the fore.

The Conservative State, as engineered by Metternich, held all these tendencies in check through its system of spies, severe censorship, and an efficient police. Furthermore, it recognized the existence of others bonds that would help insure loyalty and subservience to the state: the bonds of an ideological framework favoring the state. For example, romanticism, then coming into the foreground, had in itself an effective antidote to the French revolution and its cataclysmic upheaval: by teaching a gradual rather than a cataclysmic evolvment of history, with respect for the past and its ~~xxxx~~

traditions, it strengthened its own foundations. And by its emphasis on Hegelian teachings, which saw this whole development of history reach perfection in the Christian Prussian State, it exercised an emotional appeal for the state dominating both the religious and the political field. (Of course, there was another side to this picture; the revolutionary, by simply continuing Hegel's theories one step further, decided that the Prussian state would have to give way to a more advanced development).

These underlying trends are clearly reflected in the intellectual scene of this period, becoming particularly understandable in the polemic literature of that time regarding the emancipation of the Jews. (5) For the first time we see here the scholarly antisemite, an employee of the state defending its philosophy and its romanticistic pre-suppositions against the old Enlightenment concepts under which the Jews claim to have equal rights. Thus, the article written by Professor Friedrich Rühs "Ueber die Ansprüche der Juden an das deutsche Bürgerrecht", appearing in 1816, sees the greatness of a nation as existing apart from its number, productivity, and its industry; rather, it exists in the spirit which makes it live, which unites it into one inseparable whole: its belief in God, its willingness to sacrifice for the good of the whole, in short, its total unity of feeling and expression that rises out of its common language, ways of thinking, beliefs, and loyalty to its state. A foreigner has no part in such a configuration, says Rühs, unless he is prepared to go all the way and become a full member: this, he decided, made Jewish membership highly undesirable. As long as they remain in their own religiously determined 'Volksmäßigkeit', they can become only servants of the state - but not citizens.

Certainly this exposition of the Christian state and the duties demanded from its citizens is clear enough in its demands for total loyalty, including that of religious beliefs. Indeed, one of the religious thinkers of that time,

Leopold von Gerlach, describes the state as 'part of the kingdom of God,
(6
to which all politics must orient themselves'.

The same motif appears in the work of Jacob Fries, a professor of philosophy in Heidelberg, whose work "Ueber die Gefährdung des Wohlstandes und Characters der Deutschen durch die Juden" was a direct continuation of Rühs. He was much more violent than Rühs, demanding a rescension of those rights granted by weak-minded Enlightenment thinkers during the past century.

Various other works, such as Franz von Spaun's Judenbürgerrecht (which combatted Jewish emancipation from the religious point of view), Graf Benzels-Sternau's defense of the good old (pre-tolerance) days, and other writings show us that opposition against the Jews was an aspect of the most advanced intellectual life of Prussia; and its emergence on a lower intellectual strata, as Hardwig Hundt's proposals to castrate all male Jews, sell the females into houses of ill repute, and sell the children as slaves to the English, who could use them on their West Indian plantations, shows us that once a poison is injected, it quickly effects all parts of the body politic. Certainly the antisemitic farce "Unser Verkehr" could never have achieved the stage popularity which it did had not a large segment of the population agreed to its underlying conceptions. And all of this came to a fore in the growing antisemitic mood among the Germans, finally culminating in the Hep-Hep persecutions in the Rhineland, long regarded as a bastion of tolerance by the Jews. It was this Hep-Hep persecution which finally convinced the members of the Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden that they could not enter into German intellectual and social life as Jews until drastic changes occurred; and in this Verein they saw the tool for causing such a change to happen.

One need not go so far as to say that the state had^{an}/officially announced policy of antisemitism, and that they were constantly persecuted by the state.

True enough, the philosophy underlying the state encouraged such an attitude, and, indeed, the state was quite willing to capitalize on it. But there was also a liberal faction within the Prussian structure, still determined by the ideals of the Enlightenment, which thought that a tolerant attitude towards the Jews could be incorporated into the general policy of the Prussian state; this faction was represented by men like Humboldt and von Altenstein, who proved themselves true humanitarians and friends of the Jewish group.

Furthermore, there were practical aspects to be considered. Within the city of Berlin, for example, the Jewish bankers were performing useful functions in terms of the national economy, and the enlightened group of Jews there had attained to social prominence. The government's policies towards the Jewish community in Berlin, therefore, were based upon the concept of 'containment'. By encouraging the most conservative elements within the Jewish community, and prohibiting any such deviation as an attempt to reform ritual, they hoped to see the Jewish group remain an encapsuled entity that would retain its independence and not be absorbed into the state. Conversion was always encouraged, and societies for it were actively supported⁽⁷⁾; for to change a Jew into a good Christian gave the state a 'good citizen' in exchange for one of the 'foreigners within the body politic'. But the state vastly preferred a stable member of the Jewish Orthodoxy, who knew his place in his society, to a Jew of Reform inclinations, who was bringing new ideas into the structure. In this light we come to understand the state's prohibitions against the Beer Temple, and against all the early attempts to introduce Reform. Furthermore, we see how the Jewish community structure grew rigid and unbending, and the reasons why the rule of the established men of wealth went unchallenged.

Into such a configuration of social and economic circumstances we now place the members of the Verein; and we immediately see their conflict: they stand between two groups, each one of which demands they join it completely. They wanted to be Jews as they conceived the Jew, and Judaism, to be in the light of modern science: Orthodoxy told them that such Judaism was not acceptable. They wanted to be members of the intellectual and social life, bringing with them the intellectual contributions which they felt their Judaism to contain: the Christian Prussian State told them that they would not be accepted as members until they surrendered all their Judaism. Where could they go? Reform, at this stage, was an attempt to assimilate as much as possible, changing the ritual under the influence of the new aesthetic theories, discarding old customs, etc; at best, it was a poor compromise to this group. Therefore, they attempted to open up a new field for themselves: the field of Jewish Science, of the Wissenschaft des Judentums; and the Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden was the gate-way to this field of endeavor.

We have seen the economic and social trends underlying the Zeitgeist of this time, and have seen how it created a situation out of which a Wissenschaft des Judentums might emerge; however, for a full understanding of their motivations we must also look at the intellectual trends that had emerged out of this social configuration, and see what influence these various philosophies had upon the intellectual development of the members of the Verein.

In giving a brief outline of these various trends, it must be remembered that the historian is not like the artist, who can show a sharp delineation between each color of his palette, and can indicate the exact point at which

the influence of one element in the clor-scheme ceases. For the historian, there is always a configuration to be explained which partakes of many influences, which adds its own element in an inexplicable manner, and is a summary of all that has gone before; no one element can be traced with complete clarity through the thought processes of the Verein; and all these trends indicated here took part in formulating the group's basic ideas.

I. The Enlightenment.

"Die Aufklärung ... ist der Ausgang des Menschen aus seiner selbstverschuldeten Unmündigkeit."
- Kant.

As has already been indicated, Enlightenment was being superseded in every level of human endeavor by romanticism; but its influence was still important, and has to be reckoned with. Its roots went as far back as the Renaissance; and its place of birth, England and Holland, had been a Protestant environment. But it was precisely its conflict with orthodox Protestantism that gave the Enlightenment its problematic and determined its basic approach to life. Within its scope two streams had finally met: the economic revolution that had been heralded by the Fuggers, and the Renaissance-born humanism advanced by Reuchlin and Erasmus. Its clearest formulation had been given it by the philosopher of the Age of Reason: Voltaire. In its largest scope, it embraced all of the advances of philosophy during this period: Leibnitz, Locke's empiricism, Wolff's metaphysics and other elements combined to form the 'common sense philosophy' so characteristic of it; Kant was rooted in it; and classicism in literature and the sciences are founded upon the Enlightenment. Thus, Schiller's Don Carlos is a typical expression of the Zeitstimmung of the Enlightenment in classic literature.

In Germany, the development of the Enlightenment was exposed to a special set of conditions, the results of which can be ~~seen~~ when comparison is

made between the lives of two philosophers of the Enlightenment: Voltaire, holding court at Ferney with the self-possession of royalty, and Lessing, eking out a singularly luxury-free existence as a writer. In trying to account for this difference, we might recall that in Germany the Enlightenment started while still under the shadow of the effects the Thirty Year War produced; there was no such economic rise as can be found in the Western countries, and the citizen remained subject to a state whose changing politics were constantly at the mercy of special interest groups. Meanwhile, the revolt of its citizens reshapes the state in England, and a sober Calvinism with its work doctrine allies itself to an expanding capitalism; and, in France, the sparkling court of Louis XIV exhibits not only a political, but also a cultural flowering. Germany's development was much slower: its greatest thinker, at the age of seventy, is prohibited from publishing his thoughts on religion.

For the period after 1800 the principal importance of the Enlightenment rested in its concepts concerning the universal rights of man; in its emphasis upon logic and education as effective cures against the hatred based upon ignorance and superstition; and in that branch of scholarship which became known as classical philology, promulgated principally at the University of Berlin which was a creation of the Enlightenment-influenced Wilhelm von Humboldt. It must also be noted that the philosophy of the Enlightenment, even when it becomes popular philosophy and part of general thought, is oriented towards the physical sciences and mathematics. It believed in the possibility of understanding humanity, of understanding any subject, by dividing it into its component parts and coming to terms with each section, thus knowing the totality. We have already seen how romanticism, in its concept of the state, is completely ~~unopposed~~ opposed to the theories of the Enlightenment, which, followed to their conclusions, can only see the state as a construction having reality

only in terms of the relationship between individuals that are equal to one another. This equality appears most clearly in the ethics of Kant, where we see all equal before the moral law, all striving for the same goal, governed by the same norm. Yet it is also in Kant that we find a critical reaction against the all embracing ideas of the Enlightenment, and see man freed from the necessity of the law of nature and the narrow organic framework into which mathematical and physical thinking had placed him. A similar reaction towards the Enlightenment had taken place a few years earlier in England, in the person of Hume; and in France, through Rousseau.

Within the narrow framework of this outline we cannot possibly hope to trace all of the important developments of thought within that period. But, before we do proceed to a short delineation of romanticism and historicism, we can gain an idea of the changing outlook towards history by comparing briefly the idea of nation in its development through Lessing, Herder, and Fichte.

Lessing sees the differences between the nations - their customs, beliefs, languages - as, at best, a necessary evil; the differences are something that must be overcome in order that the final goal might be reached. And this final goal is that of one humanity in which all differences have disappeared. Herder already considers these differences between nations a necessary aspect of the world. To him the spirits of the nations, expressing themselves through their language, songs and poetry are all revelations of the Divine Spirit, making up one great symphony to which each, in its uniqueness, contributes a part; each has its place, but each is also supplemented by all the others. Fichte is the final expression in this progressive chain: to him Germany becomes the Ur-folk, the one unique group without which all culture would retrogress, without which the world would be lost. And the final step was from Fichte's still idealized concept of a Germany which is

the spiritual and cultural elite to the recent development which saw the idea of an elite whose greatness was said to rest in its blood and in its common race. And much of this was foreshadowed in the development of romanticism to which we must now turn.

II. Romanticism.

The dominant philosophy of the time we are interested in was undoubtedly romanticism, which, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had already won an overwhelming victory on all fields of thought against the rationalism of the Enlightenment. Essentially, it was an emphasis on the emotional aspect of the human being; against the goddess of reason, it enthroned the god of emotion; and where the rationalist had seen 'natural man' as the embodiment of reasonableness, Rousseau's idea of 'natural man' already showed a quite different concept as to what 'natural' meant.

In all the fields of endeavor into which romanticism penetrated one predominating trend stands out: the return to the past. Thus, it was no accident that in the field of literature we see Novalis sending Heinrich von Ofterdingen back to the thirteenth century in his romantic search for the blue flower; for surely, the present world was not a place for a knight-errant: it was much too reasonable. One literary historian advances the theory that the longing we consider such an important part of romanticism was added to it at this time; for surely

"In this moment of history, romanticism had to become ... a yearning after romantic times and places."

(8)

At any rate, the romantics went charging off into the past, paying homage to the shrine of the Holy Genoveva and the absolute state at the same time; and they returned from these romantic places laden both with Grimm's fairy tales and with a strengthened antisemitism. Kant had emancipated man by introducing him to the laws of reason, by making causality one of the categories

of the understanding, thus subjugating the universe to the mind. Fichte had gone further by including the universe within the mind, thus taking the step from transcendental idealism to subjective idealism. But the romanticists were not satisfied with this; keeping Fichte's creative mind, they performed a skillful lobotomy and freed it from all laws of reason, giving free reign to every whim and fancy. In writing, this meant formlessness as the height of form; in life, the type of emotional morality permitting Dorothea to run off with her friend Schlegel. There were other, and better elements, at work within romanticism. The Romantic School in Berlin was a creative union of Tieck, Schlegel, and Schleiermacher: poet, theoretician, and religious genius. And Schleiermacher placed religion into the center of the universe and of man by making it a personal experience which had depth and meaning; but to a large extent, romanticism was one with Catholicism (witness von Baader, Eichendorff, etc.); and the Christian state gave it a chance to express its Volkstümlichkeit.

In German literature, the historical development of Romanticism may be broadly summed up in the three phases known to literature's historians as the "Frühromantik", the "Jüngere Romantik" or "Hochromantik", and the "Spätromantik". The first phase, centering in Jena, saw the development of Tieck, Novalis, and the brothers Schlegel. The Athenäum periodical, edited by the brothers Schlegel, was its chief organ, with Schleiermacher, Novalis, Hülsen, and others contributing to it. It saw the appearance of Novalis' "Heinrich von Ofterdingen", and may be said to have ended with the appearance of Tieck's "Kaiser Octavianus" in 1804. This was the period during which Schlegel developed his concepts on literature and art, concepts which, transmitted from Schlegel to Heinrich Heine, are of direct relevance to the world of ideas of the generation of the Verein.

The second phase centered in Heidelberg, and its most characteristic representatives were Arnim, Brentano and Görres, with the famous 'Zeitung für Einsiedler' as its chief organ; in contrast with the first group, there is comparatively little interest in philosophy, its place being taken by the interest in the past and in their own literary productions. Dresden was another center of its activities, as was Vienna, where the Schlegel's teachings made long lasting impressions. By now, the romantic movement was already much more than a trend in literature, and had invaded the arts and sciences. The third phase rests firmly upon its two predecessors; dating perhaps from the time of the Vienna Congress, it shows its close relationship to Catholicism in the person of Joseph von Eichendorff, although Schleiermacher and his circle are a proof for the statement that the Spätromantik was not solely a Catholic movement. In effect, it characterizes a period of time in which literature and the sciences were almost completely dominated by the concepts and the philosophy of romanticism.

Again we must emphasize that romanticism cannot be pre-dominantly identified with a period in literature, with any definite school of writing. In our understanding of this period, it must rather be recognized as the typical way of thought and feeling that consciously opposes itself to the simple ideas of the Enlightenment. Against the idea of a whole that can be understood by a comprehension of each of its parts, it sets the idea that the whole is always more than its parts. Against the equality of each individual which the Enlightenment proclaimed, it sets forth the unique personality of each individual, telling him to fulfill himself, to become what he is. Only against this background can we understand Gans' struggle with Savigny, and Savigny's concept of law evolving out of custom, as a manifestation of the Volksgeist. And with this development of thought, there is an evolvment

of the relationship between individuals: romanticism does no more seek the "Menschheit im Menschen", as Kant phrased it, but looks for the individually unique, that which is the personal element in each human -- and in each nation. And thus it comes to see that there are persons who in themselves embody the 'spirit' and individuality of their nation and their culture, that there are persons whose individuality draws from the very powers of nature (Goethe's daemonic personalities), that there are persons who are the tools of history, whose actions are determined by that which the time demands of them (Hegel). More and more attention is given to history, in which this age now sees purpose and meaning; and thus we come to consider the importance of historicism, an intellectual development which is perhaps the most significant of all these trends as they have relation to the generation of the Verein.

III. Historicism.

The distinguished historian Friedrich Meinecke, in his Die Entstehung des Historismus, has pointed out that 'Romanticism, ... in its seeking and groping... suddenly discovers shape and form, meaning and coherence in hitherto unheeded creations of the past, and thus opens a road to historicism.'⁽⁹⁾ Historicism, in that sense, is a child of Romantic thought. Yet we must be careful not to limit it to Romanticism exclusively; in many ways, particularly visible in the careful scholarship of men like Ranke and Niebuhr, it combatted excessive romanticism.

We may date the beginning of historicism with Herder. Meinecke, in another place⁽¹⁰⁾, divides the German movement into two groups: Lessing, Winckelmann, Schiller, and Kant; and Möser, Herder, and Goethe. The first group cannot yet be considered a part of historicism; and the difference between it and the second group mentioned is brought out by Meinecke in the following manner:

"That, which separates the two groups internally, becomes immediately apparent in Lessing. It is the contrast between a way of thinking striving towards certain definite ideals and one that, although it shares some related ideals... has in it a creative urge that seeks to find the secret of individuality in life and in history, and thus opens up the movement of historicism. We therefore separate the German movement into a more ~~idealizing~~ idealizing and into a more individualizing movement. The final goal in Lessing's Nathan is the ideal, not the individual man, the "good man", whether or not he be Christian, Jew, or Moslem."

(11

It was with Herder that man began to look towards the past in an attempt to understand all the aspects of his own personality and of his environment. In 1774 Herder had published his Philosophie der Geschichte, in which he said the following:

"Has there not been progress and development in a higher sense? The growing tree, the struggling man, must pass through various stages always progressing. But the striving is not simply individual and temporal; it is eternal. No one is alone in this age; he builds on what has gone before. The past and the present are the bases of the future. Genuine progress, constant development, even if no individual gain anything thereby, this is the purpose of God in history."

(12

The principle he enunciated here was picked up by the whole romantic school in Germany, particularly by Schelling and Hegel; the notion was coming into being that civilization had been a slow development from small beginnings. Where during the Age of Reason man had set logic, reason, and general philosophy at work on the problems bothering him, the nineteenth century saw him turning towards the field of history for universal answers; and the historical school thus emerged as the dominant intellectual group.

There were many reasons why men should turn towards history for universal solutions. The quick and constant changes which the Revolutionary period had brought with it had already convinced most of humanity as to the mutability of human affairs; besides, the age of romanticism could no longer conceive of society as a mechanical and time kind of thing like the solar universe.

Its very propositions of human life and institutions being essentially the revelation of developing ideas turned man towards the past as the source of these revelations; and, as part of this trend, we see all the new social philosophers, from the traditionalist de Maistre to the radicals Comte and Fourier, prefacing their criticisms of the existing order and their suggested changes with a philosophy of history, explaining how the things they desire are the natural outgrowth of man's development as seen in this history.

The whole field of history was opened at this time; men like Niebuhr and Ranke were to develop a new scientific approach in historiography; and men like the Freiherr von Stein were to concern themselves with founding an archive of German history (the Monumenta Germaniae) in which the smallest details of historical source material were to be collected. Again we may detect the influence of romanticism at work here, both with its almost passionate appeal to the past and its love for details, its nationalism that gloried in tradition; but it is important to realize that this scholarship was rather motivated by the pure love of scholarship for its own sake; the propagandist, as seen later in such persons as Treitschke, made his appearance at a much later stage. And this scholarship, as well as the other aspects of historicism, are highly significant when we come to observe the emergence of the Wissenschaft des Judentums within the Verein; certainly some direct parallels between historicism and the spirit motivating the members of the Verein can be drawn.

This, then, was the world presenting itself to the young Jewish generation of the early nineteenth century. The basic problem they had to face was not a new one, but had been with their group from the moment that

Moses Mendelssohn had walked out of the ghetto into the modern world: how does one reconcile one's Judaism with this general environment; to what extent can and does one assimilate?

Mendelssohn and his group had been able to give an answer that satisfied them; with all their cultural and spiritual roots still within Judaism, they made a synthesis based on their common ways of life and thought: Ha-Meassef, 'the collector', as they called their periodical, in a sense was symbolic of their collective strength enabling them to maintain their way of life and still feel a part of the general environment.

But already their children found these answers insufficient. Their roots were outside Jewish life, in the general world; theirs was a passionate experience of the classic and romantic literature, and Judaism was already a world half-way forgotten. They felt themselves, as in the persons of Dorothea Schlegel and Rahel Varnhagen, as complete and full members of the outside group. The romanticistic antisemitism, culminating in the Hep-Hep pogroms, was the most painful experience of their life in some ways; and there was no real answer that they could formulate, outside of the discarding of their heritage. But even in this process there was a great deal of pain and agony.

Among the contemporaries of this group, there was another Jewish group which reconciled itself fairly well with their environment through the simple process of assimilation, choosing Christianity and a German heritage without going through any intense suffering. In many cases this was a matter of sincere conviction, and men like Stahl and Neander enriched the new group to which they now belonged in immeasurable ways.

To the first group Judaism was a painful fate; to the second, something that could be covered up through other forms of life in a fairly easy way; and the third section of this generation turned towards their Judaism with a complete enthusiasm and a positive love. Since Judaism was not fitted too

easily into the philosophies of the time, it was taught as a blind fanaticism, as a mystic experience, or in the same manner as Mendelssohn had seen it during an age of rationalism; in that case, the new antisemitism was met with arguments of the past century, with an Enlightenment philosophy that did not understand that times had changed. To the most radical, Judaism then became a religion of reason whose function was to teach the way of happiness -- even to the extent of assimilation; this group is best personified in the person of Saul Ascher, who, in works like Eisenmenger der Zweite, attacked the romanticist philosophy of antisemitism with the outmoded weapons of the Enlightenment. In a somewhat different manner, this group also included the first Reform Jews, whose reforms were primarily made in the outward characteristics of their religion in line with current aesthetic theories, and who tried to make the Jewish religion a confession, completely negating the national elements that held their group together; by removing all the ancient customs which had helped to keep the group together through the ages, they hoped to assimilate into the outside world as Jews, without losing their religion. Theirs was a sincere faith; but it did not fit the needs of the age, and a later generation, incorporating the insights of Juedische Wissenschaft, achieved what they could only strive for.

Other elements within this generation, as seen in men like Ludwig Börne, were impelled by general motives to fight the existing configuration. They were the liberals of their generation, to whom all oppression, whether directed against the Jews or not, were anathema.

The last segment of this generation, finally, and the one which commands our attention in this study, was that of men like Zunz, Gans, Moser, and others; the men of the Verein. In order to understand them in relationship to their times and the needs of their generation, we will concern

ourselves with their lives and works, and, in that way, come to a full understanding of the young Jewish generation that grew up between 1800 and 1820, and of the problems which they faced.

Having surveyed his environment and the different groups making up his generation, we therefore turn to the life of Eduard Gans, who was the founder and president of the Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden.

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Notes to Chapter One: The Historical Framework.

1. Stern, Selma The Court Jew, Philadelphia, 1950, p. xiv.
2. Stern, Selma
3. Lowenthal, Marvin The Jews of Germany, Philadelphia 1944, p. 225.
4. Perhaps even more indicative than the pamphlets of political opponents are the writings of men like the brothers Grimm, in whose fairy tales the shadowy figure of the Jew comes to spell dread and menace.
5. Stern-Taeubler, Selma Der Literarische Kampf um die Emancipation in den Jahren 1816-1820 und seine ideologischen und sociologischen Voraussetzungen, in the forthcoming HUC Jubilee Volume, Spring 1952.
6. Näf, W. "Die Ideen der Heiligen Allianz bei Leopold von Gerlach", in Zeitschrift für Schweizer Geschichte, 11.ter Jahrg., 1931. And L. von Kayserling, Studien zu den Entwicklungsjahren der Brüder Gerlach, Heidelberg, 1913. Quoted by Stern-Taeubler, *ibid.*, p. 4.
- 7.
8. Strich, Fritz Deutsche Klassik und Romantik, Bern, 1949, p. 29ff. In our study we primarily confine ourselves to romanticism as a way of thinking opposed to that of the Enlightenment; Strich, on the other hand, brilliantly shows it, in its contrast with classicism, as part of a constantly returning pattern underlying the history of human thought, these patterns becoming clear to us in their different formulation of the concept of eternity: the one is an eternal, classic fulfillment complete in itself; the other, the romantic pattern of the constant striving towards fulfillment, an eternal movement forwards.
9. quoted by Thompson, James W. A History of Historical Writing, New York, 1942, volume 2, p. 132.
10. Meinecke, Friedrich Die Entstehung des Historismus, Berlin 1936, volume two: Die Deutsche Bewegung; p. 310
11. *ibid.*, p. 310-311.
12. Randall, Jr., J. H. The Making of the Modern Mind, Cambridge, Mass., 1940, p. 463, quoting from Herder's Philosophie der Geschichte der Bildung der Menschheit. (Randall's translation).

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Note A:

In Referring to the Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden, I follow the majority of scholars in using the K rather than the C in the spelling of Kultur. However, it should be noted that the Zeitschrift für ~~Geschichte~~ die Wissenschaft des Judentums, in its title-page, refers to the Verein für Cultur, the K having become standardized at a later period.

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end of chapter one.

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Chapter Two: Eduard Gans.

"Der Lebenslauf einer historischen (Persönlichkeit) ist ein Wirkenszusammenhang, in welchem das Individuum Einwirkungen aus der geschichtlichen Welt empfängt, unter ihnen sich bildet und nun wieder auf diese geschichtliche Welt zurückwirkt."

- Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, VII. Band, *Die Biographie*, p. 248.

I.

"On the 8th day of May a seemingly endless funeral cortage moved through the streets of Berlin. The professors and students of the University, the officials, merchants, artists and writers of the city followed on foot, led by the student marshalls. All were dressed in black. Ninety-five carriages made up the end of a procession extending for half a mile. Eduard Gans was being buried. Seldom has such honor been granted to a scholar; even rarer is this universal mourning for a man of the sciences. When we buried Hegel and Schleiermacher, our sorrow in losing them was tempered by the knowledge that they had been granted complete fulfillment, that their contributions to science had been established for all eternity through their many accomplishments; today we had to bury a man torn away from us at the very moment he had attained his strength, whose creativity was in full bloom, and who cannot be replaced by any successor. This is our common feeling: 'Within his personality there was a unique moment of strength and vitality, desperately important for our times'; and the immediate future will feel the lack of this healing and cleansing strength. And because of this reason, there is universal mourning, because of it ALL classes strive to proclaim their feeling for this man whom they loved."

(1)

II.

Einem Abtrünnigen.

O des heil'gen Jugendmutes!
O, wie schnell bist du gebändigt!
Und du hast dich, kühnern Blutes
Mit den lieben Herrn verständigt.

Und du bist zu Kreuz gekrochen,
Zu dem Kreuz, das du verachtetest,
Das du noch vor wenig Wochen
In den Staub zu treten dachtest!

O, das tut das viele Lesen
Jener Schlegel, Haller, Burke -
Gestern noch ein Held gewesen,
Ist man heute schon ein Schurke.

(2)

HEINE'S CONDEMNATION OF EDUARD GANS has remained as a part of his evaluation by posterity; the praise from his colleagues and students has

'been interred with his bones'. When Gans died in 1839 he was a well known scholar; a brilliant and popular teacher admired by his pupils; and the leader of a group of thought, which, although in the minority, was still respected and recognized. Yet within a century his memory was all but obliterated. The success of Savigny's historical school placed its opponent, Gans, into a by-passed, dusty niche of history; and it is fascinating to note that Friedrich Julius Stahl, a fellow convert from Judaism, founded the conservative movement in Germany, working out of the framework of the historical school of law but utilizing some of Gans' criticisms concerning its failure to reckon with philosophy.⁽³⁾ The influence Stahl exercised upon his times and upon the present is still being studied by historians; the impulses generated by Gans within the intellectual world may live on in various ways -- but they are unobserved.

The task of evaluating Gans and his contribution to the field of history and law lies outside the sphere of this study. We are primarily concerned with Gans, the young student; Gans the founder of the Verein für die Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden; Gans, the young Hegelian who went outside his group in his search for fulfillment. We see him as part of the configuration that was the Verein; and to understand the Verein we must understand Eduard Gans. According to Wilhelm Dilthey:

"The historian comes to understand the structure of the historical world by separating the individual creative associations and studying their life. Religion, art, the state, political and religious organizations form such associations, which are found throughout history. And the primary, most original of these associations is the life experience of an individual in the milieu from which it receives impressions and on which it reacts in turn."

(4)

Biography then becomes a necessary adjunct to the field of historical study; and an attempt to understand a group such as the Verein by studying the lives of its members becomes justified.

.....

Eduard Gans was born in Berlin on the 22nd of March in the year 1798. There is little data available on his childhood years, but from later indications we may judge that a happy family life existed in the Gans household, creating strong family loyalties.⁽⁵⁾ His father, Abraham Gans, was a very successful banker, and Eduard at no time lacked anything in material comforts.⁽⁶⁾ According to Strodtmann Gans early received entree into society, and always felt himself completely at home within it. A contemporary biographer⁽⁷⁾ informs us that Abraham Gans stood in close connection with the state, and had the full confidence of Count von Hardenberg. (This friendship, incidentally, helps explain the efforts made by Hardenberg at a later date when he tried to obtain a professorship for Eduard Gans that would not demand conversion on Gans' part.) The same source credits Abraham Gans with brilliant wit and an excellent reputation as a host. Taken in conjunction with our knowledge of life in Berlin's upper strata at this time period, ~~we~~ enables us to formulate a reasonably accurate picture of Gans' home-life.

Eduard's intellectual ability received early recognition in such a home, and he was given the benefit of excellent schooling. Thus, he received his first schooling in Berlin's outstanding private school, the "Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster". His studies were interrupted only twice during this period of his life; once by the war of 1813, and the second time by a trip he took to Prague. It was also at this time that he lost his father. Eduard entered the University of Berlin in the spring of 1816, and transferred to Göttingen a year and a half later. And there, in October of 1817, he makes his first entrance into the field of letters. Ludwig Geiger has chronicled this event⁽⁸⁾ in the ZGJD ; its contents are important to us as showing Gans' loyalty to his family, and gives testimony of the ability of a nineteen year old student to hold his own against one of the well known historians of his time, Friedrich

Rühs. Rühs, writing anonymously, had attacked the late banker Abraham Gans for a business transaction with von Moltke which Rühs called usury. Gans succinct answer not only pointed out the falsity of the charge, but made the point that

"the time is past when one believed without an investigation that the terms 'Jew' and 'usurer' had to complement one another."
(9)

When we consider that one of the basic instigations for the creation of the Verein was the realization that such times, pricesely, were not past, (viz., the Hep-Hep perneccutions), the above position taken by Gans receives its proper valuation in our consideration of his development.

During Eduard Gans' stay at Göttingen he also wrote a Latin dissertation on the Isle of Rhodes, which, entered into a prize essay contest, won first prize for its author. In that same year, 1817, Gans published a pamphlet in Berlin, entitled "Judgment of an unprejudiced person concerning the habilita-
(10)
tion matter of Dr. Witte", which dealt with a judicial dispute at the University of Berlin.

Gans went to Heidelberg in 1818, and there for the first time came in contact with the influence of Thibaut and Hegel. Among his literary endeavors of that time may be counted a number of juristic essays in Gensler's
(11)
Archiv. During this period he became thoroughly imbued with Hegel's philosophy, and made it part of his general approach to life. He received his doctors degree in 1820, and went to Berlin as a lecturer in law.

Here now we have the young doctor, urbane, witty, a man of the world; a young Jew shocked by the Hep-Hep movement, disillusioned at seeing his own career sharply checked because of his Judaism, ending before it had a chance to begin. He has fire, enthusiasm, and friends of his own age level who think the way he does and share his ideals; in short, conditions are right for the

founding of the Verein. Associations of this sort were common in Berlin (viz., the 'Mittwochsgesellschaft' or 'Montagsclub' as described by Ludwig Geiger⁽¹²⁾), and Gans himself had already been part of such a group.

This earlier group is mentioned by S. Ucko⁽¹³⁾, based on a manuscript in the Zunz archives, entitled "Annals of the Science Circle, Berlin, November 21, 1816". Almost all the young men who three years later belonged to the Verein can be found here; Hillmar, Jost, Lessmann, Zunz, Moser, Rubo, Gans -- all of them are listed as having given lectures before this small group (and let us remember that Gans is only eighteen years old at the time). No statutes of this group are known to exist, but from the names it seems logical to assume that this was a Jewish group.⁽¹⁴⁾ The lectures themselves, with the exception of one given by Hillmar, do not deal with Jewish subjects. Here are their titles:

- Hillmar: "Introduction to the Older History of the Jews."
"Concerning Happiness."
- Zunz: "Introduction to the Making of Books."
"In Praise of Money."
"Concerning the Dignity of a Conversation-Lexicon: A Sermon on Two Texts."
- Jost: "Concerning the Rational and the Accidental in Language."
"Concerning the Relation of Mythology to History."
"Concerning Macbeth."
- Lessmann: "The Childhood of Poetry."
"Gregor VII."
- Moser: "The Italian Tragedy."
"Concerning Intellectual Development."
"Moses Mendelssohn on Evidence."
"Science."
- Rubo: "Some Ideas on Mercantilism."
"Slavery and Serfdom."
"The Apostolic Chair in Rome."
- Gans: "Some Details on Rome's Greatness and Decline."
"Concerning a Universal European Language"
"Concerning the Basic Form of Public and Free Ownership Relationships in Rome."

(15)

Even more than showing a young Jewish in-group, desirous of banding together to present a firm front to an inclement atmosphere, it shows a group longing

to be part of the general culture; and, as a matter of fact, the subject matter of these lectures shows them to be completely under the influence of that culture.

That was three years before; and now Gans was ready to devote a great deal of his time to a study of Judaism, to work within 'Jüdische Wissenschaft' (a term that Gans invented, Schechter and others to the contrary notwithstanding. ⁽¹⁶). Why? Everything that we know about Gans gives us the impression that it was an external need that forced him back to Judaism, a non-material need that was tied up with his personality. Certainly, he was still dominated by the general cultural environment in which he lived; he was doing scholarly work in the field of Roman law, and his understanding of Hegelian philosophy was soon to give him eminence in that field. Yet there was this insistence upon his Jewishness which he encountered, an insistence that was as pronounced on the intellectual as on the social level. Already, it was becoming clear to him that entrance into the general intellectual life for which he thirsted could only be obtained through the acceptance of Christianity. The Jewish persecutions had become very real to him, whether they manifested themselves in the antisemitic happenings in South-Germany, or in the Prussian edicts making a professor's chair inaccessible to him. Gans was young, liberal, and courageous. This 'Judaism' that was part of him could be cast off, and then he would be free to live the life he desired. But was this intellectually honest? Was it not rather incumbent upon him to investigate this aspect of himself, to grasp it in a theoretic manner, to give it a solid foundation? One thing was already clear to him: the definition of Judaism that he found existing within the general Jewish community was something he could not accept; both its easy discardence by assimilationists and the stubborn clinging to outmoded customs by the Orthodox group were abhorrent to the young Hegelian. Slowly, the concept was shaping itself within his mind that his Judaism, the

Judaism of his people, was part of a unique phenomena attached to his group, which could be understood by the application of the new methods of study now emerging in the general environment. A new world of ideas was opening before Gans; if general scholarship did not want him, he could enter into a Jewish world of ideas offering just as much challenge and intellectual satisfaction; and, by elevating this field into a science comparable to any other field of investigation, he would once again be able to feel himself an intellectual equal with his non-Jewish contemporaries. And it would be an equality achieved without any compromise or surrender!

There was a complexity of forces, some of which we have delineated in our introduction, working on Gans and his group; and the individual motives of each member cannot be clearly placed into any one category. Thus, in Gans we can recognize the motives of Hegelian thought, making him desirous of placing Judaism upon the same level of development as the culture surrounding him. At the same time, his ideas concerning agricultural schools - to anticipate for a moment - are taken from the physiocratic school of thought that saw great hopes for the development of man in his identification with the soil; and his great hopes in education in general are part of Enlightenment thought. Yet his basic philosophy was Hegelian, and Gans probably saw less the reality of the Jew in all his endeavors, and much more the reality of the ideas which he had of him.

Once having made his decision, Gans found the whole social and economic foundations of his society solidly arrayed against him. As seen before, he had been excluded from the outside world by political and intellectual reaction. The Prussian Kabinettsordre of August 15, 1822 barred Jews from teaching positions, even though Gans had previously received an official promise of an academic post (17); and so Gans felt himself rejected from that section of society that alone held meaning for him. But in his desire to create a new place for

himself and his group within this configuration he found little encouragement on any level within the Jewish community. The Jewish merchants, manufacturers, or bankers were well enough satisfied with the status quo; since their economic freedom was beneficial to the state, they had received a great deal of encouragement from the government. Indeed, they shared the government's suspicion of any group with reform tendencies; and Gans' group with its - to them - incomprehensible intellectual program frightened them and made them hostile to it. The program itself was of a nature that could find responsiveness only within a limited circle of the intelligentsia. As Mendelssohn's disciples found the Ha-Measef to have a very limited appeal and circulation, so did Gans' group find their Zeitschrift to have appeal for an insignificant, small group (the more so as Heine rightly points out the abstrusiveness of the style used in the Zeitschrift.)

The history of the Verein itself is treated later on; and at this moment our primary interest rests on Eduard Gans. Yet it is impossible to divorce the Verein from any attempt to deal adequately with Gans' life; in a sense, the Verein was an extension of Gans. He was its president and founder, and had planned the research activities of the group from its very inception. According to a contemporary and fellow worker:

"In 1820, when the religious questions were still in the air, the most active person among the young generation of that time, the brilliant Eduard Gans, drew up the plans for an outstanding undertaking. He collected his like-minded contemporaries and informed them that on all his travels he had encountered receptivity for a Cultur-Verein. Such an association should have its center in Berlin; its purpose should be to create that which could not yet be expected from the states, viz., bringing the Jews of Germany to a stage where they possessed complete civil rights. This would have to be accomplished through the strength, ability, and means of this group. His phantasy envisaged the speedy creation of new gymnasias (schools), seminaries for rabbis and teachers, schools for industry and agriculture, support of the fine arts, etc. The means for this would be created by gaining the interest of respected philanthropists,

by drawing on the many capabilities within the group, and through the creation of a common organ for the stimulation of interest and understanding of the group and its goals..."
(18)

It can easily be seen that such a program would frighten the average Jewish merchant; but to Gans, the Verein was an opportunity of realizing all his dreams for Judaism and for himself. By studying his utterances and actions of that time, we can enter into his world of thought, and can come to understand him 'as he really was' (to use Ranke's terminology). The best introduction into Gans' ideas on Judaism is a group of three lectures, given by him before the Verein. Unfortunately, copies of these lectures are almost im-

(19)
possible to obtain now, and we will be forced to rely on the extracts provided by Siegfried Ucko (20), Max Wiener (21), and Adolf Strodtmann (22).

The first of Gans' three lectures starts with the identification of life with a certain definite will. That which a man wills, what he strives for, is the criterion by which his significance as a human being is assessed; only when a man is completely filled with a definite will does he become conscious of a deep relationship to God. This thesis brings up the question whether Jewish existence is not a type of no-man's land, untouched and undetermined as yet by such a will -- and therefore preventing the Jew from entering into this relationship with God. What is needed at the present time, says Gans, is a Jewish will!
(23)

Certainly this call for a Jewish will was one of the underlying motives of the Verein, expressing the enthusiasm -- as well as the inner need -- of these young men who tried to imbue their Judaism with meaning in terms of the environment facing them. It partially underlies their strivings for education expressed in the free school they established in Berlin. But we have to understand what Gans meant by 'Jewish will' by placing it in the context of his philosophy; and then we will see that it is a call to action which the majority

of his Jewish contemporaries could not put into effect. Also, in contrast to some other members of the Verein, Gans must be recognized as a completely areligious type who looked upon Judaism more as a philosophic system and a theory rather than as an existence: for it was the world of ideas that was reality to him; and that is the key to the understanding of Gans.

Thus, 'will' and 'consciousness' stand in close relationship to each other in Gans' lecture; and their relationship is based on Hegelian concepts. In Hegel's system, the concepts of will and of consciousness cannot be disconnected; in a sense, will is transported into a more theoretic sphere. According to Hegel,

"Will, in itself, is the consciousness of an individual or a personality."

(24)

Gans' call for a Jewish will, which will have Judaism as its object, thus takes on the nature of the call for knowledge of oneself. Will here means the attainment of consciousness, that is to say, in terms of the underlying concept of the Wissenschaft des Judentums: the spirit which comes to have knowledge of itself is science. This agrees with Hegel's definition, which states that

"the spirit which is so developed that it knows itself is science."

(25)

Scientific research, to Gans, had become an important stage of reality in itself. This is brought out clearly in his third speech before the Verein, in which he sees the Verein to be the product of necessity and of the times:

"If you ask me, " says Gans, "what this age wants, I answer: it wants to arrive at knowledge of itself. It wants not only to be, but to know itself. No life should be lived of whose necessity this age is not convinced; no phenomena should appear concerning which there is not the assurance that it can appear ~~that~~ only in this way and in no other."

(26)

Let us be quite clear as to what this means; any existing phenomena must be part of the spirit of the age; so, too, Judaism must be justified by

becoming permeated with the spirit of the age. It must become more than an object of study, such as was envisaged by Enlightenment thought. The Enlightenment, according to Gans, led to the freedom of the Jews in many aspects of their lives, but at the same time deprived them of their solidarity, of their "integrity of Jewish life."

(27

Within the framework of Enlightenment thought, the pro and con arguments concerning the Jewish question were completely one-sided, and without appeal to Gans and the members of the Verein. According to this group, one who would understand Judaism would first have to understand the intellectual and spiritual picture of Europe; only after asking: "What is Europe?" could one ask:

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"What are the Jews?" Strodtmann reproduces almost all of Gans' lecture on Europe; and, since it contains a great deal vital to the understanding of Gans and the Verein, a somewhat long translation will be worthwhile here:

"As today's Europe presents itself to us, it is not the work or the creation of an accidental occurrence which possibly could have brought forth something different, something better or worse than what we have. It is the necessary result of the efforts of the rational spirit which reveals itself in world history, and which has been striving to express itself for many thousand years. Looking at this concept more closely, it becomes, abstractly expressed, 'an aggregate of diverse elements, whose individuality appears only within the whole' ('Vielheit, deren Einheit allein im Ganzen ist'). Let us now see how this concept comes to live for us in the history of Europe. Looking at the individuality of today's Europe, we see it based primarily on the wealth of its multi-limbed organism. No thought has been denied existence and formation; no movement, no occupation has been denied a dimension. Everywhere we see the most fruitful manifoldness of occupation and relationships. And this is the work of the rational spirit, moving ever closer to fulfillment. Every one of these groups is a closed, in itself complete whole; nevertheless, its meaning derives not from itself, but from all the others. Each member has his special life; nevertheless, it only lives in the organic whole - one group is only what it becomes through all; all groups, only what they are through the whole. Therefore no class has sharp boundary lines separating from another. All of them pass gradually into the other, signifying this diversity and unity.

To call forth this totality, the Orient gave its monotheism; Hellas gave its beauty and ideal freedom; the Roman world the seriousness of the state confronting the individual; Christianity

the riches of universal human life;; the Middle Ages, their separation into sharply divided classes and divisions; the newer world its philosophic endeavors, so that all may re-appear as part of the time-flow after their spiritual sovereignty has ceased. It is the good fortune and the significance of the European that he may chose freely among the multitudenous classes of the civic society, and that in his chosen class he feels aware of all other classes of the society. Take away from him this liberty and you take away his foundation and essence."

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Gans now confronts this diversified unity of Europe with 'Jewish life', with 'the Jew'. Jewish life, he says, forms a certain unity, but has not yet taken on the structure of an organism. It is the "oneness which has not yet attained diversity" (die noch ~~ganz~~nicht zur Vielheit gekommene Einheit). Most of Jewry, says Gans, apparently out of inner necessity came to be concentrated in trade.

"From earliest times selected as the guardians of the idea of God's unity, it did not even need this idea for state, custom, law and religion to appear as intertwining parts of one undifferentiated whole. For in this the Jews were not different from any other oriental people. What did differentiate them was the fruitful adaptability with which they created a new world out themselves, without being part of this world. With the destruction of the Jewish state, in order to hold fast to the concept of unity, they gained ascendancy over one class, viz., the commercial class. But this class, along with the unity which it granted, granted as no other class could, the development towards and entrance into all other classes of society. That this entrance into other classes was delayed for thousands of years may be explained by the fact that society itself had not reached a more perfect stage of development. Also, the Jews were not particularly noticeable as a special group refusing to assimilate; after all, there was a huge number of other peoples who had not yet come into accord with society. Excluded, and staying apart, they went along the road of time, their own history parallel to the history of the world, kept apart from the world through their artfully arranged inner life which united home, political, and religious life, and by the external circumstances of the world, as seen in its stratification.

However, in the last decades the Jewish matter has become steadily more important in the eyes of thoughtful persons; and problem and solution become apparent in the previously stated concept of what Europe is today ... where we see its many diversities finding their individuality in the unity of the whole. The fewer the diversities who have not yet entered into the organic whole presented by the others, the more we notice them, and the more bothersome they become. The stress of the age is upon a harmonic assimilation and unification, and it is directed precisely against those groups still remaining outside

of it. Where the organism demands a curved line, it is against rhyme or reason to present it with a straight line. The demand of present day Europe that Jews become entirely incorporated into it derives from the very essence of Europeto be dissolved does not mean to be destroyed.... Only the bothersome individual freedom, reflecting upon itself, shall be destroyed; the individual freedom which is subservient to the totality shall be preserved. That, in which it is dissolved, shall become correspondingly richer, not just poorer because of the lost antithesis.....

For history, properly understood, teaches this comforting lesson: everything passes away, but nothing disappears; everything remains, though it has long since gone. Therefore, the Jew can never disappear, nor can Judaism disintegrate. It will seem to have disappeared in the vast movement of the whole, but it will continue to live on just as the current lives on in the ocean."

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This last sentence, of course, has constantly been quoted as representing all that the Verein stood for; it is, in effect, significant for Gans' position. Gans closed this lecture with an appeal to the members of the Verein to strive for the establishment of one world, for the tearing down of bridges between Jew and Christian; they must strive for this for the good of their fellow Jews, of humanity, and because it is their duty to king and fatherland.

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Let us not suppose that Gans lived too much in the world of ideas to appreciate the actual problems facing the Jews of his time; after all, he had had personal experience with this problem. In one letter of his, written to the minister von Altenstein, his feelings on this matter express themselves with bitter poignancy:

"I belong to that unhappy class of people who are hated because they are uneducated, and who are persecuted because they educate themselves."

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However, because of his clearness of vision and his brilliant mind, he also saw another problem facing him: the intellectual problem of a world demanding the destruction of a particularism into which he might have fled; a world of either/or, with both alternatives repugnant to him. It must be placed to his

credit that he did not surrender and accept either alternative, but tried to formulate a Jewish world where he could live. To those who only remember his name as that of an early apostate, it might be worth while to recall the fact that

"It was not at all Zunz who had formed the idea of Wissenschaft des Judentums. He only propagated it, but Gans was undoubtedly the father of the idea."

(32)

For reasons which will be discussed, Gans failed in his attempt; but to dismiss him from our considerations means to follow a line of historians who should have remained in the field of theology, and who made moral judgments when they should have looked for cause and effect relationships in the general environment. "Apostasy" today has become a completely evaluative term; and this totally obscures the historical problem inherent in the term, which changes from age to age.

The apostasy of Gans is a case in point. The Verein had failed by 1824, and in 1825 Gans converted to Christianity, soon afterwards to become a professor at the University of Berlin. And from that moment on, he ceases to exist for Jewish historiography. There are, of course, some exceptions. Dubnow rather grudgingly confesses that Gans continued to be active in German science, but under every word he writes we sense a condemnation of Gans, the convert:

"The sad end of the Verein was placed into an even darker light by the action of its presiding officer: Eduard Gans, who had sought in vain to achieve the rank of professor at the University of Berlin, converted in 1825 and became a professor shortly afterwards. This desertion on the part of the leader of an organization one of whose aims had been the fight against renegades was shameful enough. Even Heine, who shortly followed Gans' example, later condemned this step: 'It is the captain's duty to leave the ship last when it is sinking; but Gans saved himself first'.

Gans could never atone for this sin against Judaism; even his later contributions to German science, his fight against the 'lackeys of the Old Roman Law', against the reactionary historical school founded by Savigny which was to inspire the dependents of the Christian-German state -- none of these actions suffices as atonement. ('How does the pitiful little soul of Mr. Savigny

cringe under the kicks Gans administers to it', Heine cried out admiringly.)

The defection of Gans was a mark of shame for the whole generation, which saw many of its first class leaders standing at the brink of the abyss separating Judaism from the outside world, and unable to hold on and keep from falling."

(33)

Every historian operates on bias; even the editing of original source material will see this bias in the standards of selection employed by the editor; and it is senseless to criticize historical writing on that basis alone. But when moral judgment comes to supersede understanding it is time to protest, particularly when we see this 'moral judgment' suspended on occasion in order to welcome home a famous son; thus, Heine's apostasy is often glossed over that we might claim him as our contribution to humanity. In either case, history is reshaped to suit the needs of the moment; and then historical writing becomes an effort to write a fitting fable for our times, and we lose the necessary and vital contact with the past that is history's function.

Our task then is to understand Gans' conversion; and in order to understand it we must place it into the context of his times. What were the immediate causes leading to Gans' conversion? How can we understand them in the light of his age? We have come to know something of Gans and his philosophy; what are the elements in it that made it possible for him to commit an action he and his group had first condemned in others? These are now questions we must attempt to answer, without trying to pass moral judgment on his actions. (Abraham Geiger, in his very fine article "Ueber den Austritt aus dem Judentum"⁽³⁴⁾ discusses some of the theological and moral implications; but at the moment we are concerned with the historical implications as seen in the life of Gans.)

What were the immediate causes? Almost everyone is agreed on this: Gans wanted to become a professor at the University of Berlin, and he could not attain this position unless he converted to Christianity. In terms of the environmental framework, the reactionary policies of the Prussian government

left an aspiring young jurist no choice but to accept Christianity if he wanted to pursue a career in law; private practice did not exist at that time, and every jurist was thus the servant of the state. Hegel here might say that an abstract principle of the state, having a metaphysical reality, is here concretized through law; Marx, that a configuration of economic and social forces here brings forth a formulation of an abstract principle to explain existing conditions. In either case, we see it reach into the life of the individual, causing him to take a certain action.

But was there really no choice? As long as we recognize the freedom of the individual, we must recognize his ability to enter into and to affect the historical process. And Gans did have a choice: he could have given up his dreams and aspirations of a career in the field of law, and subjugated himself to that idea of Jewish life his friend Zunz called 'Leidensgeschichte', i.e., martyrology. He would then have become part of a tradition including the martyrs who were burned by the inquisition; for even though we have realized this problem of conversion to change with each time period, there are certain constants that remain: the Spanish Jew gave up his life; Gans would have given up his science, which to him as much reality as life itself.

In the light of this statement, we may come to a clearer understanding of the role the Verein played in Gans' life. It was more than a defense reaction against outward persecution, much more than an attempt to educate his group and win the respect of the outside world: to him, it was life itself. As long as he saw a chance for life within a new field, that of the Wissenschaft des Judentums, he could view his restricted position regarding the general field with some equanimity, and hope for entrance into the general field when this new area of Jewish life would receive its recognition as equally valid with the rest of the world. But when the Verein failed, when the parnasim and merchants living in a different type of world refused to

help build up an edifice for a world in which Gans could find existence, he was forced to turn towards the outside world for survival. NOT to partake of this general world of ideas coming to fulfillment would have seemed a sin to him; since he apparently could not be part of through the Jewish group, he chose conversion.

Siegfried Ucko gives us the following analysis of Gans' problem:

"Viewing the colorful, brilliant, and free/entwining of historical factors of a Europe having gained consciousness of itself, it would be a sin to remain separated. If it is true that all ideas created by the human spirit are founded in the clear knowledge of this age of idealism, Europe must judge the Jews with this religio-ethical concept of sin ... and they themselves must have some sort of feeling ... based on this concept."

(35)

Therefore Gans had to say that absorption into European culture did not mean the end of Jewish existence, that it was rather a fulfillment of it; but this was an answer that failed to satisfy this generation. Somewhat later, religious liberalism could maintain the right of special Jewish existence on the basis of the Jews chosenness as a guardian of certain special religious insights. But Gans and the Verein started with a concept of the Jew as a totality; to them Jewish life was a fact, a 'Tatsache', and not a theological problem. Its relationship to the outside world was clear-cut: it was a choice of either/or; either one lives a Jewish life and hopes to attain intellectual and social equality as the value of this existence is recognized --- or one becomes a member of this outside, Christian world with no reservations. Later, when intermediary positions became evident, the number of conversions shrank considerably. But this generation still felt that it had to choose between the fact of two existences; a choice that had become part of Jewish life since the advent of Moses Mendelssohn upon the scene of history. However, Mendelssohn had been the last Jew to be born within Judaism, who could venture into the outside world with his roots firmly in Jewish soil, with his Jewish existence

established for him as a solid reality. His descendents, and the next generations, all had their roots in the outside world, and were suddenly plunged into their Judaism when the world they lived in rejected them as equals. Therefore, when a choice had to be made, the attractions of the outside world generally spoke more strongly to them than this shadow existence of their Judaism which seemed more like a useless appendage. (36

Gans was one of the most brilliant men of his time; his was a pure intellect of the highest order, one that could find a full life in the world of ideas. Quite often, such a mind attaches less importance to the world about him, and to social relationships, and we find such a personality to have a dispassionate coldness. Gans could, therefore, detach himself from the Jewish world much more readily once he was convinced that this was the only pathway to the European world of ideas. (Zunz, on the other hand, having a much stronger emotional attachment to Judaism coupled with his deep and profound mind, decided to defy the world).

Beyond this personal need to find expression in the field of ideas, there was another reason for Gans' conversion; and this reason is found within his philosophy. Gans was a Hegelian; he implicitly believed all that Hegel signified in the field of law. But how could he accept Hegel on this point and not on the other aspects of his life? Through Hegel, he had to come to believe that Christianity represented the most advanced development of the history of thought -- and Hegel did not stop at this point. He taught that the Prussian state of that time was also the perfect state; and then, uniting the two, he arrived at the concept of the Christian-Prussian state, the highest achievement in human civilization. Gans, who had accepted Hegel's philosophy, felt that acceptance could never be merely passive. He had to be part of the state which Hegel glorified --- and one of the pre-requisites of belonging was Christianity. The combination of these reasons proved overwhelming;

once Gans had calmly reasoned out his position, he converted without any moral or emotional scruples. The action seemed the right and proper thing for him to do; and he undoubtedly was sincere in his belief that he had a contribution to make to the world in the legal field, and that it would otherwise be lost. It is in these terms that we have to understand his conversion; and, having understood, we are in a better position to judge the Verein and what it stood for.

The Gans who lived on after the conversion has been lost to us. Perhaps the Christian world never fully understood the complexity of this historical figure; and the fact that his brilliance was spent for a 'lost cause' rendered him uninteresting for later historians of the history of thought. Had he, as his contemporary Stahl, been in addition a warm human personality, entering into the field of politics, winning recognition of a different sort, his name might have survived. Lerminier ⁽³⁷⁾ points out that Gans did have political ambitions; but they were never realized. Not that there was no warm and human side to Gans' personality; his friendliness and charm, coupled with his brilliance, made him the favorite of the students at the university. But the intense dedication to political goals, to the struggle on the scene of politics could never be his; his intellect was a shade too pure and cold, his thoughts too much removed and set in different paths. It was in the realm of ideas that his contributions lay; and there were Jewish contemporaries who were grateful to him for these contributions. ⁽³⁸⁾ (Also, it should not be forgotten that his friendship to men like Heine remained unimpaired, and that his conversion was judged by his friends much less severely than by later historians). And certainly not the least of his contributions was the idea formulated by him, established within the circle of his friends, and brought to its first flowering by Zunz: the idea of the Wissenschaft des Judentums. We turn to Geiger for its fuller development and actualization

within the Jewish community; but always, when we look into its origins, we must come to consider Eduard Gans and the Verein für die Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden.

Following the advice of Dilthey, we have looked at a personality in order to understand the structure of his historical world. And so, coming to understand aspects of Eduard Gans, we have also come to understand part of the configuration that was the Verein. This much has become clear to us: Eduard Gans, Leopold Zunz, Heinrich Heine ----all of them were united in the Verein through their involvement with Jewish life. But the involvement differed with each individual. In Zunz it was a passionate love for Judaism that made him reject the outside world; in Heine, there was the strong influence of romanticism that brought him into this group as part of the romantic's search. And in Gans there was an attachment less emotional than in any member of the group; but it was strong enough to bring the Verein into being, because it was based on intellect trying to discover a Jewish life for itself.

Graetz and Dubnow are mistaken when they consider the Verein a purely Hegelian configuration; each member of the group brought his own approach with him. But here, in the life of Gans, we can observe the Hegelian aspects of the Verein; and then, in time, we can come to evaluate these aspects in a proper manner.

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Notes to Chapter Two: Eduard Gans.

1. Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst, vol. 3, No. 132; issue of June 3, 1839, pp. 1050-1051.
2. Heine, Heinrich "Sämtliche Werke", Hamburger Originalausgabe, 1781, vol. 2, p. 131.
3. Masur, Gerhard Friedrich Julius Stahl: Geschichte seines Lebens, Berlin 1930. p. 101 ff. That Stahl was not completely a follower of Savigny is emphasized by Masur in this statement: 'Thus, Stahl emphasized from the very beginning, in contrast to the historical school which recognized solely the historical law, the idea of the law'. Gans had pointed out the lack of a philosophic foundation within the historical school; Stahl tried to supply this.
4. Dilthey, Wilhelm Gesammelte Schriften, vol. 7, p. 246.
5. Geiger, Ludwig "Aus Gans' Blütejahren", in Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland (ZGJD), vol. 5, pp. 91-99; certainly Gans' strong family loyalty emerges out of this incident in his life.
6. Strodtmann, Adolf Heine's Leben und Werke, Hamburg, 1884; in chapter 8 of this work, "Das Junge Palästina", he supplies a great deal of valuable source material unobtainable elsewhere.
7. Breza, Eugen Graf Galerie der ausgezeichnetsten Israeliten, Stuttgart 1834; p. 84, in chapter on Eduard Gans. Breza, incidentally, was a friend of Heinrich Heine, who wrote his article on Poland while visiting the count's estate.
8. Geiger, L. op. cit., pp. 91-99.
9. Gans, Eduard in the Weimarische Oppositionsblatt, 1817, no. 76; quoted by Geiger, L. ibid., p. 92.
10. E.G. "Urtheil eines Unparteiischen über das Benehmen der Juristischen Facultät zu Berlin in der Habilitations Angelegenheit des Dr. Karl Witte", Berlin 1817; full title quoted from Steffenhagen's article, "Gans", in the Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.
11. Breza, Eugen Graf op. cit., p. 85.
12. Geiger, Ludwig Geschichte des geistigen Lebens in der preussischen Hauptstadt, II. Band (Berlin: 1688-1840), Berlin 1895.
13. Ucko, Siegfried Geistesgeschichtliche Grundlagen der Wissenschaft des Judentums, in ZGJD, vol. 5, 1933-4, pp. 1-34. This is the basic study in the field, incorporating a great deal of source material now unavailable; Ucko's brilliant criticisms and insights must be considered by all who work in this field; and this paper is greatly indebted to his work.
14. This is a supposition of Ucko, ibid., p. 3.

15. Ucko, op. cit., pp. 3-4.
16. Ucko, ibid., p. 19. Gans first suggested the name for the Verein: "Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden". Zunz suggested names like "Verein für Literaturfreunde", "für Beförderung der Bildung unter den jüdischen Glaubensgenossen", "Academia", etc. 'The name "Wissenschaft des Judentums" originated from Gans', says Ucko. And he goes on to say: "Zunz, who (perhaps when already an old man) re-read the minutes of the protocoll, underlines the place where, in Gans' motion to name the Verein "Verein zur Beförderung der Kultur unter den Juden und der Wissenschaft des Judentums", the expression 'Wissenschaft des Judentums' occurs. When the final decision as to the name of the Verein was reached, Gans answers a question with the specific statement that under this general expression (Wissenschaft der Juden) there is expressed both the studies of the Jew as well as the Wissenschaft des Judentums." p. 20. The minutes of the Verein thus ^{show} proof Gans' authorship of the expression.
17. Jost, J. M. Geschichte der Israeliten, Berlin 1846, Vol. X., p. 276. The personal history of Jost will be covered later; here, it is interesting to note this remarkable assertion, made by him in the Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, 1859, footnote to page 178: "The cancellation of part of the edict of 1812, dealing with the ability of Israelites to obtain academic positions, was accomplished through the king's rescript of December 4, 1822. This cancellation was the direct result of the fiery manner in which the youthful Eduard Gans pleaded his own cause. I have been assured of this by minister von Altenstein ... who .. offered me a job, which I turned down ... as I could not compromise my principles .. nor reject my faith. Von Altenstein answered me in this manner: "I don't see why this should be a hindrance. But I am not master, but servant. At the moment the law does not demand this of you. But there is a case pending, which is known to you, (italics are Josts), and I fear it will bring about a decision which will destroy all hopes." With these words he concluded our audience. At that time Hardenberg was still alive, who favored Gans for a post, and had even filled out the application documents for Gans himself; he might have counselled against a general edict. But he died in early November, and the 4th of December already saw the appearance of the Royal Rescript, which was not invalidated until 1847." The position taken here by Jost is, to say the least, interesting.
18. Jost, J.M., "actenmäßige Darstellung..." in Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, 1859, numbers 11 and 12 of March 7 and 14, 1859. pp. 162, 176-177.
19. These lectures were once reprinted by Zalman Rubashof in Jüdischer Wille, the periodical of the Kartel Deutscher Verbindungen, in 1918. All efforts to obtain this periodical proved to be of no avail. The Union List of Serials lists only the New York Public Library as possessing this periodical; and investigation proved that the issues carrying the Rubashof article are not among those on file.
20. Ucko, S. ibid., pp. 24-32.
21. Wiener, Max The Ideology of the Founders of Jewish Scientific Research, in Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science, vol V., New York 1950, pp. 190-194.

22. Strodtmann, Adolf op. cit., pp. 300-304. He lists his source as "Rede bei Wiederöffnung der Sitzungen des Vereins für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden, gehalten den 28.ten Oktober 1821", von Dr. E. Gans, Hamburg, 1822 bei M. Hahn.
23. Ucko, S., *ibid.*, p.26; quoting from Gans' first lecture. He and Wiener quote from the Rubashof edition (see note 19).
24. Hegel, Phaenomenologie des Geistes, edited by Geor.Lasson, p. 380; quoted by Ucko, *ibid.*, p. 26, footnote 41.
25. Hegel, *ibid.*, p.17; quoted by Ucko, *ibid.*, p. 26, footnote 42.
26. Wiener, M., *ibid.*, p. 192, quoting Gans.
27. Gans, Eduard in his third lecture, quoted by Ucko, *ibid.*, p. 27, note 45.
28. Strodtmann, Adolf, *ibid.*, pp. 298-302., quoting Gans.
29. *ibid.*, pp. 300-302.
30. *ibid.*, pp. 302-3.
31. Lenz, Max Geschichte der Königl. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1910, "Briefe an von Altenstein vom 3.Mai 1821." quoted by Ucko, *ibid.*, p. 4.
32. Wallach, Luitpold "The Beginnings of the Science of Judaism in the 19th Century", in Historia Judaica, Vol. 8, New York 1946, pp.38-60; p. 46. At present, Luitpold Wallach is undoubtedly the most informed scholar on this subject, and has done an immense amount of research in this field.
33. Dubnow, S.M. Die Neueste Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes, Berlin 1920, pp. 98-99.
34. Geiger, Abraham Nachgelassene Schriften, Berlin 1875, vol. I., "Ueber den Austritt aus dem Judenthume: 2 Schriften 1858"; pp. 230-283. Geiger makes special mention of Gans in this article.
35. Ucko, S., *ibid.*, p. 29.
36. At that time, it must be remembered, there was the possibility of choice. The different relationship towards Judaism as it existed in Mendelssohn and the next generations was outlined to me by Dr. Leo Baeck, to whose kindness I owe a great many insights into these matters.
37. Lerminier, in the Nouvelle Biographie Generale, Paris 1858, p. 449, has this to say:
"L'ambition d'Eduard Gans n'etait pas sentement scientifique elle etait politique. Il eut voulu voir la Prusse dotee l'institutions constitutionnelles; il eut souhaite joindre un joire aux succes de la chaise universitaire les triomphees de la tribune. Mais avant que la Prusse connuit les agitations et las revolutions politiques, il avail cesse d'exister."
38. Philippson, Ludwig in Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums, III. Jahrgang, No. 73, June 18, 1839, pp. 294 ff., on the occasion of Eduard

Gans' funeral, had this to say concerning his relationship to Judaism:
"Gans .. was active in the Verein .. and left it suddenly.... But let us ask: did Gans continue his activities for Judaism after his conversion? .. By going back to the near past, when it was still his purpose to grant the Jewish group equality with the rest of the human family .. Gans brought clear proofs to show Jewish contributions ... emerging from them .. that they might be put to universal usage. ... He did not have steadfastness of character .. and thus .. converted; but aside from this the position he took enabled him to gain a place and a voice for Judaism in the world ... although his example should not be followed.

In his particular field Gans also remained - we state this quite openly - a Jew. His appearance in the field of jurisprudence and the state did not cut itself off from the conditions which the inner peculiarity of Judaism forces upon us .. thus .. to accept the concept of the historical school on ownership .. would have meant surrendering in his case. ... And on the other hand it is just as much part of Jewish life to maintain the right of a historical existence, lest he lose his right to exist as a Jew. Therefore Gans never did become involved with .. radicalism's senseless doctrine .. of the finality of things. Gans .. is forever identified with the development within the boundaries of law. These are the general conditions for Judaism; since G. remained true to them, his Jewish character remained true, developing .. in its true nobility."

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end of notes to chapter two.

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Encyclopaedia Judaica: "Gans" article by M. Wiener.

plus general reference works dealing with the Verein, and other sources
that are referred to in the bibliography of other chapters.

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end of chapter two.

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Final Note to Chapter Two: Eduard Gans.

Since the Verein, by its very inception, proclaimed the dissatisfaction felt by the group with existing conditions, it is easy to understand the interest the group exhibited towards the new world. Indeed, at one stage Gans contemplated emigrating to the United States. Therefore, the following letter, written by Zunz and Gans to Mordecai Emanuel Noah, gives us additional insight into the configuration of the Verein. It is taken from the Publications of the American History, No. 20, Philadelphia 1911, pp. 147-148. Jewish Historical Society.

The letter reads:

"Most honorable Sir.- Amidst the general distress and public calamity under which a great part of the European Jews laboured, some years ago, and still are seen to labour, it was, indeed, no small consolation to every one, whom the fate of our brethren would appear no trifling, to hear the noble voice of a most excellent partaker of our faith, animating the abject spirits of the members of an oppressed creed, by summoning them from an ungrateful and unjust country, to that part of our globe which they style the new world, but would yet, with greater reason, name the better one. It was you, most honorable sir, who afforded this sublime comfort. Since that time, the better part of the European Jews are looking with the eager countenance of hope to the United States of North America, happy once to exchange the miseries of their native soil for public freedom, granted there to every religion; and for that general happiness, which, not the adherents of a privileged faith alone, but every citizen is entitled to share. (italics as given in source).

"The society ~~wherein~~ dares to address you this letter, united for the purpose of advancing the progress of science and knowledge amongst the partners of our religion, but penetrated at the same time with the deepest feeling of gratitude for the pleasing view which you have opened to your brethren, would have deemed itself failing in a most urgent duty not to acknowledge the full extent of your meritorious undertaking, by making you Extraordinary Member of our Congregation, and Correspondent General for the United States, according to which you will receive herewith the Letters Patent of this nomination, together with two accounts of the present state of our Society, which will perhaps give you a better notion of our final purpose, than this short letter can be able to afford.

"You would, most honorable sir, infinitely oblige us, if you would send us an exact relation of all the particulars concerning the Jews in every province of the United States, their progress in business and knowledge, and the rights allowed to them in general, and by each single state. But you would still more oblige us, by proposing to us a sufficient number of persons, able to be members of our society, and who, under your presidency, settling a particular congregation, would establish a perpetual correspondence with us about the means of transplanting a vast portion of European Jews to the United States, and how such emigration may be connected with the welfare of those who would prefer leaving their country to escape endless slavery and oppression.

E. Gans, Doctor of Common Law, President.

Zunz, Doctor of Philosophy, Vice President.

M. Moser, 1st Vice Sec'y.

To M.M. Noah, Esqu.

Berlin, 1st Jan. 1822."

Chapter Three: Yom Tov Lipmann (Leopold) Zunz.

"Echte Wissenschaft ist thaterzeugend!"
- L. Zunz.

WELT
d.i.
Wissen Erreichen Lernen Treffen
aber auch
Wahn Erfindung Lügen Traum.

- L. Zunz (from his diary).

THE ACTUAL PERSONALITY OF A HISTORICAL FIGURE always evades the student; letters, contemporary reports, literary remains -- all of them are indications of a personality; none are his totality. We read biographies of the man; and there emerges the image of a monument cast in bronze, gravely surveying the contributions he has made to his age. But where is the youthful spirit that once animated him, where his enthusiasm, his human frailty?

'Leopold Zunz'. What images does this name invoke? The etching of a patriarch, a wise old face lined with the sorrows and disappointments of close to a century of suffering and striving; the picture of a musty old room, the receiving hall for the 'grand old man' of Jewish scholarship; there he sits, receiving the adulation that is rightfully his; but withal, there is a bitter curve to his smile -- for it is adulation come fifty years too late.

Zunz, in a sense, is the most tragic figure connected with the Verein. Friedlander and Bendavid are still smiling faces against the background of the Enlightenment; Gans' life is on an almost intellectual level, without appeal to emotion, as he himself was emotionless; Moser's life has the classic purity of a Socrates; Markus' life is as a single, deep note going down the corridor of time, finally wavering and breaking with the sharp sound of tragedy -- but it is not sustained tragedy; and Heine -- Heine's life is a

complex symphony encompassing all; its tragic moments are part of the heroic mold of a Prometheus bound. Zunz' life, on the other hand, has tragedy as its underlying motif; it is the sustained tragedy of daily life, of disappointment after disappointment, of striving and searching in the face of constant discouragement on the part of his contemporaries, of being by-passed for lesser men whenever recognition is meted out. It is an ordinary life; and that is its tragedy. For Zunz deserved more than ordinary recognition from his contemporaries, both Jewish and Gentile. It is not too much to say that he occupied a more important role in the 19th century than many of his more honored contemporaries on the general European scene; and the late and tardy recognition the Jewish world gave him should not atone for the dark loneliness of a life-time spend in his book-lined room, for the memories he held of ~~xxx~~ the friends of his youth who deserted him and left him to struggle by himself for the attainment of ideals the Verein had held before all of them.

Our study can only occupy itself with Zunz in his relationship to the Verein; and, in a sense, Zunz was the Verein. Heine once said:

"How can I speak of the Verein without mentioning this excellent Zunz, who, during a wavering period of transition, constantly exhibited an unshakeable steadfastness; despite his brilliant insight, his scepticism, his scholarship, he remained true to his word, true to the generous caprice of his soul. A man of word and deed, he worked and created where others dreamed and listlessly fell away."

(1)

The life of Zunz has already been covered exhaustively; almost every phase of it has been the subject of at least a monograph. We, on the other hand, are much more occupied with the young Zunz, the student and budding philosopher who joined the Verein in 1819 and salvaged its remains a few years later. Therefore, our biographical data will only extend up to the year 1832, when his Gottesdienstliche Vorträge appeared. Nevertheless, I feel

that we will gain a clear perception of Zunz as a totality. For one of the most remarkable things about Leopold Zunz is the fact that almost all his philosophic and historic insights were developed by the time he was twenty-three years old. His article "Etwas über die rabbinische Literatur" maps out a plan of action which the mature Zunz was to follow for the next half century; and his scientific method and general Weltanschauung can be seen clearly and completely in the writings he contributed to the Zeitschrift which the Verein had placed under his redaction. We need not say through this that Zunz did not exhibit originality in his later years, or that he did not develop. But part of the configuration of the Verein lies in the fact that within these young men, barely out of their teens, there already rested a clear realization of all which the Wissenschaft des Judentums implied; that here was united the forcefulness of young genius, genius which knew quite well which way it was headed. Seldom did such a group unite to fight for the preservation of its ideals -- and seldom did one fail so abysmally.

Leopold Zunz was born in Detmold, Germany, on August 10, 1794, the descendent of a family illustrious in terms of Jewish scholarship. First mention of the family is encountered in the community records of the Jewish group in Frankfurt a/Main, which shows a Naftali Zunz, whose son Jechiel Michel Zunz became a well known presiding officer of the Frankfurt community, ⁽²⁾ ~~un-~~ ~~fortunately, only their scholarship~~ in 1586. His sons, Naftali Hirz and Jehudah Liwah were well known as scholars and well-to-do members of the Frankfurt community. ⁽³⁾ Unfortunately, only the memory of their scholarship remained for the most illustrious member of the family; Leopold Zunz early encountered the pangs of poverty. One interesting thing is revealed through a study of Zunz' family tree: Ruben Gumpertz of Berlin, who was to be a near and valued friend of Zunz, was his second cousin. Zunz was aware of this, as his

(4)
diary shows. (A complete family tree of Zunz was drawn up by Dr. Brann,
and appeared in the Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Juden-
(5)
tums.)

Zunz' immediate family was less illustrious. His father was an instruc-
tor in the Hamburg Bet Hamidrash (his family moved to Hamburg when he was one
year old), but poverty forced him to abandon this occupation and to open a
small grocery store in order to support his family. When Leopold was five,
his father began to instruct him in Hebrew, particularly grammar, the Torah,
(6)
and after a while Talmud. Zunz' father died in 1802, and a short time later
Leopold Zunz entered "Die Samson'sche Freischule", founded in 1786 by Phillip
Samson as an educational institution for orphans.

Leopold Zunz was eight years old when he left home; and his mother was
to die before he would see her again. Accompanied only by his uncle, he walked
the five hour stretch from Braunschweig to his new home, walking forward into
a life he himself was to call 'Leidensgeschichte', a life of suffering. One
chapter of his life was over; and his real education was now to begin.

At the time he entered the Samson school, it was called a 'Bet Ha-Midrash'
by courtesy only. Actually, it was the ordinary cheder with all its faults,
(7)
and offered no secular education whatsoever. Leopold had already learned
enough to rebel. Together with a fellow student, also orphaned, Zunz en-
tered into a conspiracy to learn Hebrew grammar! This fellow student was
Isaac Marcus Jost, who, for a short period, was to be his fellow worker in
the Verein. In 1805 Zunz produced his first scientific work: a book of so-
(8)
lutions for the Homeling Arithmetic Book. By 1806 he was sufficiently ad-
vanced in the Hebrew language to display his sarcastic wit, remarkable for
a boy his age, in a satire directed against his teachers. Apparently the
book had some merit, since it received the distinction of a public burning,
(9)
and led to Zunz' denunciation as 'the audacious one'.

These early years must have been strange ones in the life of Zunz. Ehrenberg, who took over the conduct of the school in 1807, wrote these observations to J. H. Sampson concerning the pupil Zunz:

"L.Z. has a brilliant mind - even more, is a genius - in all fields of knowledge. But he does particularly well in Hebrew grammar and mathematics. Up to 1807 he was temperamental, wild, and disorderly, and he had a sanguine, choleric temper. But he had himself so well under control that after 1807 he became orderly and outwardly well mannered; indeed, later on he was even considered to be phlegmatic."

(10)

This, of course, was no accidental change. Samuel Meyer Ehrenberg, who took over the school in 1807, made it a worthwhile institution, with many changes in its curriculum. A member of the Meassefim group, he undoubtedly helped both Zunz and Jost acquire the taste and ability for an elegant and correct Hebrew style. Zunz later wrote a pamphlet entitled Samuel Meyer Ehrenberg, in which he pays due homage to his teacher and gives us an insight into his own and Jost's early school life. At all accounts, the 'ante-Ehrenberg period' solidified his knowledge of the Talmud, and the 'Ehrenberg period' laid the foundation for his enormous scholarship. Under Ehrenberg Zunz received a fine secular education, which enabled him, in the year 1809, to enter the gymnasium in Wolfenbüttel, reputedly the first German Jew to enter one of Germany's higher institutes of learning. Up until then he had received a full scholarship from the Samson school, which now changed into a 'fellowship' as his status became that of a teacher and instructor. By 1810 he enjoyed the confidence of Ehrenberg to such an extent that he was the school's chief instructor and administrator during Ehrenberg's absence. Zunz was then 16 years old. By 1813 he was ready to enter university; but it was 1815 before this desire was to be realized. Now twenty-one years old, he left the comparative tranquillity of Wolfenbüttel for the exciting cosmopolitanism of Berlin. Naturally, his chief desire was to enter the University of Berlin; for if

Berlin was the Mecca of intellectual life for his contemporaries, the university was its mosque of learning. Zunz entered Berlin on October 12, 1815. The first person he visited was his relative Ruben Samuel Gumpertz, who could have relieved him of all financial worries concerning his stay. But independence was one of the strongest developed character traits of Zunz throughout his life; and he secured employment for himself as a tutor in the house of the family Hertz; most important, he entered the university; and here the full development of the modern Science of Judaism begins.

Before we turn our attention to Zunz' intellectual development at the university, it may be of interest to note the first contact he now makes with Reform Judaism. A later phase of his life sees him unresponsive and often antagonistic towards Reform; but during this period, at last, he shows himself to be actively interested in Reform's program. It is an interest we can understand and correlate with the character of the young man who finds fulfillment in the program of the Verein; and it must be understood as part of Zunz' makeup, particularly since today one tends to look at Zunz primarily in terms of his appearance in later years; a bitter old man looking with little sympathy upon the follies of his contemporaries.

Zunz had entered Berlin on the 12th of October, during the High Holiday season. On the 16th of the month he wrote his mentor Ehrenberg:

xxx "Yesterday, or rather Saturday (the 14th), I was at Jacobson's synagogue. Men, who had had no connection with Jews for over twenty years, spend the entire day there: men, who had thought themselves to have arrived at the stage where they were above religious emotion, here craved in religious fervor; the majority of the young people fasted. But then, we have here three preachers who would do credit the largest congregation. Mr. Auerbach lectures with philosophic clarity augmented by a solid core of inner honesty; his voice is musical and soft; his very presence - innocence. Even his Hebrew is enunciated in a beautiful manner; indeed, he is a good poet in that language. Kley is lively and audacious; his pictures excite the phantasy. When he said: "Now we shall rise" everyone leaped up as if touched by magic -- notwithstanding the fact that it was five o'clock in the evening. The latter I would compare to Ezekiel,

the former to Jeremiah. The third one, Günsberg, I will encounter at the next holiday. Incidentally, the singing and the music was good, and Dr. Heinroth is bringing the Seesen organ to this place. In passing I must also send you the news that they are going to subscribe in Hamburg to a temple with an organ, idque under the direction of Salomon Cohn."

(13)

A month later, Zunz writes Ehrenberg that the only difference between David Friedlander and Gumpertz exists in Friedlander's attempt to make Sunday the Sabbath; the same letter reports the occupation of the Beer residence by Jacobson's temple. ^{¶14} Apparently in that same letter, after a one month sojourn in Berlin, Zunz divides the Jewish population of Berlin into the following categories:

"baptized and enlightened (?) Jews, who spend the whole day of Yom Kippur in reverent meditation at Jacobson's temple;
baptized Jews who have returned to Judaism;
proselytes: Jews, who are worse r'schoim than born Christians;
those who are indifferent within both religious groups;
a young segment which does not know what Judaism is;
truly enlightened Jews, perhaps 'half an almond' in number."

(15)

Already, we see here the youthful condemnation of the general state of the Jews which was so characteristic of the Verein. Yet despite this, Zunz was quite active within the Reform movement, as the investigations of Geiger ⁽¹⁶⁾ show us.

One thing must be clarified here: we are not attempting to fragmentize Zunz' life, or make a Reform Jew out of him despite his later railings against that group. Zunz, as will be brought out, achieved maturity of thought at an extremely early age, and deviated little from his beliefs; and the above sympathy with Reform was not untinged by scepticism. The important thing to note in this connection is the following: Zunz sympathized with the aims of Reform, recognizing the needs of the times. He did not particularly like the conferences of Reform rabbis, fearing clericalism and the possibility of a new hierarchy in Judaism. The Reform which Zunz visualized was much more in

keeping with the aims of the Verein. Thus, when he writes Ehrenberg:

"As long as no authority exists, sanctioning the whole matter, nothing which is good will happen. Everyone is a reformer and makes himself ridiculous. Until the Talmud has been displaced there is nothing to be done..."

(17)

A few years later (May 20, 1820), Zunz held his first sermon in the Beer Temple, and, a short time after this, became the preacher of the congregation. He was to hold this job until September 13, 1822. He preached brilliant sermons; but, knowing Zunz and our Verein group, we are not surprised to discover that the sermons antagonized many of his listeners. For a typical example of an attack on existing conditions within the Jewish group, here is a quote from one of his sermons (the sixteenth sermon of his preaching activity in Berlin), which apparently received a great deal of unfavorable publicity (Zunz was obliged to write his paternal friend Ehrenberg to the effect that the much publicized term 'den of assassins' which he did use referred to the school system, not to the synagogues):

"Let there be light in the schools! Let them become the home of knowledge, of good manners, of virtues, and of religion! O, my dear friends: would that I did not have to remind you of those institutions which are, unfortunately, still found within Israel. They call them schools; but they are not schools, not the innocent abode of child-like peace -- they are dens of assassins (Mördergruben). They murder the hopes of the parents, murder the expectations of the state, murder the seeds of so much intellectual life. Do you call them schools when within them we find men without knowledge of any sort, estranged to any educating influences, untouched by love for children; men who torture the boys with utter nonsense, who stop up their ears against the call of the sciences, men who educate them into cowardly, brutish beings? O, my friends: would that I did not have to remind you of those educators who appear like vagabonds out of some corner of the world and, unexamined, become the leaders and comrades of the children; frequently, through their lack of education and through their vices, they become their destroyers; and thus they change the blessing of the house into a curse."

(18)

In truth, such sermons were not calculated to comfort the parnassim and leaders of the congregation; and the young, fiery preacher soon found himself placed in the position of having to resign if he wanted to maintain his ~~max~~

integrity and his freedom. Once again, in the life of one of its members, we come to see and ~~understand~~ the configuration of the Verein: young, inspired brilliance helplessly ^{fighting} ~~existing~~ against existing conditions, against the apathy and the self-interest of those desiring continuance of the status quo. It may be true - and is probably fairer to the memory of Mannheimer who followed Zunz - that Zunz' resignation from the office is not to be construed quite as harshly as Kaufmann does, who sees Zunz

"relinquishing a task that seemed incompatible to his enthusiasm and religious spirit, as well as to his sense of honesty and manly pride."

(19

There were other, personal differences between Zunz and the group, to which Geiger refers ⁽²⁰, and Zunz at his best was not an easy person to get along with. But looking at the situation against the framework of existing conditions, it becomes clear that Zunz' departure was inevitable. He had stepped on too many toes, had offended both Jews and Gentiles. The ruling of the royal decree of December 9th, 1823, prohibiting all changes of worship, was part of a general mental attitude which disliked any type of reform or change; in a sense, it was old age viewing all youth with suspicion. And so, Zunz abandoned the pulpit, claiming the last word by publishing his sermons with a preface in which he bitterly attacked his opponents:

"who, after they had brought about the disintegration of the local synagogue, and had despised the voice of truth, were so enflamed by their ugly passions that they forced me, by means of their insults and impudences, to resign my job as preacher. Their actions forced me to this step which I deemed proper in regard to my honor, my principles, my conscience -- yes, even in regard to the good of the whole. Despite the income I received from this job, despite the sop it gives to my vanity, I am forced to relinquish this task and seek new fields of action where I might be useful to my religious compatriots with my full might and without being restricted.... May, then, this book contribute somewhat towards the establishment of a worthy house of God and a worthy school in a unified community of Berlin."

(21.

For a while, as we know, Zunz found this outlet in the work of the Verein; but the same forces that frustrated him as a budding preacher and religious leader within the Jewish community frustrated the work of the Verein. Zunz' answer was different from the one Eduard Gans evolved; but it too involved a rejection of the Jewish community, and entrance into the world of ideas.

Leopold Zunz' life within the Jewish community, even in his youthful years, was a stormy one. At the same time, this period of life in Berlin shaped and molded him for the task the future was to hold in store for him: the exposition and formulation of what Eduard Gans had called 'Juedische Wissenschaft'. Zunz' Jewish education had been well taken care of at the Samson school. Here now, at the university to which the awakening youths of all Germany trooped, Zunz received the instruction and the inspirations which were to make him a part of the general German culture, and which were to enable him to make his important contributions to the world of thought. What, then, were the intellectual foundations of Zunz, and what were the basic forces which influenced his development?

We know a great deal about the life of Zunz at this stage in his life. His activities as preacher to the Beer congregation, and his attempts to gain a position in Hamburg and, later, in Koenigsberg have been carefully chronicled for us by men like Maybaum⁽²²⁾ and Meyerling⁽²³⁾. Even his entrance into intellectual life within Berlin has not escaped notice, and Ludwig Geiger has carefully preserved his early aphorisms and literary notices published in F.W. Gubitz's Der Gesellschafter, in 1818.⁽²⁴⁾ But it is much harder to trace a man's intellectual development. Genius not only rises out of a particular environment; it also transcends it. A mere listing of the books which Zunz read, or an enumeration of the intellectual movements of that time does not give us the totality which was Zunz; following Luitpold Wallach's example, we can quote Goethe to the effect that:

"One could also ask at the time a well-nourished man for the oxen, sheep, and pigs which he ate, and which gave him his strength."

(25)

Yet viewing the background, and the intellectual trends of that time, we come to see Zunz and his generation in terms of the problems they faced; and as we come to understand their answers to these problems, we gain rapport with the generation itself.

Zunz' first significant encounter with contemporary thought was his study period at the University of Berlin; more accurately, we might say that it was Berlin itself. For the Berlin of that time, in its social and intellectual life, represented almost every current school of thought; and Zunz entered wholeheartedly into this life. Primarily, this was a life with two chief occupations: literature and the theater. The reactionary policies of the time permitted no overt politics. It was therefore only natural that the young people of this period should turn to those two fields, permitting them to express their political thoughts and feelings masked in the guise of fables, obscure classical allusions, and fine nuances of expression. More than that, there was a very real interest in the theater and belles-lettres; literally 'all Berlin' (or at least the Berlin Zunz knew) occupied itself with such occurrences as the coming concert of Miss Henriette Soontag, or the new publication of Saphir. Seen in this light, Zunz' writings for the Gesellschafter must be appraised as more than casual endeavors, worthwhile only because they were to be in the nature of apprentice work for his future vocation as editor of the Haude'sche Zeitung; actually, they show his whole-hearted commitment and entrance into the social and intellectual life of Berlin. The newspapermen of that time were known for their loose life, and often had little social standing; but Zunz cannot be placed into that category. Actually, he fits into the group of contributors who at that time were making

the Gesellschafter a well known and respected publication: men like Goethe, Achim von Arnim, Clemens Brentano, Müller, Fouque, and, somewhat later, Heinrich Heine. (26) Together with that group, he also drew intellectual nourishment from the leaders of German thought assembled in Berlin: Schleiermacher, Schlegel, and Hegel acted upon this group in countless ways, both within the Jewish salons and through direct contact.

The main formulation of Zunz' philosophy of history, and the development of his concept of "Wissenschaft des Judentums", must be found in his university days, and in the philosophical trends then in vogue there. For Zunz' primary occupation during this formative period, all other elements notwithstanding, was that of a student. He entered the University of Berlin in 1815, only five years after it had been founded by Wilhelm von Humboldt. Humboldt envisaged the university as one of the chief agencies for the creation of a Weltbild based on the understanding and fertilization of the spiritual and ethical forces which are instrumental in shaping history. The publication of Friedrich von Savigny's Vom Beruf unserer Zeit für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft had just appeared to enunciate the program of the so-called Historical School. In it, Savigny expounded the idea that history is to be understood as an organic development; later, in 1818, Savigny's Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter made an attempt to adapt this concept of 'organic development' (27) to a concrete current of history. Whether Zunz, who attended Savigny's lectures (Introduction to the Institutions of Roman Law), was influenced in an appreciable way by Savigny is something which we shall have to discuss presently. Certainly, Savigny was not his principal mentor. The other great teachers of that period, August Boeckh, F.A. Wolf, and August De Wette were then at the height of their popularity. Zunz definitely inclined towards the classical scholarship of Wolf. He notes in his diary (28) "Boeckh instructs me, but Wolf attracts me."

and he lists the different courses he has had with Wolf: Greek Antiquities (1815), Greek Literature (1816-17), and the Encyclopaedia of Alterstums-⁽²⁹⁾wissenschaft (1817-18). The last course in particular was an introduction into Wolf's concept of philology. It started with a definition of philology as being the total of historical and philosophical knowledge through which we come to know a nation whose literary works have survived. The final aim of philological studies is the knowledge of the ancient man and through this knowledge, there comes the knowledge of human nature in general. But this purpose can be achieved only after

"the study of antiquity has been lifted up to the dignity of a philosophico-historical science."

(30)

The different philosophic trends which we have had occasion to mention in the introduction here fuse into an organic whole within the curriculum encountered by Zunz: there is the philosophy of law, entering the field of romanticism in the person of Savigny; Boeckh was an outlet for the philosophy of Hegel which permeated the whole intellectual atmosphere; and in Wolf's classicism the influence of the Enlightenment brings an approach towards the study of antiquity which finds its most popular exponent in Wolf's friend Humboldt. All of these shared one quality which cannot be underestimated in its importance upon Zunz as well as the other members of the Verein: an awakening sense of history peculiar to that period, which for the first time saw historicism the dominant factor on the intellectual horizon. The previous century had found its call to action in philosophy; it was the field one turned to for self expression and for action. But this new era had seen the dawn of historical consciousness; and all --- student, teacher, and layman, turned to the field of history in order to formulate their ideas and Weltanschauung. No matter how much their approach might differ in terms of philosophical

background, in all cases it was an historical one. The Zunz of the Verein could speak of 'unsere Wissenschaft', "our science", in the same way as Boeckh and Savigny. Each of them was convinced of the validity of what Savigny called "the vocation of our age,"⁽³¹⁾ though they all gave it different meaning. To Savigny it meant the best mode of treating law, as shown in his earlier mentioned "Vom Beruf unserer Zeit für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft." To Boeckh it was

"the project of ~~the~~ a whole, treated with scientific spirit and broad conceptions, arranged according to established notions."

(32)

'Our science' had to meet the necessities of 'life' and 'the existing point of view of scholarship' in his definition. Zunz' study in 1818 drew heavily upon this; and all were under the dominance of historicism.

How much did Zunz' conception of history owe to Savigny, Boeckh, and Wolf? There is a bitter controversy raging between scholars in regard to Savigny.⁽³³⁾ On the one hand, there is Bamberger⁽³⁴⁾, who considers Savigny to have had a major share in the development of Zunz' concepts. Opposing him is Wallach who maintains that

"Zunz' concept of suffering as a category of Jewish history was predicated on the 'state of nature' idea within the primitive mechanical developmental concept of the Enlightenment, and is based ... in no way .. on the 'historical School'.... Reason ... was to remove an age-old injustice."

(35)

Quite probably Wallach is right. But Savigny's methodology must have had at least a minor influence on Zunz, and it seems illogical for Wallach to conclude, as he does in another essay, that

"Savigny's anti-liberal attitude excludes an ideological, methodological or scientific influence on the liberal Zunz."

(36)

Certainly, the one does not exclude the other.

it quite insignificant. It is not until we recall that this was the attitude of his times, the 'reverence for the insignificant' (Andacht zum unbedeutenden) as the romanticist Grimm expresses this, that these details take on meaning. To Zunz each one of these details was a familiar friend; sharing the pessimism of the Verein group, he doubted the survival of the Jew; each data he preserved was as a gift presented by him to future historians of the mind. Previously, such meticulous scholarship had not been part of the historians work. But it is significant that at about this time the Freiherr vom Stein had founded the "Gesellschaft für Ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde" (on January 20, 1819), which had the object of collecting all German historical sources for the period of the Middle Ages. The parallel between the work of the Verein and attitude towards history, and this development in the German, general field, is surely obvious; and Zunz' work is thus, once again, brought into the general framework of his times.

Turning to Zunz' writings, we find only one work of his to be considered which ante-dates the Verein; but it is a work of major importance. This is Etwas ueber die rabbinische Literatur, published in Berlin in 1818. In effect, it represents Zunz' plan for an encyclopaedia of Jewish Science. It is significant that in this work we find Zunz' theories almost completely developed: a twenty-one year old student here maps out an outline for Jewish scholarship which is to keep him busy for the rest of his life. Later critics have attacked Jewish Science - and Zunz in particular - for mapping out a tremendous program and then being satisfied with confining their efforts to a small section of the history of literature. ⁽⁴²⁾ But, as we shall see, this early work of Zunz' already presented the idea that the study of the literary remains of a people is of prime necessity, almost the basis for all of Jewish Science.

On the 26th of July, 1817, Zunz' first article had appeared in Gubitz's Der Gesellschafter; his first endeavors in belles-lettres had begun. But at

the same time, his Jewish studies also assumed greater importance. He transcribed a Hebrew copy of Schemtob ibn Falaquera's Book of Steps, studied the Samaritan language, and examined a large collection of documents from Constantinople, Safed, and Saloniki which David b. Aaron brought him from Poland. In December of 1817 he started working on his first major effort in the Jewish field, and, in 1818, there appeared his

(43)

(44)

Etwas über die rabbinische Literatur.

Zunz begins this study with a modest preface asking his critics to help him realize the mistakes in his work. Then he turns towards Jewish literature in an effort to examine it critically. Biblical writings, says Zunz, have been preserved and honored through the accident of becoming the foundation of the Christian state. Rabbinic writings, on the other hand, were not as lucky, and did not receive any due recognition until the time of the Reformation. Now, with the development of modern European literature, they are once more falling into a shadowland of death, and will soon pass away. But it is precisely because of this state that we must now turn our attention to the study of rabbinic literature; for the first time we have the proper perspective of viewing this as a closed field, with no new additions likely; the general tenor of public opinion will now allow a fair appraisal; within a century most of these books will be unavailable (again we note here the typical pessimism of the Verein group); and most important of all, the questions concerning the fate of the Jews and Judaism may find answers here; we must study rabbinic literature in order to evaluate properly the old together with the new. As he says,

"Any ruthless so-called 'improvement' is punished by its failure. The over-hasty application of the new gives a higher value to the old (and, what is much worse, a higher value to that which has been aged). In order to be able to recognize and to sort out the 'useful old' from the 'damaging aged', in order to know the new which is worthwhile, we have to turn to the study of the people and its history..."

How is it, asks Zunz, that this field of knowledge has not yet been explored in these days of enlightenment, when knowledge has reached and illuminated almost every dark corner in the field of human knowledge? Why should we not now examine the field of rabbinic literature, catalogue it, and judge it?

He adds a significant footnote to this statement:

"We are not afraid of being misunderstood. The complete literature of the Jews is here envisaged as the object of investigation; we are not in the least concerned whether its complete contents could or should be the norm for our own judgments."

(47)

This, of course, is the complete break with the traditional approach, and is one of the basic features of Jüdische Wissenschaft.

The subject for investigation (viz, "unsere Wissenschaft" ⁽⁴⁸⁾) must be divided into many fields, and each field must then be investigated and worked independently. And it is this, the schematic division, which makes up the bulk of the article; in effect, it is a plan for an encyclopaedia for Jewish Science. The division itself is based upon Zunz' concept of the status of man; and here we find a relationship to Hegel's concept; for Zunz sees man as

"the subject of church ... and state." ⁽⁴⁹⁾

Here, then, is Zunz' outline of Juedische Wissenschaft (an outline, incidentally, which is supplemented by an almost fantastic array of notes, such as the one referring to the Zohar ⁽⁵⁰⁾, making us realize that Zunz had already started upon those 'independent pieces of research' in various fields which he considered so important:

I. Sciences as determined by the 'church':

Theology (where no clear system exists yet, but some decent fragments).

Mythology (except for some decent work on older mythology, we have nothing).

Dogmatics (check Christian sources, as Roeder for example.)

(50)

Religion (to include divisions of customs, liturgy, religious principles, and rites of the synagogue: a history of these rites, based on original sources, is a prime desideratum.)

II. Sciences as determined by the 'state':

Legislation.

Jurisprudence.

Constitutional law (particularly since it was written under oppression.)

Comparative judicial terminology (re Hellenistic, Roman, Hebrew law.)

("the slow change of Jewish law and its final ~~rapid~~ disappearance into European law could only be presented after many arduous individual examinations of the material")

(52)

III. Sciences as determined by the study of nature ("now that we have examined the human being, let us examine the inhabitant of the earth").

Mathematics.

Astronomy.

Geography.

Chronology.

Medicine (to include Psychology, Anthropology, Physiology).

IV. Sciences based on using these insights of nature (from the knowledge of nature to its usage is only a short step).

Technology.

Industry.

Commerce.

V. Sciences dealing with 'embellishment' of nature's material.

Art (excluding poetry).

Architecture.

Typography.

Music.

Inventions.

VI. Sciences dealing with the universal life of the nation.

History (study of the passing scene).

Antiquities (the study of that which remains).

Language (the 'lever' of history and antiquities).

Under the category of language we include

1. poetry, "the beginning of the formation of language" (a Wolfian conception; see note 38 on Fritz Bamberger.)
2. rhetoric or the art of style (this is to include such matters as the hyperbole; the Talmudic ~~style~~; the philosophic style; the difference between prosaic poetry and prosaic prose; concerning the literature of the comic; etc.).

Grammar.

1. the up until now neglected history of the more recent grammarians (since Gesenius does not cover men as Bensew, S. Hanau, Cohen, etc.); and a complete history of the Hebrew language.

This is to be preceded by

2. a history of the Aramaic language.
3. a completely new lexicon.
4. a dictionary of Hebrew synonyms.
5. etymological studies, which have been sadly neglected. Most rabbinic scholars ignore the Oriental language, and the Orientalists ignore Hebrew.

VII. Finally, there are the subsidiary sciences, as

Diplomacy. (sic.; According to Wallach, this should read Paleography; he substitutes this word for diplomacy in his excellent summary and analysis of this article, stating that it was

"Erroneously called Diplomatik by Zunz, a term used since Mabillon's De re diplomatica libri XVI (1681) for records and deeds only."

(53)

also, there should be made

"a chronological collection of facsimiles in order to date undated manuscripts";
catalogues of manuscripts and libraries;
annals of printing and typography;
bibliography.

(54)

Throughout this work by Leopold Zunz, there emerges the underlying concept of literature as being the depository of the character and personality of a nation as shaped by physical and social environment, by tradition and religion, by climate and soil, by custom, chance and destiny. Since we have already observed the influence of the Enlightenment upon Zunz, we can readily follow Wallach's hypothesis which sees Zunz drawing upon Johann Friedrich Herder's theory of literature as expressed in books like Herders Vom Geiste der Ebräischen Poesie (1782-1783), particularly since Wallach goes on to substantiate this through other citations.

(55)

This same spirit of Enlightenment can also be seen in the closing lines of this essay by Zunz, which sees the author express the hope that

"the illumination of what is best in Rabbinic literature may serve to overcome the prejudices presently held against it."

(56.)

Here, then, we have what may serve as a composite portrait of what the young Zunz was at the time he joined the Verein in 1819. He was just in the process of finishing his college career 'cum magna laude'; in the social life of the capital city he was recognized and honored as a belle-lettrist; he was respected within the Jewish community as a preacher and scholar; and, as seen above, he brought some very definite concepts to the Verein, which were to form the basic program the young group would engage in. More than that, he may have contributed a more mature and stable outlook on life than most of the group, brought about by his early privations and struggles. Whatever the reason, there is no doubt but that he was the focal point of the Verein; the redaction of the magazine, which was to be the Verein's chief occupation, was entrusted to him. Gans' brilliant presidency notwithstanding, we may regard Zunz as the real leader of the group. He, too, had been a member of the "science circle" of 1816 whose annals we have examined; and much of his general make-up was similar to that of the other members; so that we see in the Verein a close-knit, homogeneous group, with common attitudes. Nevertheless, each member had his individual contribution to make; and Zunz' contribution, more than anything else, was the love and passion he brought to the field of Juedische Wissenschaft, a love that was to survive the breakdown of the Verein.

His membership in the Verein was testimony to his conviction that true science had to be based on action; he differed from Gans primarily in seeing himself and the group under the ultimate auspices of religion. Gans, as we have seen, was an a-religious type; Zunz, on the other hand, was a rabbi. He had attempted to obtain a pulpit immediately before joining the Verein; and he clarified his position in regard to the Verein during their association in sermons such as the one he preached in 1823, from which we quote:

"(the young, estranged generation has to come to feel its inner relationship to Judaism once again. A true dignity

of the people must be recaptured, together with the realization)

"That this dignity is conditioned through the human dignity of the individual, of each person; only then is it revealed. Wherever a nation becomes obliterated, it is the end result of each individual within it having been previously obliterated through poverty of and action, of energy and the feeling of community spirit."

(57)

The concept of the individual seen here is part of Enlightenment thought; and the whole program of the Verein, though definitely placed upon the Hegelian philosophy influencing Gans and the others, also shares the Enlightenment's hopes of educating the people in the hope of thus ameliorating long standing injustices. We have observed this approach before, in Zunz' concept of history as Leidensgeschichte. But there is none of the detachment here which we might assume as the logical outcome of influences emanating from the Age of Reason. This is not a Wissenschaft calmly contemplating a far-off group (far-off in terms of personal attachment) as the Aztecs or the Chinese; undoubtedly insights and understanding of life itself could be won in that manner -- but Zunz was concerned with his own background. "Tua res agitur" was almost the slogan of the group, and all their scientific endeavors were oriented in accordance with it. It was, then, 'unsere Wissenschaft' to them, a matter of personal commitment; and the then current concepts of romanticism are visible in this approach to the history of their people.

This two-fold approach is particularly important for the understanding of Zunz' Juedische Wissenschaft as it develops within and beyond the Verein; and we see it the particular creation of the outside environment. First, there is the Wissenschaft used as a curative against the outside forces of antisemitism: knowledge conquering evil. This rises directly out of the persecutions against the Jews, the Hep-Hep movement which was one of the direct causes for the founding of the Verein, the disillusionment of seeing their hard won freedoms once again becoming ephemeral stirring them to action.

Second, there is what Max Wiener calls

"the biological sense of the Wissenschaft des Judentums". (58)

This implies Juedische Wissenschaft used as curative against the sickness of the Jewish soul which at that time was gnawing at its vitals. They were the disoriented group, as we have seen: their roots were in the European culture, and their Judaism was a vulnerable spot within them which they themselves did not understand, which they either had to understand and bring into the general framework of their European background, or, failing that, which they had to abandon. The failure of the Verein brought many of them to the second alternative; we see this most clearly in Gans' case. But in Zunz there was the passionate love for Judaism which enabled him to negate the whole outside environment continue in the task which the Verein had set for itself. In the final analysis, it was the second aspect of their Juedische Wissenschaft which was to reach out beyond the Verein and was to envelop Jewry: reason and knowledge, its first function, proved ineffective against pre-judice; but in turning the bright~~er~~ light of understanding upon much which had been dark and obscured in the Jewish past, it enabled the Jewish soul to understand itself and gave it pride in its heritage enabling it to face the future with joy and confidence.

What were Zunz' active contributions to the Verein itself? As we have brought out previously, his chief contributions to the group were his own personality, helping to inspire the group, and his scholarly attainments. Also, (59) he and Gans did a great deal of the correspondence associated with the Verein. Most important, there was the editing of the Zeitschrift and his articles. These will be analysed in the chapter concerned with the Zeitschrift; but even a cursory examination shows that Zunz' contributions must be ranked higher than anything else in the periodical, and that his writings on Rashi, his statistical studies of Judaism, and his work on Spain were important to the development of the Wissenschaft des Judentums.

The Verein failed. Its members abandoned the struggle, and but for Zunz, these early beginnings of Jewish Science would have produced no permanent results. In the summer of 1824 Zunz his famous letter to his friend Wohlwill, a former member of the Verein, in which bitter despair is coupled with the determination to continue his work:

"The Judaism which we desired to reconstruct has been torn apart. Many a sunset will fade away over this our people, finding it as it is today: torn by dissention, flowing over into the Christian religion giving it a port in need; a people without position or principle....
'This was deception'. The only permanent thing rising out of this Mabul (flood) is the Wissenschaft des Judentums. It lives, even if no one lifts a finger for it for centuries ... I must confess that next to the surrender to God's judgment, my true comfort and stronghold is the occupation with this Wissenschaft. The storm, and those experiences which could tear me apart internally shall have no influence upon me. I have done what I have considered to be my duty. Since I have seen that I have been preaching in the wilderness, I have ceased my sermons; but this does not mean that I will be faithless to the contents of my words ... nothing remains for our members, but to remain true to themselves, to work within their limited circles, and to leave the rest to God."

(60)

Zunz followed the dictates of his conscience. Juedische Wissenschaft from this time forth became his principal occupation, limited only by the economic problems constantly besetting him; and in works without number he made lasting contributions to this science. Yet, as in the case of Gans, the failure of the Verein determined the course of his life. Gans, seeing his hopes for the Verein shatter at what Zunz called 'the callousness of the parnassim', followed the dictates of his Hegelian philosophy, and became a full member in the Christian state. Zunz shared some of his Hegelianism in science as the only reality; but his love for Judaism drew him irresistably towards Juedische Wissenschaft. Therefore the failure of the Verein only meant the final break with the Jewish community within certain definite spheres; but he continued as a teacher and educator within the Jewish fold, and, indeed,

at different times longed for various jobs that would enable him to carry on his work within the group itself. But his social life became embittered to him, and more and more he withdrew into himself and into his work. The charming and brilliant college student became a misanthrope, constantly at war with the Jewish group. He saw its many faults and was unsparing in his criticisms. And the group was unwilling to listen to him. The parnassim, in particular, were horrified; this man, in a time of unparalleled economic prosperity (for them) was sounding the knell of doom for the Jewish group! Is it any wonder that they did not try to understand him?

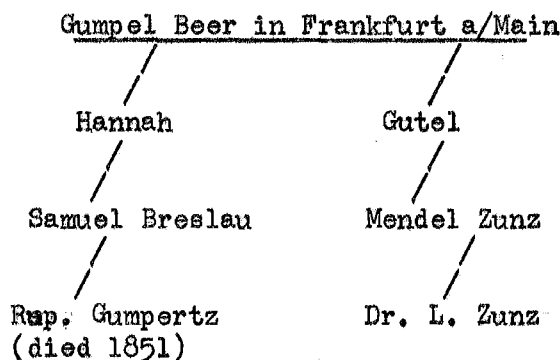
The failure of the intellectual group within his society is harder to understand; but they, too, paid scant attention to a man who must be considered to have occupied a top rank within a society rich with individual brilliance. But then, this was an era which specialized in misunderstanding its men of genius. Zunz' own personality, becoming more bitter with the passing years, undoubtedly contributed to this misunderstanding; and it is a fact that his present influence upon the men who have helped develop Juedische Wissenschaft is much less than what it could and should have been. Also, in fairness to the Jewish community of Berlin, it must be pointed out that though his bitterness against the parnassim may have been justified, there was another side to the picture. The parnassim disliked Zunz; they had rejected him and did not understand what he was trying to say. But the tradition of 'maintaining the scholar' is old and well established in our midst; and the Berlin community followed it in the case of Zunz. His position given him as teacher in the girl's school of the Jewish community made his last days secure, and enabled him to continue in his study. True, this was not the sort of food Zunz wanted; he starved for recognition and honors; but according to its own lights, the Berlin community acted in an honorable manner in the case of Leopold Zunz.

The pessimism of the Verein was not its unique peculiarity. Rather, it was an outgrowth of the Jewish Zeitgeist of this age of pessimism. For wherever a Jew looked for hope, he only found disappointment and failure; there were the liberal cities of the Rhine-land -- a hope killed by the Hep-Hep uprisings and persecution against the Jews. There was Reform -- failing because of its poor leadership and the present inadequacy of its answer to their problem. There was even the hope that the government would sponsor Jewish studies, nurtured by the endeavors of men like Wilhelm von Humboldt; it too failed. Finally, Zunz and his group turned towards the Verein as a last attempt to find a place for Judaism within their lives; and the Verein failed. And here where we see Zunz' unique position towards the Verein in the clearest manner, and where we note his individual contribution. Gans and Heine took the step, entirely logical in terms of their environment and their thought processes, of converting, following the steps of thousands of their contemporaries. Zunz was the exception! And in going against his era, against his own beliefs that shared the pessimism of his time, he exhibited what we can only call the height of fortitude, what we have to recognize as a strong and abiding love, surpassing all others. This love for Judaism is part of the general configuration of the Verein; but in Zunz it receives its finest and purest expression. Heine's love is more the volatile sentimentalism of the romantic personality in search of his home; and in the others it does not appear with the stark intensity which characterized Zunz' emotion.

Here then, in the life of Zunz, we see what are perhaps the finest aspects of the Verein, speaking to us out of the past, drawing us into rapport with this segment of our history; and that, of course, entirely agrees with the concept of the Wissenschaft des Judentums, giving the Jewish people roots within their past; giving us hope for coming days.

Notes for Chapter Three: Leopold Zunz.

1. Heine, H. Gesammelte Werke. (Fritz Strich edition of 1925, Munich); vol. 8, p. 421.
2. Zunz, Leopold Etwas ueber rabbinische Literatur, 1818 (in, Gesammelte Schriften, 1885, pp. 1-31).
3. Kaufmann, David Leopold Zunz und seine Familie, in Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums (MGWJ), vol. 11, 38. Jahrgang, p. 5.
4. Zunz, L. "Das Buch Zunz"; quoted by Kaufmann, *ibid.*, p. 6, has this notation:



5. Brann, M. Dr. "Leopold Zunz und seine Frankfurter Ahnen", MGWJ, *op.cit.*, pp. 19-26, appendix (chronological table).
6. Kaufmann, David "Leopold Zunz" in Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, vol. 43, pp. 490-501. This is the standard reference study on Zunz's life.
7. Schechter, Solomon Studies in Judaism, vol. III, Philadelphia 1945; "Leopold Zunz", pp. 84-117; this quote is from page 85.
8. Kaufmann, David in ADB, *op.cit.*, p. 491.
9. Schechter, S., *ibid.*, p. 85.
10. Kaufmann, David, in ADB, *op. cit.*, p. 491.
11. Schechter, S., *ibid.*, p. 280; note lists these additional sources on L. Zunz' childhood:
Jost, Vor einem halben Jahrhundert, Pascheles, Sippurim II, p. 141ff.*
Zunz, Samuel Meyer Ehrenberg, Inspector der Samson'schen Freischule zu Wolfsbüttel, Brunswick, 1854.
Rabinowitz Yom Tob Lipmann Zunz (Hebrew biography), 1899.*
*sources used in this work.
12. Kaufmann, D., in ADB, *ibid.*, p. 492.
13. Geiger, Ludwig "Zunz Tätigkeit für Reform (1817-1823)", in Liberales Judentum, 1917-18, Jrg. 9, Nos. 11 and 12, pp. 113-120.
14. Geiger, L. *ibid.*, p. 115.

15. Elbogen, Ismar "Leopold Zunz zum Gedächtnis", in 50.ter Bericht der Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Berlin 1936, pp.14-32;p.18.
16. Geiger, L. *ibid.*, pp. 116-117. Here Zunz, in a letter to Ehrenberg, reports on his activities for Reform, particularly concerning his journey to Leipzig on behalf of the Reform group, and the effect he feels his services to have had. Throughout the letter, one senses his self-identification with Reform.
17. from a letter by Zunz collected in L. Geiger's Zunz im Verkehr mit Behörden und Hochgestellten; quoted in M. Wiener's Jüdische Religion im Zeitalter der Emancipation, Berlin 1933, p. 180.
18. Geiger, L., "Zunz' Tätigkeit..." *ibid.*, p. 117
19. Kaufmann, David, in ADB, *ibid.*, p. 493.
20. Geiger, L., *ibid.*, p. 118.
21. Elbogen, Ismar *op. cit.*, p. 19.
22. Maybaum, Sigmund "Aus dem Leben von Leopold Zunz" in 12.ter Bericht über die LWJ in Berlin; Berlin 1894, pp. 1-63. This is primarily a selection of documents relating to Zunz' endeavors concerning the Jewish community.
23. Kayserling, M. Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner, Berlin, 1870, vol. 1, pp. 21-47. Besides containing an evaluation of Zunz as a preacher, this work contains selections from Zunz' sermons.
24. Geiger, L. "Aus Zunz' Nachlass", ZGJD, vol. V., 1892, pp.223-268.
25. Eckermann, J.P. Gespräche mit Goethe, ed. O.Harnack, II, p. 61. quoted by Wallach, Luitpold in "The Scientific and Philosophical Background of Zunz' Science of Judaism", in Historia Judaica, vol. IV, no. 1; New York 1942;p.5.
26. Geiger, L. *ibid.*, p. 225.
27. Bamberger, Fritz "Zunz' conception of history" in American Academy for Jewish Research 1941, vol. 11, pp. 1-27; p. 3.
28. (Zunz, L.) Das Buch Zunz, edited by F. Bamberger, Soncino Gesellschaft 1931; quoted by Bamberger in "Zunz' conception..", *ibid.*, p. 4.
29. *ibid.*, p. 4.
30. "Darstellung der Altertumswissenschaft" (1807) in Museum der Altertumswissenschaft edited by Wolf and Buttmann, I, 126 ff., 133 ff., quoted by Bamberger, *ibid.*, p. 4.
31. Savigny, quoted by Wallach, "The Scientific...", *op.cit.*, p. 11.
32. Boeckh Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener, Berlin, 1817, p. 4; quoted by Wallach, *ibid.*, p. 11.
33. Bamberger, F. "Zunz' conception..." *op. cit.*, p. 3.

34. Wallach, L. "Ueber L. Zunz als Historiker", ZGJD 5, 1934, pp. 247-253.
35. Wallach, L. L. Zunz und die Grundlegung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, Frankfurt, 1938, p. 19.
36. Wallach, L. "The Scientific..." op. cit., p. 11.
37. Wallach, L. L. Zunz und die Grundlegung..., op. cit., p. 19. (It must also be clearly realized that Zunz' concept of Leidensgeschichte had universal application for him; the Jewish group may suffer more, but its sufferings are not unique.)
38. Bamberger, F. "Zunz' conception..." op. cit., p. 13 ff.
39. Wallach, L. L. Zunz und die Grundlegung... op. cit., p. 12.
40. Wallach, L. in ZGJD 5; op. cit., p. 252.
41. Cohen, Hermann; remark to Franz Rosenzweig reported in Rosenzweig's introduction to Cohen's Juedische Schriften, ed. B. Strauss, Berlin 1924, p. 332.
42. Baer, F. Ikkarim b'chakirat toldot Jisrael, Jerusalem 1931, p. 6 ff. quoted by Wiener, M. Juedische Religion ..., op. cit., p. 179, note 179.
43. Kaufmann, D. ADB, op. cit., p. 492.
44. Zunz, L. Etwas über rabbinische Literatur, op. cit., pp. 1-31.
45. *ibid.*, p. 3.
46. *ibid.*, p. 5.
47. *ibid.*, p. 5, note 1 (italics in quotation are by Zunz.)
48. *ibid.*, p. 7.
49. *ibid.*, p. 9.
50. *ibid.*, p. 12, note 1 (extending from pp. 12-14.)
51. *ibid.*, p. 8, footnote 3.
52. *ibid.*, p. 10.
53. Wallach, L. "The Scientific...", *ibid.*, p. 8.
54. Zunz, *ibid.*, pp. 7-23.
55. Wallach, L. "The Scientific...", *ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
56. Zunz, *ibid.*, p. 31.
57. Wallach, L. Grundlegung ..., op. cit., p. 12, note 8; quoting from Zunz, L. Predigten, Berlin 1823, pp. 106 ff.

58. Wiener, Max Juedische Religion ..., op. cit., p. 176.
59. see chapter two of this thesis, final note (p. 51), for an example of correspondence handled for the Verein by Zunz and Gans.
- 60/ Scheinhaus, L. Leopold Zunz, ein Lebensbild, Berlin, 1920, p. 10, quoting from Zunz's letter to his friend Wohlwill.

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- Wiener, Max "The Ideology of the Founders of Jewish Scientific Research", in YIVO Annual, Vol. V., New York 1950.

General histories of the Jews, including Jost, Graetz, Dubnow, and Lowenthal.
 General histories of the period, including Dilthey, Troeltsch, Randall, etc.

various encyclopaedias.

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end of chapter three.

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Chapter Four: Heinrich Heine.

Brich aus in lauten Klagen,
Du düstres Martyrerlied,
Das ich so lang getragen
Im flammenstillen Gemüth!

Es dringt in alle Ohren,
Und durch die Ohren ins Herz;
Ich habe gewaltig beschworen
Den tausendjährigen Schmerz.

Es weinen die Grossen und Kleinen,
Sogar die kalten Herrn,
Die Frauen und Blumen weinen,
Es weinen am Himmel die Stern'!

Und alle die Thränen fliessen
Nach Süden, im stillen Verein,
Sie fliessen und ergiessen
Sich all in den Jordan hinein.

- H. Heine (intended as preface
to "The Rabbi of Bacherach").

CARLYLE'S THEORY OF HISTORY STILL HAS ITS DEVOTEES, and there are many people today who unqualifiedly believe history to be shaped by humanities 'men of genius'. The fact that the theory itself is untenable has not discouraged them; for hero-worship, after all, is something irrational. And yet this type of worship defeats itself; by tearing its object away from the social and economic conditions which produced it, its dimensions are reduced; by denying the fact that a man speaks for a whole era, that the various trends and developments of his time are revealed in him the worshipper loses all perspective: placing his hero outside the realm of history and the development of humanity, this type of worshipper becomes a votive slave within a cold and empty marble hall.

This chapter will occupy itself with the life of a man of genius. But it is to be a biography in the Diltheyian sense: one which sees its subject as the end-product of a long line of development, and sees the spirit of the times pulsing in each incident of a man's life. Thus, we can take this remark from Selma Stern's

study of the Court Jew

"if there had been no Juspa von Geldern, there would have been no Heinrich Heine"

(1

and, understanding it in the context of Selma Stern's study, can then turn to Heine's life with an awareness of a backdrop which sees Ghetto foundations shattered as his co-religionists assume a new position in economic life, and an outside world more receptive - and more able - to be absorbed by the new Jew.

Heine was the child of his age; at times, a very unhappy child. In examining his relation to the Verein, we come to see the Romantic influence of his times; and in the agony of his personal strivings we may gain a clearer insight into the spirit of the age than those which our previous investigations have procured for us. Indeed, one Heine scholar has this to say:

"Heine ... had a collaborator who was also a merciless slave-driver. This was the spirit of the age he lived in, what he himself called 'The Idea'. 'No, it is not we who seize upon an Idea; the Idea seizes us, and enslaves us, and whips us into the arena, so that we are forced to fight for it, like gladiators so old.'"

(2

In taking Heine into consideration, then, we are not concerned in joining the large group of Jewish writers who unfortunately deem it their duty to claim Heine as a Jewish contribution to humanity on which interest has now come due. Rather, we hope to understand his age, and the configuration that was the Verein, by studying certain incidents in his life, examining some of his writings, and viewing the thus resulting totality in light of what we know about the age and its developments.

To study Heine's life as we have done in the case of Zunz and Gans, would lead us to far afield in this case; also, it is unnecessary in that there are any number of biographical works to which we can refer (something that was not possible in the case of Zunz and Gans). Therefore, we will confine ourselves

to Heine's "Berlin Period". However, before entering into this aspect of our study, there are some general remarks on Heinrich Heine to be made, in which differences of interpretation concerning Heine and his relation to the Jewish group must be stated.

"Heinrich Heine is the most translated and the most traduced figure in German literature. More has been written about him than on Goethe..."

(3)

is the statement of an eminent scholar; and, in a sense, the difficulties we find confronting us in our study are implicit in the above statement. In effect, it tells us that the study of Heine has rarely been approached with dispassionateness, and that a personal involvement of the critic has generally taken place. Partially, this may have been because Heine presented so many facets to both his admirers and his critics: as a radical and militant liberal he was repugnant to established interest groups; as a Jew, he was the target of the professional Jew-baiters; as a 'convert', he was subject to the attacks of certain types of fellow Jews; among his own group he was either acclaimed as an asset to the Jews because of his genius, or regarded as more of a liability holding strange and perhaps unsavory views on subjects such as politics and women. And in trying to explain the strange phenomena that was the totality of Heinrich Heine, many of his critics find themselves placed into the position where they have to emphasize those elements of Heine their own emotional involvement has underlined, and ignore other aspects of more importance. A question of pure scholarship, such as "Was Heine's poetry more influenced by his German or his Jewish background?" then becomes a bitterly fought battle in which each writer seeks to substantiate his own emotional position. For example; the notorious propagandist Treitschke dislikes Heine the Jew, and Heine the Jewish writer. This dislike is confronted by a large selection of poetry and inspired writings that cannot be completely relegated

to the realm of 'second-class writing' or that of imitation rather than creation. We therefore find Treitschke resolving his dilemma in this manner:

"...Heine shows himself, where his power clearly reveals itself, to be a true son of the Rhineland.."

(4)

A factor of some validity in Heine's makeup is here used to bolster a false position, and the total picture becomes blurred. Yet it is also wrong, as some writers have done, to see Heine's genius emanating solely from his Jewish background, and to eliminate all environmental factors. Looking into his antecedents, we must bring this out clearly:

Heine was a Rhinelander, reared in the city of Düsseldorf. As such, he was the recipient of an approach to life in which gayety, and a laughing unconcern, were a definite part of the outside environment influencing him. And perhaps it is a glimpse of the Rhinelander that we catch when we observe his entrance into a Prussian Berlin, as reconstructed in Ludwig Marcuse's really excellent biography:

"The young romanticist hated the

'long uniform rows of houses, the long wide streets, that are all built straight and generally according to the fancy of some individual, so that there is no indication of what the people as a whole think.'

The poetic Rhinelander who had learned to seek the fullness of life in the richness of history, the beauty of life in its individual variety, now stood before the humdrum dwellings of Progress, and complained that the houses

'Yawn at one another so tediously. Many doses of poetry must be taken if one is to see anything in Berlin besides lifeless houses and people. It is difficult to have visions here.'

Berlin .. is the historical memorial of the spirit of that strange dull hero, who had with true German thoroughness cultivated the exquisite lack of taste and the vigorous intellectual liberty, the shallowness and the efficiency of his time.'

Heine, the romantic, resisted to the utmost the influence of the bald, calculating ghost (Frederick the Great) who manifested himself here in monumental fashion."

(5)

a literary comparison of the carnival songs of the Rhineland and Heine's poetry might very well bring out the diverse ways in which this spirit

affected Heine's writings; in particular, Heine's trick of having the last line completely overwhelm everything that went before it seems to be a direct parallel to these topical songs. ⁽⁶⁾ Perhaps the fairest evaluation of this aspect of Heine is found in a recent Heine anthology by Stössinger, in which he says:

"Also as a Jew Heine is a Rhinelander. He is not the same type of Rhinelander as the German, but he is also not the same type of Jew as the non-rhenish Jew."

(7)

As we have brought out before, the above aspect of Heine is often neglected. Yet recognition of it does not necessarily negate the Jewish heritage and tradition that certainly influenced the young Heine. We have here in mind, specifically, Heine's ⁽⁸⁾ ancestors, as outlined in David Kaufmann's work. The young boys phantasies must certainly have been inflamed by the adventures and colorful incidents in the lives of his ancestors, and a strong sense of pride and family loyalty grew out of what we might call his internal environment. And there are other influences which were at work on the boy: France was not far away, and certainly exercised some influence upon him. The revolution, the emancipation of the Jews in France, Napoleon -- all these are things which should be evaluated in any total appraisal of Heine.

Therex complexity of Heinrich Heine is such that we can only indicate these various aspects, recognizing the problems they pose. Also, as a final aside, we might indicate one other peculiarity in this framework that should not be overlooked: Heine was a genius. Now, the psychology of genius has not ceased being a challenge and a problem to its investigators. Yet from what we have seen in the lives of these strange men (viz., Nietzsche, von Kleist in the framework of Heine's environment), an element of suffering is needed to bring out their highest capabilities. Heine's success came too early, and there were no real set-backs to challenge his triumphant belief in himself --

until the days of the Mattress Oave. Is it really accidental that his greatest writings were a product of that period? Examining the personality of Heinrich Heine, Miss Butler writes in this vein:

"But was Heine really as great as he believed himself to be; was he one of the gods, as he sometimes claimed; an immortal poet ...? ... If Heine had died in 1848, one might have hesitated to answer these questions with a robust affirmative. 'Immortal' is a big word to use. But that his mind, used and abused for mundane purposes, was yet the mind of a great poet .. is proved by Romancero, 1851, some prose passages and the posthumous poems. More than that .. during the eight years of his dissolution his heroism shone out clearly. ... For eight years time stood still whilst Heine indulged in beautiful and sinister visions."

(9)

Perhaps this gives us some indication concerning the complex totality that was Heine, and of which the Verein was but one small aspect; but it was ~~not~~ not an unimportant one. Understanding his relationship to the Verein, we gain some insight into the springtime of his genius, and later phases of his life become understandable to us. For example, his "Hebräische Melodien" carry Zunz' concept of Hebrew literature, first enunciated in the Zeitschrift of the Verein, into the field of poetry; and the personal and intellectual relationships between Heine and other members of the Verein weaves a pattern for us in which we can finally see the Verein as it really was.

Heine came to Berlin in spring, 1821, as a young man of about
(10)
twenty-three. As we have already noted, the city itself did not make too favorable an impression upon him; and contemporary records show that the sober officials of the city probably received a similar impression of Heine. Varnhagen von Ense writes:

"When Heine came to Berlin from Göttingen, he had to apply for a permit of residence from Staatsrat Schultz (sic? Schulze?), as Heine was a student. The very strict gentleman

inquired as to his intentions, admonishing him that he had already made himself suspicious because of his opinions. Heine brashly answered: 'Good Lord! I have exactly the same opinions as the government itself; no opinions at all!'"

(11

Berlin, as we have seen in the chapter on Zunz, was a world divided into two parts: one part was the world of the theater; and the intendent-general of the royal theaters, Spontini, rivalled the king in importance. As a counterpart to this world was the literary life of the city, the newspapers of the day who reported on the minutiae of daily life; and here Gubitz's Der Gesellschafter occupied the most respected place on Berlin's intellectual horizon. Some of Heine's first poetry was published in its pages.

(12

Heine's "Briefe aus Berlin" show us this life within the capital city with all its foibles and trivial controversies; out of them also rises a picture of romanticism, in the vehicle of Weber's Freischütz making its successful entrance into the life of Berlin. The young Heine, it must not be forgotten, was a romanticist, completely influenced by the trends we have delineated in our first section. At the university of Bonn he had drunk deeply of the font of romanticism. Schlegel taught him "The History of the German Language"; Arndt's lectures on Tacitus' Germania looked for those good honest virtues of Germany, finding Arminius much more palatable than contemporary German leaders. The Nibelungen Lied was at the center of their discussions; and most important, Schlegel was interested in young Heine, leading him down the road of romanticism, in search of 'Volkstümlichkeit'. Heine's first essay on the Romantic school clearly reveals the influence of Schlegel and his group; and the influence exercised upon him by this group has been shown clearly in too many studies to need any further substantiation. Among the motivations leading him into the Verein is the clearly discernable yearning to find a Jewish past as rich and as rewarding as Germany's romantic group was then discovering for itself in the middle

ages. And there were forces in Berlin which were to encourage his romanticism.

The first such force was the influence exercised upon Heine by Rahel von Varnhagen and the circle around her. The literary salon was at the height of its development then, and in Rahel's salon were concentrated the great talents of the time: men like Alexander von Humboldt, the brothers Schlegel, Chamisso, Fouque, Hegel, and many others. The phenomena of the literary salon in terms of the Jewish group has been (13) evaluated by men like Solomon Liptzin and others. In the scope of our paper, it is enough if we see it as the logical outgrowth of the cultural and social situation: it was an intellectual stock exchange with a seat for every representative of an intellectual trend of the times, having a somewhat objective atmosphere all its own. For its hostesses, women like Rahel Levin (Varnhagen) and Henriette Herz, were newcomers to the scene, new to this stirring intellectual world which appeared a paradise to them. The angels of the Lord had lowered their flaming swords, and Rahel and Henriette eagerly rushed back into a Garden of Eden that had been denied their ancestors, and tasted fruits from the tree of knowledge strangely unlike the fare that had until now been the staple within the Jewish home. In their eagerness they brought a freshness and new awareness, a deep appreciation growing out of their remarkably gifted minds. Where could a sensitive poet find a better audience? And why write sonnets to a Thalia or a Polyhymnia if there were living daughters of Jupiter available, able to praise and to appreciate? Besides, Rahel was a really remarkable woman. Jean Paul, Friedrich Schlegel, Humboldt, Heinrich von Kleist, Prince Louis Ferdinand -- all of them idolized her; and (perhaps the final proof of greatness) the Rahel cult was not restricted to men. Ellen Key, writing in 1907,

considered her one of the great women of history, rivalling an Elizabeth Barrett. Is it any wonder that the young Heine idolized her? Another woman, Friedrike Robert inspired Heine; but Rahel Levin taught and directed him. Together, they shared the anguish of the 1819 riots. Actually, these riots did not affect Berlin Jewry. They, the enlightened group, were a necessary adjunct to the economy of the state, and the fashionableness of the Jewish salons was then at its absolute height; but the highly sensitive people of this group was still very much aware of what was happening, and was greatly grieved. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Thus Rahel and Heinrich Heine had identical problems to face, and often gave similar answers. At the time that Heine met her, she was a mature woman of about fifty years; and her charm was as strong as ever. In a sense, she became an educator to him; and her husband, Varnhagen von Ense, became a valued protector to Heine. Their friendship to Heine was to endure despite some occasions in which it was sorely tested; certainly, it was one of the most valuable acquisitions ~~xx~~ Heine made during this stay in Berlin.

We have mentioned Rahel's role as an educator to Heine; and, remembering the strong impetus which the Goethe cult received in her home, we must also point out that Rahel transmitted some of her enthusiasm to Heinrich Heine. But Goethe must also be considered as an independent influence; for there is no poet, no creative writer, no thinker of ~~xxxxx~~ any consequence during this period who was not influenced in some way by this greatest of all German writers. In his own way, he reigned as emperor over the German intellectual world; and Heine, as any other subject of Wolfgang von Goethe, paid him due homage when he first entered into the world of literature. When he published his first book of poetry in Berlin, in 1821 (Gedichte von H. Heine), he sent them to Goethe with the following letter:

"I would have a hundred reasons to send Yr. Excellency my poems. I will name only one: I love you. I believe that this reason suffices. - My poetry, as I well know, is yet of little worth; only in scattered places might something be found out of which could be seen that which I once may be able to give. For a long time I was uncertain within myself as to the nature of poetry. People told me: ask Schlegel. Schlegel told me: read Goethe. This have I done honestly; and should I become something worthwhile, I shall know to whom I owe this.

I kiss the holy hand that has pointed the way towards the heavenly domain for me and for the whole German nation, and am

Your Excellency's

most obedient and humble

H. Heine

Cand. Juris"

Berlin, December 29, 1821

(15)

Heine hoped for recognition from Goethe. The poetry he knew to be good; had not both Varnhagen von Ense and Immermann praised it highly? And perhaps -- this was also the call of like calling to like. If so, it was not heeded by the old gentleman at Weimar; and Goethe never gives the poet the recognition he deserves. Heine's visit to Weimar, his criticisms of Goethe, are part of a later period of development within his life; and we cannot go into these details. What we must recognize at this stage of development is the all pervasive influence Goethe exercised upon Heine's environment and upon Heine himself: for the Goethe influence in German life and culture must be considered in any essay into the history of culture of this period.

The other strong influence upon Heine was his relationship with the Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden; and this now becomes our prime consideration. Something of the totality that was the Heine of that time may have emerged from our study: the volatile gayety of his childhood environment enabling him lightly to turn from one alternative to the other; the youthful exuberance of genius tasting the first fruits of success; the influence of Schlegel, coupled with the Hegelian philosophy then part of the

general atmosphere of Berlin, intensified in the salons of Rahel Levin and Elise von Hohenhausen; all these were basic elements of a personality that now discovered the field of Jewish science.

Why introduced Heine to the Verein, and what were his reasons for joining? In spite of Guddat's conjectures (16), there is enough circumstantial evidence to show that it was Gans, the president of the organization, rather than Markus, who first drew Heine's attention towards the group. The two frequently met in the home of Elise von Hohenhausen, whose salon, in a sense, was an adjunct of Rahels. (17) Also, Zunz makes the notation

"On August 4th, 1822, Gans advocated Heine as member of Verein. He is accepted."

(18)

It stands to reason that the sponsor of a new member was also its first link with the Verein and its program.

Why did Heine join the Verein? There are many reasons, but they are all based on the same foundation: the Verein was a configuration arising out of the historical needs of the times; its founders all shared the same ambiguous situation in society in which their Judaism was a troublesome element. Heine, no less than Gans or Zunz, had been bitterly disappointed in a society permitting such things as the 1819 pogrom. Even the relative security of Berlin could not protect him from occasional antisemitic attacks. When the young poets and authors met in the Weggener Weinstube for carousing, a primitive man like the poet Grabbe would occasionally vent his spleen upon the "little Jew-poet". (19) Little wonder that Heine could write a friend

"Everything which is German disgusts me; and unfortunately, you are a German ... As soon as I am recovered in health, I will leave Germany and go to Arabia .. for a pastoral life; I will live with camels who are not students .. will write Arabian verses ... and climb the sacred rock where Moynun yearned for Leila."

(20)

At other times, the more subtle social discrimination might stir up a bitter note in his heart; and a poem like "Donna Clara" (which some say refers to an incident in Heine's life)) reveals that the poet recognized this type of antisemitism too.

Heine was a man of changing moods; but the fact that he did not fit into the "Volksgemeinschaft" was never far below the conscious level of his understanding. Too many pamphlets had been written by men like Rûhs, Fries, and Co. for him to forget this; and there was release for him in the company of the men of the Verein; release and a feeling that this was home. Certainly Heine did not join the group for religious reasons. In his essay (21) Ueber Polen he compares Polish Jewry, despite the filth and degradation which he sees as its aspects, with German 'enlightened Jewry' and vastly prefers his Polish brethren, though he admits himself unable to emulate them. (The admiration filling him can partially be traced to the concepts of romanticism then dominant in his makeup). For the first time, the realization grows in him that instead of going back to the middle ages with his fellow Germans, he might find deeper roots in the history of his people. Therefore, the enunciation of Juedische Wissenschaft within the Verein struck a cord within the poet, and he could approach the scientific program of the Verein with real enthusiasm.

That was one of the reasons Heine joined the group; but it was not the only one. Primary still was the struggle which he and his Jewish contemporaries engaged in: the struggle to win full recognition within the outside world. (And we must, of course, recognize that element in Heine which places him into a state of constant revolt against the established hierarchies). For a long time the Jews had hoped to achieve this recognition by placing the Jewish world of which they still felt themselves a part on an equal level with the outside world. There was the political aspect of their struggle, encouraged

by the Enlightenment philosophy within the group: let us educate the outside group, let them see that we are just as they are, that the discriminatory laws, the discriminatory thoughts are grossly unfair. It was a position easy to take for the fashionable Jews of Berlin, for men like Bendavid and Friedlander, high on the economic ladder. And while their charity and goodness of heart stand beyond question, it must also be pointed out that their efforts to educate the Polish bachurim who wandered into the city are not free of self-interest: any such anomaly as these Polish youngsters was deemed by them as a reflection upon themselves, something that made acceptance of the Jewish group as similar to the German group more difficult. (For an example closer to home, we might examine the history of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, where similar motives were present at its inception.) To the young men of the Verein, it may also have been pleasant to cast themselves into the role of patrons of learning, and to teach students not much younger than they themselves were.

The Hegelian element within the group was similarly impressed with the importance of the educational aspects of the Verein. First of all, true science had to be creative; and furthermore, their philosophy demanded that Judaism be brought up to its highest level as soon as possible, so that it could melt and disappear into the framework of intellectual life. The pessimism of their times affected them as it affected Heine; and some of them saw the function of the Verein as that of the curator of a museum, collecting and gathering those minutiae of Jewish life which would soon disappear.

In effect, the Verein was the last stand of Judaism within the intellectual group. It attracted some of the finest minds among their group; and we must emphasize that Heine, as in few other places, here could feel himself surrounded by friends and by equals. It was a courageous group; and modern

scholars who dismiss its members as weak and vacillating, as cowards who meekly converted for reasons of fear or self-aggrandizement are simply ignorant of the time period. This was the time of mass conversions; thousands were leaving the Jewish group, living as they did under a system which gave rewards for this assimilation; and the rewards were of a kind primarily attracting the intellectuals and leaders of the group. The Parnass of a congregation, the Hamburg banker or merchant was not concerned with occupying a place in the intellectual life of Europe; but to a man like Gans, well enough supplied financially, it was agony and slow suicide to stand outside the universities and watch his intellectual inferiors strut around; and Heine, who would have liked to teach history at a German university, who desired economic security which an official position would give him, suffered the same tortures. They understood each other, these members of the Verein; and when Heine castigates Gans for converting, it is also a self-castigation.

Heine, who had only gained full recognition of his Jewish identity in Berlin, here joined the endeavors of his friends who were making a last ditch stand in defense of this identity, hoping to create a place within general culture where they could function as Jews and Europeans. To say, as certain historians do, that he took the matter of his baptism lightly, is to disregard the struggle in which his generation was engaged; he took baptism as a last, forced step. And certainly his association with the group left abiding traces, which we will examine in a moment. First, though, let us examine his actual contributions to the activities of the Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden, as seen in its minutes and contemporary documents:

Notations of Zunz on Heine's activities in the Verein:

On August 4th, 1822, Gans advocated Heine as member of the Verein. He is accepted.

H. is present for the first time at the meeting of September 29, 1822.

On the 7th and 17th of November he gives a report concerning a woman's association to be founded. He is requested to write a circular on this matter, but is ill during most of the winter of 1822-23, and the matter is left undone..

On the occasion of a proposal (February 23rd, 1823) that the Verein should work on a religious textbook for youth, Heine remarked that Judaism should in no way be treated in the manner of modern Protestantism.

Heine visits us frequently. My wife has dubbed him 'Marquis Posa'.

Heine led the protocol of the Verein meetings in the late summer and autumn of 1822. Several times he taught history in the school of the Verein (a course given three hours a week); as all members, he served without pay.

(22)

Heine had also offered to write an article for the Zeitschrift concerning his 'Judenschmerz'; but this project never materialized. The Wissenschaft des Judentums, which was the principal concern of the Verein, was not enriched by the contribution of a scholarly study by the historian Heinrich Heine. But the poet and novelist Heinrich Heine wrote a fragment of a novel, "The Rabbi of Bacherach", which was to be infinitely more valuable than many scholarly contributions of others; and the poet Heine, in his "Hebräische Melodien" and other poems scattered through his work, did as much to promulgate Zunz' theory of Jewish literature as Zunz himself. The very first article written by Zunz for the Zeitschrift, in which he extolled Spain in preference to Eastern Europe, served Heine as a guide and inspiration; and thus he came to draw golden portraits of men like Jehuda Ha-Levi and Gabirol, and made the Golden Age of Spain to live again within his German lyrics.

(23)

The Verein failed in 1823. According to W. Guddat, Heine's ties with the Verein were already at the breaking point; he had come to realize that their

program offered nothing to the common Jewish group; and his aesthetic sense rebelled against intermingling with the coarse, dirty, and repellent lower Jewish group which the Verein was trying to educate. Guddat's article concludes with the observation that the Verein would never have failed if it had had a strong and intelligent leader. Needless to say, this is a totally erroneous evaluation of Heine and the Verein. Genius and leadership was one thing which the Verein possessed in abundance; but the conditions of their times were too ^{against them} strong, and their failure was pre-determined. And Heine's ties with the Verein were anything but weak: the high intellectual, social and cultural niveau of this group had a strong appeal to him. And that he remained close to the program of the Verein appears clearly out of his correspondence with its members, particularly with Moses Moser. The correspondence of a historical figure is still one of the best sources of information to historians; and by reading some of Heine's letters we shall get a clearer idea as to his relationship towards the members of the Verein and towards Judaism:

A.

Extract from letter to I. Wohlwill, April 1, 1823.

"...I like him (Zunz) very much; and it is a bitter hurt to me to see how this wonderful man is so misunderstood because of his gruff, rejecting personality. I expect a great deal from his soon to be published sermons; certainly not delectation or gentle bandages for the soul--but something much better: a revivifying of strength. This is what we need in Israel. A few operateurs on corns (Friedlander & Co.) tried to cure the body of Israel from its incurable skin-disease through a bit of blood-letting, and their clumsiness .. will let Israel die through loss of blood.... We are too weak to wear a beard, to fast, to hate and to stand suffering because of our hate: that is the motto of reform. Some .. occupied only by the theater -- want to have a new set and new costumes to play their roles. Others .. want an evangelical little Christianity under a Jewish firm, and make themselves a Tallis out of the wool of the lamb .. and shorts made out of

Christian love. They then go into bankruptcy and the receivers call themselves: God, Christ, & Co. We are lucky that this house will not maintain itself for too long. The checks it has written out on philosophy come back marked "insufficient funds"; even now it is going into bankruptcy in Europe, though the few commission houses established by missionaries in Africa and Asia may maintain themselves for a little while

Excuse my bitterness; but the hurt of the rescinded edict has not hit you [the edict of 1812, which had given the Jews many civil rights, had just been rescinded; this made it impossible for Heine to become a professor at a German university unless he converted. ed.] Besides, I'm really not this serious. Certainly I don't have the strength to wear a beard, to let myself be called a 'kike', to fast, etc. I don't even have the strength to eat matzos properly. For you must know that I now live with a Jew, right opposite to Moser and Gans, eat matzos instead of bread, and break my teeth on them. But I console myself and think: after all, we're in Godes. Even the spiteful remarks against Friedlander are not meant so seriously ... I see him writing a letter now to Elise von der Recke, and on his face is clearly readable: "honored lady, I'm really not as unbearable as Professor Voigt says, for--- "

(24

Certainly we gain an insight here into the Heine who feels himself rejected from the outside world. But perhaps his most revealing letters were the ones he wrote to Moses Moser, whom he considered another Nathan the Wise. Moser was the chief link between Heine and the different members of the Verein, was someone from whom money could be borrowed when the poet was in pecuniary needs, and the one to whom the agony of Heine's soul was revealed when Heine felt in need of a confidant. When Heine left Berlin, his first stop was in Lueneburg, where his family lived. His first letter to Moser is dated from there:

B.

Extracts from Heine's letters to M. Moser:

Lueneburg, May 1823.

... really, you are the man in Israel who has the finest feelings! I am only passable good at expressing the beautiful others have experienced. Your emotions are heavy gold ingots, mine light paper money.... Does not the above allegory let you know that I am a Jewish poet? But why should I be abashed before you; we are among ourselves, and I like to speak in our nation's imagery. Once Gans-town has been built, and a happier generation benches lulaf on the Mississippi and chews mazzes, and a new Jewish literature blooms, the present commercial remarks

at the exchange will become parts of poetic language, and a poetic great-grandson of the little Marcus, in Tallis and Te-fillin, will sing before the whole Ganstown Kille

They sat at the banks of the Spree, and counted bills
of exchange;
Then came their enemies and spoke: give us checks drawn
on London --
For high is the rate.

... give my regards to Gans, Zunz and his wife, Lehman, Rubo,
Marcus, Schoeneber--but particularly to Hillman and his family.
Announce my safe arrival to M. Friedlander and his father.
Your friend, H. Heine.

(25)

The remarks made by Heine concerning 'Ganstown' refer to M.E. Noah's program in which the Verein at one time was most interested; a letter from the Verein to Noah is part of the notes to Chapter Two (see page 51).

In a later letter to Moser Heine writes concerning the Verein:

Lueneburg, June 18, 1823

... I feel greatly in need of expressing the great Judenschmerz (as Boerne calls it) in an article for the Zeitschrift; but this will come to pass only when my headaches improve. It is not very nice of our Lord that he plagues me now with these pains; one might even say that it is not politic of the old gentleman, since he knows that I want to do so much for him. Or has the old Baron of Sinai and Ruler Judea's also become enlightened, giving up his demands and his adherents for the sake of a few vague, cosmopolitan ideas? I am afraid the old gentleman has lost his head completely, and rightly le petit juif d'Amsterdam whispers in his ear: entre nous, Monsieur, vous n'existez pas. And We? Do We exist? For heaven's sake don't tell me once again that I am only an idea! For all I care you can all become ideas; just leave me alone. Just because you, the old Friedlander, and Gans have become ideas, you want to lead me astray also and become another one. Rubo I must praise; you could not bring him into such a position. Lehmann would like to be an idea but can't; and why should I care for the little Marcus' demonstration to me that I am an idea; his maid knows that better than he does... but enough of this superstitious nonsense

I will visit Cohn in Hamburg, and I expect from you that you write me a short letter concerning the intentions of the Verein, what I should do for it there, and whom I should visit, etc. If I can execute a definite commission for the Verein, based on the already discussed matters talked of in Berlin, I will be glad to do so Regards to Gans and Zunz.

(26)

This trip to Hamburg will be brought up in another connection, as it relates to the history of the Verein; here it serves to show Heine's willingness to

work for the Verein. Some of his reasons for this devotion to the Verein are expressed in the following letter, which gives a clear insight into his motivations regarding his association with the Vereins:

Ritzebüttel, August 23, 1823.

...but I will always be enthusiastic for the rights of the Jews and their civil emancipation; in the coming bad times, which cannot be avoided, the German mob will hear my voice resounding from the German Bierstuben to the palaces. But the born enemy for all positive religion will never become a champion for that religion .. now giving us this pain. Should it nevertheless happen, there are special reasons for it: emotional weakness, stubbornness, and the precaution of preserving an antidote. ... I love Gans as much as ever, and in the future will constantly reveal to you how dear he is to my heart, how highly I count his nobility, and how much I depend upon him....

(27)

In this correspondence with Moser the subject of baptism is also brought up by Heine. At this time, he writes:

Bueneburg, September 27, 1823.

... jurisprudence must come to sustain me. As you may imagine, baptism here comes up; no one of my family is opposed to it except I myself. And this "I" is a very stubborn sort of person. You can readily deduce from my ways of thinking that baptism means little to me, that even symbolically I do not attach any importance to it; nor would my baptism have meaning to others, considering the circumstances under which I would be accepting it. To me it might possibly have the significance that I could have more opportunity for fighting for the rights of my unfortunate tribal companions ...but to be baptized for Prussia!! ... We live in a sad era; rascals become as the best, and the best have to become rascals. I understand very well the words of the psalmist: "Lord God, give me my daily bread, lest I profane Thy name"....

(28)

About two months afterwards he writes Moser once again on this problem:

In damn Hamburg, December 14, 1823

... I don't know what to say. Gans preaches Christianity and seeks to convert the Jews, Cohn assures me. If he does this out of conviction he is a fool; if not--he is a villain. Of course, I will never cease to love Gans, but I assure you I would much rather, instead of above news, have heard that Gans had stolen some silver spoons.

That you, dearest Moser, think as Gans I cannot believe, even though Cohn assures me of it and insists he has heard it

from your own mouth. - I would regret it if my own baptism appears favorable in your sight. I assure you, if the stealing of silver spoons had been permitted, I would never have been converted. More on this when we can talk about it....

(29)

Generally, this is the letter cited whenever the facts of their apostasy are rehashed. But while it is true that at a much later time, when Heine wrote his necrology on Marcus (30) he did condemn Gans bitterly, there is no such condemnation here. Any condemnation at this point is directed as much against Heine himself as it is against Gans, and there certainly is no break of any sort between Heine, Gans, and the other members of the Verein. Much later we see Heine write Moser

Hamburg, the 23rd of the month Gans, 1826

...give my regards to our 'extraordinary friend' and tell him that I love him. And this comes from the deepest sincerity within my soul. He is still a dear picture to me, even though not a saintly one, doing marvels or to be adored. I often think of him, because I do not want to think of myself. Thus I thought this night: with what sort of face would Gans appear before Moses, should he suddenly appear on earth again? Moses, after all, was the greatest jurist of all times, since his law continues down the present....

(31)

There is a great deal more in the letters of Heine to Moser that is germane to our discussion; particularly those selections showing the relation of Heine's "Rabbi of Bacherach" to Zunz and the Verein. However, our space is limited; and there is an excellent edition of the Rabbi of Bacherach which (32) contains those excerpts of Heine's letters in an ~~English~~ English translation. In many ways, they complement the selections used in this study. Surveying these selections, we may now ask: What did the Verein mean to Heine, and what did Heine mean to the Verein?

What did the Verein mean to Heine? On the level of its activities we have already expressed the motivations drawing him towards it: he recognized this as an attempt of like minded contemporaries to solve the problem of their

Judaism; as such an attempt, it fulfilled identical needs experienced by himself; he was a full member in every sense of the term. Again, in the environment of Prussian Berlin, it gave him a place of refuge and security not unlike that provided by the home of Rahel Varnhagen. The Verein also served as an outlet for his young romanticism, replacing the middle ages with a Jewish past. Tieck might have his Genoveva; Heine had his 'lovely Sarah'. Then Heine found meaning in the political action of the Verein; and we may safely say, from what we know of the totality of Heine, that these strivings for more freedom for the Jews were but one aspect of a nature constantly at war with the pettiness and bigotry of a conservative government. The war of Heine against Prussian censorship, his journalistic campaigns and fights with reaction lie outside our sphere; but we cannot forget them in an evaluation of the man. However, the Verein had meaning for Heine over and beyond its actual activities: it helped him get a clearer view of his Judaism, and his relationship towards the Jewish people; it provided him with the tools and methods of Juedische Wissenschaft, guiding his literary talents into by-ways he would not have examined otherwise. The Verein also provided him with faithful friends who greatly enriched his life, as he enriched theirs. Salomon Heine, Rothschild, Rahel, the spectre of Simon van Geldern--all these and other factors must be taken into consideration for exhaustive study of Heinrich Heine as a Jew; but it is not amiss to point out that the key to this aspect of Heine's personality was the Verein itself. Max Brod⁽³³⁾ in his study of Heine places perhaps too much emphasis on Heine's Judaism as an all-determining factor of his life; the paradox of Heine's irrational character does not lend itself to any simple classification or solution. At the same time, Brod shares the common prejudice of dismissing the Verein as an 'assimilationist group'. The

one fact that has emerged clearly from our investigation was that the opposite is true: in a period of intense assimilation, the Verein represented the best elements within the group caught in this current, struggling to swim against it, losing their struggle because the current was altogether too strong.

What did Heine mean to the Verein? As personified in the Berlin group, it meant friendship with a poetic genius who had conquered Berlin, and whose abilities were recognized by them. But there was more meaning to their relationship than this; Heine really represented them in all their strivings and frustrations. Here was one of their group, rising as fast and as high as was possible in their environment. His genius was recognized by all, his charm and personality could conquer almost at will against whomever it was employed (though we can think of notable exceptions), his books were widely read--and still he was held back from the highest pinnacle of success by the mere fact that he was Jewish. The ultimate frustration of their environment was expressed in this: if Heine, with all these assets, could not surmount the prejudices of the time, what hope was there for them? Heine, in that sense, was a symbol to them; and perhaps the date of his conversion should be considered the actual end of the Verein and its hopes. The whole configuration of the Verein thus becomes intertwined with the different elements of Heine's personality; even its scientific strivings are present for us, as Heine's poetry, every once in a while, exhibits traces of Juedische Wissenschaft which the Verein fostered in him.

What special significance does Heine have to us in our study of the Verein? To put the answer in its simplest formulation, he helps us understand the Verein. If we had failed to take him into consideration, not only would we have missed a vital factor of the Verein itself, but it might very well have appeared to us as an obscure little group, far away from the

beaten path of history, of no general historical significance. There would have been less understanding, less rapport between us and the Verein: for Heine's life, transcending time and space, is a constantly contemporaneous event; and the Verein, seen through the prism of his life, assumes contemporaneity for us. It does not make us overrate the importance of this group in history; far from it. Only too often, studies of this nature lose any inherent value they may have had by exalting the object of their investigation to an undue degree; and we must always remember that the Verein, at its best, never exceeded fifty members. But in the final analysis, it is not the Verein but the age that we are interested in; particularly are we interested in the Jewish intellectuals of this time, facing a problem of reconciling their Judaism with the outside environment, a problem which was unique with them. Heine gives us here the necessary insight to understand the problems of this era. Again we turn to Dilthey's formulation of the function of biography in historical analysis, telling us that the understanding of the structure of the historical world is clearest seen

"in the life experience of an individual in the milieu from which it receives impressions and on which it reacts in turn."

(34)

Heine is to us what he was to the Verein: a symbol representing all of their aspirations. In his life and thought we see reflected the experiences and thoughts of his contemporaries, particularly when we are aware of the combination of social, economic, and intellectual forces that have gone into his makeup. We become aware of his greatness, and gain some understanding of his personality; but this is only accidental. Our prime purpose, through the past three chapters, has been to understand the configuration of the Verein. And here the plastic form of the biography has helped us see its different aspects and intrinsic motives; incidentally, by this method we may

have advanced closer towards the understanding of the group than earlier chroniclers who saw this group as a onesided, Hegelian organization in which all members were painted with the same grey uniformity.

In Heine, we saw genius and greatness. And we also saw one aspect of his life, which helps us explain the rest. Perhaps we felt kinship towards this aspect of his soul revealed to us: the striving, searching, yearning attachment to Judaism, the continuing of the romantic search that found solution in either camps impossible, but had to keep moving forward under the aspect of eternity. Thus, we have recognized the Verein in Heine; and, perhaps as an additional reward~~k~~, we recognize Heine in the Verein

Aber ~~ihn~~ hab' ich erkannt'

Ich erkannt' ihn an der bleichen
Und gedankenstolzen Stirne,
An den Augen ~~muesser~~ Starrheit -
Sahn mich an so schmerzlich forschend -

Doch zumeist erkannt' cih ihn
An dem raethselhaften Laecheln
Jener schoen gereimten Lippen
Die man nur bei Dichtern findet.

- Heine on Jehuda Ha-Levy.

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Notes for Chapter Four: Heinrich Heine.

1. Selma Stern, The Court Jew, Philadelphia 1951, p. xv.
2. Butler, E.M. The Tyranny of Greece over Germany, Cambridge England, 1935, p. 245.
3. Slochauer, Harry "Attitudes towards Heine in German Literary Criticism", Jewish Social Studies, 3, 1941; pp.355-374. p. 357.
4. Jungmann, M. Heinrich Heine, ein Nationaljude, Berlin, 1896, p. 7, quoting H. Treitschke.
5. Marcuse, H. Heine: A Life between Love and Hate, New York 1933, pp. 78-79.
6. The following observations are partially the result of conversations with Dr. Leo Baeck, who is one of that small group of Jewish scholars to rightly emphasize the non-Jewish elements of Heine together with his Jewish background. In contrast to this is the most recent book on the subject, by Rabbi Israel Tabak of Baltimore: Judaic Lore in Heine: The Heritage of a Poet, Baltimore 1948. Rabbi Tabak is a careful scholar, better acquainted to deal with the 'Judaic lore' in Heine than most of his predecessors; much of what he contributes to Heine scholarship is sound and of value. Unfortunately, the book is marred by its bias and its lack of historical perspective in spots; and often subjective analysis replaces objective judgment. Hugo Bieber's review of Tabak, in vol. 11 of Jewish Social Studies, points out some mistakes in facts; but its valuable bibliography, and the fact that a great deal of Heine-research on this aspect of his life has been collected here into one easily available volume, make Tabak's book a worthwhile study. Tabak, in contrast to Baeck, minimizes Heine's Rhenish background; in this, as in other points of interpretation, the evidence is against him.
7. Stössinger, J.F. (Heinrich Heine) Mein Wertvollstes Vermächtnis, Zurich, 1950, p. xv. This is an anthology of Heine which attempts to see the major parts of his personality as represented through his writings, and does a brilliant job in bringing out the major elements of Heine. Quite possibly, this work will become a standard text for future investigations.
8. Kaufmann, David Aus Heinrich Heine's Ahnensaal, Breslau, 1896.
9. Butler, E.M. op. cit., p. 249.
10. The dispute on Heine's birthdate has almost ceased; and most scholars now accept the 1797 date as authoritative. Heine's short autobiographical notice, in his letter to Rassmann, editor of the Rhenish Almanach, written on October 20, 1821, has this to say:
"H. Heine, 24 years old, born in Düsseldorf, received early education in its gymnasium, studied jurisprudence in Göttingen, Bonn, and Berlin, which he now makes his home."
11. Bieber, Hugo Heinrich Heine Gespräche: Briefe, Tagebücher, Berichte seiner Zeitgenossen, Berlin 1926, p. 21, quoting Varnhagen von Ense. This attitude on the part of the authorities in 1824 shows the impression Heine had created when he first came to Berlin in 1821.

12. Heine, Heinrich Briefe aus Berlin, 1822. in Reisebilder I, vol. 1 of Gesammelte Werke, Strich edition.
13. Liptzin, S. Germany's Stepchildren, JPSA, Philadelphia, 1944.
14. Varnhagen von Ense, Ausgewählte Schriften, Leipzig 1876, Vol. VI, p. 153; quoted by Liptzin, *ibid.*, p. 15, note 6.
15. (Heine, Heinrich) Der Junge Heine: Briefe, Berichte, Schriften; anthology edited by W. Bauer, Berlin 1950, p. 39.
16. Guddat, W. "Heinrich Heine und der Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden in Berlin 1822/23", in Festschrift zum 70.ten Geburtstag von Moritz Schäfer, Berlin 1927, p. 74.
17. Friederike von Hohenhausen, quoted in Bieber, Heinrich Heine: Gespräche, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-38 describes one of the literary teas at the Hohenhausen salon:
"....Many literary notables were; Varnhagen..Chamisso...Eduard Gans, who, with his remarkable fine head, fresh color, and proudly curving brow over his dark eyes reminded one of a spiritual Antinous; Bendavid....Rahel....Friederike Robert, Heines adored muse....Heine read there his recently published "Lyrical Intermezzo", his "Ratcliff" and "Almansor"...."
18. Zunz, L. quoted in Bieber, *ibid.*, p. 29.
19. Plotke, Georg Heinrich Heine als Dichter des Judentums, Dresden 1913, p. 23.
20. Heine, H. Letters, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
21. ~~Heine, Heinrich~~ Robert Palen, " in Reisebilder I, Strich Edition, vol. 1.
22. Zunz, L., quoted in Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
23. Guddat, W., *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.
24. Heine, H. Briefe, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.
25. Heine, H. Heinrich Heine an seinen Freund Moses Moser, Leipzig, Verlag Otto Wigand, 1862. pp. 5-7.
26. Heine, H. *ibid.*, pp. 11-15.
27. *ibid.*, pp. 24-26.
28. *ibid.*, pp. 37-38.
29. *ibid.*, pp. 154-155.
30. Heine, H. "Ludwig Markus", in Vermischte Schriften, vol. 8 of Strich edition.
31. Heine, H. Heinrich Heine an seinen Freund Moses Moser, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

32. Heine, H. The Rabbi of Bacherach, English translation published by Schocken Books, New York, 1947, containing a selection from Heine's letters and an epilogue by Erich Loewenthal.
33. Brod, Max Heinrich Heine, Amsterdam, 1935.
34. Dilthey, Wilhelm Gesammelte Schriften, vol. 7, p. 246.

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 Heine, Heinrich Sämtliche Werke, Hamburger Originalausgabe, 1781.
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 Heine, Heinrich Briefe; Gesamtausgabe von F. Hirth, vol. 1, Mainz, 1948.
 Heine, Heinrich Gespräche, Briefe, Tagebücher, Berichte seiner Zeitgenossen; gesammelt und herausgegeben von Dr. Hugo Bieber. Berlin 1936.
 Heine, Heinrich Jüdisches Manifest, eine Auswahl gesammelt von Dr. Hugo Bieber, New York 1947.
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 Heine, Heinrich The Rabbi of Bacherach. With an epilogue by Erich Loewenthal, and Heine's letters about the rabbi. translated by E.B. Ashton, New York, 1947.
- Brod, Max Heinrich Heine, Amsterdam, 1935.
 Marcuse, Ludwig Heinrich Heine, Ein Leben zwischen Gestern und Morgen, Berlin 1932; English edition, New York, 1933.
 Strodtmann, A. Heine's Leben und Werke, Hamburg, 1884.
 Vallentin, A. Poet in Exile: the life of Heinrich Heine, translated by Harrison Brown, New York 1934.
 Wolff, Max J. Heinrich Heine, München, 1922.
- * Arendt, Hannah "The Jew as Pariah"; in Jewish Social Studies, Vol. 6, 1946; section 1: Heine's Schlemihl and Lord of Dreams, pp. 99-122.
 Bienenstock, M. Jüdisches in Heine's Werken, Leipzig, 1910.
 Cohen, Hermann "Heinrich Heine", in Jüdische Schriften, II. Band, Berlin 1924.
 Eckstein, Kurt "Heinrich Heine", in Der Morgen, 1938, p. 383 ff.
 Fischer, Max Heinrich Heine, der deutsche Jude. Berlin 1916.
 Friedlander, F. "Heine und sein Verhältnis zu Goethe"; Der Morgen 1927, p. 386 ff.
 Geiger, Ludwig Das Junge Deutschland, Berlin 1900.
 Guddat, W. "Heine und der Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden", in Festschrift für Moritz Schaefer, Berlin 1927.
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 Kalischer, A.O. Heinrich Heine's Verhältnis zur Religion, Dresden, 1890.
 Karpeles, Gustav Heine und das Judentum, Breslau 1868.
 Liptzin, S. Germany's Stepchildren, Philadelphia 1944.
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various encyclopaedias, general reference works on history, history of literature. Only books used in this study have been listed here; for a general bibliography on Heine and Judaism, see

Tabak, Israel Judaic Lore in Heine, Baltimore 1948, pp. 315-320.

* Wachstein, Bernhard Bibliographisches zu H. Heine's 75. Geburtstag, Wien 1931
 end of chapter four. auf

Chapter Five: Some Lesser Luminaries.

"Jede menschliche Individualität ist eine in der Erscheinung wurzelnde Idee, und aus einigen leuchtet diese so strahlend hervor, dass sie die Form des Individuums nur angenommen zu haben scheint, um in ihr sich selbst zu offenbaren."

- Wilhelm von Humboldt, "Ueber die Aufgabe des Geschichtschreibers", Gelesen am 11. April 1821 in der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.

THE VEREIN WAS MADE UP out of many individuals. Some of them have emerged as clear, distinct personalities, speaking to us as to familiar friends; others are seen as through a glass, darkly. All of them shared one thing: the spirit and ideas of their times, leading to the same motivations, the same problematic. We, who want to understand their times by examining the Verein that was their creation, have found the lives of their leaders to contain much which helps us towards understanding. Yet it would be wrong to suppose that the names of Heine, Zunz, and Gans are the only ones to be mentioned in an exhaustive study of the Verein. We do not have the space to study the lives of other members; but in the evaluation of the Zeitschrift many of them are identified for us through the contributions they made towards the group; and the following brief biographical sketches will help us to see them as distinct historical personalities.

Isaak Markus Jost.

"I hate, I despise Jost; and as long as my soul and a pure heart are within me, this abhorrence shall not leave me. I hate him and ever will hate him, not for his thoughts, but for the words he has written."

(1

This statement of S.D. Luzzato is not difficult to understand. Jost's history often shows blunders as a result of careless usage of source

material. Graetz, Steinschneider, and others criticized Jost's histories (2) as uninspired and as plagiarizations. Yet the fact remains that he was the first Jew to attempt a complete history of his people in modern times; and a great deal of what he accomplished in terms of historic research pointed the way for his more gifted contemporaries.

Perhaps that is the tragedy of Jost; he was a good historian in an era of great historians. He was a pioneer in his field; but though his contemporaries gained from his work and followed in his steps, he did not receive the recognition due to him. Other, more gifted pioneers received the acclaim of scholars: men like Luzzato, Reggio, Krochmal, Rapoport, Zunz, and Geiger at least had their genius recognized. But Jost was almost immediately overshadowed by the monumental work of Heinrich Graetz; and his history, written with the dispassion and cool detachment of a mind completely dominated by the Enlightenment, was set aside, relegated to an inferior position; he and his work were accorded a position but little superior to that of Basnage, the Christian historian whose study of the Jews was the only available history until the advent of Jost.

Why should Jost be included in a study of the Verein? As we shall see, his relationship to the Verein was of a very limited nature. He disassociated himself with the group after a very short span of time, and was, at times, rather critical of the group and its endeavors. But it is precisely this critical attitude on his part towards the Verein that is of interest to us. In a sense, he stands between such men as Bendavid and Friedlander who belong to a century that has gone, and such men as Zunz and Heine, who feel the strong influence of romanticism, of the new historicism impelling them to walk strange paths repellent to the solid, common-sense mind of the good Jost.

Part of the explanation is the life of Jost, through which we are also enabled to view the early life of Zunz from a different aspect. Isaak Markus

Jost shared the privations of the orphanage with Leopold Zunz, enduring perhaps even more sufferings in his tender years. The record of these early years was preserved by him in his autobiography, a series of reminiscences concerning his early childhood, published in Pascheles Sippurim.⁽³⁾ They show that the young boy, born February 22, 1793, had to overcome an environment of the most extreme poverty, a blind father whose guide he became when he was five years old, and the utmost privations and sufferings of body and mind.

The Samson School, seen through Isaak Markus Jost's eyes, appears a grimmer, more formidable place than we remember it from Leopold Zunz. It is a place of poverty of spirit, poverty of material possessions, poverty of love.⁽⁴⁾ If the description Jost accords to it has any accuracy at all, it enables us to understand and appreciate that famous sermon of Leopold Zunz held in Berlin where he refers to the typical Cheder as a "Mördergrube",⁽⁵⁾ a den of assassins. And yet, these two men survived the place. Turning towards each other, they found comfort in their mutual misery. They played Hebrew alphabet games with each other, braving the wrath of the authorities. And, with the advent of Ehrenburg to the school, they were released from the prison of the mind that had been erected around them; the same school, the same environment now became a doorway to the magic world of culture and of learning.

For Jost, this was also the beginning of a new life, in which he could realize his capabilities as a teacher. At this time a trustee of the Samson school, living in Braunschweig, desired to have one of the more abler students live in his house as a tutor to his children. Both Zunz and Jost were considered; Jost, partially because he was the older of the two, was chosen.⁽⁶⁾ He and Zunz were still connected by close ties of friendship; and this winter of 1808-1809 saw them joined together in the study of Latin, Greek, and the

other required subjects on which they were to be tested for admission to the gymnasium. Both of them passed the examination; and here they parted. Zunz went to Wolfenbüttel, Jost to Braunschweig. The next four years saw Jost living in the house of his patron, teaching his children and studying at the gymnasium. Then, in 1813, he came to the attention of Israel Jacobson; supported by his generosity, Isaak Markus Jost was finally enabled to seek the learning he so desperately desired, at the university of Göttingen. (7 After a year's study there he went on to Berlin, graduating from the University of Berlin in 1816.

What were the intellectual influences to which Jost was exposed? In many ways, they were identical with those we have already explored in the lives of Heine, Gans, and Zunz. J.G. Eichhorn, Heeren, the older Plank, Wunderlich, E. Schulze, and Thibaut were his favorite instructors at Göttingen. (8 And in Berlin he attracted the particular attention of Buttmann, (9 Boeckh, and F.A. Wolf. But Jost the individual differed from his generation; where they turned towards the turbulence of romanticism, he found satisfaction in the quiet and still waters of early Enlightenment, and of rationalism. David Friedlander was his mentor and friend; and, indeed, the announcement of Jost's projected history, in 1818 was written by Friedlander himself. (10

Israel Jacobson had wanted Jost to become a preacher to the Berlin group after Jost's graduation from the university. But Jost had already arrived at a philosophy of life in which he envisaged his part to be that of a teacher, as an educator of the youth. The principal of the Bock school had just died (in 1816), and this school, serving both Christian and Jewish children, appealed greatly to Jost. He took over its direction and had high hopes for its future. However, the discriminatory decrees of 1819 forced the Christian children to drop out of this school. Nevertheless, Jost continued to teach

at the school until the year 1835. At that time he went to Frankfurt as a teacher of the famous "Philantropin" school, the position he held until his death in 1860.

What was Jost's relation to the Verein? As we mentioned earlier, it was a tenuous one. Jost was one of the original seven members that met in November, 1819, at List's house. And, according to Zunz' testimony

"May 14, 1820: Jost leaves the Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden."

(11)

After only a half year, he resigns officially. But, from his own, later, statements, as well as from contemporary reports, he was never really active while he was a member of the group. We can clearly see what attracted him to the Verein originally. First, there is the interest in education exhibited by the Verein; Jost, as an educator, here found his own desires expressed within the group. Ironically, this same interest speedily raises barriers between himself and the Verein. For Jost was a professional educator, and disapproved highly of the irregularities of the Verein's educational program. Once, when the Verein sends him a written invitation to be part of an examining committee for a young preacher candidate, he indignantly rejects the invitation, giving as reason the fact

".... that I do not feel myself entitled to the exercise of such an act without official permission from a higher authority.... As a matter of fact, I cannot see how a group of young men having no official position can have the right to sit in judgment over a candidate, even when they were requested to do so, and to deliver themselves of an opinion that shall decide his fate. Even a private individual would hesitate to do so, except when it is clearly understood it is his private opinion which is desired. It was quite clear to me that this was an attempt to gain larger influence; and I would not lend myself to such an importuning step."

(12)

Zunz, in his diary, suggests that the main motive for Jost's action was self-interest:

"August 22. Jost refuses the invitation of the Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden (its institute for the science of Judaism), fearful of hurting himself through a connection with the Verein."

(13)

Actually, one need not subscribe to this judgment. It is enough to know Jost's personality and often narrow way of thinking, to accept the reason Jost himself gives for this refusal. In effect, Jost considered himself part of the community structure, and all he wanted out of life was available to him in its institutions. It was for that reason that Jost could never fully sympathize with the aims of the Verein, which, after all, was an extra-communal organization. Their dreams and yearnings were a foreign world to Jost. A quiet, contemplative life, without any excitement -- this was the apex of his strivings.

(14)

Jost was a historian. And the Verein was partially the outgrowth of historicism and recognized the existing needs in Jewish historiography. This is perhaps the closest link uniting Jost with the Verein. The first volume of Jost's history, appearing in 1820, emerged out of a period in his life when Jost was intimately connected with the Verein through men like David Friedlander and, perhaps, Zunz. Though criticized by Heine and other contemporaries, it was not without merit; and, particularly in his writings, Jost more than justified his existence as a historian. But, once again, this sense of history possessed by him and the Verein also served to separate Jost from the group. He and the Verein agreed on the need of history as a tool to win equality for the Jews, as an implement towards universal education. But romanticism also was an ingrained part of the Verein and its work in the field of history; and Jost was completely dominated by the Enlightenment. All members of the group were opposed to rabbinism; but the Verein was much more of a radical action group than was acceptable to Jost. And so he went his own way, in time becoming a critic of

of the Verein and most of its members. A recent scholar has summarized Jost's dilemma in the following fashion:

" Like the Enlightenment, Jost had to destroy traditional forces by rational criticism; like romanticism he had to refashion those scattered fragments into a new comprehensive structure. If he had been a much greater man, he would have been able to utilize those complex forces for the accomplishment of a unique achievement in the evolution of human historical writings...Instead of becoming a source of strength and of creative reconciliation, this double task and this position in between two periods resulted in a series of contradictions and hesitations, in weaknesses and sometimes even in confusion."

(15)

Jost did not regard himself as a member of the Verein. As a matter of fact, it is interesting to note that in his history of that period⁽¹⁶⁾ he devotes a short chapter to the Verein in which its date of founding is given as 1821, rather than 1819 when Jost was a member of the group. He praises the Verein and its members, but makes clear that he regards the Verein itself as quite unimportant; at no place does he give any indication of having been associated with the group. Yet, it is necessary for us to consider him in any study of the Verein which tries to see it in its widest ramifications; for in his reactions towards the group, and in his work as a historian there are elements which must be grasped if we are to gain full understanding of this moment in the history of the young Jewish generation of Germany. His fame has proved ephemeral, his works are all but forgotten now. Perhaps it is not amiss to gain new recognition for him, seeing him as a silent, solid worker who was an important pioneer in the development of Jewish historiography of the modern period. In relationship to the Verein we see him as a simple, earthbound spirit who could not soar in flights of fancies with his romantic contemporaries; but he also represents that segment of his generation that spanned the gap between such men as Friedlander and Bendavid and modern times, finding success as a faithful worker within the Jewish community. And for that we

honor and respect the memory of Isaak Markus Jost.

Ludwig Marcus.

Ludwig Marcus, as many other members of the Verein, has become most familiar to us as seen through the eyes of Heinrich Heine, who, in his necrology on Ludwig Marcus, gives all the essential dates, as well as the finest character traits, of most members of the circle.

Ludwig Marcus was born in Dessau in 1798, of poor Orthodox parents. Originally, he had come to Berlin to study medicine, but soon gave this up for the study of history. He met Heine at a seminars of Hegel in 1820, and is described by him in the following manner:

"...At that time he was 22 years old, with an appearance anything but young. A small, slender body was his, like that of an eight year old boy, and a sage old face of the type we generally associate with a hunchback. One unconsciously wondered at the absence of this deformity. Those who had known the departed Moses Mendelssohn personally were surprised to note the similarity of the facial features of Marcus with those of the famous sage, who, strangely enough, was also born in Dessau. Where not chronology and his moral standards unshakeable witnesses for our honored Moses, we might harbor a frivolous thought."

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According to Heine, this similarity with Mendelssohn went further than personal appearance. In thought and action Marcus exhibited the same nobility, selflessness, suffering humility, and constant love for his fellow human beings. Marcus was already becoming noted for his amazing learning in a variety of fields. According to Heine, he

"dug in all corners of the sciences, swallowed whole libraries, lost himself in all language treasure troves of antiquity and the modern period. Geography, in its general as well as in its particular form finally became his favorite study: nothing existed on the earth's globe which Marcus was not acquainted with--from ruins to idioms .. and flowers. But from all these intellectual excursions he always returned home to the history of suffering that was Israel's, to the skeleton head Jerusalem's, and to the little ancestor dialect of Palestine, for whose sake he practiced the semitic language perhaps even more assiduously than all other languages.."

(18)

It was this striving after knowledge, the constant and unhappy search in which Marcus was engaged that impressed Heine. For he freely confessed that he thought Marcus a failure as a creative scholar:

"I must confess that the amazing fund of knowledge stored within Marcus did not impress me. All that he knew was dead history, things that had no organic life. All nature became calcified in him, and in the final analysis he only knew fossils and mummies. Added to that was a lack of artistic ability; whenever he wrote anything it was a pitiable thing to observe how he strove in vain to find any sort of form for that which he was trying to show. For that reason, the books and articles he wrote were inedible, unable to be digested; they were always too abstruse."

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The stay in Berlin already saw Marcus exposed to attacks of mental illness, which was ultimately to cause his death. As the other members of the Verein, he suffered under the restrictions imposed upon them as Jews who wanted to enter the field of scholarship; when the Verein and its hopes were hopelessly terminated, Marcus moved to Paris (1825) and worked with the famous astronomer Laplace as a mathematician. Gans had achieved his professorship in Germany by breaking the barrier between himself and a Christian state in the only way the state permitted: baptism. Marcus' solution simply was to take himself out of the boundaries of the Christian-Prussian state. His ambitions were achieved in France, where he became a professor at the University of Dijon. But, and here he resembles Zunz in some aspects, Marcus resigned from this position because of a fancied wrong being done to him, and went on to Paris, in order to devote himself completely to the task that was his life's ambition: an exhaustive study of Abyssinia.

Heine encountered him there, and, realizing his economic needs, persuaded the Baroness Rothschild to give the little Marcus a pension. For a short time the little Marcus was completely happy; he had his studies, his simple economic needs had been taken care of, and--undreamed of luxury, he had an apartment, with his own furniture, near the library! Heine cherished

his friendship, explaining to a friend that this was 'the king of Abessynia', a nick-name that remained with Marcus till his death. The love and affection the poet lavished on the little scholar shine through every line of his eulogy.

"Were you angry with me, my dear good Marcus, for naming you thus? For your beautiful soul the Creator should certainly have supplied a better envelope. But the dear Lord is too much occupied; once in a while, just when he is in the process of placing a noble pearl into an exquisite gold frame, he is suddenly interrupted; and then he quickly wraps the jewel into some handy piece of paper or a rag--otherwise I could not explain this matter."

(20)

But the little Marcus was not long to enjoy this happiness. In the summer of 1843 some serious disease struck him which affected his mind; and fourteen days after entering a private hospital in Chaillet he passed away.

"But let the coffin be opened before me just one more time, that in accordance with an ancient custom I beg the departed for forgiveness in case I have hurt him during his life--how quiet the little Marcus looks now! He seems to ~~smile~~ over the fact that I did not honor his scholarly works sufficiently..."

(21)

is the final requiem Heine says over his friend, whose shining presence is as a jewel in the configuration of the Verein.

Moses Moser.

"The most active member of the Verein, in reality its soul, was Moses Moser, who died a few years ago. Already as a youth he possessed the most thorough knowledge; and inside his heart there flamed a great sympathy for humanity, and a longing to actualize his knowledge through worthwhile deeds. He was untiring in his philanthropic work, very practical, and did most of his labors of love outside the public eye. The general public never discovered anything of his work; he fought and bled incognito; his name remained unknown, and has not been written into the address calendar of self-sacrifice. Our times are not as poverty stricken as we may think; it has brought forth an astounding number of such anonymous martyrs."

(22)

Moser was born in a Neumak village, around the turn of the century. Very early in his life he came to Berlin, where he found a steady and well salaried position in the bank of M. Friedlander. Despite this business career, which made great demands on his time, his industry and perseverance made him one of the better educated minds among his contemporaries. He was well versed in philosophy and history, an outstanding mathematician and astronomer, and able to read not only Plato, Homer, and Tacitus in the original, but also Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Dante. (23) He was equally interested in Hegels lectures on philosophy as in Bopp's course in Sanskrit. Wolf's lectures on Homer attracted him, and his own lectures at the Verein show a lively interest ~~xxx~~ in the political and social scene.

We know from Heine's letters to him, as well as from other contemporary records, that he was held in the highest esteem by all who knew him. Why, then, did Moser never do any work of magnitude in any one of the many fields of science that attracted him? The answer may be found in the fact that his work in the bank did keep him occupied; and indeed, Moser writes in one of his letters

"I still have grand ideas concerning scientific studies; and this despite the fact that my eyes keep me from working in the evenings, and my work keeps me busy during the day. In light of my limited circumstances ... I am sustained by my phantasy floating in the realm of unlimited freedom. My unrequited longings do not sadden or crush my sprits, but rather keep them constantly fresh and eager. I have a consciousness that never grows old, out of which new can be created at any moment."

(24)

and

"I would like to travel, but am bound by iron chains. However, this is a time in which even travelling cannot be truly refreshing. Apathy and pessimism reign over all. Could one only walk in the moon-light, when the earth reflects only the white sunlight and there is nothing visible of the dust dancing about us! Such is the most intelligent thought occurring to me during banking hours, mingling with thoughts of rates of exchange and banker's drafts."

(25)

But if Moser did not write scientific studies, he was more creative in other ways. He was the center of a voluminous network of letters, and in his letters to his friends he created perhaps more than he could have done in a lifetime of scientific research. Heine relied heavily upon him, and called him his "Marquis Posa", considered him his advisor, and thought of him as a sort of spiritual confessor:

"Moses Moser, my closest friend, a philosophic part of myself, the true luxury-edition of the real man. l'homme de la liberté et de la vertu, the secrétaire perpetuel of the Verein, the epilogue of Nathan the Wise, the general humanist..."

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In a sense, then, Moser's life was his own finest creation, and it was a creation that added more to the Verein than anything he could have written for the general public. Within the Verein itself, he had his own definite opinions, which also show themselves to be dominated by different schools of thought then current. Certainly his outstanding review of the Bibel'sche Orient within the pages of the Zeitschrift show him to have been as able and as capable a spokesman for the Verein as any member of the group. Once we recognize this ability, it becomes easier to place Moser next to the other founders, men like Zunz and Gans, and to grant him equality with these men of genius.

Moser's philosophy can also be garnered by an examination of some of the letters he wrote to his fellow members. Thus, he says

"... the reality which is not born out of myself I despise. I do not want to know anything of the philosophy of happiness and its slavery. The passive principle receives its warmth only from life If you cannot find anything to enjoy, turn to work. With the first thought of a worthwhile scientific study you will have surmounted all the little details and limitations of the world oppressing you."

(27)

and, in a letter written some time later,

"My one consolation is science; not that stunted, wilted thing called scholarliness, but the science that is exalted and free,

head uplifted, seeing heaven and earth as one, permeating the whole personality with the consciousness of the world ... I am drawn towards scientific endeavors, impelled towards it by the disgust the present political scene evokes in me."

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Concerning the dissolution of the Verein Moser wrote:

"Nothing remains of Judaism except the pain in some minds. The mummy falls into dust with the contact of the free atmosphere ... it must, of necessity, cease to exist when the people begin to lose the consciousness of themselves as God's people, when they even begin to forget it.

... Let it not be considered as inconsequential that the Verein has ceased to exist. That which we truly desired, we still desire; and we can continue to do so even if everyone in the group becomes converted. To determine the content of world religion out of ourselves or our Judaism--such a chimera was never our intention. The Jewish reflection of the present rises out of its truth. It becomes sectarianism when it claims to be a universal, objective principle. For it is a sheer subjective principle, which only needs to be transplanted from the soil of the folk religion into that of world religion."

(29)

There are other statements Moser makes concerning the conversion of Gans, and on the general nature of the Jewish community, which show that he considered a great deal of Jewish life to be motivated by nothing more than custom, which would disappear in short time. His, too, was a Hegelian approach, but there are strong traces of enlightenment, and a humanistic approach, within him. Added to the totality of the Verein, his life makes us see the ties of friendship and feeling uniting this group of men, and gives it a warmth and a fellowship that helps explain the attachment men like Heine felt towards the group.

One other aspect of Moser deserves to be pointed out, since it is shared with most of the other members of the Verein. He was intensely interested in the education of Jewish youth, a characteristic of the Verein which manifests itself in the free ~~xxxxxx~~ school the group ran. After their attempts had failed, Moser continued to work in this field, together with many of his Verein associates (Jost, Bendavid, etc.). Thus, Moser was the first director of the Gemeinde Schule of the Berlin congregatin, organized

(30
in 1826 , and Zunz was one of the teachers. Lazarus Bendavid was intimately connected with the institution, and later on took an important part in its further development of a boys school for the Berlin congregation. And Wohlwill, to take only one more example, not only taught in the Hamburg religious school, but ended his days as director of the Jacobson school in which he had once been a student. A great many private Jewish schools sprang up at the time, desiring to introduce their generation to this new world; it was a passing development, of course, and most of these institutions disappeared as Jewish youth thronged into the general schools of their environment.

Moses Moser--the teacher; perhaps that should be our final impression of him. For he taught not only the coming generation, but his contemporaries and friends; and his basic teaching was that of a life lived well.

Immanuel Wolf Wohlwill.

"To Wolf, named Wohlwill:

Berlin, April 1, 1823.

Think not, most amiable of men, that the delay of answering your loving letter shows a cooling of our friendship in any way. No; truly, though many a friendship has frozen during this severe winter, your beloved, fat picture could not depart through the narrow portals of my heart, and the name Wolf--or rather Wohlwill [the name Wolf had to take because of the decree of the Prussian government concerning Jewish family names] floats warm and living in my memories. Only yesterday we talked of you for at least an hour and a half--and how like you looked to one of those Chinese on exhibition..."

(31

Heine was close to Wohlwill; and this letter of his departs from its bantering tone after a while as he opens up his heart to the friend, though their relationship never adopts the intensity of that of Heine and Moser; but Wohlwill, also, was more than an average person; and we shall come to see his position to the group when we evaluate the Zeitschrift and the lead article which he wrote.

The early orphaned Immanuel Wolf was born in Harzerode, in 1799, and died in the year 1847. From 1807 till 1811 he lived in the home of a Jewish teacher in Hornburg near Halberstadt, gaining his first knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish studies there. He was fortunate enough to come to the attention of Israel Jacobson when nine years old, and the great philanthropist had him educated in his own school until 1815, when he gave him the means to go to Berlin and enter the 'Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster'. (Perhaps we should add Jewish philanthropy, as seen in the person of Jacobson, to the motifs of the Verein; as we recall, Wolf was not the only Verein member to benefit from Jacobson's generosity). Wolf graduated from the gymnasium in 1819, at which time he entered the University of Berlin. The same influences molded him which we have already discussed; and in the case of Wolf, it was Hegel's influence that predominated over all. This influence is clearly visible in Wolf's writings, to be discussed later.

In 1825 Wohlwill accepted a position with the Hamburg Jewish community, (32) who had come to know him earlier as a brilliant preacher. He delivered sermons at their temple and taught in the religious school. To a query on the part of Moser whether or not he would be willing to undertake the directorship of the Berlin communal school, then in its inception, he answered:

"... that it is not particularly a great joy to serve a Jewish congregation I readily admit. I know their littleness of thought, their hardheartedness, and lack of control. But what matters this to those who lead an institution determining the spirit and life of many human beings, and who has the means within himself to hew out an honorable position for himself? In the final analysis, it may be more worthwhile to conduct such an institute for the saving of souls within these cripples and neglected peoples than to work with those who are already rolling along the polished rails of culture."

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Wohlwill continued his study of Hegel's philosophy and of Greek thought

while in Hamburg, and maintained an active interest in the strife for freedom throughout the world, feeling particular kinship with the struggles in South America at that time. (The identification with liberalism, is, of course, a very natural part of all members of the Verein). In Europe, Wohlwill welcomed the July revolution with loud enthusiasm, certain that this was the hour of freedom. With its failure, he began to despair of the European environment; at one time, as had other members of the Verein, he seriously contemplated going to America in search of freedom. However, one of the Verein members, a Dr. Leo Wolf, had gone to America, and came back discouraged and broken by his experience. ⁽³⁴⁾ This discouraged Wohlwill from following up his plan of emigrating.

As almost all members of the group, Wohlwill did not merely theorize about the betterment of humanity's lot. As a matter of fact, he was the first Jew to be given honorary membership in the "Patriotic Society of Hamburg", for studies done in the field of charity. Wohlwill returned to his alma mater, Jacobson's school in Seesen, becoming its director in 1838, and speedily raised its standards until it had an enviable reputation. He died in 1847, hopeful for the liberalism he felt sure to be on the verge of achieving its aims; 1848 was spared for him.

Again, here, we have a picture of dedication and service to the Jewish group. Were our basic purpose that of apologetics, we could make a good case for the continuous contributions made by this group towards Jewish life. But even within the limits of our study we may recognize these services they rendered as one of the aspects of the Verein, and thus come to see yet another facet of the group that was banded together in this small association; and, in the life of ~~El~~Immanuel Wolf Wohlwill, we thus see these tendencies within the Verein in a concrete form, and recognize them as part of a totality expressing itself in countless ways.

Lazarus Bendavid.

"In this connection, I must also mention my dear Bendavid, who united a great soul and strength of character with an excellent urbane education. Although well along in years, he participated in the most youthful misconceptions of the Verein. He was as a sage of antiquity, framed in the sunlight of Greek light-heartedness, a monument of true morality, and hardened for duty as the marble of his master Immanuel Kant's categorical imperative.

Throughout his life, Bendavid was one of the most zealous adherents of Kantian philosophy, suffering the greatest persecutions for this attachment in his youth. Nevertheless, he did not want to separate himself from the old congregation of the Mosaic faith, or wear the official badge of another belief. Even the appearance of such a denial filled him with horror and disgust. Lazarus Bendavid, as mentioned, was a complete Kantian; and with that I have also indicated the borders of his spirit. When we spoke of Hegelian philosophy he shook his head and said that this was superstition. He wrote fairly well, but spoke much better."

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So far Heine on Bendavid. Another member of the Verein, Isaak Markus Jost, gives a similar description of Bendavid, showing the respect the group had before him:

"...Some remarkable characters stood out, as, for example, Lazarus Bendavid. At that time (1814) he was in his best years; a cynic in life, although wealthy, but of a noble character; a deep thinker, but sparkling with wit and spirit. He was not too accessible to youth, but always instructive as soon as one came into closer contact with him, and any statement he made was thought-provoking."

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In Lazarus Bendavid, born in 1762, we discover a segment of the Verein completely at variance with the rest of the group. He, Friedlander, and Jacobson were leaders in instigating the reform of the educational systems of the Jewish community; and all of them were interested in the Verein and its activities in the field of education. Both Bendavid and Friedlander contributed to the Zeitschrift; and when we evaluate their articles we will see how completely they misunderstood the group; thus Friedlander can speak of discarding Hebrew completely in the same issue which sees Zunz' article calling for a study of Spanish Jewry's literature.

These men, as personified in Bendavid, were part of another era. They spoke and thought in terms of the late eighteenth century; into the complexity of the nineteenth century they brought the simple Enlightenment concepts upon which they had been brought up. Bendavid, in 1793, had published his "Etwas zur Charakteristik der Juden"⁽³⁷⁾, calling for a complete dissolution of ceremonial law, and seeing all the ills which the Jews had suffered to be the consequence of a faulty environment which reason could come to correct. Bendavid was an extreme rationalist, and all aspects of his life were completely guided by these beliefs of his.

In Bendavid's youth he had supported himself through glass-cutting, had then turned to study at the University of Göttingen, culminating in a lectureship at Vienna which he held for some time, and had then come to Berlin to spend the rest of his life there. At the time the Verein came to know him he was serving, without pay, as director of the Jewish Free School. The members of the Verein, while recognizing the limitations of Bendavid and Friedlander's world of ideas, admired them--almost as 'monuments'--and were quite fond of them. Probably each side felt it was patronizing the other.

Bendavid died in 1832, at the age of 70, from a chest disease which he refused to have treated by a doctor. To the last, he tried to convince his friends through a priori proofs that he was only suffering from rheumatism. In many ways, he was one of the most sympathetic members of the Verein; his contributions were primarily that of a noble high-thinking personality; but he added little to the solution of the problems of this younger generation among whom he was welcome visitor--but whose problems were those of a new and different world from the one the old Kantianer envisaged. Here, then, we have the strand of Enlightenment that ran

throughout the Verein; Enlightenment set in the noble frame that was Lazarus Bendavid.

David Friedlander.

David Friedlander was an important personality to his time; he is important to an understanding of Jewish history today. But the period which saw most of his activities preceeded that of the Verein; and while we take cognizance of him as friend and supporter of the group with which we are concerned, there is little new in his relationship to the Verein that was not brought out in the sketch of Bendavid. Friedlander, who was born in 1750, had come to Berlin during Mendelssohn's days, and had been a devoted friend of that great sage. He was one of the few members of the Verein who was in the field of commerce, having started his business ventures in Berlin with a highly successful silk factory. Throughout his life, he was an active supporter of all attempts of education within the Jewish community, and it was he who originally founded the Jewish free school in Berlin.

During the period of the Verein his last major work appeared, done at the request of the government: Ueber die Verbesserung der Israeliten
(38)
im Königreich Polen. Like his friend Lazarus Bendavid, he was proud of his--enlightened--Judaism; and his famous letter to Probst Teller, inquiring if one could become a Christian without accepting Jesus was part of the approach of the world of the Enlightenment, perfectly consistent with his love of Judaism; it merely echoed the viewpoint of an era which saw the various religions almost as anachronisms, or part of a cultural pattern that could be accepted lightly precisely because of its meaningless status. In all his actions, David Friedlander was a man of the Enlightenment. And

that his love for Judaism was a consistent part of his life is shown by his last activity, which was the fight against a "Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews", which was organized in 1824. Friedlander died in 1834; and with him the last vestige of an era disappeared.

Others.

We are primarily concerned with the Verein as it appears to us in the Berlin group, its founders and active propagators. But it must be noted that there was one other concentration of its strength, and that was Hamburg. With one exception, all the directors of the Tempelverein there were regular members of the Verein (ca. 20 members are listed for Hamburg); and Eduard Kley and Gotthold Salomon also held membership in the Verein. Also there were the honorary members, ranging from David Fränkel and J.N. Mannheimer to Joseph Perl of Tarnopol and M.E. Noah of New York.

Other members of the Verein enter into our speculations; thus, there was the Jewish author Daniel Lessmann, who became a convert after the failure of the Verein. And one of Heine's most intimate friends was the youngest member of the group, Joseph Lehmann (1801-1873), whom Heine first met at Hegel's lectures. Lehmann, who was to become well known as the founder and editor of the "Magazin fuer die Literatur des Auslands", became the confidant of Heine in most of his literary endeavors; and Heine would bring him his poems during the early morning hours, when Lehmann was still in bed, and read them to him for criticisms and approval. Lehmann was one of the first friends Heine made in Berlin; he was also one of the most constant friends the poet ever had. Then there was Rubo, the syndic of the Berlin congregation; and those of the seven original founders we have not yet encountered: Joseph Hillmar, Isaac Levin Auerbach, and Joel

Abraham List. Some of these men we shall encounter through their works; List, for example, reflects in a very enlightening way the problems of his age. We know very little about him as a person; what sources we do
(39) have give us this much of a picture:

Joel Abraham List was born April 17, 1780, in Schwersenz, and moved to Berlin in 1814. In 1823 he became the owner and director of a Jewish private elementary school. Since we have him attaining Prussian citizenship in 1824 in order to open a book store, it is quite likely that this school suffered the fate of so many other private schools for Jews at that time, which flourished for a while and then found they could not maintain themselves. From 1824 on, List is described as a book-seller in the annals of the Jewish community.

Although he is one of the original founders, List leaves the Verein in 1821, primarily because of a conflict with Eduard Gans. "Das Buch Zunz", Zunz' strange diary, gives the date upon which List was married, and the names of his sons who, according to this source, later on all became "good Christians".

We understand List best through his work. And, since none of his writings appear in the Zeitschrift, we will now turn to one of the addresses he delivered before the group; this particular essay was given on the 7th of November, 1819, and gives us an insight into the motivations of the group, particularly since it was in those early meetings that the purpose and meaning of the Verein was crystallized for its various members, and a definite program for action was set up. List was almost twenty years older than Gans, Zunz, and most of the rest; but he spoke for their generation and its problems in this essay:

"... and why, then, have we continued to ^{exist} ~~exist~~ up to this moment? For .. the following three reasons:

- (1) Everything was kept out which could have separated the Jewish group. We remained together like a ~~hard~~ which is shepherded from the outside.
- (2) The human element, which always brings out communal sympathy in a common situation of oppression. We remained together like the inhabitants of a beleaguered city.
- (3) Religion. We all looked at heaven, and did not lose ourselves in the multiplicity of the earthly.

But ... this unity has now been shaken in its very foundations. We are no more exclusive, are no more excluded. One after another we leave to enter the outside ... until we are threatened with total extinction. Sympathies ... formerly directed by us only towards our group, have ... through enlightenment and common sympathies ... been directed towards needy humanity, rather than only towards our own needy ones. Our humanity now knows no outside borders and will not let itself be forced to consider our nation alone.... Our religion, because of the rigidity of its outward laws ... no longer serves to hold the group together ... and Israel rushes towards destruction.

Still, my friends, we feel and know that that which is peculiar to our nation, our pure nationality itself, is not just a product of the times, not just a passing phenomena. Our temporal and passing outward appearance shall not come to argue against that which we ourselves are completely convinced of: our inner, eternal core. We recognize an entity within us, an existence which remains. And because we know what we are we want to preserve ourselves, and because we want to preserve ourselves we have to preserve ourselves.

We have, therefore, a clear idea of our existence, and by that we mean our communal existence; otherwise we would no more be ourselves, which is to say that we would be nothing. Now, it is the peculiarity of an idea that the necessary within it is possible, and the possible necessary. Thus, if we feel within us the necessity of continuance, the inner possibility of such a continued existence is undeniable.... and what we apply to ourselves must also be true of thousands of our brother Jews: Therefore, what we have here is a true idea of our inner unity, and to make this common property, or possible externally, becomes our striving, becomes the ultimate end and goal of the Verein.

Because of this, the intellectual, industrial, and political emancipation, as worthwhile as it would be, is only a necessary by-product and result, is, in other words, secondary.

.... Such emancipation efforts on our part ~~are~~ a definite function of the Verein, but must never be considered primary, as its goals, as its first task.

Therefore, as soon as we have decided among ourselves to form a Verein whose goal is the actualization of our inner unity, a difficult goal needing the full strength of the community, we

must see that it

- (a) will have the largest possible sphere of influence;
- (b) that we work with all our might for the reconstruction of the dignity of our Volkstümlichkeit (national spirit), the first demand of which asks inexorably for the complete destruction of rabbinism which disforms and injures the Jewish nation.
- (c) I therefore consider it as necessary for our next meeting that
 - (1) each of us bring back an essay characterizing our Volkstümlichkeit, and
 - (2) that we bring back suggestions of methods concerning the execution of our task as suggested by the postulates set up in (b)."

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The world of thought of the Verein here is revealed to us, and we can see the tragic conflict battling in the lives of men like List. In concept and language we recognize Hegel's teachings; and we see here a concept of man completely different from that of the Enlightenment as held by Friedlander and Bendavid. The problems burning at the heart of List could never be understood by them. And List and his group did not know how to resolve the paradox that they had set for themselves: the Jewish group is a totality, they had said; but it is a totality which has to throw itself into the universal whole -- but has to preserve its identity. It is at that stage that the world of ideas assumes more actuality for them than the world of reality. That is the reason List can speak somewhat disparagingly of the struggles for political and social emancipation. He had to admit that they were part of the Verein--indeed, to some members they were all the Verein--but he and his group share in constantly insisting that there is a metaphysical reality of the Jewish group that cannot assimilate; and so, in Jewish life, as was happening in the outside world, Volkstümlichkeit becomes a necessary expression.

The life and thoughts of List, the lives of all these others--give added depth and meaning to the panorama that we have tried to recreate; and the Verein itself should now be enough of a living reality for us to permit us to

turn to its history as an organization. We have examined the individual members of the group. In the next chapter we must try to see how their individual efforts combined, fused together, and created a totality in which all of them shared. And then, perhaps, through this totality, we shall come to understand fully the individual.

Notes for Chapter Five: Some Lesser Luminaries.

1. Luzzato, S.D. Letters of Luzzato, Przemyśl, 1882, p. 178, "Letter to Rapoport, Junary 28, 1831. Quoted by Stern, Nathan The Jewish Historico-Critical School of the Nineteenth Century, New York 1901, p. 66, note 5.
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end of notes to chapter five.

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end of chapter five.

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Chapter Six: The Verein, its Program, and the Zeitschrift.

"Das Geschäft des Geschichtsschreibers in seiner letzten, aber einfachsten Auflösung ist Darstellung des Strebens einer Idee, Dasein in der Wirklichkeit zu gewinnen."

Wilhelm von Humboldt, Ueber die Aufgabe des Geschichtsschreibers (gelesen am 11. ten April 1821 in der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin).

WE HAVE SEEN THE FOUNDERS OF THE VEREIN in terms of the influences that their times exercised upon them, and through their lives have come to understand the motives that led to the founding of the Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden. Now, we must see to what extent they realized their ambitions; and in order to do that we must examine the actual workings of the Verein in which they hoped to solve their problems and those of their generation.

On the 7th of November, 1819, seven men met in the home of Joel Abraham List: Joseph Hillmar, Isaac Levin Auerbach, Isaac Marcus Jost, Leopold Zunz, Dr. Eduard Gans, Moses Moser, and, of course, List. This, in effect, was the first meeting of the Verein, which did not receive its official title of "Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden" until July 5, 1821. (1) Diverse papers were read at this meeting concerning the purposes of such an association; and, as we have seen in the extract from List's paper given in the last chapter, plans of action for coming meetings were proposed. All were agreed on the basic purpose, formulated for them by Moser on that evening in the following fashion:

"Our goal is the advancement of the outer and inner culture of our nation, which complement each other. For this is needed the establishment of a theoretic foundation of the subject, and

the practical execution of the tasks rising out of such a formulation.

... The opposition of Jewish culture against the general European (or, if you prefer, Christian) culture must be resolved ... not in the manner of our compatriots through conversion ... but rather, ideal Judaism must be completely reconciled with the state insofar as it is determined through the culture of its citizens; but it must be in sharp opposition to the ruling church as such and in regard to its dogmas."

(2

Moser then continued to outline the various fields in which the Verein should operate; and out of these first meetings there came the formulation of the statutes of the Verein. The basic concept of the Verein and the tasks intended for it by the founders can be summarized by an extract from the pre-~~amble~~ to the statutes:

"For many centuries, the inner conditions of the Jewish group have been set into a totally wrong pattern in regard to their outer relationship with the nations about them ... The present .. with its new ideas .. emphasizes this painful paradox more than ever. It demands a complete reshaping of the education and approach to life now current under the Jews, and that they be led towards the same position which has already been attained by the rest of the European world. This reshaping can only emanate from within the Jewish group but, of necessity, cannot be the work of the whole group. Rather, its originators must be those who have received a higher degree of education, and who feel the existence of this need.

To work for such an end is the purpose of this Verein, which therefore represents: an association of such men who feel the strength and the call to such a task within themselves, and strive to place the Jew into harmony with the times and the states in which they live, through a process of education emanating from within.

The activities of the Verein, then, must be as inclusive as the goal which we have mentioned. In order to pursue it in as many directions as possible, the Verein must therefore not neglect either of these two aspects:

- (1) to work from above through scientific studies of real intrinsic worth and of large scope, for which he must win interest and understanding, so that a solid foundation may be found for those of the lower group who have now been lifted up to this new level, and ..
- (2) to work from below, by reshaping the view of life among the various classes of society, and thus creating a more receptive soil in which the seeds of a purer recognition of life may take root.

On the one hand, therefore, will be used all that may serve to enlarge the domain of intelligence: the setting up of schools,

seminaries, academies; active support of literary endeavors or any type of public endeavors.

On the other hand, every peculiarity of the Jew which is in opposition to the whole must be conquered by guiding the coming generation into trade, the arts, agriculture and scientific endeavors; by suppressing the one-sided affected for commerce; and by changing the tone and general aspects of their social relationships."

(3)

This was to be the program of the Verein; but it took only a short time before the group realized the limited means at their disposal, and the impossibility of working in all those fields with any degree of success. And it was therefore natural for them to turn to the first aspect mentioned in their statutes, and to occupy themselves with the purely scientific work and the practical implications arising from it. Their lack of money would have prohibited large scale work in most of these fields anyway; and it must not be forgotten that all the trends of their times: romanticism, historicism, Hegel, the end of the Enlightenment as in Herder--all were directing them towards this field of scientific inquiry into history, and that the final result of the Verein was the origination of a new Juedische Wissenschaft.

I.

The first creation of the Verein to attempt to actualize the goals set in their statutes was the "Scientific Institute". This organization was founded, subordinate to the Verein, to occupy itself with the communal study of all objects having relevancy to Jews or to Judaism. Every member was entitled to sit in at these meetings as part of a critical audience. The actual members of the Scientific Institute were those gifted members of the Verein actively engaged in Jewish research, who would appear at regular meetings and lecture concerning their latest researches. Many of these works were later on published in the Zeitschrift of the Verein, and will be discussed below.

One of the most untiring lecturers of the "Scientific Institute" was Eduard Gans. In a series of eight lectures he discussed the Jew in Roman law; furthermore, he gave a series of lectures on the history of the Jews in England, and discussed the laws of inheritance as seen in Mosaid and Talmudic tradition. In an essay given January 1, 1822, he discussed the disbandment of the Kahal in Poland through an ukase given by the emperor; and at all times he was one of the most eager workers in this sphere of activity within the Verein.

Zunz gave a series of lectures concerning the basis for a future statistic of the Jews, part of which was published in the Zeitschrift. He also presented the group with a dissertation on the literae liquidae of the Hebrew language, and lectured on Spanish place names as they appear in Jewish writings; this lecture also found its way into the Zeitschrift.

Moses Moser did not lose himself in the field of science as much as his co-workers; but his more popular lectures on the principles of Jewish history found general approval, as did his other lectures on the influence of Christianity upon the Jews, and on Jewish history in the Occident.

Ludwig Marcus presented the result of his antiquarian investigations of Jewish agricultural endeavors in Palestine, proved that the idea of confirmation was entirely in accord with Jewish spirit, and speculated on the problem of circumcision as it applied to the Falasha women. Julius Rubo lectured on Jewish community organization, Wohlwill gave his essay on Juedische Wissenschaft, which he followed up with a discourse on the present state of Judaism; and there were lectures which outside members send in to be discussed. From Hamburg, Maimon Fränkel send in an essay on recent Jewish history; and a physician, Dr. Kirschbaum, send in an article written in Hebrew, on the "Customs of the Messianic Era".

(4

Little was accomplished with this Scientific Institute which was of lasting significance; the most worthwhile aspects of the creative work done were preserved in the Zeitschrift; but even there the majority of the work has only a limited appeal to the historian of Jewish literature, and none to the layman. The institute wanted to start a Jewish history, written with the new insights of their times; and Jost, then a member of the group, did come out with the first volume of his history. But Jost, as we have seen, was still completely under the influence of the Enlightenment, with less attachment to the Verein than his friend Zunz; and this first volume cannot be claimed as the result of activity done by the Scientific Institute as such.

The chief value of this Institute was an outlet for those first studies in the Jewish field by the members of the Verein; also, it is another indication of the drive towards learning, towards education which is visible within the Verein in so many ways.

II.

The attempt to influence the Jewish group 'from above' was founded upon various ideas discussed previously, all placing a premium upon scientific historical investigations and upon the world of thought. It is only natural, then, that one of the few concrete activities of the Verein occupied itself with the education of their fellowmen, and that the "Free School" of the Verein had an important place in its program. (Besides, we have already seen how many members of the group had an active part in the field of education).

The aims of the free school were simple: It was to supply a secular education to those Jewish youths who had no access to public schools, and who did not want to become merchants. (5) Primarily, this applied to those youths from Poland who had followed the call of the Enlightenment, had rebelled against the old system of Jewish education, and were now flocking to Berlin in search of a general education. Many of them attended the free school of

the Jewish community of Berlin, of which Lazarus Bendavid was then the director. However, the need of supporting themselves made regular attendance at that school a difficult thing, and the classes conducted by the different members of the Verein were of real help in serving their educational needs.

Hebrew was included in the curriculum. In some ways, this was contrary to the trend of this period, as we see when we compare the program of the Verein with the program of the Lehrinstitut in Frankfurt. ⁽⁶⁾ The traditional schools, of course, considered Hebrew basic to their studies; but there it had been studied with the traditional approach underlying it. Here Hebrew was being treated as much more of a secular field, as just another language to be studied. However, a special idea also influenced its teaching: the group saw Hebrew as a ~~door~~ through which the new generation could be led back towards a recognition of their special culture. Thus, while Bendavid and Friedlander might speak against Hebrew, it was integral to the curriculum of the free school which the Verein was conducting.

The curriculum of the school was that of a general, secular school. Here German, Greek, Latin, French and Hebrew were taught. Geography, history, arithmetic, and geometry were part of the curriculum; and, occasionally, the members of the Verein instructed their pupils in the art of oratory. For a clear picture of the school and its activities we turn to a report from the memoirs of one of Heine's students, L. J. Braunhardt:

"... of the students participating in my studies I only mention one: the later on justly famous Orientalist Salomon Munk. The lessons were generally given in the homes of the teachers, from 7-10 in the mornings and sometimes also in the afternoon. Zunz taught German grammar, style, etc. Dr. Gans taught Latin, Greek, and Roman history; Ludwig Marcus gave a very thorough course in Geography and the natural sciences, and Dr. Schoenberg taught French.

The chief member in this circle of teachers was the genial poet Heinrich Heine who taught us French, German, and German

history. His lecture was always outstanding. With great enthusiasm he depicted the victories of Hermann or Arminius and the defeat of the Roman armies in the Teutoburger Forest. Hermann or Arminius ~~was~~ to him the example of a great hero and patriot who risked life and all to win freedom for his people and rid them from the Roman yoke. When Heine, with an overly loud voice, as once Augustus, called out "Varus, Varus; give me back my legions!" his heart rejoiced, and his beautiful eyes shone, and his expressive manly face shone in joy and happiness....At that time he also deplored the divided status of Germany and used these words: "When I look upon the map of Germany and see the many paint blots, a real horror overtakes me. In vain does one ask today: who really rules Germany?" Also, he made comments to the effect that Judaism could have been the world religion if it had not assumed the form of a theocracy; a reform at that time was impossible since the priests ruthlessly suppressed all such attempts...tolerance towards Jews is practiced only by the noblest of Christians...no man can be an atheist...the core of Judaism is the golden rule...etc.

In one word: he was a real gentleman *comme il faut*."

(7)

Braunhardt was ninety-three years old when he wrote this; and perhaps some caution must be exercised in accepting his testimony; but there still emerges a clear picture of the free school of the Verein, primarily interested in educating Jewish compatriots in the general ^{elements} ~~elements~~ of culture.

The special meaning that education had for the Verein; the desire to help and instruct a new generation in the general culture which was inaccessible to them; and the actual dedication and desire to work for a cause they believed in can be seen in the framework of this small school that the Verein fostered.

III.

The school was the only one of their activities receiving even a limited support (a few hundred Thaler for the support of the most needy students, granted by the Jewish community in Berlin); as to their other activities, Gans in a report given to the group on the 18th of April, 1822, made these remarks:

"Among all our rich fellow Jews there was no one, no matter how strong his enthusiasm for our cause, no matter how much interest

he professed in each action emanating from the Verein, who contributed a single coin for the Verein or any one of the institutions within it trying to do its job."

(8)

Aside from the school, the only really active work was that of the Zeitschrift; but, before we consider it, some of their attempts which did not come to fruition should be enumerated. There was, first of all, an attempt to set up an archive of their correspondence with the foreign members of the group, who were asked to contribute steady reports concerning Jewish conditions in their part of the world. This part of their work never received proper support from members outside the Berlin circle, and failed completely. Another project which never got past the stage of an idea was the contemplated establishment of a library for the Science of Judaism. Its failure, of course, was also due to the limited means at the disposal of the group. And another idea, envisaging the establishment of a commission for the encouragement of the Jewish group to enter the field of agriculture found few people interested in its development. The short life of such ideas may be realized through an examination of the Verein protocols on an idea of Heine's regarding a "women's auxiliary" for the Verein:

"Protocols of the Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden:

Berlin: Sept. 29, 1822. The president closes with a speech to the member Heinrich Heine, present for the first time.

November 7, 1822. Extraordinary session called in the home of Dr. Rubo, 7 p.m., to discuss anniversary celebration. President opens meeting with speech. Heine reports on women's organization to be established.

November 10, 1822. .. Heine is asked to bring specific proposals concerning such a women's organization to the next meeting.

November 17, 1822. Written proposals of Heine concerning women's clubs:

A: that Jewish women's clubs are to be formed, first of all in Berlin. (accepted 4 to 1).

A:1 accepted unanimously.

a:2 adopted unanimously with the following revision: "particularly those which devote themselves to agriculture, industry, art, and the sciences.

December 8, 1822. Heine speaks for an amendment of the motion to give Wohlwill authority to act as representative of the Verein to a special branch at Hamburg (this amendment to limit his authority). Amendment and motion voted down.

February 23, 1823. Heine against such a proposal, as voters could be recognized by their handwriting.

March 9, 1823. Heine suggests Michael Beer in Paris as extraordinary member.

March 16, 1823. On the question of Zunz as to how far the matter of the women's clubs had been carried, Heine explained that he had been entrusted with the drawing up of a circular giving details, but that his ill health was constantly preventing his work upon it. Insofar as the commission concerned itself with a purely local matter he would not accept it.

May 11, 1823. Heine makes the remark that it is consonant with the dignity of the Verein that it use other methods of establishing relationships with foreign men than the automatic giving of membership; the president should use such other means as are at his disposal.

He does not make a definite proposal on this issue."

(9)

As we can see, not only do these minutes of Verein meetings give an indication of the failure of the idea that Heine developed concerning a women's auxiliary, but they are also of help in seeing Heine's relationship to the Verein in general.

Meanwhile, time was running out on the Verein. Gans, with all his eloquence, could not get the parnassim to support an organization they disliked and distrusted; restrictions on the part of the government made their work more difficult than ever before; and the members outside the Berlin group were anything but encouraging. Thus, Zunz complains in a letter written in the autumn of 1823:

"When I am thus neglected by the best elements, how can I even appeal to the worse elements!. The Verein does not seem any nearer its goal; and this is the fault of the horrible defection on the part of the Jews. None of its institutions come to fruition; a great many of its members scarcely move a finger; David Fränkel, who is above reproach and a member of the Verein, constantly accepts (perhaps as a joke) all sorts of paerilia, jocosa, ludibria, nugas, scurrilia, ridicula, falsaria etc. in his 'madam Sulamith' but does not mention the Verein with a single word! Until we gain

some enthusiastic, rich Jews we will make no progress. And such are rare enough in Germany that we would make enough money just exhibiting them for an admission fee."

(10

and he sounds the death knell of the Verein in his famous letter to Wohlwill in the summer of 1824:

"The Jews and the Judaism which we wanted to reconstruct has been torn into pieces and has become the loot of barbarians, fools, money changers, idiots, and parnassim...and you therefore need no explanation why the Verein and the Zeitschrift have fallen into the sleep of the dead, and are missed as little as the temples, the schools, and the happiness of the citizens."

(11

But he was wrong, for something did remain; and that was the Zeitschrift which he himself had edited.

IV.

Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.

"In the name of the Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden (whose functions and purposes will be explained in a later issue) I hereby present the public with the first volume of a Zeitschrift for the science of Judaism.

The meaning of such a science has been indicated in the opening articles of this issue; its development can only follow in a gradual manner, and the understanding reader will regard what has been given as an attempt to approach this meaning.

Therefore, the Verein can never have the intention of doing the pioneer work in the many field of this Wissenschaft solely through its own powers; any scientific striving, any suitable work is more than welcome; no party works here for itself. Whoever has the desire and the call should not refrain from adding his strength to ours....

May all our compatriots ... join with us ... in encouraging and supporting this Zeitschrift.

The first issue of the second volume will appear in the autumn of this year.

Berlin, May 1823.

The Redactor."

(12

The appeal in this preface was not heeded by the Jewish community, and the Zeitschrift appeared for less than two years. Three issues appeared in all, and we shall now examine and evaluate the articles printed therein.

As noted, they ranged from the Enlightenment dominated contributions of Bendavid and Friedlander to the Hegelianism of Gans and Wohlwill; and the finest contributions are undoubtedly those of Zunz. Some of the articles are continued from one issue to the next; as we are concerned with the total picture, we will in such cases examine the complete article before going on to the next essay. The essays will be considered in the order they appear in within the table of contents:

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I.

Concerning the Concept of a Wissenschaft
des Judentums, by Immanuel Wolf (Wohlwill).

The task of the Verein in the field of science was to ~~be~~ the introduction of the insights gained in the outside world into the field of Jewish scientific research, and thus bring this field to the same high level which the general environment had attained. Men like Moser and Gans had given an abstract formulation of this; but here, in the first article of the Zeitschrift, Wohlwill attempts the transition from abstract formulation to the concrete goals of Jewish knowledge. Both for the group itself and for the general public, he tried to set up a program that would enable everyone to see just what the Verein intended to do, and what the significance of their new approach to Jewish studies was. The term 'Jüdische Wissenschaft' had originated in the Verein; and here was the first explanation of its meaning and significance. Thus, the article starts in this manner:

"When we discuss a 'science of Judaism', it is self understood that the word 'Judaism' is considered here in its most far-reaching connotations, as the general concept of the relationships, specific characteristics and achievements of the Jews in the fields of religion, philosophy, history, law, literature, social life and all human problems.... The religious idea is ... the unifying and uniting element in Jewish life, but ... cannot be completely understood until we attempt to grasp it in all its forms and modifications."

(13.

With this idea of Judaism established, Wohlwill goes on to a historical survey of this Judaism. Because of its inner peculiarities it has always remained a one-ness, something unique in the world; but its idea has gone

forth to all the ends of the earth. And this basic idea is that of the one-ness, the unity that underlies all of life. First expressed in the monotheistic teachings of the early Jews, it united the world of thought and of the divine with the world of human existence; and, in order that the people might come to understand this concept of Divine unity, the idea was placed into the body of mosaic theocracy; and the Jews, as guardians of the Divine idea--became a kingdom of priests and a holy nation. (14)

Wohlwill here goes into a history of the Jewish people from the beginnings in Palestine down to the present; he sees it as a steady process of growth of religious consciousness and understanding among the Jews. The Babylonian captivity, the Greek influences and other outside factors are all assimilated, all help the Jews come to the realization of the basic idea in their faith. Finally, when the Jewish state has come to accomplish the task of helping the Jews gain insight into their heritage, it is destroyed by the Romans; but the great idea of the unity of all is carried out to the nations through the offices of Christianity; and the Jews, their outwards unity gone, preserve their "Volkstümlichkeit" by holding on to the Divine idea which is the expression of their Volksgeist. (15) Now, they draw near to each other as fellow-sufferers; and, in order to cling to this idea of theirs, bring it as much as possible into their daily life and their home through ceremonials. Outward persecutions, down through the ages, force them into an inward existence, in which they are held together through this idea of Judaism. But the living spirit of the idea is no longer free; gradually, through time, it has become completely enchained by rabbinism. And these chains were then broken by the expression of the philosophic and scientific truth existing like germs within 'the idea', an expression personified to us through one of the greatest Jews ever to exist: Benedict Spinoza.

"Judaism is redeemed in accord with its natural and eternal basic idea...according to the method of pure thought ... in a purely scientific manner. This happened in the system of Benedict de Spinoza, a man who in his insight and penetration was centuries ahead of his times, whose highly important influence on the more profound philosophies of the present is unmistakable. He disassociated himself from the externals of Judaism; but its inner spirit ~~was~~ comprehended by him in a much more vital way."

(16)

Judaism, according to Wohlwill, becomes a meaningful and influential moment in the development of the human spirit, which alone is the true object of historical studies. Historical happenings, or occurrences are to Wohlwill only manifestations of a developing spirit; and therefore

"an idea like Judaism, which has managed to survive and to develop through so many centuries, which has existed and created within world history for such a span--such an idea must be founded in the very being of man, and must be of vital meaning and importance to the spirit of humanity."

(17)

Wohlwill sees Judaism as a duality: partially it is contained in an immense literature of historical literary documents; secondly, it exists as a living principles recognized by millions of people spread all over the globe. As the second form, it has been fenced in by too much ceremonials, by oppression from the outside. But the "free scientific sense" within it comes to the fore the moment this oppression is relieved; and this release of its inner core must be encouraged by us in our endeavors.

The totality of this Judaism which Wohlwill has presented needs, according to him, a scientific treatment which up to now has not been accorded to it. Such studies as have been made were primarily concerned with themselves as theological studies; and all too often polemics and apologetics were the only approaches utilized. The few studies which are of a scientific nature treat only separate moments of the totality; and to take the whole of the subject under consideration is the task of what we will call "Die Wissenschaft

(18
des Judentums". Thus, it follows that

- "1. The Wissenschaft des Judentums comprises Judaism in all its aspects.
2. It develops Judaism in accordance with its conception, and gives a systematic presentation, always tracing the individual parts to the basic concepts underlying the whole.
3. It treats its subject, in and for itself, for its own sake, not for a special purpose, or with a definite intention."

(19

In view of the dual aspect of Judaism Wohlwill has pointed out, he feels that the science of Judaism also has two principal divisions: one is the study of Judaism as it reveals itself in the historical and literary documents, and the other is the statistical study of Jewry as it existed in the world at present. Two approaches must be used, says Wohlwill: one is the historical, which notes its development through the ages; the other is the philosophical, which must understand its inner being and its conceptual basis. And both of these must be preceded by a philological study of the historical and literary documents. Thus Juedische Wissenschaft becomes divided into diverse categories. Why is to do this work? Wohlwill concludes in this manner:

"Since the formation of a Wissenschaft des Judentums is a basic need experienced by the Jew himself, it is apparent that though this field is open to all workers, Jewish men have an actual call for doing this work. The Jews, once again, must prove themselves as active co-workers in the universal tasks of mankind. They must raise themselves and their inner principles to the height of the scientific position; for that is where Europe stands today. And there the relationship of foreignness in which the Jew and Judaism has existed up to now towards the outside world must disappear. If ever a bond unites all mankind, it is the bond of science, of pure reason--the bond of truth."

(20

Wohlwill's article, in effect, was the program of the Zeitschrift, and, in a larger sense, of the Verein. For that reason we have quoted the article in more detail than we shall find necessary for some of the

other essays. We see here a great deal of agreement with the views of Zunz, particularly in the idea that all the factual knowledge of Judaism must be integrated into a spiritual background, held together in a system which is determined by the idea in order that it may produce genuine scientific knowledge. There is one important difference, though: Wolf-Wohlwill may speak of the various fields of action for the Wissenschaft des Judentums: philology, history, philosophy, and the study of statistics. But actually he is much more interested in arriving at the knowledge of the "idea" without entering into a laborious examination of the details. Zunz, on the other hand, with examples like Stein's Monumentia Germaniae present in the general atmosphere to lead him into "Quellenforschung", and the romantic respect for the smallest detail in the air, began the actual task of scholarship by investigating the details.

That the philosophic trends of their times criss-cross each other in all the articles of the Zeitschrift scarcely needs proof; all documents we have seen so far bear this out. And in this article by Wohlwill these trends can be seen in almost their purest aspects. The conclusion, with its hopes of a science regenerating the world, is clearly still a product of the Enlightenment. (21) But just as clearly there emerge the Hegelian aspects of Wohlwill's thought, seen in the completely Hegelian terminology of the logical structure of the essay. And in the theory of history expressed by Wohlwill.

(22)
Luitpold Wallch, in an examination of Wohlwill's article, traces the Kantian idea of the Whole as going through Fichte's Wissenschaftslehre, and coming to exercise a great deal of influence on Wohlwill's theory, who derives its theoretical and methodological foundations out of that source. Hegel's influence, as seen in the terminology of Wohlwill, is of course

undeniable. And, as we have had occasion to mention in the chapter on Zunz, the idea of Judaism as being implicitly contained as a subject of science in literature follows Herder and later on Boeckh, who see the essential characteristics of a people most clearly expressed in their literature.

Here, then, we see these trends meet, creating a Wissenschaft des Judentums which must be considered as part of that pattern known as historicism, through which a people rediscovered their past and found new hope for their future.

II.

Legislation concerning the Jews in Rome,
According to the Sources of Roman Law,
by Dr. Eduard Gans.

One of the characteristics of this age is the preoccupation of historians and litterateurs with the colossus that had been Rome. Savigny's study of Roman law had appeared in 1818; and it was only natural for Gans to do his Jewish studies in the field which was to become his life's work. The work he did in the Zeitschrift was a contribution to the Wissenschaft des Judentums in the way that Zunz considered important. Thus, Gans is completely in accord with Zunz in his preface:

"Before a solid, orderly, and above all, complete history of the Jews can be written, certain preliminary works on its details have to be written; this aspect of the work is vitally important, but until now has been sadly ignored."

(23)

He continues by stating that it is his intention to work on a collection of all laws and ordinances which have been issued in the general environment, notably in Europe, and which concern the Jews. Such a collection must also use the tools of philology, as many of the codices and local constitutions available are sadly corrupted. This study of European law will be attempted

by Gans in the days ahead; and the natural starting point for this work, according to him, is a study of Rome, since its dismembration was the beginning of present-day Europe. Thus, this study will consider legislation concerning the Jews as it is found in the Roman sources, and will attempt to arrange this legislation in an orderly manner.

Before Gans presents the results of this investigation, he spends some time in examining the public opinion and mores of Roman society, which, in a sense, are the real legislators for all times; ⁽²⁴⁾ and there he distinguishes between two approaches towards the Jews contained in Roman thought. One is the pre-Constantine approach, principally determined by the then current polytheism. In general, that society was willing to respect the 'Jewish superstitions'; and it had no broad philosophy underling its foundations upon which a systematic hatred against the Jews could be developed. What prejudices there were grew out of these reasons:

(1) There was the invisible unity connecting Jews all over the Roman empire even after they had scattered and become inhabitants of various parts of Rome; the government and the people could not help but view with suspicion a people that even after the destruction of its Temple still remained apart from the rest of the population, and looked back towards its former independence with great longing.

(2) The Jewish religion was a thorn in their sides. As the people were polytheists, they respected all religions; but, precisely because of their polytheism, they found themselves in violent opposition against the beliefs of the Jews that the Jewish religion alone was the true religion; and many persecutions arose out of that reason.

(3) Christianity was already coming to the fore. The Romans did not distinguish too much between it and Judaism, and the quarrels between the two appeared as a bothersome internicene warfare between two members of the same household.

On the other hand, once polytheism gave way to Christianity, the persecution of the Jews as a potential threat to established religion is easy to see; and in our examination of these laws concerning the Jews, says Gans, we must be constantly aware of these undercurrents of opinions held by the Roman government and by the people in general. Before going into the actual examination of the sources, Gans turns to the present environment and admonishes the Christian world to make up their minds concerning present-day legislation dealing with the Jews, which is at present in a sort of no-man's land:

"Either follow the principles of the Church in which salvation is its exclusive property, and which consequently demands the complete extinction of the Jews; thus you fill the existing abyss in our law with the corpses of the world's Jews; or else, you must completely forget in your legislation that Jews exist; then this chasm will be filled with the resurrected spirits of the Jews. But to remain in the present middle position is to perpetuate evil."

(25)

Evidently, Gans had some faith in his contemporaries; by offering them this choice he proclaimed his belief in man's basic decency. Had he lived a hundred and twenty-five years later, this belief might have been taken from him.

In examining Roman law, Gans made his first division 'The Laws for the State' (Staatsrecht), which was to be followed by 'The Laws for the Individual (Privatrecht). Under the first division, he made his first category consider 'ecclesiastical dignitaries' in their relation to the laws of the state. Thus, in examining the Theodosian and Justinian Codes, he tried to see what the terms patriarch, primate, and archi-synagogi mean when applied to Jewish dignitaries in the legislation of the state. Often, according to Gans, such terms are taken from the

outside organization of the majority group, and, loosely applied to a minority group of whom little is known, lead to later misunderstanding concerning the role and activities of the leaders within the minority group. After rejecting the opinions of several early church historians, Gans identifies patriarch with the רב; the primates are seen as the זקנים; this he derives from the Schevet Jehuda and the Juchasin, out of which is established that these were active in the election of the Patriarch (26) and acted as his 'vicars'. (27) The archisynagogus is the אב; the didascalus is identified by him as the אב. The

article stops at this point, and is later on continued by discussing the rights which these dignitaries held under the laws of the Roman state. In the consideration of this, Gans is careful once again in that he points out the relationship of the tolerator against the tolerated, their co-existence with each other, and the influences exercised by the one upon the other. This results in the following dichotomy, which is the basis of arrangement for the material which follows:

- I. The rights of the Jewish dignitaries in the Roman Empire, completely independent to their position within the Jewish people, but in constant comparison to the dignitaries of the Orthodox Church in that same Roman Empire.
- II. Interference (on the part of the state) with the absolute freedom of the internal structure, and its limitation through the ruling power of the state.

(28)

Thus, under section I., Gans shows that from the moment Rome adopted the Christian religion, up to the twin-rulership of Arcadius and Honorius (i.e., all of the fourth century), the officials of the synagogue received exactly the same rights--including even the sanctity (sanctimonia) which the officials

(29

of the Christian religion received. This is established by citing from a constitution of those emperors, dated 397 A.D.

The rights which Gans established through these sources as existing to an equal degree for the Jewish dignitary as for a churchman are these:

A. Immunity from the decurionat. The Theodosian Codex here was in complete opposition to the earlier ordinances. In the earliest times the decurionat, which made its members decurions or senators of their city was a highly prized honor. That it became more of an oppression than an honor, however, is visible in the many laws of the Theodosian Codex, which provides for fugitives to be returned from any asylum for assumption of this 'privilege'. Before Valens, the decurionat is the punishment for criminals; and bastards are legalized by entering into it. One of its most oppressive features was the fact that the decurion had to take over those lands whose owners had left it because they could not pay its taxes; and the decurion had to continue paying those taxes, even paying the debts of the former owners.

B. Positive rights regarding the dignity of their position. These included their right of using their title, the particular distinction given them by the emperors, viz., the honorarii codicilli. Another such right was the right for protection from calumny; and there were many other indications to show that in many ways the Jewish leaders occupied a favored position within the Roman Empire. The legislation as a whole shows that rebels within the church structure were almost completely destroyed, that pagans were tolerated but their privileges removed; but that the Jews in many ways were placed on an equal position with the church.

There was another aspect of Roman Law, of course, directed against the Jews and their internal structure; and this is Gans' second division. There

he recognized two principal limitations of Jewish independence within its community structure: (1) The prohibition against the collecting of the auri coronarum tax; This was a tax collected by the Patriarch from the Jews of all parts of the world; once it had been sent to the Temple, but with the Temple's fall the Patriarchate assumed its position. According to Gans, the Romans violently objected to all this gold leaving the Roman provinces and filling the coffers of the Patriarch. In the year 399 they issued this prohibition, calling the Patriarchs deppulatores, and demanded that some of the money be returned to the Jews who were Roman citizens. Lest we misunderstand their design, however, Gans makes it clear by revealing the fact that the money was to be returned to the aerarium, and was then to be utilized by the imperial treasury. Also, that it was not an act of sheer benevolence is clear from the opposition it meets from the Roman Jewish group.

(2) The other limitations concerned the primates in particular. A law of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, given 398 AD, takes away the powers of the synagogue heads to decide in civil quarrels among the Jews, and limits their authority to strictly Jewishly religious matters. (30)

Gans intends to cover the realm of religious freedom for the Jews within the Roman empire in the next chapter; but the failure of the Zeitschrift after one volume prohibited the publication of any other research he may have done on this topic.

There is little to be added to Gans' article in order to evaluate it. As a scholarly work it is typical of the times, and shares many of the elements we will find in Zunz' contributions. Almost 200 footnotes are added

to the text of these two chapters, and we can readily understand why such a study might not find much popularity with the average layman; it is altogether too technical, and had appeal to a limited group at best. Yet we should recognize here one of the early contributions to the modern Wissenschaft des Judentums; and, indeed, we can recognize in this work the scholarly abilities of the young Eduard Gans who in his time was considered one of the finest minds working in the history of jurisprudence.

III.

Letters Concerning the Reading of the Holy Scriptures, together with a translation of the 6th and 7th chapters of Micah; by David Friedlander.

The form of this article follows the well established letter writing format, in which the letters quite often are addressed to an imaginary figure. However, in this instance the letters are addressed to the Verein itself, and purport to instruct Friedlander's young compatriots in the reading of the Bible.

The first letter starts with a reference to Friedlander's Micah translation which accompanies the letter; and he gives the majority of credit (31 for this translation to the influence of Eichhorn and Herder. Friedlander rejoices at the founding of the Verein, and sees it as a necessary movement for the future development of the Jews; in the same way

"A reform of Judaism becomes more pressing each day. This needs as little proof as the assertion that such a reform has to arrive out of the midst of our group....Our fellow believers need a reform of religious services and ordered educational institutions....and...the foundation of our religion rests upon our holy documents...."

(32

For this reason, Friedlander has prepared his translation of Micah; not

for the scholar, of course, but for the layman desiring education; and though there may be much in what Friedlander has to say that will amaze and confuse the young reader, let him but have patience and follow Friedlander's remarks to the end; he will then be reassured.

The second letter points out some of the difficulties facing the student of Hebrew Scriptures, particularly when he notices mistakes, contradictions, etc., in the text of the Bible. Friedlander makes it clear that despite all this, the Bible is the source for everything great and important in Jewish life, and that it is a never failing source of inspiration. Man has certain abilities given him by God: there is reason, through which he distinguishes the true from the false; there is the aesthetic feeling for beauty, helping him to distinguish the ugly from the beautiful, the proper from the improper; and there is his conscience, which helps him distinguish good from bad, and that which is praiseworthy from that which is wrong. (33) And these God-given qualities must be used by us in a continuous search for truth, starting at the point where our ancestors left off. This argument is continued in Friedlander's third letter, which starts with the quotation:

"To seek after truth, to love beauty, to desire the good,
to do the best--that is what gives man meaning."

(34)

Perhaps, says Friedlander, these difficulties the modern generation encounters when they try to read the Scriptures are part of God's plan, helping him to progress through his exercise of free will, by entering into a new type of study. Is it not possible, asks Friedlander, that all the laws and commandments were to serve the Jews when they were at a much lower stage of development? They still have meaning for us; but now,

rather than as law alone, they may become objects for study and for investigation; and a new generation is not dependent any more

"solely upon nature, the marvels of creation surrounding him, on a yet unformed language; it has also the history of its group, the marvellous fate that befell ~~its~~ people, as an inspiration. O, happy mortal! Read the inspired songs, the exalted speeches of thy priests and poets; investigate their language and their characteristics, their inner spirit itself! Test and investigate with all new methods at thy disposal..and discover..how to win God's favor...and how to gain happiness in this world."

(35)

The fourth letter in this series brings Friedlander's arguments to their climax. Having seen each age gain new wisdom through its study of the Bible, howing ho much we need the insights that are to be found within it, it is then our duty, he argues, to encourage this study among everyone in the group. Yet most people have to work for a living, and have not enough time to devote to Hebrew studies. Even if a boy should learn to read Hebrew fluently, would it not take an inordinate amount of time before he would be able to plumb the depths of the Bible?

What is needed, therefore, for the education of our youth, is

"a history of their forefathers and a book of morals, both of them grounded on the Holy Scriptures, given into their hands in a language they can understand; the study of antiquity can be left for those who are to instruct these youngsters."

(36)

I realize, Friedlander concludes, that your Verein does not need such expositions of the Bible which I am sending you; but since one of your goals is the transmission of the insights you have gained through your studies, and since many of you plan to be active as teachers or directors in Jewish institutes of learning, the things I have to say may be of interest to you and of some some value. Friedlander then appends a translation of the 6th and 7th chapters of Micah, which is given in a type of

dialogue form, with stage directions informing the reader as to the actions of the people, their emotions, God's appearance after a statement of Micah's (in order to continue Micah's speech), and the whole scene is depicted as a form of tableaux. A few footnotes are also affixed concerning the translation of the text.

The article itself, as we have seen, strikes an incongruous note within the Zeitschrift, as Friedlander is out of place in the Verein group himself. As he himself indicates, his message is that of the last century of the Enlightenment, and has a fairly naive approach which sees the world cured of all ills through an application of education at its most festering wounds. To Friedlander, the heritage of the past were the Divine truths that, if properly understood, would make for general happiness. Seeing Jewish culture as an aspect of Jewish "Volkstümlichkeit", or through the eyes of the romantic, was something completely outside his understanding. But we can recognize his sincerity and earnestness within these pages, and can see why the group of young men held him in affectionate respect; also, he mirrors the passing influence of the Enlightenment within the group. And, finally, had the Zeitschrift reached the general public, his essay was one of the very few selections that would have been easy to understand and digest.

IV.

Lectures on the History of the Jews in
Northern Europe and the Slavic Countries.
by Dr. Eduard Gans.

This contribution by Eduard Gans, as his previous essay, is a study of sources, i.e., 'Quellenforschung'. Gans originally intended to present

a history of the Jews of Europe, starting with England, continuing with Scandinavia, Russia, Poland, and Hungary; but the Zetischrift only found time to print the very beginning of this cycle, which Gans called an introduction, and which then covered 'The Jews of England up to the time of the battle of Hastings'.
(37)

At the beginning of the lecture, Gans points out that the history of a people has two aspects: an internal and an external one. The external history shows its relationship to the outside world, internal and external wars, its rulers, its battles to attain independence or to defend it, its strength and its weaknesses. The internal history shows its form and being, its beliefs, and manners, its constitution and its laws, its language and trade, its science and its art. Gans is primarily interested in showing the internal history of the JEWS.

Following the introduction, Gans turns to the English scene, sketching in its early history from the Roman occupation up to the battle of Hastings. This he follows with the listing of the sources which he used in his investigations, primarily Latin works from the 16th and 17th centuries. Only one historical, to his knowledge, has preceded him; and that is the Anglia Judaica, the History and Antiquities of the Jews in England, Oxford 1738, by D. Bloissors Tovey, E.E.D. and Principal of new inn. Hall
(38)
in Oxford. This study Gans considers an uncritical compilation without any inner connection.

When did the Jews first enter England? Most authorities in Gans' time assumed it was after the battle of Hastings. There were others who tried to prove the Jews entered already during Roman times, but Gans considered their evidence inconclusive. A Roman bas relief, for example, showing Samson driving the foxes into the grainfield, at the very most might

indicate the presence of one or two Jewish persons; but no mention is made of any Jewish community until the year 740, when Ecbright, the archbishop of York, prohibits the Christians to attend Jewish festivals; this is indicated in the 146th paragraph of the canonic excerpts published in Johnson's collection of ecclesiastical laws. ⁽³⁹⁾ In 833 Ingulph ⁽⁴⁰⁾ relates that Whitglaff, king of Persia, guaranteed the monks of Croyland the possession of all alnds given them not only from the king, but also those lands they have received from Christians and Jews.

How many Jews existed in England before the battle of Hastings? Relatively few, Gans answers; otherwise there would be more mention of them in the general laws, as in the laws discussing punishments of those who slay a stranger, etc. The historians of his time, notably Basnage, refer to an expulsion of the Jews from England in 1020. Gans disproves this by pointing out that there was not a large enough group of Jews to warrant expulsion, that Jewish sources, as Rabbi Gans' Zemach David, make no references to it, and that there are definite laws regarding the Jews in the laws of Edward the Confessor, whose reign started in 1041. Had there been an expulsion, there could not have been such a rapid return that mention is made of them only twenty years after the expulsion. (Hume, in his History of England, vol. I, p. 236, regards these laws as a later replacement for the original laws of Edward the Confessor which were lost; nevertheless, argues Gans, these laws were based on original sources, ⁽⁴¹⁾ if they were replacements.)

That William the Conqueror brought over a large amount of Jews has, of course, been established through such documents as the Holingshed Chronicle, London, 1807, vol. II, page 24:

"Among other grievances, which the English sustained by the hard dealing of the Conqueror this is to be remembered: that he brought Jews into this land from Rouen and appointed them a place to inhabit and occupie."

Gans' next lecture, never published, was to deal with the Jews under the rule of the first Norman kings.

Again, as in Gans' other works for the Zeitschrift, we see here an intense occupation with the minutiae of history, an occupation that nevertheless is based on a broad foundation of philosophy. (And, indeed, Gans' main quarrel with Savigny is that he considers that school to have completely neglected that broad philosophy underlying all law of which historical happenings are merely the reflections.)

Certainly, had Gans continued in the Jewish field, his ability would have led him to major contributions towards Juedische Wissenschaft; as it is, this article is only an indication of what he intended to do in this field. Its main value is that of a museum piece: it is one of the first scientific attempts to view Jewish life in England through the eyes of a Jewish author.

V.

Concerning Spanish Place Names as they
appear in Hebrew-Jewish Writings; by
Zunz, Dr.

Zunz' contributions, as we have expressed before, are the most important writings within the Zeitschrift; and Zunz, who was the editor, was certainly the leading spirit in this phase of the Verein's work. Both this work and his other articles in the Zeitschrift are of greater importance than the contributions of his fellow Verein members; in a sense, the contributions of Zunz are the solid core of the Zeitschrift, and, as in the article on Rashi, had a much further reaching influence ~~on~~ than the Zeitschrift itself exercised.

The introductory remarks of the article present the basic approach, by

now familiar to us, of the "Wissenschaft des Judentums. The history of the Jews, we are told, is one of continuous development. But, unlike the history of the Hebrews which preceded it, we must look for it in different sources.

For

"such a development primarily manifests itself in the actions emanating from a people. As long as it did not perish together with its political existence, it continues to life; and where there is life, there are deeds of action. The group may have been unable to find an outlet for action on battle fields or speakers platforms, in government cabinets or in courts of justice; but this very inability became an object for their intellectual activity, and their reflections on this enforced idleness in those fields is revealed in their writings as an idea, as an action."

(43)

Jewish action, then, is encompassed in this world of ideas, and the history of Judaism, while it must be aware of the outside influences acting upon the Jew, is the study of these developing ideas in all their manifestations, whether they take place in Spain or in Portugal, or in Poland; and the Jews of all the world thus have one history. Once this general structure has been set up, the structure of religio-political Judaism, we can venture forth from it into the various subcategories, which are the different Jewish community from Poland to Spain and Italy. Searching within each of these categories, we can come to enrich the total structure; and one of the richest, as yet unexplored fields, giving us information for our studies in the literature of the Jews throughout the world. For here internal and external history come to the aid of each other:

"...as soon as we realize that it is not unimportant where and when an action occurred, where an important man lived and meditated, where a book was written, and among what neighbors and fates an activity unfolded itself...the understanding of Jewish works becomes a vital need, a key to what has occurred; and the historical statistical notices in these writings become of prime importance for full understanding."

(44)

A definite occurrence in a certain place, says Zunz, gives us insight into this place; and the birth and life of a Jew in Spain, in Arabia, or in Poland is the corollary to a definite law regarding the criticisms of his writings. The study of geography helps us to understand his writings; and thus the deciphering of place-names in such writings is of direct importance to the study of Judaism.

Our field of study thus necessitates that we take the individual countries into consideration; and therefore--Zunz continues--we will divide it into the following eleven classes:

- "1. The asiatic-osmanic land, together with Arabia, which, during the older Roman period, falls into three divisions: (a) Palestine and part of Arabia; (b) Syria and the Near East, Cyprus and Rhodes; (c) Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and the adjoining lands.
2. Persia and the rest of Arabia.
3. Egypt, Habesch, Nubia; for the Roman period, also Cyrene.
4. The lands of European Turkey and the Crimea: Greece, Macedonia; etc.
5. Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica.
6. The barbarian lands in Africa.
7. Hispania: Spain, Portugal, and the Provencal land including part of Provence, Languedoc, and Catalonia, since the Jewish inhabitants of the latter group shared most of the communal leanings of their Spanish compatriots.
8. France, Switzerland, Germany.
9. Old Poland and Hungary.
10. Great Britain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Russia.
11. America and Australia.

(45)

Through this we come to understand the theme of the present dissertation: Jewish writings, the main source of the history of Judaism and the integrating part of Jewish history in general, contain important geographical details necessary for systematic, historical Wissenschaft des Judentums; and therefore the place names which are contained within each of these eleven divisions will be collected and classified. Our primary sources here are Hebrew and rabbinic works. Most of the Arabian works are available in Hebrew translation; and there is

relatively little German[#]Jewish which is original. In the using of these sources, says Zunz, the following divisions of Jewish literature are particularly suited as geographic sources:

1. Annalists, historians, journals of travellers and writers to whom such place-names are practically part of their subject. However, says Zunz, not too much is available here.
2. Collections of legal decisions (Scheelot-T'schuvot), where the signatures are often helpful. Also, the fact that the rabbi ~~is~~ generally associated with a town makes for worthwhile information; and the body of such decisions gives sound insights into the lives of the peoples; most of this is still scattered in hard-to-reach libraries, which are real treasure troves to be investigated.
3. Coins, inscriptions, gravestones; long recognized as rarer, but more reliable, surer sources of information.
4. Congregational minutes; they often help, would help more if more care was taken with them.

(46)

Once these sources have been investigated, the discoveries sorted and arranged, the character of these notices must be critically determined. There is a three-fold gradation here:

1. Teaching in a scientific manner. Almost every notice does this; since it occurs quite frequently that a name is mentioned by the author of an ancient treatise concerning a land this author may know little about, we distinguish three categories here: (1) the author drew from foreign, scientific books, translated from them, excerpted Jewish out of non-Jewish sources. (2) He reports either an oral or a written tradition which has reached him through his group, which can or cannot be proven. (3) He mixes up foreign material with his own, either knowingly or else unknowingly.
2. Relating a story or general information. Most authors do this; it must be distinguished here whether or not the author speaks of his own life, or of distant places; whether it is second or first hand; generally, this information is more reliable than that of category 1.
3. Unintentionally mentioned place-names. This gives the most information; it is found in signatures, addresses, documents, acrostics, family names.

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There are, of course, critical difficulties concerning orthography, dubious names that may or may not be place names, abbreviations, etc.; often we were deceived by bad texts, ignorant predecessors whose faulty etymology brought corruptions into otherwise well preserved texts, and other pitfalls. But these

are things that we shall have to overcome in our investigations.

Why did I pick Spain as my point of departure? asks Zunz. And he answers in this manner:

"Partially, order to invite equally-minded investigators and lovers of science to write amore worthwhile continuation; but primarily, because that locality and period of time are too important to permit me to make this first investigation in any other phase of Jewish history. For, as if viewing a friendly oasis, odes the wanderer amidst the German-Polish barbarism gaze across into the Hesperian land. Looking into its present, he ga zes back into a more important past. Seeing this beauty that has disappeared, he would feel even more saddened with his miserable present, id not this peregrination in itself enable him to see the reasons underlying the lean as well as the blessed years of existence. And he is further reassured when he beholds that justice and the dignity of man are finally rising out of their lwly state, and how they are destroying the cursed Inquisition still damned by the Jews whom they expelled; and how these beneficent forces are planting their seeds within Germany's Jewry today."

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Spain, he goes on to rhapsodize, was the place were the Jews stood on high as a level of culture as presentday Europe has to show. The Hebrew language was a living entity, in which creative work was being done; and the outer history of the Jews was also more attractive, particularly after the barbarian West-Gothic epoch. It is only unfortunate that this period of history has not received its, and very few sources existed for the author to work in; this is a constant source of regret, in vew of the fact

"that every trivial piece of nonsense (Quark) out of the Polish period is in print, while good Spanish works gather mildew in libraries like the Oppenheim library in Hamburg."

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For that reason, Zunz now lists the main sources that are at his disposal in the first two categories which he has mentioned, together with some explanatory note affixed to each source mentioned:

1st class (Historians, etc.)

Josippon
Seder Olam sutta
Abraham b. David
Benjamin of Tudela
Jehuda ben Salomo Charisi
Iggerot Rambam
Isaac Israeli
Abraham Zacut
Abraham Peritzol
Joseph ben Josue Cohen
Gedalja ben Joseph
David ben Salomon Gans
David (author Kore-hadorot)
Schabtai ben Joseph.
two catalogues of Oppenheim library
Chajim David Joseph ben Isaac Azulai
Samuel Romanelli

2nd class (legal decisions)

Maimonides רמב"ם
Salomo Adderet רס"ל
Ascher ben Jechiel רשב"י
Anonymous in רמב"ם
Nissim ben Ruben ר"ן
Isaac ben Scheschet ר"י
Simon ben Zemach Duran רס"ק
Salomo, his son רס"ל
Joseph ben Efraim Karo הר"י קארו

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All of these names, it must be realized, were given with their dates, some short comment on their activities, and a list of the books which were utilized. This is finally followed by a listing of the names discovered by Zunz within these writings, the list being organized alphabetically and by districts; thus, 'Spain' is followed by 'Portugal', which is followed by 'Provincia'. In order to gain an idea of this methodology, we will cite his first tentries under Spain:

אברהם (Iggerot Ramban f. 25b, and 32a) as family name by Wolf bibliothek. hebr. t. 3, p. 1069 and t. 4, p. 993; also as אברהם (Juchas. f. 133a), and perhaps אברהם (Ascher RGU 5) f. 16b. אברהם--Arabic אברהם (Carisi II. 121).

אברהם on a Phoenician coin (s. d. D. Michaelis orient. Biblioth. th. 10, p. 135.) Gadix. Compare אברהם, Iadega, and Gadir.

אברהם family name. Compare Aguilar in Valencia, Andalusia, etc.

אברהם (ben Scheschet RGU N. 349). אברהם (Nissim RGU ed. Rome, p. 42). Agramonte in Catalonia.

אברהם is the well known name for the Roman Catholic church. From this meaning, the nuances of which Zunz explains in another connection, another meaning arises as used by Abraham ben David (Kabb. f. 46), where this word means Christian Spain, as opposed to that of the Moors. In another place, by Cosri (sect. 2, #77) אברהם אברהם אברהם it means Latin or Spanish.

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Some of his notes, as on the names *וידבר* and *ידבר*, cover several pages apiece. At the conclusion of the article he has a register of more than three hundred names which this investigation of Jewish names has unearthed.

The scope of our thesis does not permit us to evaluate this article in terms of its scholarly contribution; rather, we are interested in seeing it as part of the configuration of the Verein; and therefore we turn to it in order to understand the thought processes and theory of history underlying it; for in this we recapture part of the Verein pattern.

First, there is the concept of Jewish history in terms of Jewish thought and ideas, with the obverse side of this theory seeing outside influences molding and changing Jewish thought. In his later works Zunz was to expand this more clearly into the concept of *Leidensgeschichte*; but the basic foundations for his theory of history are already established here. Then, there is his his scholarly pre-occupation with details, which we have related before, to German historicism and to romanticism. The fact that he picked Spain as his first field of research is also highly significant. Not only was Heine influenced by this, and turned towards the Spanish world in his Jewish writings, but also do we see mirrored here the longings of the whole German generation, influenced by romanticism, seeking a bygone, golden age of its own. Out of Zunz's words we also recognize the attraction Spain held for the Jew. This attraction was based on a dissatisfaction with the present and what it had to offer the Jews: here, in Germany, the Jew still had to make his peace with the state; if he wanted the honors and privileges the state had to offer, he had to accept it in all its details, i.e., he had to convert to the religion of the state. But there, in Spain, he looked upon another world, a world in which the rulers recognized the talents and abilities of the

Jewish poets and scholars; a world where they were honored equals, not tolerated foreign specimens. Thus, this work comes to present the Verein to us in most of its details: it is a scholarly investigation into the past of the Jewish group, seeking to illumine part of the Jewish task to the present generation. In doing this, it wants the past to be seen in all its rightful glory, and it also hopes to inspire the present generation to greater self respect and more hope for the future. Certainly, some of it is difficult reading; but when we re-read it today, we see it not only as one of the first scientific investigations in the field of Juedische Wissenschaft, but also as a fine contribution to it. And our respect for this young group of scholars and idealists grows in proportion.

VI.

Recension of the Bibel'schen Orient.
by r-r. (M.Moser).

The first issue of the Bibel'schen Orient appeared in 1821. Though no editors name appeared on its covers, it was an open secret that its guiding spirit was Isaac Bernays, the Chascham, who was the father of Jacob Bernays. Isaac Bernays could be called a forerunner of Samson Raphael Hirsch in that he formulated the beginnings of neoOrthodoxy. It was natural that the Verein should oppose such manifestations. Not only did the Bibel'sche Orient contain a direct attack on David Friedlander⁽⁵²⁾, but it is also a representative form of a type of mysticism in Jewish life that was particularly repugnant to the Verein in view of the fact that it buttressed and defended the very Orthodoxy and rabbinism which the Verein considered its most bitter foe.

The author of the review (Moses Moser) did not sign his name to the article; but in what he says is mirrored the attitude of all members of the Verein,

who particularly disliked to see the tools of new criticism used to support the rabbinic position. The review itself starts with an extensive recapitulation of the opening article in the Bibel' shhe Orient, in which the author, after acknowledging his ineptness to Herder, draws a broad outline of the meaning of the Biblical myths according to his own understanding; as the Zeitschrift reviewer (Moser) says:

"these..are his opinions concerning the meaning of the Biblical myths, of Abraham's beliefs, of the idea of the Mosaic foundations and its further development..up to the Babylonian exile. We have been particularly careful to present this in his own words as much as possible, since only in their bizarre ways of expression can be seen the peculiarities that have given a false glitter to all of his ideas. One need only compare..some of his statements with the simply idea underlying it: the Mosaic institution must be eternal, because it was founded--to see how everywhere .. the false artistic language..distorts its meaning.

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What annoys the reviewer most is the fact that this is not just a superficial attempt; obviously, says Moser, a great deal of scholarship has gone into the article. But it is one of the evils of the present day that good scholarship, rather than being part of a clearly reasoning process of thought, becomes a tool for presenting one's own emotional constructions.

"just as," Moser continues, "the author exhibits the corrupting tendency towards an a-rational, bottomless mysticism in his introduction...so he shows his inability to engage in any historical critical investigation, dependent upon clear reasoning, in his curious etymologies..decorating the first issue."

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Thus, our reviewer strongly objects to the beginnings of a Hebrew dictionary that sees as its first task as listing the names and attributes of all the old gods known, and then rediscovering them within the Hebrew language. And he dislikes such linguistical studies as

"the phantastic creation which is accomplished by the author in the simple connection between the letter ס and the four gutturals א נ ד ק. Here, in over sixty words, the great truth is announced that 'the descent of the Most High and Holy in his cloud-rimmed

chariot into the sandhills of the material has received an objective reality in the self-objectification of the Divine in the gradation-like breathing forth of the gutturals in the speech'."

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Most particularly, of course, does he find objection in the mysticism clouding the pages of this periodical. When the author steps out of its clouds, says Moser, and views such matters as Pharisaism, there is a great deal of sound material contained within the pages of the "ibel'sche Orient; though even here the reviewer often takes objection to individual statements made by the author (Bernays). In many statements of the "ibel'sche Orient the opposition towards non-Orthodoxy springs clearly to the fore, notably where he attacks Moses Mendelssohn; and Moser, of course, does not fail to point out these remarks. In the final pages of his evaluation, he states this:

"We know what THIS type of looking towards the Orient's original ideas and symbolism (Ur-ideen und Ursymbolik) means; we know this mystic theology which tries to be counted as a religion in our times. In the redactor it has found a worthy organ; for that reason alone do we pay this much attention to his writings. He preaches rabbinism to Judaism (in direct conflict with himself), and Catholicism to Christianity (for he hates the clear reason of Protestantism)--which, at least, is logical. Back! Constantly back! is the key word here."

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Yet Moses Moser feels certain that these attempts towards mysticism, towards a new rabbinism in Jewish life, will be rejected by this generation; and he closes with the following, very characteristic peroration on behalf of the Verein's position:

"Just as--despite Joshua and the Pope--the earth still turns around its axis and revolves around the sun, so the spirit of the true science and of real freedom of thought advances towards its great goal despite its calumniators; and Moses and Jesus will appear in new glory to the human race who will honor them as they appear in the framework of the spirit and the truth."

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Few studies of the Verein give any emphasis to this review in the Zeitschrift. Generally, the only articles mentioned are Zunz' works and the article by Wohlwill. Yet this review is of some importance in helping us to understand the Verein as a whole, particularly in regard to the study of the Wissenschaft des Judentums. For this, in a sense, was a battle. On the one side we see the Verein, ready to use the new insights of the outside world within the Jewish field, eager to unearth the treasures of Jewish culture to the eyes of the Jews and non-Jews. The great difference between them and earlier investigators was their freedom from the dogmas of Jewish tradition: they did not have to accept Judaism's own judgments about itself and its institutions, and their scholarly pursuits were thus not hampered by religious scruples demanding that the light of reason be extinguished at a certain point. In rebellion against the traditional Jewish community, they had found a new field where they could work as modern Jews, attempting a synthesis between their Judaism and their position as citizens in the outside world.

Is it any wonder that they opposed Bernays so bitterly? Here was an interloper who also believed in the importance of historical criticism; but he intended it as a tool to bolster up rabbinism itself. He wanted to see Juedische Wissenschaft become part of traditional Judaism, its sharp edge of criticism blurred by a mysticism which would leave the basic structure of traditional Judaism unscarred; certain areas were to be considered as holy, as unapproachable for science; and thus the vested interests of Orthodoxy would maintain themselves, and historical criticism would become a weapon of defense for them. Because of this, the Bibel'sche Orient was construed--and rightly--as a direct attack on the life of the Verein.

VII.

Concerning the Belief of the Jews in
a Future Messiah, by Lazarus Bendavid.

This article appeared in the second issue of the Zeitschrift (as we know,

only three issues appeared); and, as in the case of Friedlander's article on the need for German Bible translations, we have mirrored here an attitude which is expressive of the Enlightenment in the last half of the previous century, and which is already completely out of touch with the needs of the Verein group and the whole new generation of which they were a part.

In this article Bendavid attacks the viewpoint of Rev. deSacy, who maintains that the Jews cannot change any of their established customs without ceasing to be Jews; and that a Jew would have to believe, as did his forefathers, that a Messiah would come to redeem them. (In this view, we can see the Orthodoxy of the outside church and state; the identical view is held by the Prussian government when they close the Beer Temple in Berlin as an unauthorized deviation: either there is Orthodoxy, or else Christianity; but let there be no middle approach, seems to be their position. There is another aspect, too: even today, the idea of the Jews as the rejected people, as the living testimonial of Divine punishment, is an essential part of much Christian theology.) Against this, Bendavid asks:

"Is, then, the belief in a coming Messiah really to be regarded as an important part of the religion of the Jews? Let us first see it...in its two component parts:

1. the mystic aspect: the messiah as the redeemer from original sin, the world savior, the spiritual mediator between man and God.
2. the political aspect: the messiah is the king of the Jews, who will gather all their dispersed brothers, give back to them their lost kingdom, and their national sovereignty."

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This dual aspect of the messiah concept is now traced through the teachings of Maimonides and Cabalist sources, in an effort to determine whether or not it has really been an integral part of Jewish thought. Maimonides includes belief in the Messiah as one of articles of faith. Nevertheless, according to Bendavid:

"Maimonides statements on this matter express themselves in such a completely human manner, so much alike to the inner yearnings for a better world slumbering in the breast of every good person, that it becomes quite apparent that he attached this secret longing to a messiah concept only because he encountered this messiah concept in some of his contemporaries and in a few cabbalists-- and not because he considered the concept of the messiah one of the integral parts of the Mosaic religion."

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Bendavid then summarizes the teachings of the Mad Hachasaka regarding the messiah; and, he adds, it is not surprising that the people all accepted these teachings gladly; for they liked to see their continued existence despite all hardships ascribed to the particular love God held for them. Also, he adds that many talmudists, including Hillele the Elder and Joseph Albo, did not consider the messiah concept an integral part of Judaism. And the Pentateuch offers no proof for this contention at all, while one has to twist the meaning of the prophets to deduce a promise of a coming messiah after the second destruction of the Temple. Up to the Babylonian captivity, says Bendavid, the prophets were concerned with the bad moral behavior of the people; in warning them that they would be punished for their sins they were trying to prepare them for the hard times ahead; and adding a hope for a future deliverer was natural enough in view of the constantly shifting political scene. And then, in Babylonian captivity, purified through suffering, the people began to think that perhaps this idea of a redeemer had more than a political meaning. Cyrus let them return to Palestine; but the idea lingered on, assuming, for the first time, mystical aspects.

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This was also the time, says Bendavid, of the beginning of Persian influences, particularly of the original sin myth and the flood myth. And, once these ideas became incorporated into the body of Jewish beliefs, the schools of the cabbalists tried to reconcile this viewpoint with the Torah's idea of God being a forgiving God, of sins not plaguing the descendants of the sinner for all times; and the reconciliation was made by means of a new concept (based on allegorical interpretations of Scriptures and first transmitted

orally), the 912'60 910, through which Adam's sin becomes that of all his descendants. Building up from this, they derived a mystical concept of the Messiah, travelling through different time epochs, acting as the political redeemer in the person of David, who will be the spiritual redeemer in the days to come; others dispute this saying that spiritual redemption has already taken place, at Mt. Moriah, through Abraham; and that the Messiah will bring only political redemption. Thus, the incident at Moriah has become the most important of the service on the most solemn of days, at which time God is implored to forgive the sins of his people and reminded of the sacrifice of Abraham.

In the conclusion Bendavid points out that since we thus see a great deal of variety concerning the Messiah concept within the Jewish group, with no single concept completely predominating, reason alone would show that the idea of waiting for the Messiah is certainly not one of the principal articles of faith within the Jewish group. Its mystical aspects, as that of redeemer from sin and as spiritual mediator, have strong counter-currents within Jewish prayer, as in the Yom Kippur service. And

"let no man, least of all the affable Baron Silvester deSacy, begrudge it the Jew if he finds his Messiah in the fact that good rulers have given them the same equality they extend to their other citizens, and have granted them the hope that with the fulfillment of their duties as citizens they will also acquire all citizenship rights."

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Primarily, these articles in the Zeitschrift are source material to us, giving us information about the Verein, its members, the group they represented, and the society as a whole. Thus we are not concerned so much with mistakes of scholarship, as with the underlying approach the author used in the presentation of his material. And in that respect the Bendavid article is quite revealing. As mentioned before, it exhibits an attitude which is that of the

Enlightenment, ; the Verein as a whole was already immersed with the problem of Volkstümlichkeit, and under the influence of romanticism; but to Bendavid there was no problem here at all. Where Reform, under the influence of a mission concept rooted partially in 'Volktuemlichkeit', transformed the Messiah concept to that of the Messianic Age, Bendavid simply saw it as part of the Enlightenment personified within the present environment; that he could maintain such a view in an environment that was anything but pleasant for many of his fellow Jews may, in justice to him, be ascribed to his faith in humanity and in the goodness of his fellowmen. At the same time, it gives us the clearest proof possible that he did not understand the strivings and the agony of the Verein group of which he considered himself a part; but he was a fine and a good man; and perhaps the contemplation of such clear and childlike faith was a warm and pleasant thing for the members of the Verein in which to indulge. Thus, his contribution, in the final analysis, did have some merits.

VIII.

Legislation Concerning the Jews in
Rome, continued. by Dr. Eduard Gans.

(covered in review no. II., p. 154ff.)

IX.

Solomon ben Isaac, named Rashi.
by Zünz, Dr.

This is undoubtedly the most important work contained in the Zeitschrift, and exercised the greatest influence of all the writings done within the circle of the group. According to one historian of Jewish literature

"this was the first essay depicting the life of a Jewish scholar in all its ramifications which utilized all the tools of modern scholarship...thus acting...as an inspiring example."

In our study we have already noted the actual greatness of scholarship residing in the young Zunz; and though most of the facts about Rashi's life are known by now, and different biographies of him exist, it must be recognized that Zunz's work first brought him to the attention of the public, and that all later works base themselves almost entirely on his pioneer study.

The opening paragraphs of the work immediately captures our attention through its vivid language and imagery:

"Through the night concealing the earliest history of French and German Jewry many a myth resounds; and many a name wanders, as if lost, towards us. But there is no light to illumine these clues; no man is named, no deed lives, no writing has any influence. Almost uninterrupted activity occupies the Jewish Orient; but these half barbarian lands, limited to the meager culture of their forebears, are almost completely cut off from Babylonia's Talmud, from the songs of the Provence, from Moorish wisdom.

Daybreak begins in this literature only at the beginning of the tenth century; and once again it is a Moses who journeys into the wilderness: Rabbi Moses ben Kalonymous, scion of a famous Italian family, journeys from Lucca to Speyer, bringing the gift of scholarship."

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As in all of Zunz's works, a warm love for the subject matter he is treating breathes through the lines; and in tracing the first chapters of French-Jewish literature, one gains a sense of personal involvement. This description from Moses B. Kalonymos up to Rabbeinu Gershom serves as the introduction to the subject matter of his essay: Salomon ben Isaac of Troyes, known as Rashi to the contemporary world.

From here on in Zunz's procedure is that of the careful scientist; every statement regarding Rashi is set up against the misconceptions of the past; the misconceptions are disproven, and Zunz's statements shown to be facts, through the most painstaking scholarship possible. Thus, he establishes first

Rashi's name. The older Buxdorf had resolved the abbreviation רש"י as "Rabbi Salomon Jarchi"; and oft of this others had reasoned that his native town had been Luenel, in the Provence. These beliefs were still current in

Zunz' time, and he is careful to show them as completely erroneous. (64

Rashi's dates. Gedalja, in his Schalscheleth hakkabalah, places Rashi into the year 1180. David Gans had accepted this, and everyone following him, including Gesenius, had adopted this date instead of the proper 1040 date. Drawing upon Spanish literature, Zunz carefully disproves the es-
(65
tablished misconception.

Rashi's personal life. Little is known concerning it, except that he married early, either in Troyes or in Luistre--and that he did not travel extensively, as most of Zunz' contemporary scholars believed. Considering his status in society, and the fact that only Jews with large private means were able to travel at all, it is impossible to credit him with large scale travelling. His writings show ignorance of Palestine, Babylonia, and Spain. (66
They show that he had been in Germany, but where or when cannot be determined. He had three daughters, and no sons (despite an attempt in Wolf's biblioth. hebr. part 2, p. 295 to present him with a son named Jehuda); as Rashi's descendants are important to the history of Jewish scholarship, Zunz, going into particulars regarding each important person, here gives a complete geneological
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table of the Tosaphist school. For this, says Zunz, is the real life of Rashi: a life to be sought in all the academies for Talmudic studies that rose in his wake, that carry out his teachings; in truth

"it is this Talmudic Jewish life out of which Rashi must be understood; these are the accomplishments which have made him live forever; this is the place from which he appears as a great and exalted person. Those scholars who turn to their own environment, and, taking their more educated friends as models, carve out an image to their own liking...brag concerning Rashi that he was a tolerant man, who understood Persian, Arabic, Latin, Greek, and German; that he founded the sciences of astronomy and medicine; that he was a master in Kabbalah and Hebrew grammar; that he had travelled extensively and performed wonders--and they maintain a stupid and conceited silence in regard to his commentaries, in regard to his own environment itself.

I, on the other hand, say concerning my hero that he was completely dominated by the Talmud, and in no way tolerant; that he had no idea concerning Persian, Arabic, Latin, and Greek; that his knowledge of German, of astronomy, of geography, and of physiology was of a very limited nature; that he was a stranger in Kabbalah, touched by superstition; and that even in the Hebrew language his understanding was more derived from practice and repetition than from a conscious knowledge of Hebrew grammar."

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These statements on the part of Zunz are now taken individually, and each one of them is completely proved by citations from Rashi's writings; and if much of what Zunz proved is now a common-place fact, accepted by all, it must be remembered that each of these statements established by him was revolutionary at the time that it was propounded by him.

Having eliminated most of these misconceptions regarding Rashi, Zunz now turns to Rashi's writings themselves, asking the questions that to him are the only true questions to ask in an attempt to write a true biography of Rashi: What was the material available for Rashi in his studies? On what was his knowledge based? What did he find, and where does he set out on a path of his own? The answers, according to Zunz, are once again discovered to lie in Rashi's writings themselves; for besides the Scriptures, Rashi meticulously lists every source that he has utilized to any extent. Zunz therefore spends the section following on an introduction into Rashi's library, annotating each mention of any book with a list of information on the book: (in this quotation, these notes are very much condensed):

The Holy Scriptures: Rashi's primary source; all his work ultimately goes back to it; generally he uses the *663* but on occasion he also uses the *677*. Of secrets--*אפס*--he knows nothing. He also knows the accents.

Masorah: the beginnings of which go back to Hillel's school. He cites an alphabet out of this masorah (*אבגדהוזחטי קמנצפ טו י*).

Onkelos *אפס*; through his predilection for this simple, understanding translator we ourselves are prejudiced in favor of Rashi.

Jonathan: *יונתן*. Under this name he cites all Targumim to the prophets and the hagiography.

Mishna: *משנה*. Generally used only in a cursory manner, with reference to the Talmud.

Ben Siran: *בן סירא*. Judging from his remarks to Tr. Erubin f.65a, he only knew this work through the Gemara.

Megillath Taanith: *מגילת תענית*. Probably known only through Talmud.

Beraitha: *בראיתא*. That of Elasar Galili, used quite frequently by him.

Tosephta: *תוספתא*. Used frequently.

Sifra: *ספרא*. Used frequently.

Sifri: *ספרי*. Used frequently.

Jezira: *יזירה*; Known by Rashi, used infrequently.

Seder Olam: *סדר עולם*; used frequently as a Baraitha.

Yerushalmi Talmud: *ירושלמי*. Used occasionally--but Babli Talmud is the authority for Rashi.

Talmud Babli, called *תלמוד בבלי* by him. The soul of his activities.

Aboth d'rabbi Nathan: *אבות דרבי נתן*. Occasionally.

Sifri Sutta: *ספרי סוטה*. Zunz does not know if this book is still available. Referred to in de Rossi's Meor enajim f.101a.

Midrash Rabba: *מדרש רב*. Very often. Referred to by Rashi as the 'legends of Palestine'. Generally set against tradition from Babylonian schools.

Midrash Samuel: *מדרש שמעון*; Mechiltim: *מכילתין*; Pirke Elieser: *פירקתא דרבי אליעזר*; Pesikta: *פסיקתא*. Frequently. Midrash Tanchuma: *מדרש תנחומי* or *תנחומי* and Targum Yerushalmi: *תרגום ירושלמי* to Esther, on Deut.3:5.

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The above gives an inkling of the thoroughness of Zunz' work. He follows this with a catalogue, fully as exhaustive, of the sources used by Rashi dating after the middle of the eighth century. These include principally Achai Gaon from Schabeha *שבתאי גאון*; Jehudai Gaon *יהודאי גאון*; his *חבריו*; Josippon: *יוסף קאפון*, whom he shows to be a pseudo-Josaphus; Amran Gaon; Kallir; Memchullam Gaon (Zunz here gives the whole family and discusses its achievements); and every other source quoted by Rashi. When Rashi refers to 'my teachers' *רבינו*, Zunz breaks this down to Jacob ben Jakar, Isaac ben

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Jehuda, and Isaac Levi, and examines each one of them in turn.

Obviously, we cannot go into all the details Zunz brings out; but we have seen enough to realize that this work has a much wider scope than the title indicates; in a sense, it is a history of Jewish literature--and a very definite contribution to the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*.

Once Zunz has settled the question concerning the sources used by Rashi, he begins examining his works. Probably, says Zunz, his commentaries were not begun until the year 1070; that they were not done in a completely systematic manner is shown by the fact that two tractates remained unfinished (*Baba Bathra* and *Maccoth*). Two classes of commentaries must be distinguished in his work: his Biblical commentaries are new work, done in privacy, with few citations as to his old teachers. Apparently he utilized the wealth of his studies here in creating a full, complete work for his own benefit and for the benefit of

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those desirous for knowledge. His talmudic commentaries, on the other hand, are based upon older works, excerpt freely, are given publicly to his students, are probably given into the hands of the general public at the same time that Rashi was still at work on them, and are thus constantly being revised. In a sense they resemble lecture notes, and Rashi applies the word *פירוש* to them, an abbreviation of *פירושין* (commentaries) according to Zunz.

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The two works are thus different in execution; but the same spirit lives in them, a spirit desiring to serve the work which is commentated. Because of this, there is much more ^{ענין} in the Bible commentary than any other type of commentary and explanation; and in the same manner he gives the Talmud without apologies or attacks, without sophistry, intending merely to give its meaning.

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Rashi is always faithful to the text, and honest with the reader; he uses a natural, concise style; pays attention to points of grammar when they make the text more understandable; and occasionally uses old-French to emphasize

a translation; his exegetic carefulness makes him repeat certain rules over and over again; in short, he is a teacher and educator per excellence.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Also, he acted as judge and as rabbi; but as to his private life, there is too little known to do more than speculate on his activities. Possibly, after the pogrom in 1096, he wrote several S'lichot; but we are not certain enough, says Zunz, to identify him definitely as the author.

To the above, which is the body of the essay, Zunz made some remarkable additions; one is a fairly exhaustive table outlining Jewish literature between the years 1030 and 1110; and then he continues outlining the influence that Rashi exercised after his death. For, says Zunz, his spirit lives on in the commentaries and supercommentaries which followed him; and what has started as the biography of a scholar thus becomes a history of scholarship.

The final appendix to the study of Rashi's life in some ways is the most remarkable part of the whole work. It is a complete list of the manuscripts, the various printed editions, and chronologically arranged reprints of the commentaries. The first list includes all known handwritten documents, their present location, type of paper they were written, etc.⁽⁷⁵⁾ The next list records each printed edition, from 1482 until 1818, which carried the "biblical text together with Rashi's commentary."⁽⁷⁶⁾ To these, finally, are added a list of his commentaries to the Babylonian Talmud, to Bereshith Rabba, to Aboth, his legal decisions and judgments, and his Siddur arrangement. An index to all the Rashi passages quoted in the study concludes the work of Zunz.

What is there to be said in an analysis? The merit of the study is apparent to all, though we could only give some abstracts of this work of Zunz. Here, in truth, was the beginning of the modern Wissenschaft des Judentums; and

if the Verein had produced nothing except this study it would have been a worthwhile group. There can be objection to the profuseness of the small details listed by Zunz; but it is an objection that, at best, is only valid in regard to style; for these small details were important to scholarship, forming the bedrock upon which future studies could be built. And thus, in viewing the Verein through the writings of its members, we once again are confronted by that element which is a deep love for Judaism, rising to creative heights evoking our constant admiration.

X.

Recension of the Article Citizenship
Rights of the Jew, by Dr. Lips.by ..o.

It has been suggested that the reviewer in the pages of the Zeitschrift was the jurist Rubo, who was one of the more active members of the Berlin circle during this period of their activities. In view of the interest displayed by the reviewer in matters of jurisprudence, this hypothesis may be an accurate one. At any rate, it appears clear that the article was written by someone whose style differed radically from that of the other reviewers of the Zeitschrift.

The reviewer welcomes the article by Dr. Alexander Lips as one of the finest articles on this phase of the Jewish problem (i.e., their emancipation and admission to full citizenship rights); true, Lips does not offer much that is new, but at least he presents the truth, and is motivated by love for the Jews. Lips proceeds from the assumption that the good of the nation demands total participation from all its citizens; the disabilities of the Jews, therefore, injure both them and the body politic of which they are a part. (One may note here his similarity with Dohm, who wrote in 1781.) Lips' book is divided into three parts. The first section discusses the characteristics of the

Jews, seeing many imperfections derived from the position they have occupying through no fault of their own; also, Lips discusses their good points that make them fine citizens. The second section, asking for the cause of the bad characteristics, again emphasizes that their political situation, and the hate to which they had been exposed, are the causes; and these should be removed. The main section now follows, asking how the Jews may be changed; the views of the outside world, says Lips, must be changed before the Jewish views in turn can be changed for the better. (78) And the principal view to be changed is that of a state-religion; for the freedom of the group, all churches with an approach towards truth must be allowed complete freedom; the church may be permitted within the state--but the state can never be permitted within the church. Besides, a citizen's religion should not concern the state in the least. Here the reviewer makes the comment that any state which tries to do the thinking for an individual within the state is evil. He disagrees seriously with Lips who sees the state as an instrumentality seeking the happiness of the group; for this, too, is an attempt to make the state into a benevolent despot, while its real nature is solely in the nature of a type of covenant guaranteeing a group of people the highest amount of liberty possible in relationship to each other. (79)

Lips now lists his suggestions for improvement of the Jewish lot; and the reviewer criticizes them in turn. No. 1, complete equality in terms of serving in the national assembly, as civil servants, judges, etc., finds no disapproval on the part of the reviewer. No. 2, suggesting public schools, paid for out of public taxes, for the education of Jewish youth, finds his hearty approval, to which he adds the suggestion not to overlook the sadly neglected Jewish girl in terms of setting up an educational program. Then Lips suggests that the

Jewish group be more organized along church lines, viz., with a consistory to run the community as a whole, and rabbis restricted to strictly religious matters. And, in order that the Jews be educated for citizenship, they should be forced, (1) to educate only one son for trade, the rest for industry, etc.; (2) to make sure not too many Jews will study the Talmud; (3) only those Jews working in industry, 'honest' trade (where is the borderline, asks the reviewer), the arts, or agriculture will be permitted to marry before the age of 25. (4) that Jews excelling for honesty, trustworthiness, etc. in these fields receive special awards; (5) that the Jews be permitted to enter the guilds (this is the only suggestion in this lot which the reviewer likes); (6) that the state build schools for commerce (which should be done, Jews or non-Jews, says reviewer); (7) that instead of the term Jew the term Israelite be used. (80) Understandably enough, the reviewer sees all of these laws as against the personal freedom of the Jews, and completely unacceptable; but he repeats that he honors Lips for his good intention--so rare these days--and certainly agrees that the problem of education is by all means the most pressing problem to be faced within the Jewish group today. He is sure that the fine German government will see and rectify the injustices still prevailing, and that this is the hope of all good citizens at present. And he adds

"This may be especially expected from our G E R M A N
(tatsches Vaterland!) homeland."

(81)

for the rest, we Jews have suffered enough to know what lies within us and what we are capable of, and our redemption will come out of our own midst.

There is not too much here to hold our interest; certainly, nothing of what the reviewer says here is a contribution of magnitude. But it does hold some interest for us in that we see here the importance of education stressed once

again; that we see all concepts of the state as an entity in itself rejected summarily; and we discover that philosemitism seems to have progressed but little since the days of Dohm; the new antisemitism was already imbued with romanticism, but evidently the pro-Jewish group saw its only answer to rest within the Enlightenment position; and this Enlightenment outlook manifested itself also in respect to their attitude towards the Christian state then evolving. The final quotation from the review may serve to indicate that the reviewer, at least, was not unpatial to the patriotism of the Burschenschaften and von Arnim; rather, it provided him with an acceptable method of identification with the Prussian state.

XI.

Concerning the Physical Aspects of the Jewish State. by Ludwig Marcus.

Ludwig Markus here presents his thesis of the geographical aspects of a land influencing the psyche of the people, and its influence upon the laws and inner institutions; partially through such things as the climate, also through its physical aspects and its geographical location in the world. However, he is quick to point out that this influence is only minimal on a people's development, which primarily depends on the inner spirit within the group, which can actually change the environment around it. His primary interest, therefore, lies in tracing the relationship between the physical environments and this spirit of a nation, manifesting itself

"in all legislation of the state concerning its physical aspects. This includes: laws concerning the ownership of real estate, as well as personal property laws in general; laws of inheritance; relationship of industry to the public legislature; agrarian, economic, mercantile laws in themselves; taxes; relationship of man and woman (since in Asia...nature, custom, right, law, state and religion are one and the same); all aspects of slavery."

Markus sees the general empirical natural sciences intimately connected with the legislation of the Asiatic state as it affects its physical environment; and before turning to the Jewish in particular, he treats this subject in general, showing that most of these sciences, as mathematics, astronomy, or medicine were deeply studied insofar as they had pragmatic use, but that there was no attempt to study science for the sake of science. Thus, scientific observations in those countries are seldom collected independently, but are generally part of the religious works or to be found in legal documents; and to examine an Asiatic state in regard to its physical aspects would therefore entail: (1) an examination concerning the physical aspects of the land and the active relationship of its inhabitants towards it; (2) the laws of the state concerning its natural aspects; (3) the condition of the empirical sciences. (85)

On regard to the Jewish state, the above calls for a program in Jewish Science along the following lines of organization:

1. A literature for the study of the natural aspects of the Jewish state; with this is connected the writing of charts concerning Jewish natural scientists in Spain, Italy, or Portugal.
2. The agrarian conditions of Palestine lead to the following necessary studies:
 - a) a natural history of the physical aspects of Palestine.
 - b) a study of agriculture and gardening of Palestine's Jewry.
 - c) agrarian laws.
 - d) together with a), an explanation of the names of animals, flore and mineralia, as well as a continued physica sacra.
3. A study of the extents of the empirical sciences within Palestine's Jewry.

and the following studies which should be undertaken by men able to do these tasks properly:

1. A complete history of circumcision of both men and women. (including investigations of the Falasha women, determining whether this rite...is a religious one, or primarily a custom.)
2. A study concerning sacrifice in the Orient in general and Israel in particular.
3. A history of *abime*."

As most of the articles in the Zeitschrift, Markus' article suffers from an involved style making for difficult reading. The article itself serves to show the interest in pure science that was the dominating aspect of the Zeitschrift, and, in this case, also of its author. Possibly, there are slight traces of the physiocratic theories reflected here; but primarily, it shows us the little professor of Dijon as he has already revealed himself to us: a man of pure science.

XII.

The Basic Forms of the Mosaic-Talmudic Law of Inheritance. by Eduard Gans.

According to a note by the author, this dissertation is the third chapter of his general work on the laws of inheritance (which became a standard book after its appearance, and gained the respect of all scholars). Gans sees Jewish life of the earliest periods as the highest development of Asiatic culture, and Mosaic law thus becomes worthwhile for study; for in it we see an almost unconscious striving beyond the concepts of Oriental law; and when he comes to discuss the Mishna and Gemara as legal codes he sees here quite plainly the Roman (85) influences which have been incorporated in it.

The organization of the article takes the following form: first, the pure Mosaic family law is presented, followed by the changes and developments of it in Talmudic legislation. Next, the laws of inheritance are shown in their simple Mosaic form and then in their expanded Talmudic format.

Quoting extensively from Biblical sources, Gans now outlines this as the basic family laws of Mosaic tradition: marriages are arranged through purchase alone; polygamy is practiced; the institution of the עֲרֵב is investigated by him in that connection; the right to permit a marriage to take place is a right of the elders exclusively; levirate marriage in all its ramifications

is a vital part of this law; the non-permitted marriages are explained by him; (86) and various other points of the code touched upon. Still, says Gans, this code for the first time granted the woman recognition as an individual:

"The harsh laws concerning virginity (Deut.22:13ff) appearing here for the first time give the woman an honor which indicates her to be an independent person; and Solomon's Proverbs later on make quite clear what a distinction there is in the Jewish approach towards the woman as compared, for example, with the Indian Hitopadesa approach."

(87)

He follows this with the Talmudic modifications, which, for example, break the marriage of purchase into the three parts of marriage through money, through documents, and through cohabitation. (קנין, מעה, וביאה). These he develops extensively, comparing קנין, for example, with the Latin usus. The Talmud, according to Gans, does not include a priestly sanctification of the marriage as a necessary component part. The Talmudic changes of Mosaic Law, says Gans, change what had been naive actuality, as the purchase, into much more of a symbol; and in many ways it becomes a completely different concept, resembling the Biblical idea of marriage only in appearance. Thus, Gans says that

"..the consent of the wife, even though not completely developed, is still much more visible in the Talmudic marriage than in the Biblical or in any Oriental code of law. In short, the Talmudic laws of marriage present the picture of law split into an Oriental foundation and a European influenced superstructure."

(88)

Polygamy in the Talmud retains its Oriental character. European influences are primarily visible in the introduced concepts of donatio propter nuptias, and the dos, which appear in the Talmud as the קדוש. Greek influences appear in the קדוש, both in its underlying concept and in its form. There are not too many other major distinctions between the Talmudic and the Biblical laws regarding the Jewish family.

In his next section Gans outlines the inheritance laws of the Bible, as seen in Num.27:8-12. There is no testament proviso in the Bible, according to him.

The favoritism extended to the eldest son plays an important part in this legislation. In general the structure was a very loose one, which received its full formulation only at the hands of the Talmudists. It first evolved as linear and gradual line of inheritance on the following basic concepts:

1. the inheritance order of succession follows in single lines, so that it begins with the direct line of the testator, i.e., his descendants; if there are none, the next line goes from the father, then the brother, of the grandfather on the father's side, etc., rising up in a straight line and returning to the present to find an inheritor.
2. The concept of full representation was expressed for the first time in Mishna: Baba Bathra, ch. 8, par. 3:
וְכֵן הָיָה בְּיָדֵינוּ לְהַשְׁמִיעַ
so that it continues constantly; in Indian and Chinese law, representation ceases after a while.
3. the idea of the man always excluding the woman thus becomes the concept of man excluding that woman who wins her right of inheritance through a brother; but the woman who wins her right of representing a male inheritor without the agency of a brother..even precedes the male representative of a woman.
4. the order of inheritance is an order in stirpes; the nearer therefore always excludes the one further one.
5. all these rules refer only to relationship from the fathers side; relationship from the side of the mother gives no claim at all to an inheritance. Thus, the simple structure of the Bible has been worked into a symmetric whole within the Talmud.

(89)

Gans continues in outlining the rights of inheritance which the Talmud grants the husband regarding his wife's properties, and its limitations. This, he makes clear, is something completely independent of any Mosaic traditions. Finally, he cites the important laws concerning the special rights of the first-born, those regarding the alimonies of non-inheriting daughters, and the other presumptions underlying the Talmudic laws of inheritance, such as seen in this case: several inheritors are present, of whom there are those who have clearly established rights, and others who have (higher) rights which are dubious; in such cases the clearly established rights take precedence. Gans closes the discussion of these laws with the inheritance rights of the

levirate, the fiscus, and the slave; the fiscus inherits the property of those convicted and executed for high treason; slaves, in case there are no male heirs, win their freedom; and female slaves win manumission, since no heir has a claim on them. The essay concludes with a praising account of the Jubilee year, and its effect upon property.

Again, as in his contributions we have examined earlier, we see Gans take a Jewish subject under the consideration of a general science, that of the history of jurisprudence, and examine it in a purely objective manner. Surely no greater contrast exists than his approach to the Talmud and the approach used by the traditional Talmudist; and while the actual sum of contributions made by Gans towards the field of the science of Judaism may not be too extensive, we can recognize him as a modern pioneer in these studies, one who brought the subject of Judaism into the general science of the field of history of jurisprudence; also, we recognize from these studies that he was well versed in the Jewish field; and once again, we regret the fact that he was lost to this Jewish field to which he might have made significant contributions under different conditions.

XIII.

Concerning the Oral and Written Law.
by Lazarus Bendavid.

The tree of Judaism is covered with parasites, says our friend Bendavid; and it is the function of intelligent criticism to clear away all foreign bodies, that we might come to see and understand Judaism in all its pristine glory. We have to begin our study of the being of Judaism; in order to understand it completely, we must learn to distinguish such important things as the Oral and the Written Law.

This Bendavid now proceeds to do. From the historians and the statements found in the Mishna and Gemar, he brings forth these statements: (1) The laws of Moses, from his time until the time of the men of the great synagogue, was only an oral transmission. (2) During the time of Josiah, the priest Chilkijahum wrote down this transmission, making this the written law. Whatever follows (90) this is part of Oral law. Most of these statements are unacceptable to Bendavid. The questions he wants to attempt to answer are these: a) is it possible that Moses left a written record of the laws we have in the Pentateuch? b) what was in the book discovered during the time of king Josiah?

An examination of Biblical statements leads him to the conclusion that, at the time of Joshua at least, only the book of Deuteronomy existed in a written form. But in that case, he asks, what are we going to decide about the decalogue, seeing that we have one in the second Book of Moses, and one in the "fifth, and noting the great differences between the two? He then places both decalogues into parallel columns to show their differences, and cites the opinions of the Talmudists and Ibn Ezra in their attempt to effect a reconciliation between the two. While he rejects their conclusions, he professes himself unable to give a definite conclusion at this time, particularly since he considers this work of his to be only the preface towards a more exhaustive study. He sums up the results of this investigation in the following manner:

"A final look at what we have examined shows the following:

- (1) All of the Pentateuch which we possess today cannot possibly have been written during the time of Moses; for in that case the command of the law-giver 'that a clear copy shall be made of this document and written upon the walls of the altar' would be an impossibility;
- (2) This command and its execution, if it really was done, could only have referred to the book of Deuteronomy. And finally

(3) the most important section of Deuteronomy, as we have it today, cannot possibly be derived from Moses, since it is at variance with the commandments written on the stone tablets.

The question therefore remains: What has remained in writing of the original Mosaic legislation? Or, said in a different way, what is Oral Law?

But before we dare answer this question, we must have many investigations preceding it, particularly this one: What did the priest Ohilkijahu find? This will occupy us in the next chapter. the end.

(91)

Outside of this detective story conclusion, there is little to recommend this work; in execution and thought it shows a naivete of which the young members of the Verein, men like Zunz or Gans, would never have been guilty. But, when viewed with understanding of the times from which it emanated and of the man who wrote it, we see this as a sincere attempt of a man to shape his heritage into the mold of the enlightenment. Bendavid, after all, was a layman; and scholarship was not paramount in his life. He was a believer in reason and logic; using these tools, he tried to reconcile some of the difficulties in the Bible that had bothered others for a long time. We do not have space here to give each link in the chain of argument of these articles; and Bendavid's article, read in its entirety, has more of a logical connection than first appears. Finally, for whatever it is worth, this is one of the first attempts in Bible criticism by a modern Jew; and it is another stone in the Mosaic of the Verein.

XIV.

Concerning the Empiric Psychology of the Jew
During the Talmudic Period. by L. Bernhardt.

In some ways, this is a strange article. The author seeks to delineate the development of the human spirit from the dim periods of the past down to the present; and as part of his task he tries to show the world of subjective

ideas within the Jewish group from the first to the fourth century, as they concern themselves with psychic phenomena and effects. (92)

There is not, Bernhardt hastens to add, a completely organized psychology with which the Jews of that period approached the various psychic phenomena; rather, what he has done is to collect the opinions of the rabbis as far as his meager sources permitted him, and it is these opinions that he now presents to the reader. He divides his study into two sections: (1) Divine Influences, under which he classifies dreams, oracles, and premonitions; (2) Emanations from human souls, which he divides into 'Passions in general', and 'Passions in particular, as Hatred'. (93)

Section 1 then takes up dreams as they appear in the Jewish literature of that time, showing them to have been interpreted by the rabbis in terms of a) analogy; b) analogy through word-study (viz., a funeral oration in a dream is interpreted as help coming from heaven, since אֱלֹהִים can be broken up into אֱלֹ and הִים .); c) soul-correspondence; if a famous man appears to the dreamer, their fates are likely to be analogous. Then the important principle is set up that a dream cannot be effective until it has been fully interpreted:

$\text{לִּפְנֵי הַרְבֵּה מִלְּפָנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ}$
since the rabbis are careful in their interpretations, Bernhardt points out that these dreams were an effective weapon in the arsenal of morality: either a dream interpretation inspired one to do good, or it was used to elicit repentance from the sinner. Also, in determining whether or not a dream had validity, they tried as much as possible to employ objective standards, as clearness, intensity, etc. (94)

Regarding oracles, Bernhardt mentions the Bath Kol and the custom of asking a small boy whom one should happen to encounter. Probably, says Bernhardt, this was founded on the empiric belief that an idea, not grounded in

the thought processes of another person, yet was somehow connected with this other person's thought, according to a ⁽⁹⁵⁾dimly held concept regarding the oneness underlying all thought processes. In the same manner, premonitions are based on the idea that when a thought occurs that apparently has no connection with the past or present, it must have some relation to the future.

Regarding his second division, Bernhardt sees the concept of the evil inclination, the *677 73'*, as a basic idea held by the people of that time regarding man and his limitation; and that a man's hate has an actual effect in a physical and psychical sense seems to have been a common thought, crystallized in the idea of the *677 78*. The essay ends abruptly here, and the continuation was never printed.

These speculations of Bernhardt are interesting in the light of his times. In some ways, there seems to be a similarity there with the type of speculation we associate with the names of Carus and Ferdinand Koreff. (Carus, it will be remembered, was a physician who regarded inherited tendency as a proof that the cell has a certain psychic life; and Koreff, in a way, is part of that same displaced Jewish generation of the Verein group). Also, we see these speculations as coming from a post-Enlightenment group desiring to find a scientific foundation for things which to a large segment of the population seem to be superstitions. The tracing of subjective ideas underlying the Jewish practices of the first centuries also seem to have an apologetic purpose in mind: by showing apparently superstitious practices to have been based on certain empiric ideas regarding the nature of man and of the universe, at least the onus of thoughtlessness is taken away from our ancestors, and they are shown as philosophers groping for truth in a period of intense darkness. Had the Zeitschrift, and this article, been continued, it is possible that Bernhardt's work would

have attracted some attention. As it is, he collected material of a type later on used in the pages of Imago, a journal of psychoanalysis, by members of the Freudian school for somewhat similiar studies.

XV.

A Basis to a Future Statistics
of the Jews. by Zunz, Dr.

- "1. Statistics of the human race conceive its life in a present moment of time, this life, as a result of a history which has preceded it, having a necessarily determined character.
2. The same elements wreating and forming history also form statistics, which must be conceived of as the end of a history stopped in its unending movement.
3. Therefore, duration of a never-ending stream of little moments in time produces a statistic, and, vice-versa, history is the result of a never ending number of statistics.
4. But it is recognition of movement, not movement itself ...
5. An individual, despite constant change, matures and takes on a definite character which is the basis of his existence--and so does humanity. .. Statistics occupy themselves with this basis of general human existence; it becomes a science when it completely grasps the existence of a human generation.
6. The history of the world is split up into the history of nations; therefore, in each generation we find many statistics..."

(96

The above is the beginning of Zunz' article on a science of Jewish statistics. The article is organized into thirty-nine of these axioms, based, as we shall see, on the science of statistics as evolved by August Schldzer. After a determining of the general character of statistics, Zunz presents it as having this three-fold task:

It must present:

- a) the elements, i.e., name, land, descent, religion, language, state.
- b) the underlying principle, i.e., the inner aspect more or less dependent upon these elements; constitution, morals, way of life, occupation, opinions, state of culture.

- c) the results, i.e., the relationship to the outer environment which has emerged out of its outer history; either subservient, ruling, or ~~neutral~~..neutral."

(97)

Turning to the Jewish group, he sees this task in the following way:

- a) the element; descent and religion, and all that which was created out of a once communal language, and out of a communal existence throughout history.
- b) the principle; how, moving forth from an immovable central point in unending radii, it has formed itself in customs, opinions, occupations and constitution.
- c) the result; the relationship to outside nations determined and formed through outside history. Thus Jewish statistics appears a product of necessity, freedom, and force.

(98)

This Zunz now breaks down into a complete list of tasks to be done by this Science of Jewish statistics, which is more or less an encyclopaedia of Juedische Wissenschaft. In examining the sources for this Jewish statistics, he distinguishes between the Jewish and the non-Jewish worlds; the statistical material in the Jewish world is the following:

- 1) books; 2) administrative documents; 3) monuments; 4) names;
- 5) legends; 6) language; 7) private life and actions 8) public life and actions.

(99)

He elaborates on each of these fields; then he lists the statistical material in the non-Jewish world:

- 1) writings about Jews (histories, contra and pro); 2) opinions as seen in novels, plays, etc.; 3) laws concerning Jews; 4) negotiations concerning Jews; 5) monuments; 6) placenames; 7) notices in governmental statistics; 8) judgments, information in non-statistical works; 9) general relationships.

(100)

Zunz closes with an elaboration of these sources.

Zunz' works in the Zeitschrift are all of importance to our study of the Verein; also, they are important to a delineation of the Wissenschaft des Judentums as a whole. And in this article we already see the development of this

young science. In the first section of this chapter we quoted Wohlwill to the effect that "the Wissenschaft des Judentums has two principal divisions: one is the study of Judaism as it reveals itself in the historical and literary documents, and the other is the statistical study of Jewry as it exists today" (p.152). Certainly Zunz' work here is a continuation of that thought, and both of these men here have the same idea in mind. As with the other aspects of their approach to Judaism, this, too, was derived from the outside influences of their environment.

Both Zunz and Wohlwill were influenced by the work of August Ludwig Schlözer (1735-1809) who first saw statistics as 'Staatenkunde'; and Luitpold Wallach proves this in conclusive fashion by placing excerpts from Zunz' work and from August Schlözer's writings into parallel columns. (101) Thus, we easily recognize Schlözer's statement, that 'history is a continuous statistics, and statistics is history brought to a stop' in Zunz' first axioms. And the three-fold division of Zunz' science of statistics is obviously an echo of Schlözer, as seen in this quote:

"La statistique est une science neuve en France....
et jusqu'a ce jour on n'y a point altéré ses
principes ni confondu ses éléments, resultats...." (102)

Certainly Zunz' division into element, principle, and results is directly derivative; and this aspect of the Wissenschaft des Judentums thus becomes clearer to us as a scientific approach which is so integral a part of the historicism of the early nineteenth century.

XVI.

Out of the Archives of the Verein for
Correspondence: Concerning Poland. With
A Postscript.

This is the last article published in the Zeitschrift; and in some ways it is the most interesting. As we recall, the Verein had made an attempt to

set up a general Jewish archives, in which material could be gathered that would be of interest to the study of Jewish Science. And here, in the Zeitschrift, one of the documents collected in this archives is printed: it is the ukase of Alexander the First, reprinted from the Warsaw newspaper of February 18th, 1822, in which the emperor negated the authority of the Kahal organization in Jewish life, and disbanded it as a community organization throughout his empire because of its "excessive oppression of the poor Jews."

As might be expected, the Verein welcomed this ukase with the greatest delight; and, in commenting on this event, clearly expressed its opposition to the existing community organization throughout Germany. The final remark (in the Zeitschrift as well as in the article) might well serve as a sort of swan-song to the periodical--and the group:

"The reviewer cannot cover the wide subject of the circumstances existing in a short note; he allows himself only the following observation:

I consider it one of the most delightful happenings of our time period that it was precisely in Poland that the beginning was made to upset a segment of that aristocracy whose existence is completely ignored in other states, though it is very much present. The decree itself, it is true, was the result of a certain physical need and circumstances; but these are always the symptoms of intellectual trends, and the harshness of necessary taxes has never before caused the downfall of an otherwise just and firmly established rule.

Much more enervating and destructive than the most stupid and brutal rabbinism, in my opinion, is the rulership of money; the first only makes for ignorance, but the second lowers the character. It is to be hoped that the good sense used by an intelligent ruler in stopping up a source of deformation until now little regarded find its imitation also within Germany, and that a much more closer look be given to the Jewish community organization within our land."

(103)

It is really unnecessary to look for further reasons concerning the failure of the Verein to find a sponsor within the Jewish community upon whose wealth they might rely; certainly a remark like the one above was enough to damn the Zeitschrift and the Verein in the eyes of the parnassim

of the Jewish community. And we have learned enough about the members of the Verein to know that this was a characteristic utterance, and that it presented the viewpoint of the whole group.

This completes our study of the Verein's periodical. We have examined each article as a component part of the configuration of the Verein; and, as we have tried to see the Verein through the lives and thoughts of its members, so we have tried to grasp its make-up as seen in the work of the Zeitschrift and their other activities. The failure of the Zeitschrift to continue as a publication is part of the general failure of the Verein, which we have discussed in various places.

Are there any specific reasons why the Verein failed? The answer to that is a qualified 'yes'. Thus, Heine in a letter to Zunz rightly criticizes their style which made it impossible for the general public to gain an appreciation for what they had to say:

"...I have received the Zeitschrift from Moser, have already cut its pages, leaved through it, and read; partially with anger. I certainly would not deny that the articles are good ones; but I freely confess to you--even though the editor hear of this--that the greater part (at least three-fourth of the third issue) is undigestable because of its careless form. I don't want the language of Goethe; but I want one that can be understood; and I am firmly convinced that what I do not understandx will also not be understood by David Levy, Israel Moses, Nathan Itzig, yes, even Auerbach II would not understand it.

I have studied all sorts of German: saxonian German, swabian German, frankish German--but your Zeitschrift-German gives me the greatest difficulties. Did I not know accidentally what Ludwig Marcus and Eduard Gans are striving for, I would understand nothing of what they had to say. But the one who has brought the corruption of style to a new perfection in Europe is L. Bernhardt. Bendavid is clear in what he writes; but what he writes fits neither the times nor the Zeitschrift. His are articles which would have been proper for publication in a theological journal anno 1786. The only thing I enjoyed were pages 523-539.

...insist that your collaborators in the Zeitschrift cultivate style....

...I would like to apply here what you said at the appearance of Jost's first volume..that possibly the first volume was written so poorly that the later volumes might be all the more impressive; in the same manner I would like to assume that the articles in the Zeitschrift were arranged in such a manner that after some volumes have appeared it might be shown how the style has gradually developed among us, our group of Jewish scientists. Concerning the meaning and significance of the Zeitschrift I should like to write an essay of my own, entitled "The Natural Aspects of the Zeitschrift".

Don't be angry with me, dear Zunz, for what I have said. In the first place, I am a subscriber to the Zeitschrift; secondly, I love you. That this is no empty phrase you may believe. I know it.

your friend, H.Heine."

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We are agreed with Heine that the language of the Zeitschrift definitely hurt any chance it might have had of achieving a larger circulation. However, it must be remembered that there was a reason for that, style, a reason intimately connected with the basic nature of the Verein.

For we must recall here the two-fold purpose of the Verein: one purpose, of course, was the education of the Jews towardsx their heritage, that they might find pride and inspiration in it; and the education of the outside world towards the merits of this Jewish heritage. But the second purpose was the actual occupation of scholarship in the field of Judaism, according to the new insights of science. To a very real extent, it was the study of science as pure science,, with no ideas of didactic or other outside purposes. All other activities, notably that of the free school to which its members devoted themselves so unselfishly, were concerned with the first purpose of the Verein. But the Zeitschrift was part of their scientific activities. Certainly, they wanted see their researches accpeted in every home as part of the Jewish tradition, wanted an enthusiastic approval of what they were doing. But outside of papers like Friedlander's, written with a distinctly didactic purpose in mind, the writers of the Zeitschrift are here revealed as scientists, not as journalists. This does not, of course, detract anything from Heine's criticisms concerning style; but it makes us understand the motivations

underlying the Zeitschrift in a clearer light.

Let us conclude with this: the atrocious style of the Zeitschrift helped bring about its early demise; but it was not the main cause. The main causes were those which doomed the Verein as a whole: its progressiveness made it suspicious to the state authorities; its inner nature of revolt against the existing community structure cut it off from the financial support it needed for its continuance; and its inner nature was that of a revolt against existing social and intellectual conditions which proved too strong for it.

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Note A.

After I had completed this chapter, Dr. Selma Stern-Taubler directed my attention to an article by Hans Bach, entitled "Der Bibelsche Orient" und sein Verfasser", vol. VII of the ZGJD, pp. 14-45. This article has a direct relevance to pp. 173-175 of this thesis, dealing with Moser's review of the Bibel'sche Orient.

Bach agrees the review was written by Moser, following Ludwig Geiger in this. In his article he gives an evaluation of the position of the Zeitschrift against that of the B. Orient which has considerable merit. Starting from the other side (i.e., the Bibelscher Orient), he gives this account of their differences:

"Formulated in the shortest manner possible, the Wissenschaft envisaged by the redactor of the Bibel'schen Orient is a science IN Judaism, not the science OF Judaism. The members of the Verein envisage Jews who have to return to Judaism; he thinks of those in whom Judaism has lived in an unbroken stream. His religion is more a religion of action and form, in which too much belief becomes almost suspicious. The Verein believes in religious liberalism as a stage of universalism; all ceremonial ritual is a hindrance to it. The editor of the Orient thinks of a nationalistic Judaism, as individual as possible; the members of the Verein want a certain Judaism--but none that will make assimilation with the environment impossible.... They..are influenced by Hegel; the conservative group..has a similar identification with Hegel's counterpart: Schelling." (pp. 24-25).

Furthermore, in the Zeitschrift review itself, Bach rightly points out that the reviewer's (Moser's) agreement with the Orient (Bernays) concerning Pharisaism and the Essenes rises out of the desire, held in both scholarly camps, of wishing to see the early Christians considered part of the Jewish group. Bach is bewildered, after all this agreement, to see the hateful way in which the Verein review suddenly attacks the B. Orient; and he calls it 'a sacrifice on the altar of party ideology'. He is right, of course; but he still fails to point out what we considered the major ground of conflict: the entrance of neo-Orthodoxy into the field of science with partisan motives, seeking to suborn it to its own uses, could not but appear dangerous to the highest degree to a group which had just attempted to shake off all its bonds by escaping into a general field where Orthodoxy would be powerless. It is odd that Bach did not bring this out, since he himself, some pages later, explains a remark of Heine's in his letters to Moser (see page 100 of this thesis) in a most relevant manner:

"Heine's judgment concerning Bernays ('I have listened to Bernays; he is a charlatan, and not one of the Jews understand him. He doesn't want anything, and will never play another role; but he is a man of spirit..'), while he feels himself as the official representative of the Verein..is not a casual judgment of the moment. Rather, it is the answer to the not unimportant question of the Verein, asked in Moser's review of the Bibel'sche Orient, whether through Bernays 'the hollow voice of the priest intends to let itself be heard as a voice of God' in Hamburg; i.e., whether a center of reaction will be set up there. Then only can one feel the relaxing sighs of the Berlin group to the answer 'he doesn't want anything..': "he is a theoretician, not a politician." (p. 36 of Bach).

The answer may be found in Bach's bias for the Bibel'sche Orient group as against his marked dislike of the Verein group; but then, we are not unaware of bias existing on our side. His study is important, certainly, to a full understanding of the cultural situation of the period; and the Verein itself can be seen through this clash with the Bibel'sche Orient in a clearer manner.

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5. Ucko, S., *op. cit.*, p. 17.
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7. Bieber, Hugo Heinrich Heine Gespräche: Briefe, Tagebücher, Berichte seiner Zeitgenossen, Berlin 1926, p. 31 ff.
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16. *ibid.*, p. 14.
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19. *ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
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24. ibid., p. 27.
25. ibid., p. 51.
26. ibid., p. 66, note 101.
27. ibid., p. 67, note 102.
28. ibid., p. 234.
29. ibid., p. 234, note 105.
30. ibid., p. 236.
31. ibid., article by David Friedlander, p. 69.
32. ibid., pp. 69-70.
33. ibid., p. 75.
34. ibid., p. 75.
35. ibid., p. 78.
36. ibid., p. 62.
37. ibid., article by Eduard Gans, p. 95.
38. ibid., p. 104.
39. ibid., p. 107, note 4.
40. ibid., p. 107, note 6.
41. ibid., pp. 112-113.
42. ibid., p. 104, note 1.
43. ibid., article by Zunz, Dr., p. 115.
44. ibid., p. 118.
45. ibid., pp. 119-120.
46. ibid., pp. 121-122.
47. ibid., pp. 124-125.
48. ibid., pp. 127-128.
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51. *ibid.*, p. 133.
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59. *ibid.*, p. 199.
60. *ibid.*, pp. 206-208.
61. *ibid.*, p. 225.
62. Karpeles, Gustave Geschichte der Jüdischen Literatur, Berlin, 1886, vol. II, p. 1104.
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64. *ibid.*, p. 279.
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67. *ibid.*, pp. 283-285.
68. *ibid.*, p. 285.
69. *ibid.*, pp. 292-297.
70. *ibid.*, pp. 298-322.
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72. *ibid.*, p. 324, note 55.
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end of chapter six.

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Chapter Seven: Conclusion.

Die Linien des Lebens sind verschieden,
Wie Wege sind, und wie der Berge Grenzen.
Was hier wir sind, kann dort ein Gott ergänzen
Mit Harmonien und ewigem Lohn und Frieden.
- F. Hölderlin: Gedichte. -

THREE LIFE LINES MET, FOR A BRIEF MOMENT, in the Verein. There was a pause as they united in an attempt to solve a common problem. The attempt failed. And where we had seen these lives converge, we saw them move apart, towards different directions, as each man followed his destiny: Gans was swallowed up in the Christian-Prussian state; Zunz built a lonely and deserted life for himself within the edifice of the "Wissenschaft des Judentums"; and Heine went on in his romantic search, fighting against the Christian-Prussian state in the same manner, but on a larger scale.

The idea of Juedische Wissenschaft that had brought them together also lived on, in the writings of Zunz, in the poetry of Heine; its development was slow; but with the coming of Geiger it was to occupy a center position upon the stage of Jewish history.

The Verein and the Zeitschrift had died; many of its members had surrendered to the dominant trends of their times and had converted; all were scattered. But the whole configuration had remained, as part of the history of culture, waiting for any student in the field of history to examine it, able to give an insight into its times, into the problems of the young Jewish generation caught between two cultures.

This has been an attempt to write a biography of this configuration in all its aspects; we tried to see it as it appeared in the lives of the men connected with it; examined the institutions and literary endeavors that were a part of it; and traced its underlying concepts to the social and economic changes from which they emerged, placing all these aspects into the frame of

reference which was the beginning of the nineteenth century.

To what extent did we succeed? It's difficult to say; but if we now compress the body of our thesis into a few paragraphs, examine its propositions in an orderly manner, and through this try to see the totality of what we have been attempting, we may be able to judge for ourselves whether there is a unity here that flows out of the material we have prepared, and whether or not this does give us insight into an age and its problems. A more convincing proof might be for the reader to turn to another facet of this age now, and see whether or not this presentation has given him some insights which will make him understand these new aspects; but that is an individual task.

This was the framework we erected:

I. The political framework as part of the outside environment:

This is the age of Metternich, of arch-conservatism. The rays of hope illuminating Jewish life during the time of Napoleon have been succeeded by the darkest despair. The powers in control have had the scare of their life; their one goal is now to entrench themselves as firmly as possible; and tight political controls, censorship, etc., are used by them to maintain their position.

One of the best controls is the adoption of Hegelian philosophy; by encouraging people to accept the idea that the church is the most advanced way of thought, and the state of Prussia the most advanced political entity, they could control thought fairly well.

On the political scene the conservatism thus is all-dominant; and the intellectual scene does not lag far behind. Thus, men like Fries and Rûhs occupy most respected positions in this world, and their anti-semitic utterances are so much a part of intellectual life that the young Jewish intellectuals are appalled; this is the life they want to enter, but it seems to reject them.

But there is a greater shock awaiting them; the Hep-Hep programs in the Rhineland, which we call the direct cause for the foundation of the Verein, show them that more than intellectual rejection awaits them, that the people are becoming re-educated along emotional patterns as well.

II. The background of their internal environment:

Meanwhile, as these young intellectuals turn to their internal environment, they find the same problems facing them there. They are children of a modern age, and their Judaism is more of an appendage to them, something strange that they must learn to cope with because others constantly remind them of it. But they can't return into the fold of their family, for the same conservatism that met them in outside world format meets them here. The Jewish community is a rigidly

controlled set-up in which the rich parnassim and Orthodox control one wing, while the other is dominated by the wealthy merchants who think in terms of total assimilation; and either path is repugnant to our group. Most of their young contemporaries walk along the second path without hesitation; for conversion has become the order of the day, and is the rule rather than the exception. This Verein group, in a sense, is the heroic group: a Gabriel Riesser could say that the only reason he did not convert was because it would be cowardly to do so in the face of pressure. This group, too, has part of this courage; but together with it are many other aspects of thought, which had come to them out of their environment. Standing between assimilation and uncompromising Orthodoxy, they tried to hew out a space in life for themselves: the field of the Wissenschaft des Judentums.

III. The intellectual trends of their environment influencing them:

a) historicism: this was a new development of this age; where previously man had turned to philosophy in order to solve any problems, the young generation at the turn of the century began to turn towards history in the pursuits of the answers. When we compare the Wissenschaft des Judentums to such outside trends as the Freiherr vom Stein's Monumenta Germaniae, we see it pursuing the same goals in every respect. This is integral to the Verein.

b) Enlightenment: this was the philosophy of the last century, and dying out fast; but its influences lingered on for quite a while, and classical scholars like Boeckh had a direct effect upon Verein members. The emphasis on education in the Verein stems directly from the Enlightenment; and, in the person of men like Jost or Friedlander, we see members of the Verein completely dominated by the Enlightenment.

c) romanticism: the dominating philosophy of their times, entering into every phase of life; in political philosophy, it produced a Hegel, whose disciple was Gans. In scholarship, its emphasis was on the past, on each historical detail, and on Volkstümlichkeit; and its effect was visible on almost every member of the group; in its approach to life we see it personified within the Verein in the person of Heinrich Heine.

IV. Their response to the environment as seen in the Verein.

The group desired to re-establish themselves, and the Jewish people as a whole, in their own eyes and in the eyes of the world. Since they desired to remain in the Jewish group, this meant uncovering those elements within the Jewish group which the new philosophy of their times saw in all other national groups: intellectual development, an inner core making its contribution to the all, proper character traits. The tool for achieving this they called Wissenschaft des Judentums. It had a two-fold purpose: (1) to uncover the greatness that was the Jewish past, making the Jews aware of it and proud of this heritage of theirs; (2) the achievement of recognition in the eyes of the outside world, which had to be shown that the Jewish intellectual life was on an equal level with general intellectual life and attainments, and that the workers in Jewish science were equal to those working in the general sciences; thus they hoped to combat prejudice. This field of work was

to be subservient to none; it was a science OF Judaism, applying the insights of a new world to its elements, and the religion which it examined was not to rule this science or govern its findings in any way; it was science for the sake of science.

V. The failure of the Verein.

The Verein failed for the very reason that it was created: having been formed to establish a middle ground between the conservative Jewish community on the one hand, and the conservative outside environment, the members of the Verein found it impossible to make a necessary alliance with a powerful group that could support them; for they themselves were a very small group, and had no resources. Zunz said the Verein was shattered because of the apathy of the parnassim; the term is not strong enough; he should have said opposition. For the Verein as such was a rebellion against the community structure, as can be seen in section XVI of the Zeitschrift (the comments on Alexander I's ukase); and as such it encountered also the opposition of the outside structure, which preferred an Orthodox, stable Jewish group, and desired any deviation from it to change all the way and become a 'citizen' (by which was meant conversion to the state and its religion).

The forces operating against the Verein were too strong; their friends had all given up and accepted the demands of either the state or the Jewish group demanding submission and conformity; their money had run out; some of their very doctrines, as the Hegelian theories of Gans, were pushing them towards this step of conversion which they had been fighting; and the future looked too black to wait for better days; the Zeitschrift had failed, partially because of its involved style; and the world outside had some bright aspects: at least it offered many of them a career and intellectual fulfillment. And so, the Verein failed.

This was the chain of argument running through our presentation of the facts; the biographical method of presentation was used in order to give these facts the necessary plasticity, and to present a unified picture in the best manner possible. And, seen from this vantage point, the lives and actions of the Verein members fit snugly into this pattern.

At times, perhaps, they fit too closely; for it is only natural for some bias to exist, and data is often gathered together with a specific purpose in mind. Since no accumulation of data ever fits a hypothesis perfectly, there is always the temptation to smooth out the rough edges, and to tailor the facts so that they fit the theory perfectly. However, the bias was slight here; we did not have any special axes to grind; for our concern was the age in which these

men lived, the general problems facing them and their contemporaries, and we did not have the need of having to prove this group to have been either a 'bad' or a 'good' phenomena in history.

Certainly this thesis is not the last word on the Verein itself; but I feel enough has been accomplished to discredit the one-sided approach of men like Graetz and Dubnow, who, despite their greatness as historians, show an ignorance of the facts in this case, together with a biased approach. If anyone desires to make a value judgment on this group or any of its individuals, he is free to do so; but any cursory dismissal of this group as "converts" must be regarded as ignorance of the worst sort; and the intelligent reader might well find aspects worthy of respect and admiration in the general configuration of the Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden.

We have stood at one of the many cross-roads of history, observing a scene that is part of our cultural history; and, as we turn back to the present, some of the insights that we have gathered may remain with us, and help us in the understanding of the contemporary scene, of history in general. We saw the failure of a group within the framework of history: but in the final analysis, we may have seen its success. Together with Albert Schweitzer, we may conclude that

"Wer an seiner Laetterung arbeitet, dem kann nichts den Idealismus rauben. Er erlebt die Macht der Ideen des Wahren und Guten in sich. Wenn er von dem, was nach aussen hin dafuer wirken will, gar zu wenig bemerkt, so weiss er dennoch, das er soviel wirkt, als Laetterung in ihm ist. Nur ist der Erfolg noch nicht einge-treten, i.e., er bleibt seinem Auge verborgen. Wo Kraft ist, ist Wirkung von Kraft. Kein Sonnenstrahl geht verloren. Aber das Gruen, das er weckt, braucht Zeit zum Spriessen, und dem Saemann ist nicht immer bemchieden, die Ernte mitzuerleben. Alles wert-volle Wirken ist Tun auf Glauben."

Let this be the epitaph of the Verein.

finis.