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ISAK NOA MANNHEIMER AS PREACHER

by

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To my dear wife.

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P R E F A C E

The struggle for emancipation, the chief issue of Jewish life in the 19th century, was waged on two fronts: externally, for the attainment of political and economic rights; internally, for the achievement of a spiritual adjustment to the new age.

Common interests maintained and, frequently, even strengthened Jewish unity in the political sphere; yet every advance toward the goal of emancipation deepened the religious crisis and broadened the ideological cleavage within Jewry.

With the ghetto walls had fallen the traditional pillars of authority which upheld the internal structure of Jewish life. In the attempt to preserve loyalty to Judaism, the refusal of orthodoxy to come to terms with the changed conditions was as ineffective as Mendelssohn's thesis of the compatibility of Judaism and modern thought. A few decades after Mendelssohn's death, the Jewish intelligentsia no longer felt the compulsion of accepting the "revealed legislation" in addition to the doctrines of "natural religion." Repelled by the gloomy atmosphere of the Synagogue, they longed for the material splendor of the outside world.

Not only a re-interpretation of Jewish faith, not only ritual reform were needed in order to arrest the growing indifference to all things Jewish, but a new enthusiasm for Jewish values and a firm conviction that Judaism could still make a vital contribution to the new age.

The only medium which could combine intellectual content with an emotional appeal, present religious truth with a sense of urgency in relation to modern life and experience, was the sermon. Fortunately, the 19th Century witnessed the rise of a generation of Jewish preachers who, standing at the height of the civilization of the age, were not only willing but able to face the problems of the times in the light of religion. For Judaism, which gradually vanished from the home and the *עולם הבא*, they conquered a new place in the pulpit.

The following chapters are dedicated to the work of Isak Noa Mannheimer, one of the most brilliant preachers of the century, a man "whose appearance marked the triumph of the new, academically educated rabbinate over the old "Ravs", the triumph of a rabbinate laying chief emphasis upon the sermon!"¹

I. B I O G R A P H I C A L S K E T C H

Isak Noa Mannheimer was born in Copenhagen on October 17, 1793. Little is known of his parents except that his father was a native of Hungary and was employed as a /s^ in Copenhagen. At that time, fundamental changes were beginning to take place in the Jewish community which greatly affected Mannheimer's education. The movement of enlightenment, emanating from Mendelssohn, found strong support in Copenhagen. Hartwig Wessely came from one of the leading Danish families. Isak Euchel, Mendelssohn's faithful disciple, was a native of Copenhagen. Moreover, Mendelssohn's translation of the Pentateuch was given a warm reception. At least 50 Jews subscribed to it immediately, following the example of Christian VII, king of Denmark. Although Mendelssohn's spirit, at first, reached only the social elite of Copenhagen's Jewry, it resulted in the establishment of modern schools in which Jewish and secular subjects were taught as was done at the famous "Freischule" in Berlin.

Mannheimer probably received the foundation of his Hebrew knowledge from his father and may have attended the 77^ for a time. But, in 1803, the ten year old boy entered the newly founded "Erziehungsinstitut" and

advanced to the "Freischule" in Copenhagen in the year 1805. There, his teacher Gedalja Moses imparted to the boy a love of Talmudic and secular education and gave his life decisive direction. Through sponsorship of Mendel Levin Nathanson, one of the wealthiest and strongest personalities in the community, Mannheimer was enabled to enter the Gymnasium in 1808, while Gedalja Moses continued to give him advanced private instruction in Hebrew and Rabbis. Shortly before his graduation in 1814, good fortune paved his way for an academic career. The emancipation of Danish Jewry threw open the gates of the University where he enrolled as one of the first Jewish students attending lectures in philosophy, physics and mathematics. Simultaneously, he was appointed "royal Katechet" (religious teacher) at the institution where he had once been a pupil.

In May 1817, Mannheimer inaugurated the first Confirmation service in Denmark. At that occasion, he delivered his first sermon in Danish language in the presence of prominent dignitaries and University professors. He had enormous success. The leading Jewish families prevailed on Mannheimer to conduct monthly "devotional exercises" in order to introduce the new "Kultus." A Christian poet was hired to translate a number of psalms which two Christian composers set to music. A special room was rented which

could hardly hold the crowds who came to listen to Mannheimer's eloquent preaching. But, soon, trouble began. The complete elimination of Hebrew from the service provoked the bitter opposition of the traditionally minded majority. Those who had anticipated better relations with their Christian neighbors as a result of the new ritual were suddenly disappointed by a brief but violent wave of hostility. In 1821, the experiment was abandoned as a complete failure. It nearly caused a schism in the community of Copenhagen and taught Mannheimer an important lesson.

In the following few years, Mannheimer travelled extensively in Germany. By way of Hamburg he visited Berlin, the "Mekka" of progressive Jewish youth, and preached at Jakobsohn's Beer Temple in the summer of 1821. His appointment as an honorary member of the "Kulturverein" testifies to the favorable impression he made on that occasion. He also met there Jost, Zunz and many other talented young men with whom he cultivated friendship throughout life. Through connections which this circle had with Vienna, he received an invitation to the Danubian metropolis. He lectured three times, -- giving the first modern sermons in the history of Viennese Jewry -- and thrilled his audience. During his stay, he was requested to help regulate the religious affairs, a complicated problem in a city where the Jews

had neither Community status nor the right to employ a rabbi. Here, too, advocates of radical reform were opposed by ultra-orthodox elements. The absence of formal Community representation and the lack of authority to enforce uniform religious changes made a voluntary agreement between the quarreling parties imperative. For the first time, Mannheimer proved the patient attitude and tactful diplomacy which characterized his ministry in later years. He prepared a written opinion in which he suggested a re-organization of the religious service, reducing its duration and establishing decorum. His plan gained general approval. With characteristic efficiency, he arranged for a conference with Count Saurau, imperial Minister of the Interior, and obtained his endorsement of the suggested changes.

Equipped with letters of thanks by leading Viennese Jews, Mannheimer proceeded to Leipzig where he preached during the High Holidays. From there he went to Hamburg, renewed his contact with Kley and Salomon, and expressed his admiration of the purified liturgy of the Hamburg Temple. He also met Lisette Damier, daughter of a merchant, and quickly announced his engagement to the young lady.

Having failed to obtain an attractive position during his travels, Mannheimer was compelled to return to Copenhagen and resume the job of "Katechet." But, he grew restless. "The new generation does nothing, and the old-timers are

Constantly after me," ² he wrote to Zunz. Resentful against the Confinement of his activities to teaching, he desired a change.

He rejected a financially attractive offer to preach in Leipzig on the High Holidays during three successive years because he did not wish to tie himself down for so long a period. He knew what he wanted: a permanent rabbinical position, not a guest-speaking engagement.

Leopold Zunz's resignation from the Beer Temple in Berlin created a sudden opening for Mannheimer. Although he had received assurance of Zunz's voluntary resignation, Mannheimer felt compelled to write his friend before accepting the pulpit. In that letter, a noble example of professional ethics, he stated: "Provided that you definitely desire never to return to that pulpit... and provided that our personal relationship will not suffer thereby... I am willing to accept the position." ³

No sooner had Mannheimer concluded a contract with Berlin, when the news reached him of the imminent closing of the Beer Temple by order of the Prussian government. Still, Mannheimer successfully arranged for the continuation of Reform services in the "Hauptsynagoge". But, early in 1824, the government withdrew its permission and paralyzed the Reform movement in Berlin. In February of that year, he preached his last sermon in the Prussian Capitol.

He returned to Hamburg in a mood of despair and seriously considered the abandonment of the rabbinical career. Soon, however, he recovered confidence in his future. Again, Leipzig took advantage of his talents. He was invited to preach in 1824, and deeply impressed his audience which included the head-strong Michael Lazar Biedermann, the unofficial leader of Viennese Jewry. For several years, the Jews of Vienna had been planning on the establishment of a dignified synagogue with a ritual similar to that which they had learned to appreciate on frequent visits to Leipzig. Fascinated by Mannheimer's eloquence, Biedermann decided to translate plans into action. Within a few months, he received the call to Vienna. The good news reached him a week before his wedding day with Lisette Damier and promised the young rabbi the security he needed and the steady position to which he was eager to dedicate his life.

But, Mannheimer was not destined to have an easy start. The Austrian government still prohibited the employment of a rabbi. Consequently, he could be elected merely as "Director of the Public Israelite Religious School." Although it was understood that he would deliver public lectures on the Sabbath and holidays for the benefit of the youth, most of his time was again to be spent on teaching.

After some delays, he assumed his official position in the summer of 1825. A few months later, he had the satisfaction

of dedicating the foundation stone of "the new building, synagogue, school, Mikveh -- all in one --" ⁴ in the presence of the highest Austrian officialdom. While this new building approached completion, he had the much more difficult task of rebuilding the spirit of the congregation. Comparing Mannheimer's ministry with the success of a Chief transforming a tribe of semi-savages into a model community, Graetz ⁵ may have been too severe in his criticism of Viennese Jewry. But, there can be no doubt that Mannheimer merely found a group of Jews-- by no means a community -- when he came to Vienna. It was the policy of the Austrian government to deal with Jews only on an individual basis. Patiently, Mannheimer endeavored to obtain for Viennese Jewry community status de facto which was denied to them de iure. He instituted Jewish archives wherein all births, deaths, and marriages were recorded. A few years later (1831), he was granted the right to issue publicly valid certificates on the basis of his archives. This seemingly insignificant privilege had far reaching consequences. It gave Mannheimer added authority in relation to the Jewish group and official status -- other than religious teacher -- in relation to the government.

Mannheimer's rise from "religious teacher" to "rabbi" is indeed remarkable. It can truly be said that he created his own position. Acting upon his suggestion, the leaders of Viennese Jewry addressed a formal request to Mannheimer

that he deliver regular sermons in the synagogue on Sabbaths and holidays for the entire Community. Although it was made clear to him that he was not obligated to preach, but merely invited to occupy the pulpit at his discretion, Mannheimer threw himself at the task with boundless zeal. With utter self-neglect he labored as teacher, preacher, pastor and Community official until his health gave way under the heavy burden. When he returned from a rest cure in Franzensbad in 1828, he was released from all teaching duties in order that he might devote himself exclusively to the pulpit. Fully conscious of the importance of this event, Mannheimer started a diary -- literally turning a new leaf in his life -- which he entitled: "Journal of My Ministry as a Preacher at the Israelite Community of Vienna, begun on January 24, 1829."

The appointment as preacher gave Mannheimer the opportunity to carry out a program of Reform which made his name and his synagogue famous. Having learned by experience in Copenhagen, Berlin and Hamburg how greatly the Cause of Reform suffered because it remained isolated with the social and intellectual elite, he endeavored to win for the purified divine service "the whole Community, men, women and youth."⁶ He quickly realized that some concessions had to be made to the traditionally minded masses.

In cooperation with leading representatives of his community, he drew up a set of statutes for the purpose of establishing dignity and the beauty of holiness in the Synagogue. The traditional liturgy was preserved almost without change; the duration of services was reduced to two hours on Sabbaths and festivals by the omission of piyuttim; careful attention to decorum and beautiful choir music enriched the aesthetic appeal of the service; German sermons and confirmations were permanently established. Hebrew remained the language of the liturgy; but German prayers could be recited by the preacher. After Mannheimer had completed these statutes -- subsequently known as the "Vienna Ritual" or "Mannheimer Ritual" -- he called a special meeting of all leaders and members in order to obtain their unanimous approval. The statutes were read aloud, and everyone signed them, following the example of Nehemiah, Chapt. 10. Thus, the changes became binding on the whole community. Beauty and order entered again the Jewish house of worship, while dissension was kept far from the community. A year later, Mannheimer indicated his satisfaction with what had been accomplished: "Judaism has gained strong support in our local community. My inmost wishes and best endeavors aim at the preservation of what has been gained. I gladly renounce extension of the principle if I can keep securely that which has been achieved." 7

What was Mannheimer's principle of Reform? He accepted the chief thesis of Reform, the idea of the historical evolution of Judaism and the right of each generation to adjust its religious life to the particular needs of the age.⁸ He believed that "the times, the thinking of the age, the creative spirit of man, custom and education,"⁹ contributed to the changing interpretation of religion. Judaism passed through many stages; it emphasized the ritual at the time of Moses; it gave prominence to a spiritual message at the time of the prophets; the process of change and development continued through the middle ages; it can not be stopped now. "No matter how loyal we are to traditions, we must likewise surrender some of the old, and accept some of the new ... time will come when much that had been considered permanent and unchangeable will have to yield to the pressure of the age and the creative spirit."¹⁰

But, Mannheimer's respect of the actualities of Jewish life prevailed over his sympathies with the theory of Reform. Consistency in the application of the Reform principle mattered little to him. Only the actual needs of Jewish life were important.

He was convinced, for example, that the orthodox synagogue ritual no longer met the needs of his generation. He admired the reformed liturgy of the Hamburg Temple and rose to its defense against Chacham BERNAYS public attack.

In his written statement which was published ¹¹ by the Reform party, Mannheimer made it clear that he justified the Hamburg Temple chiefly because it had made a constructive effort to meet real needs. "The less that the rabbis of the school of Bernays have taken to heart the need of remodeling the service, and the more that they have viewed with indifference the estrangement of thousands from the house of God, the less right have they to pretend to be zealous in the cause of God as over against such as have taken active steps to stem the tide of indifference and reclaim those who have drifted away." ¹² While men like Holdheim chose a theoretical approach in their defense of the Hamburg prayerbook, Mannheimer justified it primarily on practical grounds since it served "to stem the tide of indifference and reclaim those who have drifted away."

Because Mannheimer felt that he could achieve the same objective in Vienna merely by introducing order, decorum, choir music and German sermons, he was willing to forego more radical changes which he had fully approved in theory. Thus, M. refused to fight for the introduction of German hymns and for the use of an organ. He favored more extensive use of the vernacular in the liturgy, ¹³ but accepted a compromise which permitted only the preacher to recite German prayers before and after the sermon. To Abraham Geiger, Mannheimer's attitude was irritating; he censured his inconsistencies as being little short of desertion of the reform movement. ¹⁴ Adolf Jellinek, on

the other hand, praised Mannheimer's talent of making ideas constructive and fruitful in a given situation rather than "demand stubbornly that everybody climb up to the lonely heights" ¹⁵ of cold and abstract logic.

Mannheimer was willing to compromise on the program of Reform, not only because he was realistic, considerate of popular sentiments and sensitive to the emotional and psychological aspects of the religious life, but because he believed that the reform movement had spent itself on the externals of Judaism without achieving a noticeable revival of the religious spirit. He disdained the "minature war" ¹⁶ which was waged at the Rabbinical Conferences in Frankfurth and Breslau and refused to participate in it. He said: "As a soldier of God and my people, I am accustomed to a different type of battle." ¹⁷ Like the prophets of old, he aimed at the revival of the religious spirit. Consequently, he scorned the ranks of ultra-orthodoxy who "gaze at altars containing nothing but ashes, the withered and charred bones remaining of the old sacrifices, ... and guard them as a sanctuary..." ¹⁸ With the same biting sarcasm he flayed Reform's weakness for the fashions of the times: "Do not believe that a corpse looks any more energetic or attractive when it is clothed with a new dress." ¹⁹ He criticized orthodoxy because "the old spirit has failed to awaken," ²⁰ and he censured Reform because "the new spirit remains imperceptible." ²¹

The 19th Century witnessed the rise of the Social Welfare Movement. Organized Charity was recognized as the responsibility of society. Mannheimer devoted much of his time and energy to social-humanitarian activities. These were not confined to the Jews, but extended to non-sectarian institutions. All Jewish institutions of Vienna which were founded during his life time -- and they fill an impressive list -- depended on Mannheimer's interest and participation in varying degree.

Mannheimer was also profoundly interested in the political movement which initiated the liberal era. His personal prominence reached its climax during the revolution of 1848. Working simultaneously as a spiritual leader and public servant, he broadened the range of activities of the modern rabbinate. Through his own person Judaism became effective as one of the forces shaping the political development of the country. He accomplished the fusion of Israel's aspirations with those of the surrounding nation.

The bloody clash between students and imperial troops, which touched off the March Revolution, caused the death of five persons, and two of these were Jews. Appearing before their coffins, Mannheimer was invited to join a Catholic priest and a protestant minister in the public funeral procession at the head of an immense crowd. 22

It was probably the first time in Austrian history that the Jewish and Christian Clergy joined hands in a Common Cause. The five martyrs of the revolution were buried in a common grave; Mannheimer was privileged to speak first. His eulogy, a master piece of religious and political eloquence, made a profound impression. It was printed in German and Czech and circulated throughout the empire. "You have wished," he said, "that these dead Jews should rest with you in your earth, in the same earth ... Now, grant also to those who have fought the same battle with you, a hard battle, that they might live with you upon the same earth, free and untroubled as yourselves."

A few days later, Emperor Ferdinand promised a Constitution. A wave of excitement nearly swept Viennese Jewry off their feet. Freedom and equality seemed within reach. Mannheimer remained calm. In a sermon he warned his brethren against making special demands:

What must now be done for ourselves? For us, nothing! Everything for people and country, as you have done in the days which just passed... No word about emancipation, unless others speak it for us... Now, nothing for us! No petitions, no supplications, no begging and laments for our rights... First the right to live as men, -- to breathe, to think, to speak; first the right of the citizen --the Jew comes afterwards! Do nothing! Our time, too will come; it shall not fail.

24

Unfortunately, Mannheimer's sage counsel, inspired by confidence in the larger plan of history, was not heeded.

A petition was publicly circulated and gave the reactionary powers the eagerly awaited opportunity of linking the revolution with Jewish interests. A flood of vile pamphlets spread the poison of anti-Jewish feeling in response to the premature demand of emancipation.

On subsequent Sabbaths, especially during the Pessach festival, Mannheimer made masterly homiletical use of the Bible text in order to enlighten his people concerning the momentous political developments. At the same time, he participated conspicuously in public life. As a member of the powerful "Central Committee of the National Guard, Citizens and Students of Vienna" he demanded "that one should not exclude the laboring class from the privilege of franchise; one should not compel them to obtain their right by illegal methods." 25

The Constitution, published on April 25, proclaimed freedom of religion; however, it reserved the enactment of full civil and political emancipation for the agenda of the first "Reichstag." The importance of the "Reichstag" for the Jewish people of the monarchy was obvious. The city of Brody, predominantly Jewish, unanimously elected Mannheimer as their delegate. Mannheimer was appointed 2nd vice-president of the provisional presidium. On one occasion, he influenced the decision of the "Reichstag." When the government proposed the abolition of special Jewish taxes, the proposal met with opposition. The delegates were

ignorant of the burden which the Jews had to bear. Mannheimer brilliantly analyzed the discriminatory character of these special taxes and, pleading with the assembly not to betray the principles of the revolution by sanctioning medieval oppression, he won a vote of confirmation for the proposal.

The day after this vote, revolutionary disturbances in Vienna provoked a political reaction which crushed the liberal movement with violence and bloodshed. Martial law was decreed. The "Reichstag" fled to the city of Kremsier. The very day when reaction gloried in its triumph, Mannheimer courageously affirmed his democratic faith while preaching to his congregation: "Nothing is wasted in God's economy when nations struggle for human rights, dignity and freedom... The spirit permeating the times is of God... The princes have misunderstood their relationship with the peoples. They saw the world divided in two parts, one slaves, the other taskmasters; ... then the storm came and blew a fresh spirit through the land and its people -- the nation stepped into their rights." 26

He was granted a leave from the congregation in order to attend the sessions of the "Reichstag" at Kremsier. His dignified participation won him many friends and even elicited tribute from anti-Jewish quarters. "An honest character who ought to be a model for Israelite youth," reported a generally prejudiced journalist. 27

Mannheimer was honored as principal speaker on the issue of capital punishment. He delivered a splendid address in favor of its abolition and based his chief arguments on legal principles of the Talmud. The presentation of Talmudic ethics as superior to those of the times before an assembly of deputies of the monarchy was a feat of unprecedented courage. The repeated applause of his listeners testified to his eminent rhetorical skill.

In March 1849, the Kremsier "Reichstag" was forcibly dissolved; a new Constitution, decreed by the Kaiser, granted legal emancipation. Mannheimer returned to Vienna where the Jewish people, after considerable hesitation, decided to hold a special service of thanksgiving. Defying the warnings of Jewish communal leaders, Mannheimer gave a sermon replete with critical allusions to political conditions. As a result, he was suspended from the Temple service for three months. Realizing the dangerous political conditions in the country, accentuated by the enforcement of Martial Law, Mannheimer yielded to pressure. The suspension imposed upon him by the officers of the Temple was rescinded after he promised to devote himself exclusively to the pulpit and pastoral work. Thus, Mannheimer's public political activity came to an end.

During the last two decades of his life, Mannheimer's energies were absorbed in the ministry to a rapidly expanding community. The number of Jews in Vienna grew from 3,739 in the year 1846 to about 15,000 in 1854; and each year

accelerated the rate of increase. New social institutions and new synagogues were needed. He helped provide both. He was instrumental in the organization of the great Temple in the Leopoldstadt where Adolf Jellinek advanced the art of preaching to a new height. But, Jellinek's growing fame did not overshadow the elder preacher. He continued to receive glowing tributes of love and respect from far and near. In the distant city of New Orleans, a committee of Jews, sympathetic with Reform, directed an inquiry to him concerning ritual changes. 28

His 70th birthday was a memorable event in the life of Vienna. Preparations for the celebration consumed an entire year and extended to many distant communities in Austria, Hungary and Germany. In the presence of the mayor of Vienna, numerous dignitaries and delegates from abroad, the father of the modern Jewish Community of Vienna was signally honored. With typical generosity, he refused to accept a substantial monetary gift and suggested that it serve as initial endowment of a special fund for the support of rabbis, preachers and teachers.

The festivities of the jubilee had hardly died away, when a bitter controversy threatened the peace of Mannheimer's remaining few years. An article of H. Graetz appeared in the "Jahrbuch für Israeliten 5624 (Vienna 1863/4) in which Deutero-Isaiah's concept of the "suffering servant" was applied to the Jewish people. The Austrian attorney-general

filed suit against the editor of the "Jahrbuch", claiming that the negation of the idea of the personal Messiah represented an insult against orthodox Judaism and Christianity. Mannheimer was requested to testify as to the Jewish and, particularly, the orthodox concept of the Messiah. The testimony afforded Mannheimer the opportunity to deny officially the existence of various sects in modern Jewry. Claiming that there was only one Judaism, he rejected the inference that orthodoxy constituted a separate group within Jewry. Orthodox circles were outraged not only because Mannheimer likewise applied the messianic doctrine of Deutero-Isaiah to the Jewish people, but chiefly because he had refused to acknowledge publicly division within the Jewish community.

In Copenhagen, he had witnessed the opening phase of the long struggle between antagonistic trends in Judaism. Now, at the end of his journey, the controversy flared up again, affecting fundamental doctrines of Judaism.

Mannheimer was still in possession of consciousness when he greeted the Sabbath on the evening of March 17, 1865. The following morning, he went to his eternal rest.

II. CONCEPT OF THE RABBINATE

Mannheimer was conscious of the fact that he represented a new type in the rabbinate. "I am no Rav," he used to say of himself. ²⁹ He conducted his personal life in accordance with his liberal views. ³⁰ When Zunz asked his advise on a number of traditional customs, before accepting a call to Prague, he cautioned his friend against hypocrisy in such matters and said: "every system is correct if it is lived up to consistently and justified by character." ³¹

The variety of interests which he pursued in his studies, is alluded to in the following statement from a letter: "I made excerpts from Luther and *אברהם גרשון*, digested Spinoza together with *אפר' ל'ר* and tutored *ד' דודא* in Cicero and mathematics. ³²

Like Zunz and Jost, Mannheimer was among the first students of Judaism to receive a systematic academic education at the beginning of the century. "Although he was well versed in the Hebrew language, Bible and Midrashic literature, he did not develop as a scholar in the "Wissenschaft des Judentums."

Early in life, Mannheimer defined his ideal of the rabbinate. He looked upon it as a mission aiming at "the rebirth of a disintegrated and divided people, the restoration of the purity of worship and of the dignity of our ignorant

and undisciplined brethren." 33 He was zealous for the honor of Israel and anxious to revive Jewish self-respect, not only among the elite but the Jewish masses. "A few individuals can not rescue the honor and dignity of Israel by their brilliant personal merit. They are respected apart and above our people. The masses must be elevated and won for the kingdom of God." 34

He permitted nothing to interfere with his ministry. In 1828, the representatives of Viennese Jewry had to compel him with a strongly worded letter that he cease from preaching and religious instruction during the summer in order to restore his health by the enjoyment of a vacation. 35 At the wedding of his daughter in 1863, he was justified in saying: "I did not act on such occasions as the priest of my Community... I was their father, friend and brother; they were children of my heart, my care by day and night... I have never given preference to the happiness and peace of my home. The house of God, the house of Israel was my house and my family whose woe and weal moved my inmost being every hour of my life." 36

He geared his ministry to the highest possible objective, i.e., to shape the life of the Community and mould personalities in the pattern of Judaism. "The fusion of religion and the home is among my foremost aims... I consider the pastoral work as my holiest calling, respecting it above teaching and preaching.

Religion should accompany man with its admonition and consolation from the cradle to the grave," ³⁷ he wrote to Abraham Wolff, his successor in the rabbinate of Copenhagen. Yet it was primarily in the capacity of preacher that Mannheimer became known, respected and influential. Through the living word of God he rekindled the love of Judaism in the hearts of his people, bolstered up their loyalty and self-respect and inspired them to do the *mitzvoth*, the visible and constructive work of the community.

III. MANNHEIMER AS A PREACHER

1. HIS THEORY OF PREACHING

Mannheimer clearly enunciated his theory of preaching in the preface to the "Gottesdienstliche Vorträge über die Wochenabschnitte des Jahres," a collection of sermons which he preached in Vienna during the years 1826 to 1834.

Granting that nothing human could be outside the preacher's domain and that Jews were "men first and then Israelites," he, nevertheless, stated emphatically that it was the task of the Jewish pulpit "to teach Judaism as such, to spread its spirit and to imbue the hearts of the people with its consolations and blessings." 38

He defined Judaism broadly as the tradition of knowledge and experience, contained in the Bible, rabbinic literature and in the history of the Jewish people. 39

"The prophets," he confessed, "I have chosen as my masters and tried to repeat their angelic speech with a weak human tongue." 40

The preacher should resemble the planter, making the seed of the past flower in the soil of present day life. He should always relate Judaism to the needs of

his generation, elevate and inspire his people. "Therefore I have chosen the life of my people as the soil which I want to make fruitful and I have used my word as a means of beautifying, elevating and sanctifying life." 41

In order to be effective, the preacher should neither follow slavishly the models of the past nor court the literary fashions of the times. "I do not belong to those who respect the old because of its age ... and who idolize the mummies of the past... but neither do I belong to those who attempt to cure our people's sickness of body and soul with the blossoms that can be gathered on excursions into literature... I demand of my people's teachers intellectual independence." 42

While the Jewish preacher should take advantage of the contribution which the civilization of the age can make to his art, he must never forget that, standing in the sanctuary of God, he is committed to the preservation of the heritage of his ancestors. The Jewish pulpit must never surrender the spiritual continuity of Judaism.

"It would be treason... if we eliminated with one stroke of the pen the entire past of our people or even a couple of millenia in order to start a new life as of today." 43

Personal sincerity and a positive faith in God are prerequisites of preaching. "Worse than Pharisees and

Sadducees are those who urge all the more Ceremonies the less they believe in them, and who keep on praising rabbinic wisdom the less they know it. Only the word of truth can strengthen the heart and elevate the soul to faith in God." 44

The preacher who dreams his time away, waiting for "inspiration," has missed his calling. The sermon is a work of art, the product of conscientious effort which requires mental Creativity and mastery of form. "Form is indispensable for every human work. We grasp thoughts through forms... It is necessary that we clothe our truth in an intelligible, ordered and pleasing form." 45

On the other hand, Mannheimer warns the preacher against seeking salvation in "textbook homiletics." Ideas are the essence of the sermon. It is the consistent development of thought from which the sermon derives its form. "The internal coherence of thought is the chief thing, not the external thread which binds the sermon together giving it a mere semblance of unity. The ideas must be connected and evolve logically. They must unite like rays of light in a single focal point. Therefore, never present a theme for the consideration of the congregation unless you are fully convinced of its inherent vitality. When you have found such a subject, the ideas

will arrange themselves in the proper order... and the word will not lack power." 46

Mannheimer was aware of the need for optimism in the pulpit. The preacher's sad and frequent realization that his words have failed to bring visible results must not dishearten him. It may hurt his vanity, but should not crush his confidence. "It is our hope that mankind is still growing and, some day, will honor the word of God. In this faith, we keep on preaching." 47

To sum up the above views of Mannheimer on the preacher and the sermon:

THE JEWISH PREACHER:

1. Must elevate and inspire his people by teaching Judaism in relation to modern life.
2. Must be intellectually independent.
3. Must be at home in the culture of the age.
4. Must be mindful of the spiritual continuity of Judaism.
5. Must be imbued with a sincere faith in God.
6. Must have confidence in the ultimate effectiveness of the spoken word.

THE JEWISH SERMON:

1. Should convey truth in an intelligible and pleasing form.
2. Its form should not be arranged mechanically, but harmonize with the development of thought.
3. All ideas should converge in a single, vital proposition.

2. HIS TECHNIQUE

Mannheimer's sermons bear the stamp of a strong personality. They are saturated with the preacher's emotions. He pleads, he warns, he rejoices; he displays the whole range of feeling with varying intensity. Frequently, the first person is conspicuous in his orations. With him it is not a fault. He knows his listeners intimately. There is no distance whatever between the pulpit and the pew.

Mannheimer's chief purpose in preaching was to stimulate action. Therefore, his sermon is always dominated by a single thought to which all other ideas are subordinated for the sake of maximum effectiveness. The proposition is the very heart of his sermon. It always grows organically out of the text.

Sometimes, he begins his sermon immediately with the text.⁴⁸ More often, he tries to prepare the mind of the audience by means of an exordium, either portraying the setting of the text, or arousing interest and curiosity by stating a challenging fact or problem,⁴⁹ pointing to the text for further elucidation. Occasionally, he anticipates the proposition in his exordium, cites the text as an illustration and restates the theme prior to its careful

analysis in the body of the sermon. ⁵⁰ Not infrequently, the exordium is based on a passage from the Prophets ⁵¹ or other parts of the Bible which has a special bearing on the text of the *שעשע*. Often, Mannheimer attempted to put his audience in a devout frame of mind by reciting an original prayer before the sermon. In marked contrast to this practice is the casual manner in which he introduces his sermon on other occasions. ⁵²

On the whole, it is fairly evident that Mannheimer did not make the most of the openings of his sermons, either because he failed to appreciate the advantage of a striking exordium, or because he commanded the attention of his audience well enough without it.

It is in the treatment of the text that Mannheimer displays his full powers of imagination and ingenuity. He is a master in the selection and homiletical exegesis of the text. Naturally averse to hair-splitting subtlety, he aims at clarity and simplicity in the exposition of the Biblical passage. His appeal is to the people, not to the scholarly expert. Anxious to stimulate appreciation of the Bible as a living and relevant literary treasure, he skillfully weaves into the textural analysis ideas and suggestions which make the Bible appear as a mirror of contemporary events, characters and problems.

The striking application which he makes of seemingly barren texts and the smooth transition to a clear and forceful statement of the proposition can still excite our admiration. Thus, e.g., the verse: "Because I thought: Surely the fear of God is not in this place;" (Gen. 20:11) leads the preacher to the observation that Abraham was not altogether free of prejudice. Did he not admit before Abimelech, King of Gerar, that he had misrepresented himself as Sarah's brother because of an unwarranted fear he might suffer harm if he became known to the people of Gerar as her husband? On the basis of mere suspicion Abraham condemned a whole nation as being without the knowledge and fear of God. Religious prejudice lead him to the brink of disaster. Hence, follows the theme of the sermon: the danger of generalizations and prejudices in religious matters. 53

Mannheimer knew how to make the Bible speak to the hearts of his listeners. He must have received a warm response when he cited the verse: "Now all the wells which his father's servants had digged ... the Philistines had stopped them, and filled them with earth," (Gen. 26:15) and applied it to the wrong of economic discrimination which cuts off "the wells of livelihood" of the Jewish people. 54

A seemingly sterile text as, e.g., "I have set My bow in the Cloud, and it shall be for a token of a Covenant... between Me and you" (Gen.9:13,14) yields a profound thought through his ingenious exposition.

The rainbow, he suggests, was not Created at Noah's time as the verse seems to say. It existed before. But, after a year of incessant storm and dark terror in the sky, its appearance conveyed something new to Noah. The splendid spectacle of joyous color appeared to Noah like a symbol of the benevolent forces in nature; No one, continues the preacher, can have a full understanding of the Deity unless he looks for "the tokens of the Covenant" which He has set in the sky, on earth, in the entire realm of nature. The contemplation of nature is a religious duty whose fulfillment yields rich spiritual rewards. 55

Mannheimer's exceptional powers of observation impart life and deeper meaning to the Biblical text. An example is his treatment of Gen 43:11-14: "And their father Israel said unto them: ... take of the choice fruits..., and carry down the man a present,... and take double money in your hand; ... take also your brother ... and God Almighty give you mercy before the man that he may release unto you your other brother and Benjamin. And as for me, if I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved."

56

This passage, the preacher points out, calls to attention a type of resignation which is the choicest fruit of wisdom. Jacob's resignation is not like that of Abraham who unquestioningly complies with God's command to sacrifice his son; it is not like Aaron's heroic silence at the death of his two children. Jacob is neither as unemotional as David who refused to mourn for his child, saying: 'Can I bring him back again?' nor is he able to suppress the impulse of the heart like Job, saying: 'the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away.' Jacob's resignation is touchingly human. He can hardly bear the pain of the impending loss of his son. But, facing the threat of bereavement, Jacob acts in accordance with human wisdom: First, he does everything in his power to prevent the evil. "Take of the choice fruits," -- perhaps gifts, perhaps money can save his son's life. But should all efforts prove of no avail, -- so let it be, "If I am bereaved, I am bereaved." It is man's duty to shape his own destiny; it is wisdom to resign oneself to the inevitable.

Mannheimer makes abundant use of illustrative material to present more vividly certain truths which, otherwise, might not excite sufficient interest. Gleaning apt analogies from the realm of nature and the sciences, selecting pertinent examples from the world of common experience, or stimulating

the imagination of his listeners with finely spun allegories, Mannheimer shows his proficiency in the illustrative method.

Comparing, for example, the clash of conflicting political movements to the atmospheric collision of different masses of air, he characterizes the revolution of 1848 as a storm whose tempestuous discharge is accompanied by the mixture of conflicting elements and the relaxation of tension. Greater peace and harmony will follow the storm of revolution. 57

Or, he achieves a striking description of old age by means of an allegorical interpretation of Ecc1.12:3,4:

"In the day when the 'keepers of the house' (the legs) shall tremble and the 'strong ones' (the arms) are bent, and the 'grinders' (the teeth) cease because they are few, and 'those that look out' (the eyes) shall be darkened in the windows, and the 'doors' (the ears) shall be shut." 58

His style is fresh, vigorous and rich in contrasts; he can speak with the soft tenderness of a lyric poet and also hurl the prophetic thunder of denunciation at his people. He enlivened his speech with graphic expression and an abundance of synonyms; he knew how to stimulate attention with clever puns and euphonious phrases. He was very effective in his sarcastic moods, especially when ^{he} treated his favorite

subject of Jewish dignity: "The lion of Judah before whom the world once trembled ... has turned into a bony ass who willingly carries his load and bends his neck under every yoke..."⁵⁹

He used Midrashic literature with which he was thoroughly familiar to great homiletical advantage. There was nothing artificial about his method. Quotations from the Midrash were not feathers in his sermon, but were used as pertinent illustrations of a thought and as striking expressions of truth. More than once he said: "I have cited the Midrash because it epitomizes the teaching of today's sermon."⁶⁰

Mannheimer was exceptionally diligent in the preparation of his sermons. He worked hard. "I need a whole week to prepare a sermon, read carefully all *ש'עצור* and *ש'עצור* pertaining to the *ש'עצור* in order to connect universal truth with what is characteristic of our people -- *דניקא ש'עצור* --" he wrote to his successor in Copenhagen.⁶¹

Despite the many demands which were made on his time and energy, he gave his best powers to preaching. For him, it was not a burden but a labor of love. He experienced religious fervor and enthusiasm when he occupied the pulpit: "whenever I am called to preach

in a sanctuary of Israel, a holy excitement takes
hold of me, and I am elevated by a joyful mood." 62

IV. OUTLOOK AND MESSAGE

A preacher is not likely to rival the philosopher's depth of thought nor the theologian's ability to systematize religious doctrines. Mannheimer failed to make an original contribution to Jewish philosophy and theology. But, addressing himself to a generation who had lost contact with Jewish sources and had grown up in ignorance of Jewish beliefs, he was keenly conscious of the need for instruction in the principal teachings of Judaism.

In his sermons we find a consistent, albeit not systematic, presentation of what he believes Judaism to be; what ethical demands Judaism makes on its adherents and what part the Jew is to play in the world.

1. JUDAISM

Judaism is a predominantly rational faith. It does not stress the miraculous and fantastic; it is not veiled in an atmosphere of mysticism.⁶³ The faith of Israel does not encourage withdrawal from the world, isolation in excessive inwardness; its adherents can not square accounts with God by the mere utterance of a Creed.⁶⁴ Judaism is a many-sided faith which tries to embrace man in his totality, heart, soul, intellect and will.⁶⁵ Although the affirmation and love of the One God is the essence of Israel's faith, Judaism, above all, is a religion of deed, stressing conduct and action in accordance with the will of God.⁶⁶

G O D

God is the universal Creator who guides the world with providence and rules with justice.⁶⁷ No mind can fully understand the Invisible Being, nor grasp His plan and purpose; yet His providence is manifest in the order of the universe, in the wondrous relation between all living things.⁶⁸

He is revealed in nature as well as in history. He speaks through the great events in the life of nations.⁶⁹ His will -- a moral will -- dominates history; but God needs man in order to perform His will on earth.⁷⁰

M A N

Man is distinguished from all other Creatures by the divine spirit of which he partakes. He was created in God's image; he should ever strive to imitate God by conduct which is in accordance with His attributes of holiness, justice and love. Man derives his nobility from the great moral height to which he is able to rise. 71

Being a Child of God, man is endowed with freedom of will. He is always free to choose whether or not to perform his potential role of co-worker with God. 72

T O R A H

Biblical legislation and Talmudic law grew out of specific historic backgrounds. Time has wrought many changes in the historic setting and, consequently, many injunctions of Torah are no longer applicable. Yet, they still manifest the spirit of love and justice, even though they have lost their binding force. While certain portions of Torah may seem antiquated, their spirit is eternal: truthfulness, righteousness, the preservation and widest possible extension of human rights are some of the eternal spiritual ideals which invest Torah with divine character. 73

P R A Y E R

Genuine prayer is the natural language of the heart when it communicates with God. The worshiper who pours out his heart, confesses his weakness, reveals his thoughts and voices his fears as though he were standing in the presence of a father or friend, has learned to pray; "it makes little difference whether he finds his own words for his mood, or puts his own mood into the words he finds prepared." 74

Spontaneous prayer will harmonize more adequately with the needs of the individual, but the fixed liturgy, tested by centuries, remains the finest expression of the mood and aspirations of the Jewish people. "We would not strengthen the bonds of community and faith if our worship were the exclusive result of the transient circumstances of the present, the inspiration of the mere moment, depending entirely on the mood and ability of contemporary preachers and teachers." 75

But, what does man accomplish through prayer? Prayer enables man "to consecrate and sanctify his own powers and find justification for his aspirations in God's word and will." It strengthens the worshiper with confidence that he is asking only for right and acceptable things. Greater courage and resolution will come from such confidence. 76

Communal worship brings peace and harmony to Israel.

"It unites us like harps attuned to one another." 77

While we should worship God "in the beauty of holiness" i.e., make the service aesthetically appealing, decorum must not replace participation. Worship should not be reduced to a performance by the Cantor or Choir. "Not what we hear, but what we ourselves feel, put into words and Confess before God with fervor can satisfy the heart... On the one hand, I deplore the deterioration of worship when I observe other synagogues in which Jews rush through their prayers, shouting and yelling... On the other hand, I prefer shouting, when the heart is in it, to sitting quietly and listening passively to the voice of the singer." 78

C E R E M O N I E S

The spirit of religion remains true and unchanging. The same spirit is manifest in the Law of Moses, in the psalms of David, in the writings of the prophets and in the literature of the rabbis. The external forms of religion, the Ceremonies, are subject to change. They may serve as vessels of divine truth for many generations; "yet they must not be forged into a chain binding the soul, neither must they be made into a yoke oppressing the free mind." 79 While "it is evident that Ceremonies are ... essential for the preservation of our faith and unity

and that they can exert a sacred influence if they are understood and observed in the spirit in which they were instituted," ⁸⁰ there is room for differences and variation in the observance of Ceremonies. "You must not demand that everybody walk with the same Crutch." ⁸¹

I M M O R T A L I T Y

Although Mannheimer Confessed "we know nothing of the end, except that the spirit returns unto God who gave it," ⁸² the theme of immortality was among his favourite subjects. He was sustained by a fervent faith in immortality. At one occasion, he even exclaimed, "there is only one great hope, the hope of immortality... as long as you have not grasped the idea of immortality we shall not understand one another." ⁸³

Man's existence can not end abruptly with death. "Since we are not like the animal in life--since we possess memories of a former existence, since we are elevated by hopes, aspirations and visions of God's kingdom-- we are not like the animal in death. As we live, so we die different from all other Creatures." ⁸⁴

Man also survives in his Children and in his works. "Our Children live and work in our spirit... They complete what we have begun." ⁸⁵ Those who do not have Children

Can perpetuate their name in deeds. "Everyone Can obtain immortality if he lives for posterity and spells his name on monuments of high-mindedness and humanitarian endeavor." 86

M E S S I A N I C O U T L O O K

Mannheimer did not believe in a personal Messiah. He believed in the Coming of a Messianic age. It is an age in which all nations will walk together, united in love, faith and the knowledge of truth. 87 All men will be equal on earth. Justice will rule the world. 88

Israel will play a special part in the Messianic age. The nations who once oppressed Israel will show him honor; hate will give way to love. For, Israel is destined to teach his faith to all the world. 89

But, the Messianic age is still a distant hope. For, God's kingdom does not come with suddenness. It will be the result of the consistent evolution and perfection of the divine order in the world. Salvation will rise slowly as the dawn; emerging from the dark night it will gradually shed its light upon the sky until it illuminates the whole earth. 90

2. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Mannheimer was deeply concerned with the problem of Jewish religious education. He stated some strikingly progressive principles. Religious education, he urged, should vary its approach in accordance with the child's age level. He advocated three stages of religious instruction, each suited to a specific level of maturity.

The very young child should not be burdened with doctrines and beliefs. He should be conditioned favorably to Judaism by the impressive observance of the holiday cycle in the home. "The child loves the externals of religion and, later in life, will honor the religion which yielded the happiest and most beautiful hours of his childhood." 91

The second stage of religious education should be marked by the interpretation of customs and ceremonies and the presentation of Israel's thrilling historic experience in order to "stimulate pride in their youthful hearts, a noble pride, based on identification with the entire Jewish people." 92 For, "as long as history was our teacher, we were the heroes of history." 93

After the child has learned to respect the concrete manifestations and visible symbols of Judaism, and after

he has grown into a more mature youth, only then should one attempt to lead him to "a knowledge and Comprehension of Israel's inner sanctuary of faith." 94

Formal instruction in Judaism has its limits. No Catechism could do justice to Judaism. It is a religion which "has grown historically, and comes to us as a tradition; it can be preserved in the future only by the same method which kept it alive in the past: fathers must give it to their children." 95 For, the religious school can not bridge "the gap between the home and the synagogue." 96

3. THE JEW IN THE WORLD

Mannheimer was convinced that the surrender of Jewish nationality was the price which had to be paid for emancipation. He favored paying that price. In an age of emancipation, Israel's unity must be based strictly upon a common religious heritage. Israel's survival as a particular spiritual group is justified by their mission: to teach the doctrine of the One God and to witness to Him by exemplary conduct. "Would that we no longer spoke of a nation of Israel but of the congregation of Israel. Then, our unity ... would be based on our responsibility to God. We would have one Creed, one form of worship, one morality ... but in all other respects we would not pass as Israelites, not as a people, not as a nation, ... but everyone of us would be equal with the sons of his fatherland. In the larger perspective of history, we would remain the descendants of the patriarchs, the disciples of the prophets whom God chose for a mission, to proclaim His name and to witness to His dominion. 97

Religious assimilation would not improve the relations between Jews and gentiles. On the contrary, loyalty to the ancestral faith is Israel's chief claim to the respect and admiration of the world. 98

Jews must not divorce the issue of emancipation from the Cause of universal freedom. Justice is indivisible. The Jew will be free only if the peoples are free. He will enjoy democratic rights only if they are accorded to the general population. Wherever human rights are violated, Jewish security is threatened. Consequently, the Jew must be in the forefront of the liberal movements for political progress. "First struggle for the right to live as men, to breathe, to think and to speak; for the right of the Citizen -- ... afterwards comes the Jew! wherever brute force rules, it rules against us; wherever reactionary powers gain the ascendancy, they react against us."

99

4. STRIKING IDEAS

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

As a delegate to the "Reichstag" at Kremsier, Mannheimer gave an address on the subject of Capital punishment. He did not deliver a political lecture; he gave a sermon. He opposed Capital punishment on religious, ethical and practical grounds.

If Capital punishment is to intimidate prospective criminals, it has proven ineffective.¹⁰⁰ If it is to satisfy the desire of vengeance, it is based upon an unworthy foundation.¹⁰¹ All arguments which are offered in favor of Capital punishment have once been advanced in support of torture, ordeal and other mediæval forms of punishment. Punishment for the purpose of intimidation "is barbarism that makes man worse by judging him evil."¹⁰²

Prisons offer the only solution; not as jails nor as penitentiaries, but as institutions for correction. If prisons do not seem to reduce crimes it is because "at present, our penitentiaries are schools in the perfection of crime and vice which the sinner enters only to be released as a trained and finished criminal."¹⁰³

WORK AS AN ETHICAL TASK

Mannheimer was very sensitive to the charge that a good many Jews were engaged in unproductive and contemptible occupations. While admitting that there was some truth to it, he categorically denied that Jews were drawn to unworthy occupations because of inherent qualities of character.

He glorified "an honest living." The following statement is by no means isolated in his preaching: "Whatever is superfluous is injurious. To the extent that a person consumes more than he produces ... he is harmful to society." 104

No man has a right to be idle. "It is labor that makes us strong; mental or manual labor. Whoever can not create anything with his mind must do so with his hands. Whoever is capable of work but fails to do it, should not eat; he has no right to demand that others work for him." 105

CARE OF HEALTH

Physical health and healthy-mindedness go hand in hand. No man has a right to weaken or destroy the physical powers which he should use for the benefit of family and people. The protection of health is a religious duty since "no man belongs to himself, but all his powers and talents belong to the world." 106

V. C O N C L U S I O N

Mannheimer gave 50 years of his life to the ministry and nearly 4 decades to the Jewish Community of Vienna. When he came to the Danubian Capitol, he found a small number of Jews whose religious life failed to satisfy the educated in their midst while it invited the mockery and contempt of the non-Jew. Toward the end of his life, he could see thousands of Jews crowd the synagogue which he had created. They were drawn to the Jewish service; they were eager for the inspiration which they had been accustomed to receive from Mannheimer's pulpit. Moreover, his synagogue had become "a model for several kingdoms" as Gotthold Salomon predicted.¹⁰⁹ From near and distant places people came to marvel at the warmth and solemnity of the "Mannheimer Ritual" and to delight in his eloquence.

By his enthusiasm and the shining example of personal consecration, but, above all, by the power of the living word of God he was able to transform Jewish self-contempt into wholesome self-respect and to imbue his people with the conviction that Judaism -- far from being antiquated -- could still answer the great problems of the age.

The generation into which he was born no longer knew the sources of Judaism and, consequently, could no longer

profit from the old type *דבר*. Mannheimer was among the creators of the modern Jewish sermon which, though different from its medieval predecessor in form, remained true to the traditional aim of Jewish preaching, i.e., to teach, inspire and stimulate action in the spirit of Torah.

He was imbued with the conviction that religion must embrace the totality of life; that its spirit must be evident in the home, in the ethical sphere, in the economic and political realm as well as in the synagogue. Hence, the wide range of his themes, the large scope and variety of subjects which he presented from the pulpit.

He devoted many of his sermons to the restoration of a proud Jewish self-consciousness and to a clearer appreciation of the Jewish contribution to the world. At the same time, he was fearless in exposing the ills of Jewish life. But, he never criticized without offering a positive and constructive program. His exhortations flowed from warm compassion and pure love for his people.

He was no less courageous in the defense of Jewish honor against external enemies. Bigoted government authorities paid tribute to his courage and liberal spirit by prohibiting the publication of some of his sermons. 110

By his active participation in the liberal political movement which culminated in the revolution of 1848, he demonstrated convincingly that Judaism was in harmony with the spirit of the age and that Jewish life could be integrated with the life of the environment without surrender of Israel's religious distinctiveness.

The political sermons which he delivered in ^{the} hectic days of violence and revolutionary change are among his best pulpit utterances. They are still vibrant with the triumphant confidence of a deeply religious spirit and reflect the enthusiasm, the vigorous style and fresh approach which distinguished his preaching. Few modern preachers could rival Mannheimer's skill in presenting the problems of the age in the light of Judaism's ageless ideals.

At a time when the ancient study halls of Torah were being deserted and the old methods of Jewish instruction proved ineffective, Mannheimer was among the pioneers who made the pulpit a lighthouse of the spirit which brought back to Judaism many who had floundered in the darkness of ignorance or had abandoned themselves to the current of apostasy.

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N O T E S

- ABREVIATIONS: G.V. 1834-- Mannheimer, I.N., Gottesdienstliche Vortraege, Vienna 1834
- G.V. 1835-- Mannheimer, I.N., Gottesdienstliche Vortraege, Vienna 1835
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- 1.--Martin Philippon, Neueste Geschichte, vol.I., p.172, as quoted in Rosenmann, M., Isak Noa Mannheimer, p. 16.
- 2.--M.G.W.J., vol 61, p.100
- 3.--ibid., p.100
- 4.--ibid., p.114
- 5.--Graetz, H. Geschichte, XI., p.393
- 6.--J.K., p.73
- 7.--ibid., p.74
- 8.--G.V. 1835, p.67,68
- 9.--ibid.
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- 11.-- see; Philipson, Reform Movement, p. 86-87
- 12.-- ibid., 87
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- 14.--Geiger, A., Die Reihen lichten sich, in : Jüd. Zeitschrift
f. Wissenschaft und Leben, vol. III., p.172
- 15.--Jellinek, A., Rede bei der Gedächtnisfeier etc., p.18
- 16.--see JESCHURUN, Monatschrift f. Lehre und Leben im Judentum,
vol 8, 1921, p.230
- 17.--ibid.
- 18.--G.V.ed.H., part II, p.30
- 19.--ibid., p.161
- 20.--ibid., p.159
- 21.--ibid.
- 22.--Rosenmann, M., Isak Noa Mannheimer, p.77ff.
- 23.-- ibid. p.138f.
- 24.--ibid., p.144
- 25.--ibid., p.80
- 26.--ibid., p.187
- 27.--ibid., p.83
- 28.--ibid., p.104 (footnote)
- 29.--ibid., p.110
- 30.-- "My wife kept her hair; I shave and go out with a hat
only when I am freezing." M.G.W.J., vol.61, p.316
- 31.--ibid., p.314
- 32.-- ibid., p.305
- 33.--ibid., p.297-301
- 34.--Mannheimer, I.N., Die Gewerbescheu in Israel, p.11
- 35.--Rosenmann, p.109
- 36.--Wolf, G., I.N.Mannheimer, p.52

- 37.--J.K., p.73
- 38.--G.V.1835, preface, p.V.
- 39.--ibid., V, VI.
- 40.--ibid., V.
- 41.--ibid., VI.
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p.315
- 48.--G.V.ed.H. part II, p.21, 163; G.V.1835, p.3ff. etc.
- 49.--G.V. 1835, p.81
- 50.--G.V.1835, p.61
- 51.--G.V.1835, p.43f.
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- 53.--G.V.1835, p.61f.
- 54.--ibid., p.141 (footnote)
- 55.--ibid., p.25f.
- 56.--ibid., p.182f.
- 57.--Rosenmann, p.162
- 58.--G.V.1834, p.104
- 59.--Kayserling, part I, p.317

- 60.--G.V.1835, p.111
- 61.--M.G.W.J. 1871, P.276, 331
- 62.--Kayserling, part I, p.322
- 63.--G.V.ed.H., part II, p.184/5
- 64.--ibid.
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- 66.--ibid.
- 67.--ibid., p.51
- 68.--G.V.1835, p.123-125
- 69.--Rosenmann, p.201
- 70.--G.V.1835, p.38
- 71.--ibid., p.8
- 72.--ibid., p.9
- 73.--ibid., p.350f.
- 74.--Kayserling, part I, p.298
- 75.--G.V.ed.H., part I, p.136
- 76.--G.V.1835, p.193f.
- 77.--G.V.ed.H., part I., p.135
- 78.--ibid., p.132f.
- 79.--G.V.1835., p.69
- 80.--ibid., p.287f.
- 81.--ibid., p.69f.
- 82.--G.V.1834, p.107
- 83.--ibid., p.18

- 84.--G.V.1835, p.227
- 85.--ibid., p.230
- 86.--ibid., p.232
- 87.-- G.V.ed.H., part I, p.91
- 88.--ibid.,p.92
- 89.--ibid.,p.93
- 90.--ibid.,p.93
- 91.G.V.ed.H., part II, p.47
- 92.--ibid., p.48
- 93.--ibid.,p.49
- 94.--ibid.,p.50
- 95.--ibid.,p.51,52
- 96.--ibid.,p.53
- 97.--G.V.1835, p.143-4
- 98.--ibid., p.155
- 99.--Rosenmann, p.144
- 100.--ibid. p.207
- 101.--ibid.
- 102.--ibid., p.209
- 103.--ibid., p.210
- 104.--G.V.1835, p.149
- 105.--Rosenmann, p.143
- 106.--G.V.ed.H., part I, p.79
- 107.--ibid., p.97
- 108.--ibid.,p.108
- 109.--J.K., p.76
- 110.--G.V.ed.H. part II, p.1 (footnote)