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GOTTHOLD SALOMON

as a Preacher

by

Philip W. Jaffa

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*Preface*  
I-N-T-R-O-D-U-C-T-I-O-N

Gotthold Salomon, as preacher, can be best appreciated as a child of his times. As a product of his environment and a great source of influence upon subsequent Jewish homiletics, he ranks second to none in the modern Liberal Jewish Movement.

Necrological reports speak of him as preacher, liturgist, reformer, apologist, and exegete.<sup>1</sup> At the time of his death, he was famed and respected as preacher, and beloved as a man.<sup>2</sup> Steinsneider says of him, "Salomon's printed and unprinted sermons deserve edition and publication, because of their cultural and historical significance, and because they still have the quality to improve our Homiletical accomplishments."<sup>3</sup> Maybaum says of the Reform experiment that, "Fortunately they (at Hamburg) had preachers who were capable, and even today are the standard for the homiletical art."<sup>4</sup>

On the occasion of his twenty-fifth anniversary as preacher of the Hamburg Temple he received the homage of the outstanding men in Jewish life. Geiger calls him "my hero, who nurtured and championed the cause of Jewish Homiletics." Ludwig Philippson sends a "little leaflet to the fragrant bouquet which honors the man in whom is united spiritual power and creative intelligence; the man who breathed his free spirit into Jewish Homiletics and who freed it from the tendency to emulate other religions--the first to make Homiletics a distinctively Jewish product; the paragon and teacher of Jewish preaching. Before him others had written in the German language, but never before had the sermon issued from Jewish mouth with such power, such simplicity, such beauty, such versatility, which commanded the respect of other non-Jewish preachers, not only as a writer and fighter, but as a preacher. From Odessa to Philadelphia preaching in the vernacular is an established fact--popularized

and vitalized, as it surely was, by Gotthold Salomon.--Everyone has read him and was influenced by him."

Michael Sachs calls him the "Herald of Judaism". Graetz, who, by the way, is very bitter in his appraisal of Salomon's abilities, says of him that "he knew how to conceal the bareness of the new movement.....Salomon with his conceit and ostentation made the pulpit a substitute for the school, and from that pulpit often resounded hollow phrases which concealed thought or the lack of it....." Yet this same Graetz admits that Salomon was "well acquainted with Biblical and Jewish literature." Furthermore, he states rather authoritatively that "with Salomon the influence of the preacher among German Jews commenced."<sup>5</sup> Mannheimer calls him "his worthy colleague"; and Jellinek (then a young man) says, in his letter to Salomon, "Der Juenger der das Wortes Meister rhuemen will--Vergebens sucht nach Worten und schweigt still." (The youngster who would praise the master of the word, vainly seeks for words, and must pay homage in silence.)<sup>6</sup>

If the sentiments and the opinions of his contemporaries and of post-humous eulogy mean anything, we may be justified in devoting a thesis to the task of indicating to those interested how he was the product of his times, and how in turn, the times were the product of Gotthold Salomon.

CHAPTER I.

*Introduction*

A

THE PROBLEM OF AUTHORITY

The movement which produced a Salomon begins, according to Dr. Leutsch, in the sixteenth century with the Renaissance, when such thinkers as Elijah Levita, Azariah de Rossi, Leon Moudena, and others, wrote and agitated for the re-adaptation of Judaism to the needs of the day.<sup>7</sup> Incidentally, he hints at the tendency towards such yearnings on the part of the French Jews in the twelfth century, when the Tosafists of France earnestly solicited R. Tam not to prohibit the wearing of jewelry on Sabbath, because women would not obey such a rule.

Perhaps it was inherent in Judaism though suppressed by the recognition of rabbinic authority. Dr. David Philipson<sup>8</sup> gives, what he calls, three immediate reasons for it: "The new intellectual movements among the Jews, along lines different from the old methods; the linguistic emancipation through the medium of Menzelson's 'Torah' translations; the civil emancipation of the Jews through the act of the National Assembly in France, September 27, 1791, and a similar enactment by the Batavian Republic in 1795. A complete revolution in Jewry resulted. The Jews were being brought once again into touch with the life and culture of the world."

Other authorities have attempted to identify Jewish Reform with the French Revolution, but to the student of history it would seem that since the Jewish problem of Reform is centered around the question of authority, its birth must date from a time when authority was first seized by the masses in some concerted action. And such an incident is provided by the execution of Charles I of England (January 30, 1649). Never in the history of civilization was such a deed attempted. The "anointed of the Lord", as the king was called, was historically sacred, and since in him was vested all authority, it might be said that

this first instance of "taking the law into their own hands" by the British common people, set the example so capably followed by the French a hundred and fifty years later, and is responsible, as no other single act of humanity, for the disregard--and perhaps even the contempt--of authority.

If that be true, then Salomon--the foremost of the Jewish preachers who dared defy tradition, and interpreted the Torah תורה--not in accordance with accepted teachings--was a natural product of this authority--defying and self-expressing age.

And the times were propitious for such preaching. According to Graetz,<sup>9</sup> Mendelson gave the keynote for the subsequent Reform Movement when he said that "Religion has no rights over its followers." In spite of his antipathy to Reform and especially against the early reformers, Graetz admits, that respect for the Synagogue had become a negligible quality; during the reading of the Torah people would run about the Synagogue and act in general very disrespectfully. Added to the general cynicism towards Jewish authority was the reaction of the Jewish masses towards the Eibeschutz-Gaden affair,<sup>10</sup> and the writings of the cynical Me-asifim. All this tended to undermine authority. Polish rabbis refused to cater to the new needs; German rabbis were few and not of any particular prominence; so the youth of Germany turned away from Talmudic authority, and "with Confidence, daring and the spirit of Youth they swept away with youthful impetuosity the holy cobwebs which no one had ventured to touch; and awakened a taste for well-regulated service, for decorous behavior at Divine Service, for order and simplicity."<sup>11</sup> Thus does Graetz, the implacable enemy of Reform, characterize the irresistible movement of the German Jewish youth towards a better understanding of what was taught them as their religion.



Berenfeld, the able historian of that period, though he claims no impartiality, and even admits in his introduction that he has no sympathy for the Reform Movement, admits that the service at the "Judenschule" was objectionable and not worthy of the name "Service". But he ascribes the Reform Movement to quite another reason. He claims it came as "a result of increased riches.... Duties of the Jew in society caused laxity. <sup>The</sup> ~~Yoke~~ of ~~Mishp~~ became unbearable; and their attitude was reflected in their home life."<sup>12</sup> Berenfeld feels that the purpose was not to reform Judaism, but to reduce it and thereby make a rapprochement towards assimilation.<sup>13</sup> With all his fine scholarship, Berenfeld fails to grasp the full significance of the Movement. It was not a slavish attempt to annihilate self, but rather a brave attempt to wrest authority from the dead hands of the past for the purpose of re-vitalizing their spiritual life. This fact may be considered as being of great significance,--that those who really desired assimilation, accepted Christianity; and were spared all the polemical activities involved in the Reform Movement. Thousands did that. Influenced, perhaps, by promises of wealth, opportunity, or position, or because of the influence of women, many embraced Christianity. But the rank and file of the liberal-minded youth of German Jewry were loyal to Judaism. Their very attempt to adapt their old religion to their new needs, indicates, not a step or a gesture towards the faith of their neighbors, but an honest attempt to carry on in their own way the task handed down by their forefathers.

The Toleration Edict of Emperor Joseph II of Austria, 1782, the declaration of 1791 by the French Assembly and in 1795 by the Batavian Republic that Jews were citizens of those respective lands, were the political reasons for the German Jews to exercise some of their newly asserted authority. Seeking to obtain equal rights in Germany, particularly in Hamburg, they boldly

proclaimed that they henceforth renounced their affiliation to the "Jewish Nation", and preferred to call themselves Germans of Mosaic confession. This, of course, entailed some more exercise of authority. The prayer-book was modified and reference to the old hope of שיבת ציון was gradually and effectively eliminated. Naturally, this was not accomplished in one fell swoop. The early reformers in Judaism hardly knew at first what to do with their expropriated authority. But time, the teacher of all things, here, too, functioned in its historic manner; and slowly there evolved the קריית החדש called Reform Judaism.

B

LEARNING ACTIVITIES OF REFORM

The first expression of Reform Judaism, and perhaps the one outstanding characteristic today, can be said to have been the educational one. Hartwig Wessely<sup>14</sup> agitated for education of the Jewish youth. Himself a native of Copenhagen, where the Ghetto traditions were not so clearly defined, perhaps, he tried to capitalize on the rescript of Emperor Joseph II in 1783, which called upon the Jews of Austria "to divest themselves of such of their laws and customs as ran counter to the Imperial legislation."<sup>15</sup> The first articulation of the new spirit was in Trieste, where the Jews, mainly of Italian and Portuguese descent, opened a school according to the new plan.

In the Germanies, the influence of Menzelson's translations produced a dissatisfaction with the old system of teaching the young. "Mekumaim" or even the old "cheuer" system were found to be unsatisfactory. The instruction was haphazard; the teachers were not of the best. The Breslau Decree (May 21, 1790) declared that "a regular school should be founded in which the children, besides receiving instruction in the religious branches, should be taught pure morality, love for humanity, their duties as subjects, as well as writing, reckoning, language, geography, history, and natural science, in order that the rising generation may be educated to become useful citizens of the state."<sup>16</sup> The Wilhelmschule was instituted in Breslau. Similar schools were opened in Lessau, known as the Herzogliche Franzschule, (where Salomon later worked), in 1799; in Seesen by Israel Jacobson, known as the Jacobsonschule, in 1801. The Samsonschule in Wolfenbuetel, 1807, and in Cassel, in 1808, also sprang up.<sup>17</sup> Many of the new innovations, which would not have been permitted in the Synagogue, were looked upon as "Kinderspiel", and were practiced at the schools.

But the effect on the growing mind of childhood is ineradicable, and it was the product of these schools that finally brought the whole venture to fruition.

Of those who labored in the field of education for the enlightenment of all the Jewish youth, Israel Jacobson stands out as the most loyal of all. Berenfeld tells us, that David Friedlaender, who had established a school in Berlin (the Free School) in 1778, had advised Jacobson to modify Judaism on rationalistic bases. But, to the eternal glory of Jacobson, it may be recorded that he refused. He was no rationalist; so he modified some of the outward forms only. He established a school at Weesen where his first care was to teach the young to know and love Judaism. For the first time, we hear of Confirmation in Jewish circles. And, in spite of the fact that the first boy confirmed eventually went over to Christianity, the principle of Confirmation, as a means of beautifying and enhancing Judaism in the eyes of the young, became, with advancing years, the accepted and conventional mode of procedure.

Singularly enough, Berenfeld--who is one of the severest critics of Reform Judaism--finds no fault with the innovations of Jacobson. "The reforms in his services were of an appealing nature," he admits. "Congregational singing, a sermon in the German language, organ music; all these in themselves were innocent innovations." The strongest objection was based upon the contention that "Jacobson consciously imitated Protestantism", and his lead was unfortunate, because "subsequent Reform Judaism assumed a Protestant form."<sup>17</sup>

But the fruit of the seeds planted in those schools in the last decade of the eighteenth century ripened in the second decade of the nineteenth. When the schools and the activities of the two groups headed by Jacobson and Bear at Berlin were closed, on government orders, we find the new spirit transplanted to Hamburg. Lazarus Kley, the younger teacher and preacher, who had

"found himself" at Berlin, migrated to Hamburg, where he found a sympathetic audience. Rich and influential men joined him. They engaged him as their leader, but (strangely enough) they would not permit him to arrange for them a new prayer-book, preferring to do this themselves; perhaps, they were, as yet, not fully in harmony with his ideas. The prayer-book was arranged by Zeckel Frankel and the Royal Notary, Breselaw. Being men of such prominence and of royal favor, they were not afraid of any hostile activities on the part of any rabbi or layman of the community. Their departure must not have been very radical, for Berenfeld approves of their step.<sup>18</sup> But he asserts that "in spite of the apparent popularity of the new temple when it was opened, the effect was not of a lasting nature, because the real fault in Jewish life lay deeper than that." Perhaps Berenfeld is partly right in his judgment, but he cannot be altogether in the right, for with the Hamburg Temple, Reform Judaism found an articulation, the echo of which travelled from Hamburg to Leipzig, thence to every part of Europe, and made possible an even firmer rooting in America. Having at its head the outstanding personalities that it did, it could combat successfully the attacks of the enemies within, while it commanded the admiration of the incredulous enemies without. The attitude of the king of Prussia in the strict forbidding any change, on the ground that "with the rise of Christianity Judaism had ceased to be a living religion, that it had persisted through the centuries as a dead stock and only as such must it continue, that to permit the introduction of reforms and innovations would be equivalent to granting that there was still some life in the religion" is interesting.<sup>19</sup> Gotthold Salomon, himself, in his first collection of Sermons hinted at this situation, in his introduction to that volume.<sup>19a</sup>

The actual fruition of the agitation for re-interpretation of Judaism, according to new ideas, came about through the completion of the Hamburg Temple. The practice of the many innovations and the able defense thereof on the part of the young and powerful preacher, Gotthold Salomon, called forth the enmity and opposition of such men as:

ר' אשה סופר, מרדכי בענעט  
אברהם אליעזר הלוי, משה יעקב, אליעזר משה

They even resorted to קסידיה, Eliezer or Tritsch urging utter destruction.<sup>20</sup> But all the efforts of the bigoted zealots in the Jewish ranks were of no avail. Berenfeld admits, reluctantly but truthfully, that the protests were fine pilpulistic masterpieces, but since they showed a lack of historic understanding, they were not very popular.<sup>21</sup> The Hamburg Temple continued to thrive, and for several decades led the way for other Modern Jewish communities who saw in Reform Judaism a salvation for their thoroughly Germanized youth.

# THE HAMBURG EXPERIMENT

The avowed purpose of the founders of the Hamburg Temple was to cater to the needs of a generation which had left behind them the life of the ghetto, and had a new and modern religious outlook. The post-Mendelsonian period had left its effect stamped upon the schools, homes and upon society. And this implied inevitably changed conceptions in the religious life. While the benefits of the linguistic achievements of the Jewish youth cannot be denied, for it opened the literature of a cultured people to them; yet, that blessing brought with it a necessary evil. The new generation had gained contact with the new world, but had lost contact with the old sources. It had learned German, but --it had forgotten Hebrew.

The old ritual no longer could serve as a vehicle to call forth religious fervor on the part of the worshippers. While it is true that not every Hebrew-reading worshipper understands what he is reading, yet the Jew in "Galuth" used the prayer-book as a vehicle for his sentiments, reading into his prayers the thoughts and feelings that were in his heart.<sup>22</sup> With the advent of rationalism, and the desire to exercise the newly-acquired authority, came the demand on the part of youth: not to feel, as of old, but to understand. Not knowing Hebrew, they could not understand the sentiments of the old Hebrew prayers. Added to this was the fact that the content of those prayers were out of harmony with the spirit of the times.

A desire on the part of the younger people to re-interpret Judaism, and a feeling for the old values in Judaism, brought the people together and created the Hamburg Temple. Their purpose was to unite in prayer those who desired to have, along with the principal prayers--which were to be recited in

Hebrew--some hymns and Psalms in German, as well as to have a sermon in the German language, a love for which had been thoroughly instilled in them during their school days.

Unlike the Jewish worshippers in Holland, England, southern France, Italy, and Poland, where the sermon was devoted to legalistic interpretations, the members of the new "Temple"--as they called it--wanted a sermon which should have for its purpose "to expound to the listeners the beauties of the Mosaic and the Prophetic idealism."<sup>23</sup> The purpose was a pious one--to stem the tide of apostasy which was sweeping the countries of Europe, not to estrange but to reconcile,

לְהַשִּׁיב לִב אֲבוֹת עַל בְּנֵי ׀ . On the 11th of December, 1817 (5578), sixty-five members organized the Hamburg Temple, which a few years later became the paragon for similar organizations elsewhere. What attracted the Jews of Germany, was the sermon in the vernacular.

The reason for the sermon being in the mother tongue was obvious. Learning had ceased. Judaism seemed about to cease. So they turned instinctively, as was done in the days of Ezra, to the public expounder of "the Law", to the Sermonizer; and expected him to awaken interest in Judaism (not, as Graetz claims, to subvert old Jewish traditions), to rejuvenate Judaism. They conceived of the sermon as a means of bringing Judaism to the masses for whom the sources were not available. Subsequent events proved their wisdom. The sermon, as preached by Gotthold Salomon, bridged the period until Jewish scholarship and Jewish science found its new bearings. Then followed a whole host of trained pulpiteers who gave back to the Synagogue some of its lost prestige.

The Hamburg Temple influenced Judaism profoundly. Its service with sermons preached in beautiful German; its school, where the boys and girls alike received a Jewish education, were the models for other like-minded groups who



profitted by this epoch-making experiment. The leaders of this first modern place of Jewish worship were criticized, more than once, for making the sermon the central feature of the service. But they had historical evidence on their side, for "Jewish worship is based upon the word of God, written in the Scripture, and expounded by preachers. The very word *מדרש* indicates the ancient attempt of Jewish teachers to popularize the word of God by public preaching. Rara, began it at a time when the Jewish people had forgotten their own language; by reading the Law and ~~and~~ having it interpreted for them; and the *מדרש* continued as an institution in Israel. Even in the New Testament, we find numerous references to the practice of calling upon distinguished visitors or intelligent looking strangers to mount the *במה* and address the congregation. With the very cessation of Hebrew as a spoken language, Exegesis began and Homiletics was developed. A classic example of this early type of sermon is the writings of Philo."<sup>24</sup>

The first attempt to compose sermons in pure German was made by Mendelson. He wrote a few speeches which were delivered at Berlin by Rabbis Fraenkel and Wolf. Joseph Wolf preached regularly in Dessau, and Israel Jacobson had sermons at his services in Cassel, Seesen, and in 1815 in Berlin.<sup>25</sup>

In organizing their congregation, the early reformers seemed to be afraid to claim for themselves full authority. Unlike American reformers, they desired no schism, nor a separation, but announced their wish to remain in the Synagogue, basing the right to modify upon the authority of Maimonides.<sup>26</sup> In their constitution they made provision for a choir and an organ. A committee was appointed to work out a ritual for daily religious observance, and for special occasions, like Circumcisions, Weddings, Confirmation, etc. Their action was innocent enough, but it brought forth a storm of protest, orthodox leaders

claiming that no one could satisfy his religious requirements in this new institution. On Tishri 26, 5579 (1813), a CHEREM was declared by the Mayanim of Hamburg Beth Din (so-called) against anyone who would pray from this new prayer book. The bitterest foe of the new reformers was the Rabbi of Pressburg, R. Moshe Sofer, known as ח"ת סופר. On the side of the Reform was the scholar, R. Aaron Ch~~er~~win, and a few lesser Rabbis who supported the right to modify. Although Ch~~er~~win was persecuted and forced to recant, and although the Orthodox Rabbinate all over Europe stormed and threatened, it seemed to have no effect upon the sturdy little group in Hamburg, who, with characteristic earnestness born of conviction, kept on their way towards re-vivifying Judaism. With the arrival of Eduard Kley at Hamburg, the congregation felt that it had the proper man to lead them in their new venture. He was a pedagogue, (both he and Salomon were contemporary teachers at Dessau). Kley introduced a Sunday morning lecture for his school, with choral singing. The choristers were the children of his school. This practice was continued down to the year 1918, and is, perhaps, still going on. So successful was this phase of religious school work, that members of this choir were sent from the Israelitische Freischule to introduce the same system at the newly organized Leipzig Temple.

Many adults attended these Sunday morning lectures, and when their Temple was completed, Kley preached therein until Salomon came. For a while, Kley and Salomon alternated in the pulpit. (On the advice of their mutual friends, they printed their sermons together, and we have three volumes containing the sermons of both.) After a while, Kley found his two-fold task of preacher and teacher somewhat exacting, apparently, for he retired from the pulpit and devoted his entire time to the school.<sup>27</sup> Kley was the gown-breaker. He is called the Jewish Schleiermacher. Influenced very largely by Protestant preachers

in his homiletics, Kley appeals to the mind rather than to the feelings of the listener; and although he has written many sermons, he does not represent the type of the New Jewish Preacher.

It is Gotthold Salomon who stands out head and shoulders over his predecessors and many of his contemporaries, as the finest type of preacher. It is he who enthroned the Rabbinic *אברהם אבינו*. He was a born preacher. His was the ready appeal to human feelings, and he never failed to evoke the finest response. Drinking deeply of Hebrew sources, well read in Christian and secular German literature, yet singularly free of Christian ideology and entirely emancipated from the yoke of imitation of the Christological style, he is known as the father of Scientific Jewish Homiletics. In his preachings, he regarded, homiletically, the entire life of the Jew: the family life, the civil life, the social life; with his warm-hearted and rich spirit, and strove to develop in his auditors the proud feeling of self-respect.

With powerful speech he attacked hypocrisy, fanaticism and persecution, in a popular and soul-stirring manner. He shirked no task, however unpleasant. When antisemitic professors attacked the Jewish people in tracts, he showed his ability in the field of polemics. (We shall have occasion to discuss that field of his activities in a special chapter.) Many who had no opportunity to hear him were influenced by him through the printed sermons, which found a ready circulation wherever they appeared. Fearlessly, he denounced all pseudo-intellectualism. Frankly and sincerely, he preached the prophetic message of justice and righteousness to all humanity. Power and force emanate from all his writings, and yet over them all there hovers, like a beautiful halo, the sympathetic kindness and whimsical humor of the kindly soul.

Who this man was in private life, what his personal life was, how

he struggled to mould his own future (never havin attended any school or university in his life), we shall discuss in a chapter devoted to that purpose.

## CHAPTER II

### I

#### THE PERSONAL LIFE OF GOTTHOLD SALOMON

Gotthold Salomon was born in the small town of Sandersleben, on November 1, 1784. His father was Lippmann Joachim, and his mother was the daughter of the Rabbi of Bernburg, Raphael Rothschild, famed as an educated and worldly man. The future preacher was named יִצְחָק יִצְחָק'ל בֶּן יִצְחָק רֹטְשְׁכִיל but later he adopted "Gotthold" as his first name and Salomon as his last.<sup>29</sup> His father was a merchant but considered well educated, as he was well read in the Talmud as well as in German literature. He was very highly respected in his community. He strove to give his son a good Jewish education, and later had the satisfaction of basking in the fame of that son. The latter's religious education was the golden thread to which everything was fastened. His was a strict religious upbringing. From infancy, he felt himself under the protection of a higher being. He said every blessing sturdily and scrupulously from his third year on.<sup>30</sup> At three, he began to study Hebrew, and at seven, he could read and translate with ease; with the result that he acquired an innate love for the Hebrew language and always preferred Hebrew scholars to non-Jewish. From simple Hebrew he advanced to Rashi and Gemara. It was at a party given in honor of his tenth birthday that the decision was made for him--to become a Rabbi.<sup>31</sup> His Hebrew School life was anything but pleasant. Since he could read Rashi so fluently, the teacher decided that he need not spend any time on the Mishna. Furthermore, in accordance with the system then in vogue, the most capable boys were given the special assignments to "dig out"; and as he was considered an especially bright boy, his assignment was necessarily especially difficult. One can almost visualize the poor boy wracking his child-brain to understand the language of the Talmud, without a dictionary, and with only Rashi to sneed a

little light on the unusual phrases of the Talmud. He speaks of the bitter tears he shed many-a-time when wrestling with some especially difficult assignment.

The serious life about him, the persecution, political enslavement, the sense of isolation of the Jew, all this matured him at a rather early age. At twelve, the teacher decided that there was nothing he could teach him, and so his uncle took up the burden. For the next four years his uncle, known as Rabbi Meister Joachim Heineman, had him in hand. And though he was a Rabbi, he seemed to prefer the Bible to the Talmud; so he gave him a good grounding in Bible, something that was very unusual in those days of Talmudic supremacy.

When he later entered the volks-schule, he met Japlan Bobbe, the principal. This non-Jew saw the remarkable capabilities of the young boy, and gave him many hours of private instruction. This was his first meeting with Christianity, and it made upon the plastic nature of the young man a pleasant and lasting impression. Thereafter, he sought the company of Christian scholars--and was favorably received. All this enhanced his secular knowledge.

At sixteen, he became restless. He wanted to leave his birthplace to study more. ~~Thus~~ He had met Joseph Wolf, a nephew of Meister, who had advised him to go to Dessau to study, <sup>and</sup> He came to that town with ten Groschen in his pocket. The townspeople assisted with meals when he entered the "Gymnasium", a התלמוד conducted by a Polish Jew named Rabbi Sobul. He had been introduced to the latter by Meyer Jaffa, a learned and philanthropic person. Wolf and Philippson helped him with money (which he later repaid), and in the privacy of his room he continued his secular studies.<sup>2</sup>

In 1802, he became known as a teacher. He prepared a system of questions and answers which were, in effect, a catechism on the essentials of

Judaism. The children's parents were greatly alarmed. They feared that the knowledge of essentials would be <sup>a</sup>substituted for deeds. They preferred the Torah as it is, and rejected any compendium. Somehow the parents felt that inculcation by daily practice was better than the finest system of theological teachings. Salomon tells the story of a lad who was sitting up one evening preparing his assignment for the religious school. The father asked him, "What are you writing there?" "The answers to the lesson on religion," was the reply. "The idea," said the father, "I never heard of such a thing--a Jewish boy studying religion."

Gradually, however, the system won favor, and as the German secular studies took up more and more time, the Jewish teachers were forced more and more to condense their courses, so as to give the Jewish child an understanding and a love of things Jewish. Many teachers and laymen, many a later intellectual, owed his knowledge of things Jewish to Gotthold Salomon, because of his efficient method of utilizing whatever spare time the child had.

His profession of teaching developed in Salomon, indirectly, his power of preaching. Periodically, he would address the children and thus stamp, indelibly, upon their hearts the enthusiasm and loyalty to Judaism which radiated from his own intensely Jewish being. On May 30, 1808, he delivered his first public address, and was complimented exceedingly. On November 30, 1808, he gave a sermon entitled, "What should be the purpose of education, and wherein will the educator find his reward?" His thought was: True development has for its object the moral, religious, and intellectual perfection; satisfaction of teacher--having aided in building human character. Later, he took over Philippson's self-imposed task of lecturing at a Sabbath afternoon club, and developed this along spiritual lines.

At this time, all Hebrew teachers were excluded from society, from clubs, and denied entrance into Christian circles. This, of course, threw them back upon themselves. Thus they became more intimately acquainted with each other. But Salomon was more fortunate than the other teachers; somehow, he made the acquaintance of a Christian minister, Lemmeres, who introduced him to the fine works of Zollikofer, Jerusalem, Rheinhardt, and other Christian preachers, in order to perfect his homiletical art. Very often he would go to the "Hospital-kirche" to hear his friend preach. Thus he continuously sought to improve his diction and homiletical skill, and <sup>to</sup> increase his knowledge of classical German. This awakened in him the desire to learn the old Classics, and he studied and mastered Latin. Later, this achievement was of tremendous assistance to him in his translations, for, in 1809, he published his first big literary work, a translation of Maimonides's אבות דרבי נתן under the title of

תורת משה.

In 1806, he contributed an article to the first issue of "Shulamith", a magazine published by his friend, Joseph Wolf, at Dessau. This article was entitled, "Letters to a praiseworthy Jewish woman," and the purpose of the essay was to explain the beautiful symbolism of the ceremonial law. It was of value, both to the educated who knew their "Briefensteller" but no Jewish literature, and to the ignorant, who knew only the אבות דרבי נתן. In it he gave a poetical interpretation of the Bible.

In the second volume of "Shulamith" he gave utterance to his famous maxim, "Pious Enlightenment" (later expressed, in his volume of sermons on Elijah, as "Pious Enlightenment--and Enlightened Piety"). All through his sermons this thought runs in thousands of delightful variations.



In 1808, simultaneously with the appearance of his translation of the "Shemone Perokim", he printed, in the issue of "Shulamith", a historical review of Maimonides and his works. Even though he was still very young, he seemed to favor the old piety and praised the old-fashioned home.

In 1810, he married, at the age of twenty-six. This is of special interest, inasmuch as it was a real love affair, not the customary pre-arranged match.

His fame as a teacher had spread far and wide, so that after he married he found that he could support himself by tutoring. He organized a private school at his home. Often, he would take out his charges for a walk in the evening for lectures on Astronomy. A story is told by him of an experience one night. It seems that one of the children told him that people had seen a ghostly bear in the wofus near Dessau, and the children were afraid to go there. So Salomon bravely decided that he would prove to them that the tale was a myth. Taking all the boys, he sauntered with them out to the woods. He stopped near the forest and was explaining the "Big Bear" to them, when out of the woods rushed an unusual looking bear, who grabbed Salomon around the waist, flung him upon his back, and off he trotted into the woods. The children ran off screaming to their respective homes. The town was aroused. The soldiers that were stationed there marched to the forest and found Salomon unhurt, but in a dead faint, having fainted away from sheer fright. When they revived him he showed his mettle by indicating where the bear had gone. Leading the way, he soon brought them to a little clearing where they beheld the bear running away. They shot and killed him, and then found-----that it was a lone robber dressed in a bear skin. That put an end to the reign of terror in the vicinity, and "laid" the ghost of the forest.

### His Conversion to the Reform Idea

The ~~events~~ of 1812 brought emancipation <sup>to the German Jews</sup> ~~and~~ they ~~did~~ sought to exercise their freedom. One of the disciples of Mendelson, David Friedlaender, expressed the wish of the times, to re-adjust the outward forms of Judaism while preserving the inner beauty of the faith. He wrote a tract on the subject of reforming the Synagogue worship, and sent it to Salomon who at once fell in with the idea of his new-found friend. And in one year's time he became so thoroughly converted that he suggested the plan for such reform:

- a. The sermon to be in German.
- b. Congregational singing.
- c. Instrumental music.

He expressed that thought in a tract which he published under the title, "Light und Wahrheit". This came to the notice of the Landesrabbiner Michael Speyer, who deemed it so Godless and blasphemous that he sought to have the community burn it before the doors of the Synagogue.

The excitement cooled off, but Reform also languished and had to content itself with a modified service at the home of Jacob Herz Beer (father of Meyer Beer), at Berlin. When Jacobson had to leave Westphalia--because of the decline of the Napoleonic influence there--he came to Berlin and joined the Beer organization. He changed the liturgy and invited Salomon to come and preach for them. Salomon accepted the invitation, and his sermon stamped him at once as being highly ~~talented~~ <sup>talented</sup>. This trip seems to have disappointed him, for the little community was soon disbanded by order of the Government, because of the activities of the Orthodox leaders, and it seemed that his hopes went with the failure of that venture. But he was mistaken; for although there was no

immediate result, yet his ~~later~~ success was due to this trial sermon. The people who had heard him there became in a few years the influential leaders of Judaism, and when a preacher was needed at the Hamburg Temple--one that could champion the cause of the new movement,--they turned to the fiery young orator and scholar from Dessau, whom they had heard in 1815 at Berlin.

In the meantime, he turned his attention to literary activity, to further the interests of Reform. Especially was he concerned with the religious education of the Jewish women. He wrote a tract entitled, "Selima's Stunden der Weile" (Selima's hours of Meditation and Consecration). In the tract, he gives a popular treatment of Judaism for women.

Of course, Orthodoxy was militant, and we find a man named Meyer Alkan Leuth who, at his own expense, published and distributed a pamphlet entitled, " מקשרות קלב ", in which he attacked the author of "Selima's Stunden". This entire period <sup>in Reform</sup> is well characterized by Berthold Auerbach, when he likens it to the activities of Nehemiah of old, when he was forced to build with one hand while ready to fight with the other.

3

### His Influence with Local Nobility and Preparation for the Pulpit

His many years at Dessau had made for him numerous friends, especially among the Christian men of prominence. This he used to good advantage, though not for himself. Just before leaving for Hamburg, he had occasion to intercede for a poor family man who had violated some revenue law and was to be sentenced to a long term in jail. Salomon pleaded so eloquently before the Land Ruchlaucht that he effected the release of the unfortunate Jew to his family.

It was also through his influence that the Duke was interested to contribute to the support of the Freischule, both morally and financially. The name of this school was subsequently changed to Franzschule. He also influenced the Duchess Louise to help establish a circulating library, at small cost; and which was free for the poor children.

Through all his activities, however, he never forgot his objective, to teach Judaism from the pulpit. With this thought uppermost, and with the secret hope that the opportunity would yet present itself, he continued to practice his art of sermonizing. He affiliated himself with an organization called, " ה'קצ"ב תרל"ב " whose purpose was to provide appropriate wedding ceremonies and all appurtenances for poor brides. Here, he found a willing and sympathetic audience. Not only could he offer his services free without hurting his professional pride--for it was a "Mitzvoh"--but he had no restraining hand to hamper him in his days of self-development. He preached as he pleased, and the congregation, or rather his audience, appreciated the talent of the brilliant young author and preacher. Thus, he had what few young preachers have nowadays, a fine, appreciative audience who gave a sympathetic ear to the struggling young preacher. This caused him to develop rapidly. In three years' time, after he had preached his first sermon away from home at Berlin in 1815, he was called to Hamburg, one month after it was dedicated, in November, 1818. He was warmly received, and after his appearance in the pulpit, there was no longer any doubt as to who could carry the banner of Reform Judaism best. Salomon was elected to the position of preacher, the title "Doktor" conferred upon him by the congregation as a mark of respect, and he left for Dessau to wind up his affairs, promising to return the next spring. Accordingly, the following Pesach, in the spring of the year 1819, Salomon began his activities at the Hamburg Temple,

which lasted until the year 1838.

4

His Career as Preacher of Hamburg Temple

Subjectively, Salomon had those qualities which were bound to assure him a hearty welcome in Hamburg. Not being a rabbi, he was unhampered by tradition; yet, he was well grounded in the Midrash, Talmud, and the philosophic works of rabbinic writers, as well as in a knowledge of the Bible. All this made him an ardent admirer of Jewish tradition, but an implacable foe of servility to traditions.

A more happy choice could not have been made by the Hamburg Temple, for here was a man who combined in himself the cultures of several peoples. He was familiar with the entire Jewish religion, and had even worked out a rationalistic system of his own. He was fairly conversant with the classics, and thoroughly at home in German classical literature.

Homiletically, he was even better prepared, since that had been the goal of his life's ambition. While in his home town, he had diligently studied the German and French preachers there. Every opportunity to preach heightened his secret hope and ambition to occupy, eventually, an important pulpit. His was a sharp eye that could encompass his whole manuscript with ease; (he preached from carefully prepared manuscripts) he had a good memory, a rich sonorous voice that had great carrying power, and a fine personality full of charm, with social ease bred through many years of contact with people in every walk of life, equally at home in Jewish and Christian circles.

His many accomplishments could not help but gain recognition for him.

He was quickly recognized as a power in the pulpit. He was likened to Klaus Harms, a well-known Christian preacher. Some called him the Jewish Braeuke.<sup>33</sup> Once, in December of the year 1881, he was openly accused in a magazine article by one of his critics of having even copied sermons of this Braeuke, who was then preaching at Bremen. With his whimsical good nature, he denied this accusation. Although he admits that he honors Braeuke and marvels at his homiletical art, which he claims bears striking resemblance to Talmudic and Midrashic material, yet he disclaims any early Braeuke influence in his own homiletical endeavors. He was long in his office of preacher before he read his first volume of Braeuke's writings. His sources of homiletical studies consisted of several volumes of Zoelikofer, Rheinhardt, Harexoll, Loeffler, and Klaus Harms for his non-Jewish sources. The homiletical structure and exegetical interpretation of his sermons are based upon his rabbinic studies. He pays a glowing tribute to Braeuke, but disclaims any influence from that source.<sup>34</sup>

According to Phoebe Philipson, it was all right to build the Jewish sermon along the forms and outlines of Christian preachers, for the שבת in olden times functioned merely as an exegetical attempt at explanation of ceremonies, but it had no form. Therefore, it was necessary for the early Jewish modern preachers to seek, in Christian sources, the form that would appeal to the modern enlightened audience.<sup>35</sup> The example of Salomon was followed by others, and thus did the science of Jewish Homiletics develop, influenced mightily by the foremost German Jewish preacher, Gotthold Salomon.

The success of Salomon as a preacher, besides being instantaneous, was also constant. Never for a moment during the many years of his activity in that community did his prestige suffer. His publicist activities found expression through his beloved field, since he had to devote all his activities to the

pulpit. He collected his sermons and issued them in volume form. Some are bound together with Kley's collections, and some bound separately.<sup>56</sup> His poetic talent he expressed in two ways: He composed religious poems which he read at the beginning or at the end of his sermons; and he was the author of many hymns in German which became a part of the Hymnal which his congregation published in 1855.<sup>57</sup> His poetry, like his sermons, were religious in character.

5

The Influence of Gotthold Salomon and His Participation  
in the Life of the Jewish World

Every problem which arose in Jewish life was, ipso facto, the problem of Gotthold Salomon. He was a knight errant, if there ever lived one. Everything that was of Jewish interest called forth his enthusiasm and his active participation. At first, the idea of the sermon in German did not meet with much favor, but several years later, after the appearance of his first volume, in the introduction to his "Festpredigten" (published in 1829) he remarks triumphantly that many communities are now hungering and thirsting for the word of God.<sup>58</sup> Of especial interest are his labors in the field of apologetics and polemics. Courageously and capably, he refuted every charge, whether it came from within or from without.<sup>59</sup> And when his twenty-fifth anniversary as the preacher of the Hamburg Temple was celebrated, he was established as the outstanding personality in Liberal Jewish thought. Beautiful tributes were paid to him by Ludwig Philippson and other contemporaries. Even the laity could not refrain from expressing their homage. One member of his congregation wrote, "I come from the deathbed of my darling wife, but nevertheless I have not forgotten to

join in spirit, with the celebration of the anniversary of the day which gave you to Israel."<sup>39a</sup>

When the Congregation Beth Elohim at Charleston S. Carolina was re-organized, he wrote a complete Exercise for confirmation and a special sermon for them, and dedicated it to them. Thus he saw his labors bearing fruit "in the West as well as in the East."<sup>39b</sup>

He had little material wealth, but was always comfortable. His congregation was appreciative of the wonderful servant they had in him, and they saw to it that he enjoyed every material comfort. He was blessed with a sympathetic wife who proved worthy of such a fine character as Gotthold was; and with talented and respected children, as well as a host of devoted friends, his autumn of life should have been a quiet one, but circumstances conspired against him.

6

His Travels and Influence in Foreign Lands

His extraordinary mental exertions made him somewhat of a hypochondriac; he suffered constantly from his nerves. (According to Phoebe Philippon, this disease is common among the educated people of sedentary habits.) Physicians prescribed a journey, which proved beneficial in many ways. The change soothed his nerves, and helped him to make new friends everywhere. He met many people and observed many types of community life; incidentally, he had occasion to suggest improvements in Divine Worship in many communities.

In 1822, he took such a trip to Copenhagen, where he met Mannheimer. A devoted friendship grew up between them, which lasted until his death. Jewish



life in Copenhagen was so ideal that he was almost tempted to remain there. In fact, after he had addressed a study group, they prevailed upon him to give a sermon on Friday evening. He so impressed them that he was offered the position as Rabbi of Copenhagen, but his heart was in Hamourg. When he returned to Germany in 1828, he sent them his friend, Doctor Wolf.

In 1829, he paid a visit to his parents in the town of his birth, Sandersleben. There he found many of his old pupils, but Jewish life was on the decline. In their old age, his parents looked entirely to him for their support, a privilege which he considered sacred. He claimed that the so-called burden of supporting dependent relatives--parents, brothers, sisters, etc.--<sup>is</sup> in reality a blessing, for it makes us feel the opportunity of sharing in God's activity among men, that of providing for all. This is perhaps an echo of his childhood's fancy and shows the effects of his early training.

In 1834, he visited Heligoland to take treatment at the baths. But his literary nature gave him no rest, for even while he was, presumably, recuperating from over-exertion in the field of literary activity, he devoted his spare time to the writing of a series of letters, describing his journey, the people he met, the island, and its inhabitants. In these letters he displays a remarkable love for people and for nature, and a fine poetic soul.

In 1837, he visited Heidelberg, where his son was studying medicine. From there he made a trip to Switzerland. The visit to the Synagogue there thrilled him. With almost childlike glee he said that, "He was so happy to think that in the land where Aavater lived he heard Shema Yisroel"--"real joy", he calls it.

In the years 1844-5-6, he attended the Rabbinical Assemblies at Braunschweig, Frankfurt and at Breslau. After it was over the Schulrath wrote

him a complimentary letter: "Everyone who secured standing room to hear you, considered himself lucky." The letter complimented him, "not only for your magnificent idiom, powerful expression, and magnetic style, which captivated the audience and carried them along irresistibly, but also because of your good humor and ready wit, with which you so fittingly addressed yourself to us. You made us realize how badly we need a preacher here."

Two women who had attended the Assembly as audience, wrote him: "The human heart is so delicately attuned to that which is noble, good, and elevating, that only a word is needed to move it. How much greater was that reaction to your soul-stirring, fatherly words in the hearts of your young hearers."<sup>40</sup>

In 1846, he stopped a short while in Berlin, where the year before there had been organized a "Society for Reform in Judaism". They had cast out Hebrew from their prayers, and although they uttered praises to the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, yet in their sermons they preached only humanism. Salomon preached to them in his masterly, Theistic style, a message of Divine Love and human friendship. The response from the dry bones was remarkable. The congregation expressed its gratitude by means of a poem addressed to him, wherein ~~they express the thought, that,~~  
they are happy that Truth and Light has such an able champion.

7

The Rabbinic Assembly

The demand for Reform and the need of it had grown apace in the last thirty years since the little group, under Beer, had met in Berlin. The bonds of Rabbinic-Talmudic authority were becoming irksome. Everywhere, the need became apparent for a concerted expression of Reform, and some guide for conduct. The

first Conference was called in 1844 by Ludwig Philippson. Of all the delegates Salomon was the only out-and-out Reformer. In May of that year he wrote to Beer: "He who denies the right to Reform, does not even know the alphabet of the Talmud. Every page of that isolated and much criticised book speaks of attempts to reform Mosaic tradition." But the problem was an altogether different one. In practical life, in Judaism, these Rabbinic reforms had become basic. The question now was, 'Who should now take the authority to reform, and how were these reforms to be enforced?' A Rabbi Golanen, one of the delegates, made a plea for the introduction of Hebrew into the curriculum of the Religious School. Saying, rather sarcastically, that whereas the Temple had decorum, the Synagogue had religion.....This seems to have been an unfortunate remark, for it evoked the antagonism of the most powerful men at the Conference. Salomon became enraged.

"I, too, have the deepest respect for the old and the old generation, and would say a word for both, if the statements just made were true. In truth, there are among them who can worship God in a Polish Synagogue in spite of the disrespectful lack of decorum, who are pious in spite of the disorder. But I ask, is their piety an outgrowth of their lack of reverence, or the lack of decorum? Is their religiosity the result of their shouting and tumult? Is their Judaism the result of the dead Hebrew letter which they recite? Secondly, is it not possible that among those who visit these Synagogues 'where religion dwells' there are some that are unworthy? That some are Godless? Whom does the Herr Rabbiner Golanen wish to convince that all who visit the old Synagogues with their eyes rolled upward, with 'Lora, Lora' in their mouths, are all pious? Do all those who call so loudly upon the Lora, really walk in his ways? Oh, I know many who after they get through with their בלי שום דבר come home

to tyrannize over their wives and children who dwell in anything but in peace. I know many who, when they get through with their *תפילות*, which they recite in Hebrew-Galilean-Arabic, then on Sabbath, and perhaps, in spite of the Sabbath, commit the worst wrongs. I know many who have committed to memory all the twenty-four chapters of Mishna Sabbath and recite them orally, even while they are interpreting by their actions, the *מכירת שבת* (selling two yards in the place of four), and on the holy Sabbath day..... Does Rabbi Goluman wish to extol that kind of Divine Service, that kind of piety as a paragon? Does the tender spirit of the Hebrew language abide in those who use it for prayer, or because they pray in Hebrew?"<sup>41</sup>

Thoroughly aroused, Salomon makes a plea against Hebrew. He claims that the Rabbis who are now studying for the Rabbinate do not know Hebrew, because there are other things which they must learn. The same is true of our children. And if Rabbis, who ought to know Hebrew, have no chance to learn it properly, how can we expect little children, who have no professional interest in learning it, <sup>to</sup> give any of their time to such learning? Salomon's stand was backed by some of the others, and although they all loved Hebrew, they did not think it should be made an issue.

At the second Rabbinic assembly, Salomon was not so vehement. He quotes the "Shulchan Aruch and Sefer Chasidim", that one may pray in any language which he understands best. Concerning the Messiah, he says, "Heathens placed the Golden Age at the beginning of time; Jews place it at the end of time. That is the real Messianic age." He maintains that the idea of a personal Messiah is an hyperbole.

The third Assembly at Breslau took up the question of changing the

*for maintaining the original Sabbath*  
Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday. Salomon's argument<sup>^</sup> was the most cogent. "The pious will feel as if we have robbed them of their God; the others will ridicule us for abrogating something that has long ceased to function in their life."

The results of these Conferences were not what the Rabois had hoped for. Holsheim's congregation at Berlin withdrew from the group and boldly decided to abrogate the Sabbath. Outside of Reform Judaism, the effect was negative. Many communities voted never to take as Rabbi any one who had attended the Conferences. The real effect of them will never be known, for the very next year political changes began which ended in the Revolt of 1848. Everything was upset, and perhaps Reform Judaism realized that it was possible to live a modern life in accordance with Rabbinic authority. The fact is, that in Europe, Reform has never made the progress that it achieved in America.

8

Salomon's Home Life

Salomon's home life was ideal. Relations between parents and children were all that could be expected, for although Salomon loved his children passionately,<sup>42</sup> he never had much time for their education. (This situation is common in the life of public men.) Fortunately, his wife was not only willing to raise them alone, but she was also very capable. Of the five children that she bore, one died at the age of five; another daughter married; of the three sons, two went to America, one as a dentist and the other as a merchant (Salomon<sup>out</sup> lived ~~to see~~ *them* both ~~live~~); the third son studied medicine and became a successful physician. The relations between the father and this son were very beautiful, especially in later life. The son claims that his father was more of a pal than

a father. They always consulted each other, and took each other very seriously.

Salomon was kind-hearted and charitable to everyone; he gave charity and urged others to give. From Hamburg comes this report (at the time of his death): "He was the teacher, friend, and advisor of many Jewish families who sought him in their joys and sorrows. He had an eye open for the oppressed and the downhearted. His hand was ever open--even beyond his ability."

Very frequently he would write a sermon, and after preaching it (usually it concerned itself with some worthy unfortunate or a needy cause), he would then print the sermon and sell it, and the proceeds he would turn over to the person or the cause for which it was written. One instance is known where he did just that for the support of apprentices.

In 1825, at the beginning of his career at Hamburg he organized, what he called, a "Schillingsverein" (the dues were one schilling a week), and the treasury was used to assist homeless maidens and helpless widows. In the same year, he published a sermon entitled, "Does the proper spirit abide in our philanthropy?" The proceeds of the sale of that sermon netted seven hundred Mark (one Christian friend gave him one hundred Mark). In the cold winter of 1828, he printed a letter of appeal for funds to relieve the distress of the poor. His friend, Jacob Oppenheimer, led with a donation of a hundred dollars. Money to that fund was contributed ~~me~~ by Christians and Jews alike. In the same year, he published a sermon dedicated to the Archduke Joseph, the proceeds of the sermon being sent to the fund for the sufferers of the flood in Budapest.

Salomon carried on a wide correspondence. One letter has been preserved in a magazine of a later date. It is addressed to Dr. Wolf at Vienna, wherein he says, "....Scripture must never be shorn of its higher authority," (he is discussing the blessing over the Shofar and over the Lulav), "But

Rabbinism must never receive our homage as being divine. This principle must be the basis of Reform. We should take from Rabbinism what we can adopt and whatever can serve to stimulate our attention; everything else should be rejected as objectionable." But rather cautiously, he adds, "This is only my personal opinion."<sup>43</sup>

In another letter, he discusses Gutzkow's play, "Uriel Akosta". Feelingly, he speaks of the lack of understanding on the part of the non-Jew. "With all their enlightenment they still promulgate old ideas...They still paint Jehovah as a vengeful God; and tell the Jews to love their own."...Solomon seems to resent bitterly such narrowness, and expresses a desire for a land where there are neither Jews nor Christians, no Rabbis, no Theological Assemblies, etc.<sup>44</sup>

In another letter to his old friend, Beer, he says he has no one to turn to for companionship in his later life. "The young lack education, and with the old he has nothing in common", so he feels himself very lonesome, and says, "So kann Mann unter myriaden Menschen doch allein stehen und---Menschen suchen."

In 1807, while still a young man, he was taken into a lodge of Masons as a member at Frankfurt am Main. (His hope of Universal Love and Brotherliness among men, though rudely shocked by the prejudice displayed in various Christian writings which he so valiantly fought, would flick up anew at every hopeful sign of the times.) For a while he found encouragement in the theory of Free-Masonry. He dedicated to it some of his poetic efforts, and

wrote a Decalogue of Freemasonry in Rhyme. He also wrote a collection of Masonic sermons, which were published in 1845. His new associates thrilled him. In 1840, he gleefully announced to his Lodge that a Jewish physician had been taken into the Lodge at Hierenburg. In one sermon he likens the chief personality in Christendom to Moses. In another he claims that only a Mason knows what brotherly love really is. But he was finally disillusioned. He found that while Masonry was widely discussed in the Lodge halls, it was rarely practiced by the brothers. Sadly, he remarks at one meeting that certain lodges "are not yet emancipated...." More and more he realized this, and gradually withdrew into his Congregation. Limiting his love of man to his own people, his pulpit became his only world, his religion <sup>and</sup> the only means of promulgating his love of humanity.

In the Revolution of 1848, Salomon was appointed a member of the Constitutional Convention, but he declined with thanks, preferring to confine his work to the pulpit of his congregation. His platform was the pulpit; his most important topic, the moral and religious development of Judaism, especially in those stirring times. People had again lost interest in religion because of the several political issues. With some of his old time vigor he preached upon his return from Vienna and re-vitalized his congregation. At that time he was not so young, because he celebrated his seventieth birthday at the time of the dedication of the second Hamburg Temple. But the great veteran of many skirmishes must have suffered a change of heart in his old age. The man who stood up and fought the introduction of Hebrew into the prayers, apparently changed his viewpoint. We find that, whereas all his previous volumes have German titles, his last collection (issued in 1866) has a Hebrew title, **ספר דברי חיים**. Perhaps, this is of small significance; perhaps, the aforementioned conclusion



is far-fetched, but one cannot help remarking that even the date which he affixes at the end of the introduction is likewise Hebrew--"Hannag, im Monat 'Menachem'," .

In 1857, his beloved wife died. This shocked him so that he acquired atrophy of the brain, which left him in a state bordering on insanity. But his work was the only connection he had with the world, and he would not give up his position. Yet so deep was his affection for his wife, that when the officers made him understand that the last wish of his wife had been that he should resign his office, he immediately consented. He preached his last sermon on Passover, April 16, 1857. His last message was an appeal to the congregation to remain loyal to the God of Israel, the God of our fathers. "Encourage your sons and daughters to make this house the object of their pride and glory, and to maintain it for the future generations."

He died on November 17, 1862. Up to the last minute he was in the best of health. He took daily walks and enjoyed them. But his mind was almost a perfect blank.

For a long time after his death his children continued to support a "Gotthold Salomon Fund" for the support and education of poor students. But after his death he was completely forgotten; Only his sermons remain<sup>ing</sup> as a living monument.

In discussing any writer, it is always wise to stop for a moment or two and glance at the introduction to his work, for therein we are more than

likely to discover the true character of the writer, as he unwittingly reveals himself in the confidential expressions so characteristic of all introductions. Salomon has several introductions, having issued many works; but in our appraisal of his work, we are going to touch upon a few introductions, written at various periods in his life, and in that way we may, perhaps, behold the man as he is developing from decade to decade.

His first volume of "Predigten" was published in the year 1821. In characteristic fashion he tenders his first few words to his parents. His deep religious fervor lays bare before us as we read,

"The word of the eternal and ever-living God, was taught to me from earliest childhood by you, dearly beloved parents, and through the God-fearing conduct which you have inculcated within me. You have taught me how to carry out in deed the word of God so that it became unto me a thing which has refreshed my soul, has gladdened my heart, and enlightened my eyes. And you have exemplified it in your active daily life, in your pious conduct. The simple parental abode has grown into a sanctuary for your son, wherein you, dear parents have functioned as the Priests.

Is it possible for me to adequately express my gratitude to you for your priceless gift to me which has converted the earth into a Paradise, and has given me Heaven as a heritage?....Who can find words for the inexpressible? And so I shall confess it before the whole congregation that I am neither able to at present, nor do I ever hope to be able to, express properly and adequately my deep respect and regard for you, my sincere thankfulness to you for all you have done for me. Therefore, I have decided to dedicate unto you, beloved Parents, this, my first effort in my little "Jerusalem" (Temple), and to ether with this comes also my renewed filial devotion."

This reverent and almost prayer-like dedication speech he signs merely, "G. Salomon".

Then follows an elaborate and flowery additional dedication addressed to his members. He praises the leaders of his congregation who organized this community to seek religious expression according to the new spirit. He praises them for the decorum at service, for their more inner and outward respectfulness; for their conviction that sermons in the mother tongue are an indispensable part of the service, if attendance at service is to be maintained; he lauds them for their modern institution and thanks them for his election. He signs himself, "G. Salomon, Dr."

Then comes his preface, or rather as he calls it, Pre-Reminder. He reminds his congregation that:

(1) This volume owes its appearance to their insistent demands that he print and publish his sermons. But he takes the occasion to point out that Jewish sermonizing is a neglected art. He disclaims any intent on his part to compete with Christian preachers, because he feels (and here he shows the modesty of a beginner) how puerile would be such an attempt.

(2) He hopes that the appearance of this volume of Jewish sermons in the German language may stimulate religious interest here and there; and perhaps draw some younger member of the group to seek a better understanding of Jewish theology.

(3) He hopes to stimulate interest in the re-establishment of the discredited public worship. Mayhap, the example of Berlin and Hamburg will be emulated by the other centers of Jewish population, and thus help to remove the wall which circumstances have erected between God and His children. He hopes by means of a moral, religious awakening, to also bring about a realization of

political perspective. Those communities who will stand away from the laudable endeavors will have to assume the responsibility for the indifference everywhere manifested.

The schools for children, he asserts, have accomplished much, but we need instruction for the adults. "To establish truth, to sidetrack ignorance, to silence doubt, to strengthen conviction, to fascinate the heart, to lighten the spirit, and everywhere to encourage the right and the good. And the best place to achieve such an end is the Synagogue. Even as the Temple of old served for the Jew as a reservoir from which he refreshed his spirit."<sup>45</sup>

But the real reason for the publication, perhaps, is hinted at in a footnote on pages xi and xii of the "Pre-Seminar"; namely, "that it is his hope to convince the German authorities of the wholesomeness of the attitude of the congregation of the Hamburg Temple; and possibly to counteract the effect of the activities of the 'ignorant and bigoted' who seek to create hardships in the way of progress." Here, he quotes Proverbs XVI:10, 778 יִשְׂרָאֵל יָעֲזֹב עַל הַסֶּף  
וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁכַּח אֶת הַשְׂמֵרָה  
He mentions a royal edict in Austria that Jews should introduce German service in their Synagogue, and engage only scientifically trained Rabbis, and although he is not sure that it will be enforced, <sup>feels that it</sup> ~~he~~ gives helpful encouragement to future enlightenment.

Volumes II and III of the same collection have no special introduction. But the First Joint Collection containing sermons both by him and by Kley (published in 1926) indicates further the attempt at propaganda. The introduction is apparently not by Salomon. The style is not as simple, nor as easily understood. It is rather intricate in its thinking, and was probably written by Kley.

Three years later, in 1929, Salomon issued his "Testament".

The Preface in this volume bespeaks a greater degree of self-assurance. It explains the appearance of the volume on the ground that ~~there~~ there are now many communities who have "a hunger and a thirst for the word of God, not only in Vienna, Frankfurt, Leipzig, Copenhagen, Olshausen, Lingfeld, but also in countless small communities, who seek such volumes from which they read sermons at their services." He discusses the title which had become characteristic, "Predigten" (Sermons), and claims that "to him this title denotes a collection of addresses built upon an orderly plan, based upon Scripture, for the promotion of moral religious conduct." (This is a very good definition, by the way, of the term "sermon".)

Although he admits his knowledge of Christian Homiletical sources, yet he claims to have avoided both the manner and the method of Christian preachers, and scrupulously to have refrained from emulation. He disclaims any influence upon him by Braezke, and says that while he feels highly honored that he has been thought of as a disciple of that eminent scholar and preacher, he asserts that the assertion is not true. He wants neither the credit nor the blame of plagiarising, and insists that he owes his style and method to Rabbinic Hermeneutics, and Mishnaic influences exclusively.

Apparently, some one must have criticized him for his constant reference to Talmudic and Mishnaic material. He explains his use of Rabbinic material as a basis for sermons on the ground that he wants to show Jewish theologians and preachers how to utilize Rabbinic sources in a modern way, and to disprove the statement of these modern preachers that it is impossible to preach Jewish sermons on the basis of modern homiletical rules.

The introduction to his volume of sermons on Moses shows us a man fully developed, mature, clever, mellowed with age, and full of that

glorious sense of humor that characterizes his best work. He begins the Introduction rather wittily--"One ought to publish a book now and then, if only for the reason that it enables him to write an introduction....." After he again repeats, rather emphatically, the charge of other Jewish preachers that he plagiarizes from Christian sources, he devotes the rest of the Introduction to a discussion of a criticism of him which, he says, has recently appeared in a magazine:

"Many of our young preachers in Israel do not quite see this,<sup>46</sup> and they express their conviction that for Israel something specific ought to be preached. One such opinion appeared in a magazine, with anonymous authorship. In part, the author, after praising several prominent preachers by name, says that, 'Jewish preaching ought not to confine itself to general morality, and should not avoid that which is characteristic in the history of the Jewish people....Judaism encompasses the civil rights of Heaven and Earth; therefore, it should be the duty of a Jewish preacher to include in his treatment every phase of civil life.'--That is very true, but for that very reason the Jewish preacher must never leave out of his thoughts the importance of moral life. But the anonymous authority continues, 'Therefore it should not be necessary for a Jewish preacher to seek constantly for sentimental expression.'--and pray, why not? If one ~~only~~ only knows how to use sentiment, perhaps it would enhance his power and success, but unfortunately, not everything is gold which litters, and not everything is sentiment which is so-called."

"The writer continues, 'The Jewish preacher ought to try and avoid the preaching of abstract moral<sup>47</sup> with which we are satiated, ad nauseum. But instead he should confine himself to expounding the word of God and folk wisdom.'"

What does he expect? That the preacher should talk forever about the ceremonial law at all times? 'Sermons should be addressed to the people not to all humanity.' Answer: <sup>Only</sup> insofar as the Jewish community as such, has its own problems with regard to civil rights and religious needs. Yes, but everything else is objectionable. Any homiletical reference to "National" questions of so narrow a scope is conducive neither to civil rights nor to Heavenly rights. Furthermore, that which is already deadified cannot be brought back to life by means of Oriental Forensics. Even in the very center of Oriental life, the Great Deed proclaims the words:

הַגִּיד יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּי אֵין עֲלֵינוּ מִשְׁכָּל מִיָּדָיו.<sup>47</sup>

"The classic Breitensteiner," constitutes Salomon in his Introduction, "objects to my speaking of the Jewish people as a 'vineyard'; he claims Judaism is no vineyard, but an 'atlas'. Furthermore, he insists that what Judaism needs most <sup>is</sup> is an Arabian Desert..... These are all nothing but meaningless words. The prophet Isaiah speaks of Israel and of Judaism as a vineyard, surely you have no fault to find with Isaiah.... I also know, to my great sorrow, that the succeeding generations have added their little burden of interpretations to the Bible until it has now become a crushing atlas.... More than in it, I realize with dismay the fact that Israel has rejected the delicious Manna of the desert and is seeking to quench its thirst with

יְהוָה יִשְׁכַּח עַמּוּלָּיו.

"No, my beloved brothers, you who are called with me to labor in the vineyard of the Lord, let us descend into the depths of the times, to learn its mysteries and how to interpret them for the needs of our people, and whoever is blessed by God to speak let him speak the word, but leave out the chaff... Let us learn to preach as the Prophets preached. Did not Isaiah preach 'General Morality'? And yet, he caught a glimpse of the very Seraphim in their divine worship. Did not Jeremiah preach General Morality? Did not Ezekiel, Amos,

Micah, Jeremiah, all of them, preach General Morality? Did they exalt the individual above the people? Those great spirits and great human hearts never differentiated between Religion and Morality, because the teachings of the living God do not make such distinctions.

"And this method of the Prophets must also be our's. Out of love of God, out of deference for the Divine Institutions shall we labor in the capacity of high-ethical human beings. Our homes, our marital relations, shall be kept holy because of religion. Our child-care and family life shall be a model of propriety, because of religion. Our love of mankind should be unrestrictedly exercised through religion. Only in this way can we preach to our people and hope to do them any good. In that manner shall we love and exercise all our duties as God's commands. Only that spirit should live and permeate our teachings.

"And this very same thought motivated the latter and better of the Rabbis. Has the sermon of Rabbi Simlai (Makk. b. 20-24) any other meaning? Has the life's activities of Rabbi Alexander who preached in the middle of the street (Aboda Zara 19) any other intent? Has the explanation of Rabbi Elizer of the meaning of the Atonement Day (Yoma b. 85) any other significance than the preachment of General Morality? Oh, if only we would refrain from affecting an originality which we do not possess; if only we would not attempt to give our youthful theories the appearance of age-mellowed wisdom."<sup>48</sup>

In Salomon's introduction to David he exults in the fact that German sermons are now an accepted fact in the land. (ib. 7). His volume of sermons dealing with Elijah is noteworthy dedicated to Sir Moses Montefiore. His meeting with that venerable and simple hearted Jewish citizen of England must have been a very pleasant experience.



In his introduction to "Berg des Herren" (1946), he gives his reason for its publication; the purpose, "to discuss life in all its phases or home life, as well as its social and civil relations; to ennoble and beautify life, so that the 'worthiness of heaven' becomes more and more a conviction; to strengthen belief in immortality." To Solomon, that is the sum total of Judaism.

He deplores the tendencies in the New Jewish Homiletics, claiming that they are not Jewish tendencies. He characterizes the Jewish preachers as being of two types: (1) Those who preach an affected Nationalism; and (2) Those who preach Mysticism. The first type is forever flirting with his congregation, and the second is continuously flirting with "Lom lieben Gott"; not knowing enough attributes and praises to give Him, they heap praises upon Him. (Here, he quotes Mishna Berachoth, מִי־יִתֵּן לָנוּ אֶת־הַשֵּׁם הַגָּדוֹל הַגִּבּוֹר הַנּוֹרָא וְהַנּוֹרָאִים.) For some unaccountable reason, he again finds it necessary to defend his utilization of Talmudic and Midrashic material. He claims that it contains much characteristic wisdom, and becomes the fact that the younger generation of preachers has neglected the study of the sources. He quotes the Song of Songs,

בְּרָאִי שְׂאֵלִי לֹא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, and adds that the flippancy attitude towards Jewish heritage is to be deplored.

The real purpose of this edition is, perhaps, to attempt to define Judaism in his terms for the benefit of those of his opponents who insist that only their viewpoint is the correct one. In this volume he seems to go out of his way to find justification for his interpretation of Judaism. And he betrays himself in this introduction, in the way in which he refers to his opponents at the Rabbinic Assembly at Braunschweig the year previous; he calls them, "blind zealots and Pharasaical hypocrites". In conclusion, he praises those who have

subscribed for the volume, thereby helping its publication, and he criticizes "his beloved congregation", the members of which would listen to ten sermons rather than buy one...."

A study of Salomon, as revealed in his several Introductions, leaves the impression that he was a typical Reformer of his day. Unconscious of his Jewishness, devoted to the cause of assimilation, yet driven relentlessly onward by fate which seemed now to beckon him onward and then stop to ridicule his puny attempts to ~~stamp~~<sup>cramp</sup> the cosmopolitan Jewish spirit into the narrow mould of Teutonism. He was the first to preach Judaism as a universal system of religion; and with the exception of Holnheim, the most powerful and best prepared champion and defender of the German-Reform idea in Judaism.

CHAPTER V.

APPRAISAL OF SALOMON AS A PREACHER

1

The Sources Used

No study of Salomon's sermons would be complete without mention being made of the wide scope of his knowledge of Jewish traditional literature, not to speak of his acquaintance with the Classic German literature and his knowledge of Latin. The Pentateuch was his food and drink. With the "Shema-Yash" he began his sermons, and practically every one is based upon some Pentateuchal verse or <sup>the</sup> "parasha". And even in the middle of his sermons, no matter what other material he utilized, the five so-called "books of Moses" he never ignored, and always exploited to the best of his ability.

He did not confine his Biblical knowledge to that alone; his references indicate a great familiarity with the entire Bible. His sermons refer to passages in:

|            |               |               |                |            |
|------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|------------|
| Juages,    | Samuel,       | King,         | Isaiah,        | Jeremiah,  |
| Ezekiel,   | Hosea,        | Micah,        | Jonah,         | Gephaniah, |
| Zachariah, | Malachi,      | Proverbs,     | Daniel,        | Ezra,      |
| Nehemiah,  | Ecclesiastes, | Lamentations, | Song of Songs. |            |

The Book of Psalms, next to the Pentateuch, seems to appeal to him the most. He uses the Psalms freely, and translates them beautifully into German. An sample of his translations will suffice as an example of his exegetical style:

די ייִדע'ס וועג פֿירט צו רויט, און דער וועג פֿון צדק פֿירט צו לעבן.

"Den Manuel der Frommen liebt der Herr, Aun Untergang aber fuhrt der Weg der Boesen."

God loves the way of the righteous, but the way of the wicked leads to ruin. <sup>46a</sup>

His references to Biblical commentators include: Kimchi, Rabbag, Orfino, Rashi, Ben Ezra, Abarbanel, and Rashi, whom he calls, "Yarchi", perhaps because he was then supposed to have been born in Lunel.

His Midrashic material is culled from Midrash Sabbath and Talmut Shemaoni. But occasionally, he quotes from Midrash Tanchumim, Sifre, and Midrash Tanchumim.

Of Talmudic sources, he uses rather freely the Bavli, yet he does not fail to mention the Yerushalmi, at least once, showing that he had a speaking acquaintance with it. Of the Bavli, he refers to:

|                |            |            |            |              |
|----------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| Erubin,        | Chulin,    | Yebamoth,  | Makos,     | Sukkah,      |
| Rosh Hashanah, | Kiudushin, | Baba Kama, | Beiza,     | Baba Bathra, |
| Pesachim,      | Megillah,  | Sota,      | Sabbath,   | Hagiga,      |
| Berachoth,     | Aboth,     | Yoma,      | Sanhedrin, | Aboth Sara.  |

His Rabbinic references do not always have the particular citation. Often he quotes without mentioning the source, either taking for granted the erudition of his reader, or because he is quoting from memory. His reference to Sanhedrin, for example, is a paraphrase. Oftimes he gives homiletical twists to his sources. Sometimes, he merely says, "Nach den alten", or "Die alten sagen", or "Nach der Erlehrung der Rabbinen". But even that indicates an intellect sharpened upon the enlightening surface of Rabbinic literature.

Of Post Rabbinic material, he is not altogether ignorant. He refers to: Shema Perakim, Moreh Nevuchim, Mishna Torah, Sefer Ha-Iktarim, Sechinat Olam, Sefer Ha-Zohar, Shulchan Aruch, *וְיָרָא חַיִּים* and also *הַיָּסוּד*. And even the very latest classics in "Sifray Yrush" receive his attention. Thus, he refers to the work of R. Isaac Arama, when he mentions the "Mikdash Yitzchok" to Parasha *אֶתְּחִיל מִן הַיּוֹם*.

Such a wide range of sources is astonishing in a man who admits that outside of the few years of Talmud and four years of Biblical study with his teacher and with his uncle, he had received no systematic training. But so thorough must have been his work and so earnest the application of the student that it enabled him to pursue his studies alone, and thus to amplify an education that served him brilliantly and usefully for many years.

2

His Style of Writing

A discussion of the style of any writer, or preacher, usually starts with the theory that "style" is the term we use to describe the order and movement given by the writer to his thoughts. If the phrases are intricate and the thoughts philosophic, then they appeal to the mind of the reader; and if they are warm and of emotional character, then they are placed in the category of sentiment; with an appeal to the heart, to the feelings of the reader and listener.

While Salomon is not altogether lacking in philosophical background, yet in his sermons he seems to avoid anything which might be construed by his listeners as philosophy. He is the Homiletist first, and the teacher all the time. His sermons have thoughts and argument. He knows how to present them, how to shade them, how to order them. His phrases are strikingly unique in construction; they touch the heart and influence the soul. He strikes word against word and brings forth brilliance and warmth from them. The finest example of the striking manner in which he makes mere words serve his purpose is the motto which he enunciates very early in his career, and which he adheres to throughout his life: "Pious Unlightenment and Unlightened Piety". The philosophy of the

entire Jewish Reform Movement seems to be characterized by this phrase. As the skilled goldsmith never does violence to the leaf of pure gold which he is hammering, but with every well-directed and expertly-executed blow he enhances the value of the metal, so does Salomon handle the fine-gold of Jewish literature (which Graetz says he knew so well). He does no violence to any text; the thoughts of the ancient writers do not lose any solidity under his skillful manipulations, but issue from under his masterly touch with a new brilliancy, a new warmth. (As we shall have occasion to prove in discussing his attitude towards questions of the day, and his stand towards the problem of Reform in Judaism.)

An analysis of his sermons indicates his great ability and almost inexhaustible originality. Every sermon seems to spring directly from the text. The use of Midrashic material gives it its distinctive Jewish character, and every hermeneutic rule employed is of Rabbinic origin. His themes grow out of practical life; such topics as family life, child, education, communal life, social life, etc., always forming the basis of his thoughts. In his pulpit work he seems to be singularly free from prejudice, diatribes, or insults. Fanaticism is an unknown quality in Salomon, except when he is aroused by someone attacking Reform. Then he is the inspired Prophet of old, wielding the "Sword of the Lord" valiantly and masterfully. But everything is done by him in the spirit of love. Always, it is the appeal to the heart--to awaken the noble, the good, the beautiful.

Since the preacher must combine the qualities of the skilful composer and the brilliant orator, Salomon claims that preachers are born, and the art of preaching may be developed, but can never be taught.

Of interest to many young preachers is the statement of this master that to be a successful preacher one must be capable of self-discipline. One must never tire of education. The preacher must be a דורשן as well as a

, a seer as well as an expounder. He  
 must remember that he is a דבורה or a מורה through him  
 Truth must have a vehicle of expression.  
וְהָיָה כְּשֶׁיִּשְׁמַע הָעָם מִפִּי הַדָּבָר  
 The Preacher must be a מורה, his words must be like fire,  
וְהָיָה כְּשֶׁיִּשְׁמַע הָעָם מִפִּי הַדָּבָר, fire that is warath-giving, not destructive; fire that  
 is under perfect control at all times.

Salomon, in his sermons, seems to indicate a full understanding of  
 the Talmudic principle: הַרְבֵּה לִפְנֵי מֶלֶךְ וְיָדָה לְפָנָיו.<sup>49</sup>  
 He claims that the most capable advisor of the leader is the follower, and the  
 most proficient tutor of the Preacher is the listener. Of interest is the fact  
 that in his earlier days he was of a different opinion. Disregarding any pos-  
 sible objections from his listeners, he insisted upon the right to preach that  
 which he thinks will do them good. "Das haben wir schon oft von dieser Staette  
 gehoert!....Ich gebe euch zur antwort: das ist eure schuld; so lange ihr  
 dieser suende nicht unterlasset, so lange unterlassen wir nicht dagegen zu  
 predigen." (We have heard that so many times from this pulpit!....) answer is:  
 As long as you continue to commit these indiscretions, just so long must we con-  
 tinue to preach against them.)<sup>50</sup> But as his experience with people continued, and  
 his wisdom became mellowed with age, he realized this truth--that the soul like  
 the body responds best to individual treatment; and so he varied his method of  
 approach although he never compromised his principle. Sometimes, he would begin  
 with a poem, sometimes he closed with a poem or a prayer, sometimes he plunged  
 right into the body of the sermon, and sometimes he had the congregation sing a  
 hymn and developed his sermon on the basis of the hymn. His later sermons,  
 especially, indicate a dependence upon the mood of the congregation, for they

seem to lack in form, as compared to some of his earlier efforts. But he claims that his dependance upon the mood of his listeners made up in spirit that which the sermons lacked in form.

His language is simple and direct. It has forcefulness; indicating utter fearlessness coupled with great oratorical powers. He is seldom philosophical, appealing rather to the heart than to the mind. His statements have brevity and brilliancy, as indicated by his Motto, and perhaps by the following example: When he discusses the achievements of David, he takes occasion to upbraid his congregation for lack of Jewish expression in their daily life. "Our forefathers celebrated a great event by founding an institution, by erecting a school for the children of the poor, by organizing a house of prayer, by establishing a fund for the support of widows and orphans. How do we celebrate a great event? By arranging a great--banquet--and the future has no evidence to perpetuate our elation. That is not the 'Israelite way', only the savages celebrate in this manner. We, however, have a fine prototype from whom to learn, David; when he was successful in a venture he established a rule in life, a principle that lives even unto this day."<sup>51</sup>

The use of the Homeric simile is not altogether strange to him. In his discussion of David's act in distributing gifts to the elders of Judah and to his intimate friends, he says: "The happy man seeks ever to disseminate happiness. He promotes his own happiness by promoting the happiness of others." And then he adds: "Thus flows one of the divinely emanating springs into many streams, and pours itself out in blessedness over the many fields and plains, to bring about the glorious blossoming of tree and flower."<sup>52</sup>

What stamps Salomon as a scientific preacher is the fact that of all Jewish preachers, he seems to be one of the few who follow the systematic



arrangement of the proposition of the sermon so common and popular amongst the Protestant preachers. And perhaps that was why he was openly accused of imitating them. But that system has the advantage over any other, in that the audience is enabled to take home with it some idea of the thought of the sermon preached. The proposition is a vehicle for any thought provoking statement that the listener may have heard.

To sum up, one must conclude, after reading many of his works, that Salomon's style is unpedantic and simple. His is an artless mode of expression which addresses itself to the cultured, and is comprehensible to the plain worshipper, even though he may be unlearned. This seems to have been the principle which Salomon set himself up as a standard very early in his career, and pursued steadily for the thirty-nine years he was in the pulpit.

### 3

#### Historical Perspective

Though he was a well-learned preacher, Salomon was no historian, as evidenced by the fact that he refers to the Essenes as ביתותים. Perhaps, it is only one of his homiletical interpretations, but it indicates the extent of his historical knowledge.<sup>53</sup> Somehow, he seems to have been influenced very largely by his New Testament reading, for he often indulges in vitriolic references to the Pharisees. Yet, he cannot entirely throw off his Jewish traditional feeling of loyalty, even to the much despised סוֹרֵרִים. Without giving the references, he quotes the Talmud and says that the Talmud speaks of seven kinds of Pharisees and only one kind is worthwhile, the

הַיֵּשׁוּבִים.<sup>54</sup> In this connection, one is tempted to stop and

remark that his casual reference is of interest, for both the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds have this reference, with this difference: The Babylonian (in Bora 22a) speaks of the seven kinds of Pharisees, and places the

פְּרִישׁ מִירְאָה, the God-fearing Pharisee last; while the Jerusalem gives the post of honor, as Salomon does, to the פְּרִישׁ חֲסִידֵי בְּרִית, as being the finest type of Pharisees.<sup>55</sup> In General, Salomon utilizes very little historic references outside of the Bible.

4

#### The Doctrine of Revelation

Although Salomon believes in Torah "Min Hashamayim" as the second principle of Judaism,<sup>56</sup> and calls it "the word of God",<sup>57</sup> yet he accepts the theory of human authorship in principle, for he denies the Davidic authorship of the Book of Psalms. He quotes as his text, הַבְּרִינִי וְאֶחֱיָה, from the 119th Psalm, and says: "These few but pithy words are the prayerful expression of a man whose name is unknown to us, but whose piety as evidenced by his song, lives and is vital today as much as it ever was."

5

#### The Importance of Women in the Religious Community

Salomon's attitude towards women seems to be a very sympathetic one. In an age when women's rights were not even openly discussed, Salomon devotes a goodly share of his activities to impress womankind with its importance in the scheme of life, and especially in the sphere of religion. "God has given women and girls the finer religious sensibilities which makes them capable of

real piety."<sup>57a</sup> "Mothers who are devoted and religious, always have children who are pious and God-fearing."<sup>58</sup>

Repeatedly, he appealed to the women to strengthen the religious spirit in the home. "Mothers could do much to re-establish the beauty and the sanctity of the Sabbath in the home, by doing their important work on week-days and by avoiding doing anything on the Sabbath that could be done at any other time." The situation must have been desperate at the time he writes this (1845), for he criticises rather severely those women who are more busy on the Sabbath day,--and their maid too--than at any other time of the week. He invites them to come to services and bring their young with them.<sup>59</sup>

At every possible chance, he urges the education of girls, and preaches the necessity of giving them an opportunity. He even quotes the Shulchan Aruch and its commentary *Ḥofetz Ḥayim*, to prove that women should be taught Hebrew so that they might understand the meaning of the prayers.

His attitude towards the education of Jewish womanhood is never changed. Even in the last collection of sermons, published in 1888, he takes occasion to point out that the influence of women as indicated by their children has maintained Judaism.<sup>60</sup>

#### His Attitude Communal Responsibilities

The anniversary of the battle of Leipzig gives Salomon an opportunity to bring home a few suggestions as to communal relations. He rejoices that the German people are now free from foreign tyranny, but he urges his people to free themselves from the tyranny of Prejudice, and to cultivate pride in their

inter-relationships; pride in the poor man which shall stimulate the desire to work, rather than to accept alms; pride in the rich which shall preclude the possibility of improper actions; pride in the Israelites which makes enurable anything: want, rev reas, persecution, ridicule, hatred, death, rather than besmire his religion; pride in the Christian that he may never contradict his religion by carrying love upon his lips and never evidence it in his life; pride in the nobleman and official which shall prevent the discovery--even after diligent search--of the finding of any injustice in their actions; pride in the subject that shall enable him to say, conscientiously, that never had he yielded to any disloyalty to his Vaterland. "And when we ask the question: What made it possible for a foreign power to rule a brave people like our's? The answer would be that it was this very lack of pride which was the direct cause. Lack-<sup>in</sup>pride, it felt itself weak and was considered so by the enemy. But the spirit of God has breathed into this people, and we are now free, but we shall not be really free until we rid ourselves of the slave-chains of Prejudice." 61

As an aid to improve the community life of the people, he suggests a little self-criticism. "Others' sins usually interest us more than our own, and our eye is exceptionally keen to notice spots on the next one, no curtain can long veil such shortcomings in our neighbor from our all-searching vision. Better would it be for us to penetrate the thick veil which hides ourselves from us..."

Let us begin with self. Let us inquire of our head if truth and rationality is at home; whether we have a clear and proper conception of that which is good, of that which God demands of us, and if so, ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> are really certain of it. Or, whether false prophets, through their corrupting influences, have undermined our understanding. Let us ascertain whether we and our children are really free

from the show and pretense with which we seek to deceive each other. Let us find out how our schools and houses of worship are faring; what share Truth has in us and what share we have in it. God desires to dwell among His people, Israel. Let us ask ourselves, my friends, frankly and impartially: Are we, are our homes, our circles, our congregation, a fit place for God to dwell in? Self criticism is necessary and vital for us if we care to learn the Truth; have we by our actions contributed to the destruction or to the welfare of Humanity?"<sup>62</sup>

7

Universalism and Nationalism

His attitude towards Christians has been indicated, but much more can be said in that respect, when we consider his experiences in the field of Universalism. While we know from his personal history that his early relations with Caplan Bobbe and other high-minded Christians implanted in him that great passion for Universalism which permeates his entire life and works,<sup>63</sup> yet his experience with the rest of the leaders in the Christian community must have been very disappointing. In 1837, we find him keenly alive to the situation. Gently he chides his Christian fellow-citizens: "The Church should be the place where the purest and the most all-embracing love should be preached," and he adds, "Alas, if that were really so". Instead of that the church is used as a means of nurturing hatred against Jews and Judaism."<sup>64</sup>

What his feelings were with regard to the cherished hope, then current among Reformers, that with a Germanization of the Jew would come complete political as well as social emancipation, may perhaps be judged from his attempts to prove the superiority of Judaism as a religion. "Nowhere in scriptures do

we find that the Jew must hate this world and consider it a vale of tears in order to win the Heavenly favor; or to seek seclusion and lead an ascetic life; or that the Minister of Religion should be forbidden marriage and family ties. Nowhere do we find the injunction that the Jew should undergo chastisement of the flesh in order to find a healing for the soul.<sup>65</sup> Your religion preaches Love, but what is the source of that Love? Is it not of Jewish origin? "Love the Lord thy God," "Love thy Neighbor as thyself," "Love the stranger."<sup>66</sup> Yet, in spite of his realization of the great difference which the non-Jew has artificially erected between man and man, Salomon was not frown upon intermarriage. He cites the case of Moses and Zippora, daughter of the Midianite priest; the case of Joseph, the pious son of the Patriarch, marrying the daughter of an Egyptian priest. He points out that the Biblical injunction against intermarriage was due to the heathenish practices of vice and the fear that they would wean away Israel's sons from the true worship. But Jethro's daughter revered the Only God of Israel, and His laws were sacred to her--and this is the only requirement for any Jewess. His objections, if any, were in such cases where such a union would estrange the Jewish husband from his religion, and from his people; otherwise, he seems to have encouraged it.<sup>67</sup>

His attitude on communal relationships between Jew and non-Jew were based on the broad basis of Universalism. Thus, he claims that the Maccabean victory was a victory for all humanity.<sup>68</sup> He speaks of the Egyptian bondage in similar terms. "Egypt enslaved mankind in the person of Israel."<sup>69</sup> In his great desire to exemplify Universalism, he even speaks of his Temple as "his Church".<sup>70</sup> It was his earnest conviction that true religion teaches love of humanity, irrespective of religion or rank.<sup>71</sup>

"Love of all mankind melts all the ice of prejudice; it is the sun

that dispels the mist of suspicion, and scatters the fog of fanaticism."<sup>72</sup> And he quotes Micah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel to prove that the Bible, in preaching ethical conduct, refers to ~~Q 7 1~~ , to man, without regard to his religious or political affiliations. All his efforts in this field of endeavor seem to be tinged with a conscious bitterness of feeling, for he denounces the lack of real men in society; "...in spite of our churches and schools, whose obvious duty it is to inculcate true manhood."<sup>73</sup>

"The egoist who thinks only of himself, who ignores the needs of society, of human welfare, is attacking the very citadel of humanity."<sup>74</sup> "Righteousness and nobility are indigent to no land, to no single people."<sup>75</sup> "Israel is a part of humanity. Individuals have faults, so has Israel."<sup>76</sup> "If the younger sister reaches only to the knee, then it should be the duty of the older one who reaches the heart, to lift her up to her own level, but we must never permit religion to interfere between peoples."<sup>77</sup> This last statement is, undoubtedly, an appeal to his Christian auditors to exercise some of their innate tolerance towards the Jew, for he admits that he often writes his sermons in such a way that they should appeal to his Christian listeners.<sup>78</sup>

In his naivete, he acclaims every sign, no matter how insignificant, as an indication of the coming of the millenium. Joyously he speaks of the development of the German language as the mother tongue,<sup>79</sup> as if that were a fact which bespeaks the existence of what he calls "das Deutsches Menschliches Herz", and the only thing in the way of emancipation of the Jew is the recognition by the Jew of that fact. Perhaps his membership in the Order of Freemasons helped to create in him the conviction that it would be but a short time and the whole human family would embrace each other and live in peace and love "forever after". But as has been indicated, though his awakening was a slow process, it

was none the less effective. Gradually he became conscious of his Jewishness. In spite of himself he points out statements in the Bible which he calls, "characteristically Israelitish".<sup>80</sup> Tenderly he speaks of the Israelites as a happy people who are motivated by a tender, God-and-man-loving soul.<sup>81</sup>

The existence of many young men and young women of Jewish descent who were drifting away more and more from the Jewish community brought from him the statement that "it is necessary and advisable to be with your own kind, and to adhere to the religion of your fathers. For that is our element.....once you leave your element you are doomed." And he continues, "Thus it is my brothers! To all appearances you may be able to continue your life without these vital elements, for it is possible to paint the exterior.....But all the substitutions in the world can never take the place of your personality, your being. And if your being is stricken, you remain sick, in spite of the rouge which ~~was~~<sup>covers</sup>, so artistically, your cheeks and lips."<sup>82</sup>

In another sermon, he points out to those who are neglecting their Jewishness that it is unfair to lavish so much affection on that which is strange to us, and be so indifferent to that which is our's. Our tragedy is that "we have not cultivated our own garden."<sup>83</sup>

The finest expression of his Jewish loyalty is expressed in a sermon preached in 1885, on Pesach, on the text אֲנִי אֶפְרַיִם אֶחָד מִן הַבָּנִים.  
"You may throw up to me, O nations of the Earth, all my dark shadows. I shall neither try to deny nor to justify, only do not close your eyes to my better side. If I am soiled by some unseemly shortcoming, then behold I am adorned by many virtues. Israel distinguishes itself through purity in family life, through chastity, honor of parents, loyalty of children. These virtues were nowhere cherished as highly as in ancient Israel."



"Characteristic of Israel is its concern for the poor and the unfortunates, not only of fellow Jews, but of any community wherein they reside. With a soft heart and an open hand to all, Israel has always responded to the plea of the needy. Another virtue is the Jewish respect for authority (even when ~~this~~ <sup>that authority is</sup> not as noble-minded as it might be....).

"He who so readily admits his failings, may be privileged to set forth his virtues, not as a boast, but as a means of lifting himself to a higher plane of estimation. Virtue demands power; he who can say I had enough power to practice goodness, may stimulate new power to do more goodness. But he who says I am a sinner, a worm, a nobody, remains a sinner, a nobody. Israel had a right to aspire to real virtue, and has set as its idea--God Himself.   
 My virtues balance my shortcomings. אני ונאמר שחורק

"Nevertheless, אני ונאמר שחורק, my faults are not native, they are mostly the result of outside influences. I was as handsome as you, my dears, but I have suffered much. I have been subjected to the burning rays of the noon-day sun, and that has made me black; nay, more than that, most of my shortcomings may be ascribed to the influences of my own sister's unnatural treatment of me."<sup>84</sup>

A careful estimate of the sentiments expressed by Salomon with regard to the value of Judaism, and his defense of the beauty of things Jewish, seems to point indisputably to the fact that, in spite of his protestations to the contrary, and despite the careful use of the term "Israelite" in preference to "Jude", Salomon was a Jew with the fine sensibilities of the conscious Jewish thinker. On the one hand, he had to contend with his fellow-Jews who insisted upon stressing the "national" elements of Judaism; and on the other hand, he was leading the forces of those who sought enfranchisement and were ready to

compromise, even more than he, their Jewish ties to the age-old ideal of national rehabilitation. But through it all he remained the true son of Judah, loyal to his tradition, ever ready to champion the cause of Judaism (though it pleased him to call it by another name). Thus, he united the Universalism of the prophets with the particularism of the priests and the Pharisees in their most beautiful national-religious expression.

8

Social Outlook

His attitude towards society, especially the Jewish phase of it, was a militant one. He decries the love of luxury and riches, and its results to the rich; its effect upon the folks of moderate means; and its influence upon the young. "Moderation, the mother and nurse of virtue, becomes impotent in such cases, and where does that lead to? I should rather ask, 'Where will that not lead to?' Physical and moral welfare must succumb, for behold! where the financial means exist in unlimited quantity, there the danger is, perhaps, the greatest. With the absence of the fear of possible impoverization, there comes a total abandon which cripples both body and soul and makes that individual who yields to every call of luxury, a being unfit to contribute anything to his own well-being, let alone the welfare of society. And in the case of those whose wealth is ample but limited, the danger lies in the fact that once accustomed to luxury, and then, because of circumstances, again denied, the individual resorts to immoral and unethical, perhaps even criminal, means to supply the want-withal for the continued enjoyment which he now considers as a necessity.

"The effect upon the men of moderate means is very deplorable. Their wealth consists of their hands, their brains, their power, their intelligence. Seeking to share in what is commonly considered a necessity, they either spend their days in discontent and dissatisfaction, in vain envy, in hatred; or else, they exhaust their vitality in a desperate attempt to translate their physical and mental wealth into cash, in order to secure for themselves some of these so-called necessities. The result is usually a tragedy in the family, for the breadwinner, exhausting his strength and vitality, soon loses his life; and wife and children are robbed of their provider. Are not these real dangers?

"What must the influence of all this be upon the youth? Our impressionable youth? What may we expect from a generation which is being brought up under such conditions, trained by such examples? What can we expect from a boy who hears from his father, not so much of the ethical and proper things of life, but a great deal about pleasure and amusements? What may we expect from a girl who sees her mother constantly occupied with running to this or to the other "pleasure" party? Such a daughter cannot help but look with envy upon her mother's enjoyment of life. No wonder, then, that they look forward so eagerly to the time when they shall finish their school days and then become eligible to join the ranks of these older pleasure-seekers;--as if the Confirmation certificate were an admission card to the salons of Joy and Happiness.

"How can we expect youth to think in sober terms of usefulness and service to society when the very life about them breathes selfishness and pleasure seeking? If all this does not lead to regrettable results, then I shall confess that my view of morality and religion is an erroneous one. But I know that I am right. Furthermore, society in a large city is open to a still greater danger, the love of gain! Money seems to be the very soul of everything. People

are given consideration in proportion to their being master of hundreds, of thousands, or of ten thousands! How easy for society, then, to overlook real human worth! How simple for our young to form false standards of values! Our youth cannot but help noticing with what friendliness and warmth, with what reverence, you, the adults, receive people into your homes--not because they are God-fearing, not because they are learned, not because they are virtuous, God forbid!--but because they are rich (or perhaps they seem to be rich)! Mayhap, because they are well-known as business men or are dictators in the mercantile world--but for no other reason than that--they are the objects of your veneration. And the good, the intelligent, the upright, are ignored and considered an improper topic of conversation.

"Do you not see that such an outlook on life must inevitably lead to ruin? Consider carefully what the "Lure of the Metal" has made of you, and return circumspectly to the God of Life, who seeks our virtue but not our gold; who finds pleasure in our steadfastness and not in our wealth; to whom a pure life is far more acceptable than a licentious one."<sup>85</sup>

Another phase of society to which he takes exception is the love of the sensational. He decries the widespread discussion of crime. He claims that with every new discussion of some heinous offense our morality is weakened, and our standards of decency lowered. And the effect upon the young is deplorable. "Ask any child who lives in a large city, and he will recount on his fingertips a register of sin which would shock your fathers and your mothers who never knew of such things in their youth."<sup>86</sup>

He typifies war as "The stranger of humanity." "Such insanity-- Does God really approve of human beings cruelly exterminating each other? Can any nation wash its hands in innocence and say honestly, 'I am

pure, my linen has always been white and pure. I have never besmirched my national honor.'? If we could muster only three such nations, we could usher in the Golden Era. The innuity of the argument, that God consents to acts which rob mankind, in such ~~such~~ <sup>SYrael</sup> fashion, of happiness and life, just because some refuse to bespeak the Father of Love according to precepts of others. Can any love-mantle, and be it ever so beautifully woven, and be its dimensions ever so great, be great enough to cover such stupidity?"<sup>87</sup>

Of the specific Jewish problems of society, he seems to give the greatest prominence to the topic which is closest to his heart--the religious and the educational one. "In many, many communities there seems to exist no feeling of necessity for religious life. In the ordinary homes of the common people, prejudice, ignorance, and economic necessity stand as a hindrance to spiritual development. In the better homes, one would expect something of a more spiritual nature; but there, alas, everything is bound by convention and worldliness. Anything that cannot be weighed and measured receives no consideration. They have lost all sense of values. They have broken the yoke and rent asunder all bonds which tied them to their past. The eternal word they spurn and listen to only reluctantly."<sup>88</sup>

He exhorts the parents to "teach their children to curb their passion for pleasure,"<sup>89</sup> and he attempts to preach to them on the folly of unbridled and indulgent giving of expensive toys. "In a miniature form you will find, in the play room, everything that one can imagine. Furniture, for example, which cost more than what some families have for their weekly budget. Your argument that only those who can afford it, no so, is unsatisfactory. Will you always be rich? Are you sure your children will remain rich? Do not forget that these little ones whom you are training to wantonness and luxury may perhaps reach the stage

when they shall feel that they must have anything they fancy. Not that way should you bring them up, not by indulging their every whim, but (quoting Proverbs) by training them to find their greatest joy in 'giving food to the poor, and comfort to the unfortunate that they may forget their misery'.....And as they grow up, we surround our young with every means of awakening, prematurely, their slumbering instincts and passions. What the poisoning page of lurid literature begins, is continued, even more effectually, through the vivid portrayal, upon the shameless stage, of suggestive and indecent scenes of license and immorality. And to crown it all, when our young are finally grown, we give their awakened lower instinct full expression in the modern dance, which is positively one of the strongest poisons to morality known to Humanity."<sup>90</sup>

Of special interest is his reference to, what must have then been a common custom, the rite of cremation instead of burial. He does not seem to object to cremation as such, but ridicules the injunction of parents that their ashes be preserved, and he says, "ashes may be an ornament, but it will not assure the remembrance by children. A collection of urns soon loses all meaning, just as a collection of headstones do....."<sup>91</sup> This custom must have been driven to ridiculous extremes, for twenty years later he has occasion to refer to some malpractices: "Seek not your beloved dead in the 'dust' of the earth, but in the spheres of eternity."<sup>92</sup>

His stand on any question which involved the welfare of society is universally the same throughout all his sermons. To Salomon society was morally responsible for its own shortcomings, and he never neglected the opportunity to speak--clearly, forcefully and logically--on every issue.

# Importance of Religious Practices

To Salomon, Religion was life itself. He sums it up, in his forceful way, in the phrase, "Active Piety and Pious Activity", as being the "real Israelite way". Holding David up as a paragon in this respect, he says, "If David had relied exclusively upon his own strength, or had he sat down and waited for a miracle, he would not have been worthy of the high regard which later generations had for him. The pious man never trusts in his strength alone, nor does he ever express his piety by standing and waiting for miracles. The true 'Israelite way' is to be piously active and actively pious."<sup>93</sup> Yet, in spite of his perennial optimism, there runs through all his sermons a vein of gentle pessimism. In spite of his popularity, and irrespective of the many modifications of the service, and even regardless of the value of the sermon in the vernacular, people had lost interest in religion in general, and in things Jewish in particular. Again and again, he chides his congregation, as gently as he knows how, on their coldness towards Holyday observance,<sup>94</sup> on their neglect of religious institutions.<sup>95</sup> Sadly he admits that "many do not know even of such a festival as Chanukah,"<sup>96</sup> and later, in another volume, printed eleven years later, he seems to feel that, "New Israel has more light, but less warmth; more spirit, but less heart; it speaks more beautifully, but it acts not nearly as beautifully as it talks. The time was in Jewish history when our fathers and mother lived--God's peace be over them--a quiet and simple life. They knew little of earthly luxuries, but had all the more of heavenly luxury. Whenever the occasion came to hallow the name of their God, to show their respect for their religion, they never spared themselves. Their dwelling places, usually as simple as that of the Prophet

of old: a small room, containing a chair, a bed, a table, a candle-stick, but--  
their Synagogue,--their houses of prayer were large and roomy. Simple and mod-  
erate was their table, ordinarily; they desired only bread to eat, and a garment  
to wear. But whenever they had occasion to celebrate a שְׂמֵחָה לְשִׁירָה  
then there was an abundance of everything. And not only for themselves and friends  
was this plenty prepared, but on every joyful occasion, provision was always  
made to feed the poor and to extend the hand of friendship to the hungry. The  
playthings and the amusements of the children cost but little, but when it came  
to provide for their education, ah, then they were liberal.. The best and most  
capable teachers were secured and employed. And I know of more than one couple  
who denied themselves the bare necessities of life, in order to have enough for  
תַּיִם לְבֵית הַסֵּדֶר \*School fee\* for their children. But all of this has been  
changed in the 'New' Israel; and I lament in the words of a German poet:

'O, the Light which has impoverished Faith  
And has not enriched Virtue.'

"In contrast to our forefathers' way of living, New Israel has en-  
larged and richly decorated its own home, while the Synagogue is dingy and neglec-  
ted. The ordinary meals in the home are becoming more and more sumptuous; the  
religious feasts--they now are numbered amongst the antiquated practices. The  
playthings, the toys, the amusements of the children, truly, entire families  
could support themselves upon what is expended for them. But I care not in-  
vestigate <sup>whether</sup> at the election of a teacher for the school (religious), such mani-  
ficient disregard for cost is also the rule....but I would venture to suggest that  
in the name of Truth and Virtue there is such a <sup>time</sup> ~~many~~ when one might squander  
with impunity <sup>for</sup> religion and for the religious education of our young." <sup>97</sup>

Salomon preaches a personal religion and asserts that true religion



teaches us to control our natural waywardness. But it must be a personal experience; substitution is impossible. You cannot worship God by proxy. Your own piety, your own solidarity, will open for you the gates of heaven.<sup>98</sup> Although he does not wish to appear as being a fanatic, he urges his listeners to observe the practices of religion, as far as possible. He calls it, "a rational application of religion". After being several years in the pulpit, he begins to recognize the inconsistency of human nature. Members of his own congregation who are careless in the observance of Sabbath and Holydays, yet are scrupulous in their observance of certain superstitions. While on Festival days they often forget and will do anything they deem necessary, even though it violates the Holyday or the Sabbath, yet they will never permit themselves to commence any new enterprises on certain (taboo) days.<sup>99</sup> Some are not afraid to violate even the sanctity of Yom Kippur, yet they are afraid to remain in the synagogue during

שבת because of the superstitious belief that it will hurt their living parents. ~~---~~ The most beautiful things of Judaism they ignore, the things that ennoble and enrich the spiritual life of the individual; yet, they observe scrupulously the rules of mourning, although the latter smacks of heathenish practices.<sup>\* 100</sup>

He seems to feel, later in life, that people prefer somehow the easier things of life, even in religion. And so he takes the trouble to point out that false teachings are easily learned, but such teachings have in them very little of Moral Religious <sup>value</sup> ~~importance~~. Divine and true religion emphasizes the fact that <sup>such</sup> ~~these~~ things are hard to acquire.<sup>101</sup> The deeper the truths, the richer the content of religion, the greater its demand, the stronger will be its appeal to its followers; <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ more divine its doctrines, <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ stricter its teachings. Therefore, he concludes, Judaism is strict in its demands, and requires of its

adherents great things. It demands much but it yields much, for the heart and for the spirit.<sup>102</sup>

"Judaism satisfies the intellect of the intelligent; it is easily understood. Every Jew has access to the sources of his religion (therein it differs from other religions who have specially trained men for that purpose) that makes it possible for every Jew to become the priest of God, as he was intended to be.<sup>103</sup> And so, he urges attendance at Divine Services more than once a week, and suggests prayers at home both morning and evening, as a means to establish religion more firmly in the lives of its members.<sup>104</sup>

Ten years later (sixteen years after he had taken the position), he remarks, rather bitterly, that if a circus or a theatre performance were being held within fifty miles of Hamburg, the place would hardly be large enough to hold the audience which would flock to it, and his own congregation would be splendidly represented in that audience. "And here we have but one Temple in the entire vicinity of Hamburg, which should long since have proven incapable of holding its crowds. Yes, it is incapable of holding the crowds who are incapable of comprehending the idea."<sup>105</sup> It may have been merely another evidence of his vigorous method of delivery that prompted him to utter such harsh words, but to anyone who reads freely of his works, it seems to be unusually bitter in sentiment, and perhaps it indicates the extent of the hold religion had upon its adherents. Already in his day (a hundred years ago), preachers grappled with the problem of religion as an active force in human life. And the very fact that Salomon says the things he does, in the manner indicated, may be but another proof corroborating the contentions of the enemies of Reform, that the new movement threatens the existence of Judaism, since it breaks down all authority and all restraint.

# Salomon's Conception of God

To Salomon, God is the Creator and Ruler of the Universe, the Omnipotent Source of everything.<sup>106</sup> Every poem written by him expresses this thought in its various shades of interpretation. God is an eternal being who cannot tolerate violation of justice, righteousness, truth, and peace.<sup>107</sup> To Salomon, God dwells above in the Heavens and is the Father of all.<sup>108</sup> God is the highest source of law. Salomon believes in Divine Providence, and advances the doctrine of the Love of God as the highest ideal.<sup>109</sup> "Our Trust in God must be childlike in its simplicity; our Faith must have the vigor of manhood,<sup>110</sup> since the truly great are distinguished by real modesty." He quotes the Talmud to prove that this is a divine attribute

בְּמִקְדָּשׁוֹ יִשְׁכְּנֵנוּ וְנִשְׁכָּחֵם

God is a Holy and perfect being; an

אֱלֹהִים קָדוֹשׁ who is

exalted, transcendent, and free from human shortcomings. He is the kindest and  
111  
the most perfect being on Heaven and Earth.

God is not a weak, imperfect being, with whom it is easy to deal. A gift offering, or an act of charity, will not pacify Him. A wicked deed cannot be easily counteracted by some deed of questionable goodness. "God is Holy; therefore, He shows no favoritism and is not susceptible to bribery. He is Holy; therefore, He visits the sins of the fathers and mothers upon the children and the children, upon those who have been poisoned by your breath, and by your example. A Holy God is hard to satisfy. He is perfect and demands perfection (as far as humanly possible). He cannot be mollified with fine phrases and ostentatious actions. Such a God you must hallow, sanctify by every sentiment of your breast, by every thought of your mind, by every deed in your life, regardless

whether it is directed towards the individual or for the benefit of society."<sup>112</sup>

God is a jealous being; He demands the entire person of His worshipper, and will not tolerate even the slightest shadow of faithlessness. Either we deliver ourselves entirely to God, or not at all.<sup>113</sup>

In this strain, Solomon carries on all his religious activity. At no time does he compromise on his belief in a personal and supreme being, who is primitive in His barbaric glory and terrible in His demands upon His followers. One is tempted to smile when he reads that this type of religious preacher appeared before the community in Berlin, who had been fed upon pure Humanism, and with his religious enthusiasm and mystic fire swept them, literally, off their feet. The story runs that the night he preached in Berlin before the Society for Reform, nature itself seemed to have become "electric". A terrible storm raged while he was preaching and the very heavens punctuated his fiery remarks with their thunder and lightning. Superstition, which he derides so wittily, seems to have been his powerful ally, for the congregation was very much impressed with the irresistible combination of "Nature plus Salomon", and sent him a poem which is dedicated to him and describes "the mighty power of the torrent which raged outside, but the even stronger and more mighty word within, which broke through the commonplace exterior of our existence as the sun breaks through the befogging clouds."<sup>114</sup>

11

Family Life

His own family life, and no doubt that of his parents likewise, seems to be reflected in his attitude towards the institution of the family, as discussed

in his sermons. Everywhere, he idealized family life. By contrasting the life he knows with the life he sees about him, he preaches most eloquently on this topic. His conception of the ideal family life is a situation wherein its participants never reach the saturation point, "wherein the married couple live in a perpetual state of courtship, because of their avoidance of the point of satiation in their relations, and their love for each other is never quenched until the last breath of life has separated them. Ideal family life is a state wherein parents and children seek to fulfil the unspoken pledge to make each other happy, and dedicate their whole life to this effort. Such homes, such family, can do more than School or Church to inculcate in the rising generation the feeling of reverence for God and Humanity, for the Ethical and Moral Life."<sup>115</sup> Wherever he finds an attitude of hostility on the part of the children towards their parents, he sorrowfully points to the parents and blames them as the cause of it all. It is their misdirected love which is responsible and nothing else.<sup>116</sup> The home is the place where the moral and ethical standards of youth are fashioned, and if it is neglected there, then, not only do we perish, but we are breeding a "contemptuous and contemptible generation".<sup>117</sup>

To the mother, goes, of course, the post of honor in Salomon's scheme of the ideal family life. It is his firm conviction that it is the sacred task of every mother to build a Temple in the heart of her children.<sup>118</sup>

Again and again, he returns to his favorite topic--Education of the young, especially Religious Education. "Emphasize in the home every religious experience, such as Holyday and Sabbath ceremonies," is his constant cry.<sup>119</sup> And coupled with this is his conviction that the religious life and love of God on the part of the parents will develop true virtue in the hearts of the children. "Let us hold fast to religion--at least where it still lives--let us not say

farewell, as many have done, to our heritage of the past; otherwise, the sin of the parents will be visited upon the children. Children who are educated to the Moral and Ethical life are blessed, and we the parents are the first to enjoy of these things. Therefore, it behooves us to provide our children with an education--not so much a general education as a Religious Education."<sup>120</sup>

. 12

#### Religious Education

Having spent his early years of activity in education work, and having even written a textbook for religious instruction, Salomon gives utterance to some of his expert advice on this subject. According to him, any attempt to give a child too comprehensive an education usually results in superficiality, and is responsible for the prevalence of universal ignorance.<sup>121</sup> We must respect the individuality of the child and train, not the group, but the individual; and always aim towards specialization.<sup>122</sup> Salomon, undoubtedly, is confronted with the same problem which now faces American Jewry, for he says, "Children will have to save us; they must be guided to establish the Kingdom of God. If many of our adults have lost their faith in Faith, then this element must be re-asserted in the life of our children. Even the poorest congregation can build a Temple in the heart of <sup>its</sup> ~~the~~ young."<sup>123</sup> His problem seems to resemble ours of the present day, when we read his ironical reference to parents who are themselves at home in the arts and sciences, and expend all their energies to educate their children along the same lines. And he adds, "Such parents give their children everything but the Kernel of Life. The Heavenly Flame of Religiosity has never warmed them, the glow of piety has never been encouraged in them; therefore, they are so cold,

so unresponsive to God and the godly. Children are being taught everything. Our youth is being carefully chiselled and modelled like a statue. Masters of this art are engaged to substitute for the parents.....alas, but little of this educative effort ever reaches the soul, the spirit; the children are given nothing to feed their innermost being, they grow up with nothing inside of them, and with nothing above them, of an eternal character, of an enduring nature."<sup>124</sup> "It is possible to have children taught everything by a hired expert, but religion and morality must be taught by the parents themselves if it is to have any meaning for them."<sup>125</sup>

In many ways, his problem, or perhaps the way he discusses it, reminds us of the present day situation, especially with regards to the shortcomings of the religious schools. Thus, for example, he makes the now commonplace remark, "There is a dearth of good religious teachers."<sup>126</sup> Another statement that sounds very familiar is the one he makes in his later years (1850), "It is not true that the God idea is too difficult a concept to teach children."<sup>127</sup> This seems to be a sort of corollary to his opinion on this question earlier in his preaching career (and this, too, sounds familiar), "Some parents would leave Religious Education for their young, until they grow up. How can we deny them in their most beautiful period of <sup>their</sup> life the joy of knowing that they have a Father in heaven? It is in the trusting hearts of innocent childhood that God dwells; such Temples will never perish."<sup>128</sup>

The problem that is now agitating American Liberal Jewry seems also to have been his concern, when he criticises the "one-hour-a-week" religious school. His contention is that "Little of that comes into their hearts and into their spirit." The one, and even two-hours-a-week brand of religious instruction, is inadequate, and should be supplemented by a religious home-life.

"In Science it is possible that the disciples may outdo their master, though they were taught by word of mouth. But in spiritual things, in matters appertaining to the fear of God and the practice of virtue, more is needed than a perfunctory and spasmodic system of education; piety must be exemplified, piety must become a beloved practice. Piety, Morality and Ethics cannot be inculcated, like Science, by word of mouth."

"129

The above few brief references may serve to give an idea of his concern in this field. What his direct influence was, and how it operated in the life of the people, we can only conjecture. His stand, at the Breslau Rabbinic Assembly, against Hebrew in the religious school, and his statement then that even the Rabbis who have a professional interest in Hebrew have so many other things to learn that they cannot spare the time for it, may be a proof for the contention that even he must have realized the futility of the new movement as a rehabilitating influence in Judaism. But on the other hand, one could argue that the fact that in his own lifetime, the congregation erected a new Temple twenty-five years after his first appearance in their pulpit (and this means that the generation he helped to educate must have participate in this movement), and if their devotion to him after he had been with them over thirty-five years meant anything, <sup>it meant</sup> that his words had borne fruit. Perhaps, indirectly, he also influenced later generations with his various "mottos", for when a people begin to quote a beloved master, there is no telling when or where those quotations come to be expressed through concrete effort. But for us today, it is of great interest that many of our so-called "present-day problems" are at least a hundred years old.....



### Salomon's Influence on the Reform Movement

The part Salomon had to play in the Reform Movement seems to have been a three-fold one. First, there was the group of out-and-out assimilationists, the intellectuals, who saw, what they thought was, an incompatibility between Judaism as a religion <sup>on the one hand</sup> and ~~an~~ enlightenment <sup>on the other</sup>. They were the scoffers who pointed contemptuously to the degraded Divine services in the Synagogue, who pointed scornfully to the scandalous behavior of the Rabbinate (especially after the Eibeschutz-Enden affair). The deterioration of the Orthodox spiritual leader into what Graetz calls a "Kasher-waechter", could not help but disgust all who had been trained to think and to see what was going on about them. With this element Salomon grappled first.

On the occasion of his call to the pulpit of the newly erected Synagogue in Hamburg, he preached a sermon entitled, "Der Wandel im Lichte", in which he discusses the popular aversion for enlightenment, and then, after pointing out the dangers of partial enlightenment, he makes a plea for "Pious Enlightenment"--

"We have often heard enlightenment extolled as the comforter of mankind, which has yielded blessings untold to humanity. And yet we hear, on the other hand, that it is this same enlightenment which has produced a reaction against religion, and is, therefore, becoming a curse to humanity. Well, my answer is, if real enlightenment would have produced this reaction against religion, then this argument would be valid, but not the very language used, indicates not enlightenment, but the lack of it; the lack of real understanding, of discrimination between the true and the false.

"Pseudo-intellectuals who decry religion do not display the charming

open-mindedness so characteristic of the educated. That which they pass off for enlightenment is only an expression of their love of convenience; their tenuity towards licentiousness, selfishness. It is only an evidence of badly digested learning, falsely obtained, from polluted sources. It indicates arrogance, self-seeking, error and night. To them the thought seem ludicrous, that outside of the little circle of their knowledge there exist other teachings, sublime and mighty; that beyond their range of comprehension there should exist an invisible force greater and mightier than the visible. Their viewpoint is untenable. Through their error, real culture is suffering; the common people are led to regard all enlightenment as being synonymous with irreligiosity.

"Is the light harmful because the infantile hand is incapable of handling it? Is truth destructive because fools misuse it? Should sunshine and rain be denied to plant-life, because it also aids in giving life to poisonous weeds? Is enlightenment objectionable because the frivolous refuse to grasp its true meaning?

"By their distinguishing characteristics you may differentiate between the true and the false.

"True enlightenment strives to make humanity more virtuous, better, more friendly, more truth-loving, more temperate, more chaste, and more considerate of other people's faults, while exacting perfection from self.

"True enlightenment does not dispense with everything old, and with childlike impetuosity pant for anything "new". Only that which is harmful, that which affronts man and which affronts God does it seek, wisely, to put aside; and in its place to set up something better, something that will increase human happiness. Zeal without understanding; Faith without virtue; Piety without human love--these things cannot abide in its presence. The ungodly sister (pseudo-

enlightenment), however, is just the opposite. Arrogantly, she lifts her head above those who do not wish to follow her. And her followers she makes conscienceless, flippant, self-seeing, more immodest, and more immoderate in their demands. She discards everything without testing its value; forever seeking the new, blinded only by the glitter thereof."

His solution to the problem is, as has been repeated several times in this thesis, "Pious Enlightenment and Enlightened Piety". To carry out this doctrine he suggests a program where "Our schools and houses of prayer, as well as our homes, should become rays of light, coalescing in one focus--to practice virtue and piety, to travel on in our journey through life in the presence of God, with enlightened spirits and with love-saturated hearts."<sup>130</sup>

This may be said to characterize the first phase of his activity as a preacher. The second and third phases were devoted to (1) the negative interpretation of Judaism, <sup>and</sup> (2) a positive interpretation for the liberal-minded.

With the zeal of the crusader he throws himself into the fray. "If we are to save Judaism, we must apply the spirit of the Maccabees--in cleaning house...."<sup>131</sup> Statements of the Bible, especially the poetical portions were not to be taken literally.<sup>132</sup> <sup>לְהַשְׁמִיטָה</sup>, he says, is a term derived from the Greek *φικκτερη*, which was the name by which the Hellenist Jews called their amulets.<sup>133</sup> (*Hinting at its superstitious origin.*)

He next turned his attention towards strengthening the new movement positively. "Leaders should strive to give public worship a more esthetic and benign form, so that devotion and piety may again dwell in the places from which they have been isolated. How sad it is, that in many houses of worship one cannot find the gate to heaven. Houses of prayer should personify the beautiful teachings of our religion; but do They? The jewel is so precious and so rare,

why do you not provide it with a suitable setting? Your holiday should awaken within you true religious feeling, or else 'twere better that it were not observed."<sup>134</sup>

In his gentle, yet vigorous, manner he shows Jewry what is the matter with it. "There were always, and still are, many among us who consider themselves better than the rest, because they observe some ceremonies; so many days they fast; so many prayers they recite periodically; the sacred Books are read by them,--as if the mere letter could open the very heavens and bequeath blessing unto them. And these things they call religion, while religion itself is being shamefully neglected. Oh, my people, you are critically ill!"<sup>135</sup>

In the face of the terrific opposition and the many diatribes against the effrontery of this group of the Hamburg Temple, for the unauthorized innovations they were constantly introducing in their religious life, Salomon takes the cue from the enemies of reform and answering, no doubt, some accusations which we can only infer from his reply, he firmly and yet tenderly points out the untenable position in which his opponents find themselves: "Many observe the outward manifestations of Judaism; writing God's word on the hand and upon the head, and on the doorposts; yet they permit no influence thereof<sup>to enter</sup> into their homes and into their life. Deluded people--they imagine that they can be cured by merely reading the prescription. (Though very often they do not even understand its language.) Their offense is, perhaps, worse than that of the non-observant, for the latter<sup>at least</sup> does not pretend to be pious.

"All these ceremonies should help us<sup>to</sup> realize the necessity of fulfilling our obligations conscientiously; to suppress all odious conduct and selfishness; to seize all that is good and to hold fast to it; to champion the cause of the good; to be upright citizens; and God-loving Israelites. This once

realized, and we shall have a generation of real God-fearing Israelites, without cupidity and without hypocrisy; Israelites who live in the spirit of their forefathers." And then, as if to strengthen his argument, he quotes (without mentioning the source) the Rabbinic statement (found in Proverbs XXX):

לֹא תִסְיֹפוּ וְלֹא תִתְרַעַן  
 אֶל הַמִּסֵּף עַל דְּבָרָיו בֶּן יוֹכִי בֶן וְיִזְבֹּת  
 וְלֹא תִתְרַעַן אֶת הַמִּסֵּף עַל דְּבָרָיו בֶּן יוֹכִי בֶן וְיִזְבֹּת  
 וְלֹא תִתְרַעַן אֶת הַמִּסֵּף עַל דְּבָרָיו בֶּן יוֹכִי בֶן וְיִזְבֹּת  
 136

As Salomon continued in his office and became more powerful in his homiletical art, he attempted the task, which for want of a better term, we have here called Midrashic interpretations; and henceforth, he applied his knowledge to defend <sup>the</sup> Reform and to refute the contentions of the enemies within.

He took up the argument of the Orthodox <sup>לֹא תִסְיֹפוּ וְלֹא תִתְרַעַן</sup> and applying his Midrashic knowledge, he read into the words a new meaning. We have one God; therefore, <sup>לֹא תִסְיֹפוּ וְלֹא תִתְרַעַן</sup>. We have our duties to God to pray to Him, to trust in Him, to love Him, and to obey His commands; therefore, <sup>לֹא תִסְיֹפוּ</sup> God commands us to love our fellow man, since he is created in God's image; therefore, <sup>לֹא תִתְרַעַן</sup>. The teachings of God were revealed (an interesting inconsistency on Salomon's part, since in his Festpredigten, published six years before, page 169, he asserts that revelation is continuous), and are given us to learn and to understand, to obey and to fulfill; therefore, <sup>לֹא תִסְיֹפוּ וְלֹא תִתְרַעַן</sup> it is wrong for any of us to stress any part thereof as being of any especial merit." <sup>137</sup>

In the meantime, he continued his agitation for the changes in the ritual of the Temple service. First, he advocated the abolition of <sup>פִּיטוּיִם</sup> on Yom Kippur, and he cites Abraham Ibn Ezra, who in his commentary to Ecclesiastes VI:1 objects to the many senseless Piyyutim. <sup>138</sup> Next, he requests that the

auctioning of נִיזְעָ be discontinued. And he makes the claim that the congregation of Altona has discarded it, and yet the congregation does not suffer any loss; furthermore, their Rabbi, R. Wertheim, who is a very pious man, has even given his approval.<sup>139</sup> Then, he gave utterance to the new interpretation of Judaism in a <sup>new</sup> way. "The strict requirements of Judaism are concerned with the inner, and not with the outer, man."<sup>140</sup>

The "Mission of Israel" theory he expresses boldly. "Every Jew is to be the Priest of God to teach mankind the moral law."<sup>141</sup> In the later years of his activity he interprets לֵב יִדְּוֹ יִדְּוֹ לֵב to mean, that Love, more than all wisdom, more than all religion, brings mankind close to God.<sup>142</sup> He objects to wailing and loud mourning,<sup>143</sup> and asks that his congregation refrain from wailing on Yom Kippur.<sup>144</sup>

In his witty way, he ridicules the superstition of the ages, (that when the עֲרֵב לְעַבְדֵּי finds difficulty in blowing the shofar then it is a sign that Satan is inside interfering), casually he remarks, "If Satan is anywhere, he is not in the shofar, but in the blower...."<sup>145</sup>

His positive interpretation of Judaism, which he stated, rather briefly, early in his career--perhaps, because it was not yet clear to him--he later, in the early forties, elaborated upon. And as an example, only a few statements are given below, which are characteristic of his Midrashic style:

"All that which would seem to the casual observer as being provisions for the outward observance of Judaism, were only intended as measures to forbid heathen practices to the banner-bearers of the One True God. And this fact is made clear to us when we notice the oft-repeated purpose of these commandments, 'Holy is the Lord God, so must you be!' (and this is also commented upon by Maimonides in his Mishne Torah).<sup>146</sup>

"Experience teaches us, that many who refrain from eating certain kinds of food--out of religious scruples--could not keep their lips from speaking evil, from lies, calumny, from profanity, and from perjury. We know of people who could chastise their bodies by fasting, yet did not understand how to fast in the spirit of the Prophet: 'to loosen the fetters of wickedness', the fetters which wickedness has forged for the poor and for the unfortunate; that it should imply feeding the hungry, sheltering the homeless, to acknowledge as brothers all those who are of our flesh, all those who are human beings."<sup>147</sup>

"The strictness of the Mosaic religion consists of the requirements to think of God as the most exalted, the most transcendental being, above all human inhibitions; the kindest, the most perfect being of heaven and earth. Worship of God is, to the Israelite, essentially the devotion of thought and deed to the sanctification of a God who is Himself holy and perfect, and demands holiness and perfection from His followers.

"Such worship is more exacting than a mere routine visit to the Synagogue, or even the minute observance of ceremonialism. A thousand rams, myriads streams of oil, repeated prayers, daily fasting; all these are easy and only nominal sacrifices, when compared to the requirement to suppress evil tendencies, to sacrifice some favorite lust on the altar of a purified heart. And the Rabbis of old speak of it in the same terms, when they say, that he sanctified God in all the worlds, who has sacrificed an evil desire for the glory and honor of God. Our religion demands that we learn to control our evil inclinations. Our religion teaches us to assist others, to sacrifice for others, to give, to spend, to help, to give happiness, to alleviate suffering, to love God in humanity, and humanity in God."<sup>148</sup>

Another fine example of <sup>his</sup> ~~the~~ interpretations

הַקֹּדֶשׁ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

is a Pesach sermon which he preached in 1829, ten years after his acceptance of the Hamburg pulpit. For his text he used a few verses from Deutero-Isaiah, "Arise, O Jerusalem, shake off thy dust." (The import of this is obvious, in view of his task to justify Reform.) With this text, he interwove a Midrash which is well-known for its Chauvenistic content. "Because of three things were our forefathers redeemed from Egypt: Because they did not change their name; they did not change their language; they did not change their garments." And this Midrash Salomon treats in masterly style. Every Midrashic principle employed stamps him as Homiletist par-excellence, and proves his unquestioned supremacy in this field at his time.

"The Rabbis here give us a hint which we must know how to understand. Surely, only sheer dumbness would insist that this be taken literally. What merit could the Rabbis attach to a mere name? As if the bare word, the sound of the Hebrew name had any especial magical power in it, and could, because of that power, break the chains of slavery. Not in that way did they mean it. What they meant with this statement was the implication of the name, which included the names of the Patriarchs in it, and symbolizes a union of the virtues of the three patriarchs, when Abraham and Isaac and Jacob together symbolized all that was best in their tradition in the one name 'Israel'. That name implies a feeling of nobility which enslavement could not eradicate; this name our forefathers in Egypt kept alive in their consciousness, and this fealty to that name was responsible for their eventual redemption. We, today, still bear the same name. Let us avoid all moral infractions which might besmirch our name; and therefore does the prophets say:

וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמְרֵם וְיִשְׁמְרֵם וְיִשְׁמְרֵם וְיִשְׁמְרֵם וְיִשְׁמְרֵם

"Not through money, but by virtue of an illustrious name, shall ye be redeemed, and receive your rightful place in society."



"They did not change their language. The language of the Patriarchs was the holy language of modesty, the language of active love. Modesty on our part will address itself to the heart of our fellow human-beings. Modesty serves much and demands little. Love for all mankind will yield its fruit. 'Not by means of silver' but by means of these two shall ye receive your rightful place in society.

"They did not change their garments. (This last interpretation by Salomon is his answer to the הִלְבִּיטוּ אֶת־בְּגֵדֵיהֶם argument which was used in the polemics against Reform.) A literal interpretation is absurd. Israelites did not, even in Egypt, deviate from their traditional simplicity in dress; ~~they~~ did not tolerate luxury and extravagance in wearing-apparel.<sup>149</sup> We, too, should refrain from indulging in luxuries, in outward show, in extravagance in dress, and in that way, likewise, merit redemption, recognition of civil right in the community."<sup>150</sup>

He also utilized his Midrashic art to fight the authority of Rabbinism, as it was then called. Commenting on the verse, וְאֵת־בְּגֵדֵיהֶם יִלְבִּיטוּ "The children of my mother aggravated me," he says, "They transformed the inwardness of my religion into outward formalism; the shell has attained greater importance than the kernel. Man-made laws were stressed at the expense of the God-given love. And those that interpreted the law, have received greater consideration than the givers thereof. Moses and the prophets have been superseded by the later Rabbis."<sup>151</sup>

The occasion of Tisha B'Ab, he utilized to preach a sermon on the rehabilitation of Judaism. For his text, he took a few verses from Deuteronomy IV:29-31. "When ye will seek the Lord with all your heart, you will find Him." For homiletical purposes, and in his skillful manner, he interweaves the

שְׁמִינִיּוֹת , the eighteen benedictions of the prayer-book.  
אֱלֹהֵינוּ ה' "God is one." Love God. Teach your children to love Him; make,  
as it were the eighteen benedictions operative in your life.

יָדָה לְאָדָם "God gives man intelligence." If you sought knowledge  
truly, you would abandon all your foolishness and superstition."

חֲשׁוּבָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ "Return in truth to the Real Torah."

לֵנוּ אֵלָּה לְנֹכַח "Cast away the filth which is in thy hand and repent  
earnestly."

בְּעִזְבֵּיךָ תִּפְדֶּה "Stop praying for assistance for your cheating, and do  
something to help yourself."

בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ "Your ask God's blessings for a good year, and then you  
wantonly waste it."

לֹא שׁוֹמְרֵי תּוֹרָה "You have teachers but you pay no heed to them."

לְעֵלְיָה שְׂמֵחָה "You want a share in the merit of the righteous, and  
yourself you remain unrighteous."

וְלִירֵאָשִׁים אֱלֹהֵינוּ "You pray to God that He should rebuild Jerusalem, so  
that you can again encompass its destruction. Who caused its destruction, and to  
whom have we <sup>to</sup> look <sup>to</sup> for its continued existence? To your Pharisees? <sup>152</sup> Oh, how  
little real piety is found amongst them. Who then? Your Saducees? Your unbe-  
lievers? Or, perhaps you expect maintain a rebuilt Jerusalem through your

בְּבִצְיָה , your hypocrites? But where is the message of comfort?  
--you will ask. My message is this--become servants of God. Make up your mind  
to utilize in your life your prayers. That which your mouth utters try to feel.  
That which you feel try to think. That which you think try to act. Then God  
will do His will. He needs not your little structure, and does never upbraid you  
for lamenting for the Lord's Temple while you have little in common with the Lord." <sup>153</sup>

This will suffice to give us an idea as to how he could read anything he wanted into a text, and could bring thoughts out of the text that would delight his hearers, even when he played them with his keen sarcasm.

With the advancing years, however, came that bitterness of feeling, that sense of doubt, which has been already mentioned. Honestly he searches for the cause of the apparent failure of Reform to function in Jewish life, as he had fondly hoped. "Our devotional services are more worth-while than that of many Synagogues, but our duty is also greater. Do you here learn piety? And with that piety do you enrich your home, your children, your friends, your enemies, the state, the nation, all mankind? Nay, it is questionable whether even this House knows of your progress in piety."<sup>154</sup>

Sabbath-violation he calls a deep-rooted illness, for which he knows of no satisfactory remedy. He realizes that there is little to be done, but he is willing to try anything.<sup>155</sup> "Perhaps home observances might do some good." And he admits that "almost nothing is done in the homes to feed the religious instinct."<sup>156</sup> Bitterly, he attributes the laxity of religious observance to what he calls its prime cause, "The super-zeal of the older generation", and he adds,

על הכול ק' גורל.

He tries to find some comfort in the statement that "Conditions have made the strict observance of the Sabbath impossible. Mosaic injunction makes now of the Sabbath a spiritual formality. And its reaction upon the community is varied--

The Good-natured say, "We cannot."

The Obstreperous say, "We need not."

The Irresponsible say, "We will not."

And Salomon says, "We must rejuvenate it in our own life. Sabbath observance in

the home is bound to beautify the life of the family. Celebrate Sabbath in the spirit of the law, if in no other way. And the spirit of the law will make the soul yearn for lofty aspirations; think of God on the Sabbath, but disregard the number of forbidden kinds of labor. Remember, everything is permitted, as long as it tends to add to the spiritual satisfaction of the observer. Nay, more than that, everything is commanded to be done on the Sabbath which will enhance the life of the spirit. Such activity not only does not desecrate the Sabbath, it lifts the Sabbath, and makes of it a true day of God."<sup>157</sup>

Another suggestion which he throws out in the same sermon is that, "Prominent men, such as rich business men and educated men, should set an example by attending public service on the Sabbath. That will do much to rehabilitate the Sabbath in the eyes of the masses. But, alas, as it is, the rich show an utter indifference to things religious. They are fat and opulent, and the Synagogues no longer express their sentiments." "The educated imagine they possess the highest wisdom, and for that reason, prayers and sermons are for them unnecessary things. This double example is a bad one. The unthinking masses follow blindly, and thus the House of God becomes more and more deserted."

But even while he is sermonizing, he realizes the futility of this appeal, and so he turns to the parents of growing children and reiterates the statements that there "is almost no piety in our homes, nor any practical religious observance." He makes an eloquent plea for the parents to re-instate in their homes some of the old-time religious customs and observances, adding that, "This is worthy more for pedagogical reasons, than all theoretical education."<sup>158</sup>

Salomon it was who made of the German spoken sermon a living Jewish word. His example was soon followed by others, and everywhere people lost their natural aversion towards the idea of Jewish material delivered in a tongue which represented another culture. The fact cannot be gainsaid, that without the trail-blazing of the Hamburg community, of which Salomon was an essential and, perhaps, the principle and most important figure, Reform Judaism would have had a different history. It is true that in Germany the movement dwindled. But who can tell what share in the new "Conservative" movement, which stressed the thought that "Judaism and Humanism, Jewish piety and Modern culture were compatible ideals,"<sup>159</sup> was not the direct outgrowth of the famous slogan of Salomon, "Pious Enlightenment and Enlightened Piety." Certain it is that many of the preachers of lesser note not only preached his sermons out actually helped to promulgate many of the ideas which originated with Salomon.

14

On the Field of Apologetics

In 1855, a certain Anton Theodor Hartmann, Professor of Theology at Posaack, published several tracts concerning the advisability of giving the Jewish people equal rights. For many years he had been considered an authority on Biblical and Rabbinic lore, but gradually he developed an unfriendly attitude towards the Jews. His publication in that year of a tract entitled "Eisenmeier and his Jewish critics", was the forerunner of a series of articles in pamphlet form which stamped him as a Jew-baiter and antisemite. The very title of the

series was sinister in its portent:~ "Should equal rights be granted now to the Jews?" In these articles he discussed Mosaism, Oral Law, Mishna, Gemara, Maimonides, Rashi, Abravanel, etc. Then, following, apparently, Eisenmenger's lead, he launched forth into a diatribe upon the Jews. He began by making the statement which was current from olden times in the Church (and still is taught in many denominational schools) that the Jews had been repudiated by God, and so should not be given the same status as believing Christians. Discussing the articles of the Paris Sanhedrin, he asserts that those Rabbis very slyly based their opinions upon Biblical Law and did not dare interpret Judaism to Napoleon according to Talmudic Law; and so, he believes that Jews are tricky and he doubts the sincerity of the Jewish oath. "How, then, can we give them equal suffrage?" The Talmud having fallen into disrepute in the Christian world (ever since the thirteenth century when because of Jewish informers and through the influence of apostates it had been publicly burned) Hartman now gives, what he thinks is a convincing argument that Jews cannot be given the status of citizenship. He claims that a certain Rabbi Lowenstein, the Rabbi of Amiden, says that the Jewish people must obey the Talmud. And if the law of the land is not in harmony with that ancient system of legislation, then it stands to reason that the Jews cannot be loyal to, and obey, the laws of the land.

To these charges, many scholars among the Jews gave answer. Geiger and others treated Hartmann as a professor and as a scholar. But Salomon boldly asserted that no scholar who was really familiar with Jewish literature would ever speak like that. Shrewdly he intimates that the reference to Eisenmenger may indicate the extent of Hartmann's education in matters Jewish. (Incidentally, this was later proven to have been a shrewd guess, for Hartmann is reputed to have admitted that outside of Eisenmenger's work he had read very little on the subject.)<sup>160</sup> Salomon defends the articles of the Paris Sanhedrin, and says

that their decisions were not intended to mislead Napoleon; they were not based upon Biblical grounds but upon Talmudic authority, and the Talmud never conflicts with the law of the land. And as to the Rabbi of Emden who is quoted as saying that the Jewish people must obey the Talmud, Salomon boldly asserts that "Not even a hundred Rabbis can force the Jewish people to violate the laws of the land. We have no Bishops, nor a Pope, to tell us what to do. Every law of our's is tested, and must conform with reason and with the best spirit of the times, or else it soon becomes a dead letter." Salomon exists that the Israelites are a people with a faith; but they believe in giving unto God what is His, and unto Caesar what is his. Salomon then continues in his witty and clever way to urge Hartmann, next time he approaches such a task, to bring along with him the spirit of Love which Christianity stresses....He refutes every argument that Hartmann has advanced, and then in conclusion he says, "We wish to forget the things, which history says the Church has done to the Jew; what Christian rulers and Bishops have permitted. The funeral pyres, the massacres--all these we wish to forget. We also wish to forget how we were exploited, impoverished, pillaged, and cast out naked and hungry. We wish to forget that many chapters in yours Church-history have been written with the blood of our forefathers.-- But, you should likewise forget that there are some old volumes in which are found statements which breathe hatred. Remember that these statements were only reactions against unbearable conditions and exploitations.

"That which is preached in the Christian Church so often, and is constantly carried upon the lips, you ought to inculcate by word and deed, by pen and scepter. Love, about which Paul the Apostle says, 'One could possess the language of the angels and yet without Love he could never enter the Kingdom of God,' that love is long-suffering and friendly, knows not of jealousy, is not

envious. This spirit of love is the spirit of your religion and mine. You be as much a Christian as I am a Jew in this regard, then we shall not need to seek authority for human welfare in books, and our bliss in the hereafter. Verily, it is the letter that killeth, both Jew and Christian, and the spirit which giveth life."

Hartmann was loathe to continue the argument, but was forced by his adherents, who threatened to stop attending his lectures unless he answers and explains himself. Unwillingly and in a very inane manner, Hartmann replied, re-asserting his accusations without any further proof, adding only a few insulting remarks directed at the "Jewish Preacher".

Salomon answered with a second and final rebuttal. Hartmann had attacked what he called "the Fundamentals of Orthodoxy", hurling his accusations against the national pride of the Jewish people as the "Chosen People," their disregard of oaths, their hatred of non-Jews, their cowardice, and their weaknesses.

In reply to all this Salomon gave, what he thought were, the fundamentals of Judaism:

(1) There is only one God.

(2) He has Created everything ex-nihilo.

(3) Everything exists through God--nothing without Him. And the world is ruled by God's pre-ordained laws (  $\Pi \Pi \Pi \Pi \Pi$  ).

(4) God desires the ethical and eternal well-being of humanity; to that end He has revealed to the world His Holy Law.

(5) It is the Mission of Israel to carry the idea of One God to the world.

(6) God and His Word will be recognized everywhere, and the Kingdom



of Righteousness will receive recognition everywhere.

(7) Belief in a Just God implies the doctrine of reward and punishment.

The first two points of Ormloxy indicate that God is the Father of all mankind. From the third point comes the unconditional reliance on God's grace and justice. The fourth point (revelation and the doctrine of the chosen people) indicates not a sense of superiority, but the realization of a sacred trust, and a determination to guard it as such. By its cultivation we have given the world enlightenment and knowledge. And upon the "tender olive tree" even the wild olive branch may be grafted.<sup>161</sup>

The fifth point stresses our faith in the coming of the Kingdom of Righteousness, and we do what we can to hasten its coming, by spreading His word. And although there are periods of retrogression, we do not despair, but assemble in our Synagogues and pray that God may hasten the day.

The seventh point tempers our life and our actions, and brings with it a realization that all men share in God's grace, and, therefore, are entitled to our love.

As to the matter of emancipation, Salomon feels that it is inevitable because people are emancipated, not so much by law and law-makers, as by their own conviction. "Long before laws are ever framed for that purpose, people have already become emancipated in their heart; and once people realize a conviction of the principle of emancipation, no amount of pressure, no amount of prejudice, will be able to forestall it."

For a while things were quiet. But in 1842, Bruno Bauer attacked the Jews. He was a member of the "Young Hegelians", and his first publication seemed harmlessly enough (as far as the Jews were concerned) to have been against the Church and its theology. In his first attempt, he tried to prove that

religion interfered with good citizenship. But as the members of the Church were all in power, occupying many public offices, it fell on deaf ears. However, when he turned his attack upon the Jews, he threatened serious consequences, for the Jews were seeking enfranchisement, and his opposition to them on the ground of their adherence to religion, and more especially, to their religion, disqualified them, in his sight, from consideration for office. It was in 1843 that he published his "Judenfrage", in which he quotes some of the old "bestnuts." With old threadbare arguments which have no basis in fact, he tries to prove that Judaism is incompatible with good citizenship.

Gustave Philippson was the first to answer this tract. Criticizing Bauer's attempt to have political life conducted according to book-made rules. Geiger and Hirsch also tried their hand. The first, in scholarly fashion, tracing Judaism historically, refuted every accusation levelled by Bauer.

Rabbi Samuel Hirsch also answered, in a philosophical treatise. But it needed the clear and direct method of Salomon, with his sound common sense, his deep knowledge and application of Jewish sources, to answer, and answer adequately. The erudite defense of Hirsch he characterizes as "too good". The educated man is sure to discount Bauer's superficialities; but the average reader may be convinced and will not care to investigate. Salomon says,

"Bauer admits, that 'The Jewish question has become very popular because the citizenry realizes the bearing which the emancipation of the Jews would have upon the status of society.' That is certainly very true, but for entirely different reasons. The citizenry not only realizes, it knows, that the disenfranchisement of any part of the population, for any insignificant reason, threatens the liberty of all....and feudalism must have some of its chattels, if it would continue its existence.."

With regards to Bauer's literary proof of the Jews' duplicity, Salomon shows that here again, as was the case with Hartmann, Eisenmenger is the "authority". With his biting humor, he says, "The Bible is read in German, and where the original is very difficult, a dictionary helps.....but the D----- unvocalized text of Talmudic literature....." implying that Bauer draws his information, not from the sources, but from perverted interpretations.

In the style that since has become famous as the style of the "Educated Antisemite", Bauer had tried to hurt the Jewish cause by praising them, and then trying to prove that the Jews themselves are responsible for their affliction. "He who asserts that the Jews have suffered innocently does them the gravest dishonor. They only adhered to their laws and customs which were not in harmony with the people about them; and for their steadfastness they suffered. Because they would not conform, therefore, they brought upon themselves this feeling and are punished for their guilt."

To this Salomon answers by pointing out the difference between guilt and causation, and adds,

"If all the martyrs of History, from Socrates to Jesus, from Jesus to Huss, suffered because of their steadfastness to an ideal; that truth and morality stand higher than life itself; if these people are considered guilty because they met the opposition unflinchingly, then Bauer is right. According to him, these martyrs must have appeared in the eyes of their opponents, the more guilty for being noble, aye, the more noble, the more dishonored.... Unfortunate the day when philosophers twist the truth and pervert it. If that state continues, then sooner or later the Holy will be branded as profane, the Godly ungodly--and those whose devotion merits the opposition of those about them, are henceforth stamped as guilty of their own suffering...Alas, Bauer knows not the

difference between having guilt and being the cause.."

In his capable manner, Salomon points out the history of the Jew, and his devotion to his ideals of morality and ethical truth. Salomon must have been fully acquainted with the facts of Bauer's activity. Before he began his diatribes against the Jews, Bauer, as one of the "Young Hegelianer", had written a "Critical Study of the Gospels", and seemed to be dedicated to the cause of truth. But Salomon tears the mask off his face. He points out that, "The self-styled liberal who only recently published a 'Critical Study of the Gospels', is in reality not as free from bias as one would wish him to be, as he pretends to be. He is not the man who appears as the truth-seeking scholar, writing with mock-heroics that 'Religion is the destroyer of all human freedom', for only a little later we find him occupying the position of assistant to Hengstenberg, editing the 'Evangelische Kirchenzeitung'....."

Salomon's suspicion that Bauer wrote what he did, not in the interests of truth, but from some ulterior motive, were later proved to have been well-founded; for it turned out that at the time he wrote and published his "Judenfrage" he was in the employ of Wagener, of the Feudal Party, and his assignment was to write just such "stuff" against the Jews. The purpose seems to have been to divert the attention of the proletariat, from their agitation against the party in power, to the question of the Jews. (A favorite European trick.) But Salomon's answer seems to prove that he knew from where "the Carp <sup>acquired</sup> had that Odious Odor."<sup>162</sup>

In the year 1844, at the height of the throes of political emancipation, there appeared a pamphlet under the title, "The Black Book", from the pen of one who signs himself "Carlos" (issued, perhaps, under the influence of Witt, Reichenbach, and Michael Leonard Nathanson, the converted Jew.) This pamphlet passed the censor easily, though it breathed hatred and bigotry, in its

opposition to the tendency towards Jewish political equality.

Salomon undertook to reply to this scurrilous attack, by writing what he calls, "The Blue Book"--blue he claims signifies the eternal hope of the Jew for universal righteousness--. This publication he issues under a pseudonym, "Gottfried Siegesmund", and dedicates it as a Christmas and New Year gift to pious Christians. It was published at Braunschweig after much censoring. The manuscript was preserved by the family, and in 1894, the Reverend Dr. Leimdoerfer published it in the "Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthum" in the same year. This document had been in the possession of the grandson, Mr. C. Zacharias, and that is the only external proof of its Salomonic authorship. But Salomon's spirit permeates the document, and there can be no doubt that he wrote it.

What the original Black Book contained we have no means of knowing, but from Salomon's treatment of it, we can surmise fairly accurately that it was just another bit of antisemitic propaganda.

Salomon, in this little booklet, appeals to Christian leaders to come to Jewish places of worship, and they will be shown that the principles of love, truth and honesty in business are taught and applied to the whole world.

"Carlo says, 'Jews have never made any attempt to become like us.' How does the writer mean that? Become like you, like Nathanson? Or like Carlo? By changing our religion? What would any respectable officer of the government say if ten or twenty Jews would make such a bid for political equality? Would he not reject it with contempt? Would he consider such people as being worthwhile, who change their religion as they would a dress, merely for worldly gain?

"Carlos says, 'Jews have done nothing to naturalize themselves, to acclimate themselves, to nationalize themselves, and thereby to become emancipated.' My answer is: What do you call naturalization? Does it mean anything else but

to develop civic pride? That is just the cause of hatred; that is why the enemies of the Jews are seeking to deny them rights. Their very acquisition of real property proves their desire to naturalize themselves.

"Do the Jewish business men conduct their affairs after Oriental styles? Do they keep their books in Chaldean or in Hebrew? Do they write their document, their marriage and civil contracts, their wills, in Hebrew? Do they not write them in German?

"Do the Jews dress like Turks, Chinese, Mongols? Do not the Jewish children learn German as their mother tongue as early as the Christian children? Is the social life of the Jews of Hamburg oriental in character? Do they indulge in oriental music? Do they sing Davidic or Assaf Psalms, accompanied by oriental instruments? Do they not rather sing Heine and Uhland?

"Carlo says, 'Jews have not acclimated themselves.' That is wonderful! Over nineteen hundred years since they left Palestine, and still not acclimated to Hamburg.... That may be called rather peculiar and original physics on his part. Did he ever see Jews wearing light clothing in December or January, because in the Orient it is warm and they are still <sup>accustomed</sup> ~~used~~ to the oriental climate?

"Carlos says, 'Did you ever see any Jew working--in the building trade, in railroads, maritime occupations, or in machine shops?' And my answer is: Does he not know that these trades are prohibited to Jews (as far as they are organized under the guild system)? He might have enumerated many other trades wherein Jews do not appear: Masons, Carpenters, Locksmiths, Tailors, Shoemakers; all these trade have no Jewish exponents--because these trades are forbidden to the Jews. But in the trades which are open to the Jews he would find many Jews working. There are, in Hamburg, Jewish Upholsterers, House Decorators, Bookbinders, Printers, and Lacemakers.

"The Jews are seeking suffrage, not because they want to be statesmen or senators. They ask only the equal rights of citizens; <sup>the</sup> right to enjoy life and to contribute to the welfare of the community. And as long as this is withheld, just so long will an injustice be committed against thousands of useful people who otherwise are bearing every burden of the community. Does the 'Schwartz' (meaning the anonymous author of the Black Book) believe that it is enough that the Jews are not abused and not misused?

"Such language as his bespeaks an unChristian being, a diabolical creature.---He only hates the mass, the people, but considers the individual Jew an unfortunate brother. He even has one Jewish friend.--Ah! so it's not really so serious with him!--of the nine million Jews in the world he ~~only~~ hates--only 8,999,999--no more than that. It is hardly believable that such a heart which is capable of loving one out of nine million people could contain so much hatred and gall as this little black Haman pours out upon the Jews in four pages....

"In spite of his admission that 'he hates all Jews', he makes the arrogant statement that the Jews will never grasp the essential principle of 'Loving your enemy'. Have you grasped its meaning? You <sup>who</sup> are anxious to be known as a Christian. You make the admission that you hate Jews, not because of any other reason but that they have about them the odour of garlic; because of their 'Yiddish dialect' (Mouschhelden Sprache--Wessely's Dictionary says it refers to Jews, also means Schmousoch), because of the 'airs' of their rich members, because of the arrogance of their so-called learned men....

"Has a Jew ever uttered such statements concerning Christians? And this little bigot claims that the 'Jews does not grasp the principle of loving your enemy'--a love that he is given daily opportunities to exercise...

"Carlo says, 'If the Jews are emancipated they will become senators

and officers of state', because they have gold, and 'that rules the world' (Gelt regiert die Welt). Such vulgarity and impudence! Twenty-four senators, four mayors, four syndici will permit themselves to be bribed by a Jew, because he has money, so that he may be elected as a senator!

"Carlo says, 'I write, not with my own bitterness but with the 'gall' of history, of truth, and of public opinion.' My answer is: History is only a judge--and a judge has no gall. History must be just; it must present the truth. I might read to the valiant Sir Carlo a few pages of history--of the Crusades, of St. Bartholemew night, and prove to him how calmly history treats of these horrors. Tears--that is all history has for such cruelties; bloody tears, but no gall; the latter is a personal contribution by Sir Carlo.

"And Truth. Is she full of bitterness? No! That is sheer calumny. Truth weighs carefully every word, every syllable, every letter; <sup>never</sup> and <sup>never</sup> discusses that which is not known--~~known~~, or that which is not understood, or <sup>that</sup> which is non-existent. When Truth does speak, she opens her mouth with wisdom, she speaks seriously, ~~and~~ powerfully, and convincingly. Full of gall is only calumny, untruth, and all those who cater to it.

"So, public opinion also has a gall. Sir Carlo seems to identify <sup>the</sup> rabble with the citizenry. Plain folks are not bitter in their attitude towards anyone, especially not against the Jews. Only recently an appeal to grant Jews equality was endorsed by leading citizens of the plain folk; and the citizenry of Hamburg will, most assuredly, not be remiss in this connection.

"Is it not time that the barbaric customs and inhibitions of the Middle Ages should be abolished? The record of 1814, when Jews held office under the foreign tyrant, proves that they did not abuse their trust.

"Carlo is even capable of some grim humor. He says: 'In England



and France the ratio of the Jew to the non-Jew is like a drop in the Ocean, while in Hamburg it is truly no drop--but a Dead Seal! There are more Jews in the capital of Holland, where the Jews have enjoyed equal rights for over fifty years, than in Hamburg. Here the ratio of Jews to non-Jews is one to eighteen.

"Carlo (quoting apparently from Nathanson) says: 'Because Christians do not eat out of a bowl, they are called unclean by the Jews.' It is not fair to single out the Jews because of certain dietary practices. Do not the Catholics abstain from eating meat on certain days even when they are visiting the homes of their Protestant friends? Yet, no one would accuse them of branding their Christian friends as being unclean. Furthermore, there are Jews who live in ignorance of the dietary laws, an ignorance more profound than that of the editor of the Black Book.

"Carlo says: 'Jews merit great praise in that against their conviction they will never change their religion for any earthly gain.' This nullifies all previous statements made by him that Jews care only for worldly gain and riches.

"A People who are capable of sacrificing worldly gain for a higher ideal, for truth and faith, are to be classed very highly, and hardly to be thought of as being capable of anything contemptible. In such a people the government has the guarantee of industry, conscientiousness and patriotism."

Salomon then takes up, briefly, the minor arguments of the Black Book and discusses them. With regards to garlic, he says that he does not know, nor does any one else know, as to who consumes more garlic, the Jew or the Christian. But he is sure that the odour of the Black Book is even more objectionable than that of the garlic which the Jews eat.

Referring to the Yiddish dialect, Salomon says that he does not

know which jars the ear more, the speech of common Jews or the speech of common Christians. But the language of the "Black" one is surely offensive to the sensitive feelings of thinking people.

Whether Christian or Jewish scholars are more arrogant, Salomon claims that he is uncertain; but he is certain that it is arrogance on the part of Carlo to present as new ideas, statements which have been refuted a thousand times.

In conclusion, Salomon says, "Later, when you will have outlived your prejudice, you will realize that it makes no difference whether the artisan, the artist, the scholar, the statesman, has black or blond hair, a big or a small nose; whether he eats one kind of food or another; whether he prays to God in one language or another. You will then admit the value of sincerity, of spirit, of conscientiousness. You will then admit that the nobler the heart, the finer the spirit; the holier the conscience, the finer the man;--whether he be Jew or Christian--the greater his value to his country, to his community, to society in general.

"Be Christians in your deeds! Be that which your Master would have you be--tender, kindly, yielding, forgiving, patient. Judge not, condemn not, but be loving in deed and in word. That is the only, and the most direct way in which Christian and Jew can be emancipated; i.e., be redeemed from all evil."<sup>163</sup>

The above few excerpts from the article in the German newspaper, and the discussion by Salomon's biographer of his polemical activities, may, in a limited way, serve to illustrate the influence which Salomon wielded upon the affairs of his day. And they surely help us in forming a picture of this unheralded giant of the Jewish Reform Movement.

Was Salomon an Am-Ha'Aretz?

The Rabbinic adage that the "Jealousy of scholars increases wisdom," may or may not have operated in the case of Gotthold Salomon. While the truly great scholars of his day paid homage to him and respected him for what he was-- a great and popular preacher--yet, he speaks so often of his "enemies", of his "critics", that one wonders if there was not more than a grain of truth in the rumor that he was considered by some an "Am Ha-Aretz".

Such a situation can be understood only in light of the fact that those who probably had good cause to feel <sup>the effects of</sup> his sharp wit and clever satire the most, could never forgive him the sin of, what they called, ignorance. Everyone concerned knew, no doubt, that Salomon never attended any Yeshiva, nor had he been in any High School or University. And in the eyes of the Yeshiva "Battlen", and of the University cad, this is a great sin.<sup>164</sup> This fact militated against him. Every opportunity they had was seized upon to belittle him. Even Hartmann, the famous antisemite, when he was outwitted by Salomon, spoke contemptuously of him as the "Jewish Preacher". But the truth of the matter is, that Salomon was far from being an "Am-Ha-Aretz". His studying had not been done systematically; he knew no method; but he knew Jewish literature. At the age of seven he began Mishna, or rather Talmud; since he read Rashi so fluently. From eight to twelve he studied Talmud, and from twelve to sixteen Bible. After sixteen, for some unknown reason, he pursued his studies alone, and seems to have done quite well. Of a certainty, the work he did was unsupervised and was far from being standard, even for that day and age; but it did give him some form of training in languages; and, what is more important for us, in homiletics.

As a result, he soon developed the art which made him the very famous preacher he became in the twenties, and during the next three decades. To his natural talent as a teacher and lecturer, was now added the ability to prepare and deliver an address which should teach and enlighten his hearers. But, back of all this, was the eight or nine years spent with Talmud and Bible. And in spite of the fact that he might have had a tendency to follow the lead of the Christian preacher whose works he read and whose spoken word he listened to with such earnestness, he could not free himself from the influence of his Jewish learning. The fine tenderness for his own people and their literature, seems to have become interwoven with his very fibre; and so he gradually drifted back into the old reliable channels of the ancient Aggadah.

The several excerpts cited in this thesis, are a fairly good indication of the manner in which Salomon utilized his ingrained knowledge of Jewish sources; but for the sake of making this point more clear, a full excerpt is given here to show just how he worked in the field of Jewish preaching.

The English translation is given first, then follows the German original, showing how he made the Midrashic material a forceful and eloquent assistant to his theme, using it skillfully and naturally. The reader who realizes that the Midrashic material is two centuries apart from the German, cannot help but admire the able technique of the author in the way he blends the two harmoniously together.

In a sermon preached on Shabbos Parschas "Be-ha-a-loschaw", Gethold Salomon, pursuing his favorite theme, "Light and Enlightenment", expounds the theory that Israel is the "Priest People". He uses, as his text, Numbers VIII:1-4. His proposition is that, "To work at the task of enlightening our

fellow-man is the worthiest and most blessed of all of life's pursuits, and must ever continue to be such." (An der Erleuchtung unserer Mitmenschen zu arbeiten, die wuerdigste und segenvollste aller Beschaeftigungen auf Erden ist und bleiben soll.)<sup>165</sup> After stating the text, he shows his fine Midrashic learning by the artistic way in which he weaves a few selections into his introductions:

"My friends, just as is always the case with the Rabbinic exegetes, so here too they interpret the symbolism of the Menorah and of Light in an imaginative and symbolistic manner. They conceive of the Earthly Light as being symbolic of the Heavenly Light of Reason with its spiritual corrolaries: virtue and piety.

"I could cite you many and pertinent quotations, to prove this, if I had the time, and if it were necessary for my purpose. But a few such citations I must give you in order to corroborate my previous statement.

"Why is the injunction concerning the Menorah placed in close proximity to the description of the rich offerings which were brought to the Dedication of the Tabernacle by the "Ne-si-im"? Hear the answer: When Aaron beheld the rich offerings which the Ne-si-im had brought, he felt very lowly indeed. But God encouraged him, saying, 'Surely you rank higher than these Ne-si-im. For to perpetuate light among your people is your calling. Your pursuit in life is a spiritual one, their's is only a material one.'

"In another place it is said: 'Do not be discomfitted. You are destined for something higher. Sacrifices must eventually be abrogated. Light, however, will never be abolished.'

"In a third place: 'Does God need the light when He appears in the Temple? Light has its abode with Him. And in His presence night is unable

to darken anything.' Yet see; when mortal man builds a house, he builds his windows much wider within than without, so that the light from without should brighten more of the interior. But in the Sanctuary which Salomon built, the windows were wider outside than inside, so that the Light from the Holy Place might enlighten the whole World. 'Therefore,' says the Lord, 'perpetuate My Light, and I will cause your future to be ever lighter and brighter.'"

(The original of the German follows: "Meine Freunde! so wie mehrere in der Stifteshuetee Statu gefundenen Einrichtungen, so wird auch, und ganz besonders, der Leuchter mit seinen Lictern von vielen der alten Sohrift-ausleger in einem bildlichen, symbolischen Sinner genommen; das irdische Lict als ein Zeichen des himmlischen; fuer Erkenntnis, Tugenda und Froemmnigkeit. Ich koennte euch hierueber sehr viele und sehr sinnvolle Auszerungen der Alten Mittheilen, wenn es die Zeit gestattete und zu meinem Zwecke noethig waere. Nur einige Aussprueche musz ich euch anfuehren, um meine furehere Behauptung zu belegen. 'Warum graenzet die Verordnung von dem Leuchter so nah an die Erzash-lung von den reichen Opfergaben, die Israelitischen Fuersteln dem Heligthume weihten?' Hoert die Antwort: 'Da Aron die reichen Opfergaben sah, kam er selbst sich gering vor--doch Gott belehrte ihn: Waehrlich, hoeher denn alle die Fuersten stehest du, denn Licht zu unterhalten im Volke ist dein Beruf. Dein Gebiet is das Geistige, das ikrige von der Erde.' Eine andere stelle sagt es kuerzer: 'Nicht verzagt! zu groesern bist due berufen; die Opfer muessen auf-horen; des Lichtes aber wird nie zu entbehren sein.' Eine dritte Stelle lautet endlich also: 'Bedarf Gott des Lichtes wohl, wenn er im Heligthum erscheint? Wohnt ja das Licht bei ihm, und vor ihm kann ja die Nacht nichts veraunkeln! Doch siehe, baut der Sterbliche ein Haus, so sind die Fenster auswendig beengt, inwendig genauemig, and dazs das Licht in die Wohnung dringe. Bei dem



The masterful way in which he interprets the Midrash, if it means anything, proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that Salomon was anything but an Am-Ha-Aretz. Only a man who is steeped in Midrashic literature could play around, so artistically, with various portions of Midrashic exegesis. His very selectiveness proves conclusively that he not only knows where to find what he wants, but what is more important, he knows how to apply the Rabbinic method of exegesis to the Midrash itself, and reads out of it whatever he needs.

While many of his references from Talmud literature may be said to have been repeated from hearsay--because frequently he gives no references--yet, this citation, although his reference merely reads, "Die drei citirten Stellen befinden sich in den Midrashim", seems to indicate, perhaps, an ignorance of scholarly method, but never an ignorance of Hebrew.

Of course, this must also be borne in mind, that to the Rabbis of his day, and particularly the Orthodox Rabbis who knew the Talmud so well that they could tell you where a certain statement was with remarkable accuracy, giving not only the "Daf and A-mood" but even telling you which line from the top it could be found; to such expert divers in the "Yam ha-Talmud", it might have seemed that Salomon as a preacher was an Am Ha-Aretz. But as learning is now viewed, Salomon looms as a real Talmid ~~Chav-chav~~.

A thorough consideration of the way in which he exploited the sources he quotes, and those he unconsciously utilizes, gives one the conviction that the five years (from seven to twelve) he spent struggling with Rashi and Talmud were well spent, not to speak of the four years with his learned uncle (from twelve to sixteen), when he devoted all his time to Biblical study. And subsequent events--his collaboration with Wolf (in their work of translat-



ing the "Twelve Minor Prophets", his translation of the Bible for family use, and his translation of Maimonides's "Shemoneh Prokim", proves the Rabbinate statement that "the learning which one acquires in his youth is not so readily forgotten,"--

16

Conclusion

That Salomon was a product of his times, and that the times were, in turn, influenced by him, was the task which the writer of this thesis set out to prove when he began this work. That the first is easily proven, needs no comment; and the latter statement is implicit in the achievements of Reform Judaism.

All the activities of the pioneers of Reform in Europe; such as, Israel Jacobson, Friedlaender, Beer, Kley, and even Zunz, should never be underestimated. They laid the foundation upon which the fine superstructure eventually arose. But their efforts would have gone for naught if the Hamburg Temple had not been organized, erected, and permitted an uninterrupted existence for nearly four decades with Salomon at the helm.

It was the Hamburg experiment which articulated the yearnings of the pioneers. It was the Hamburg Temple which became the model for Leipzig, London, Charleston, Philadelphia, New York, and Cincinnati.<sup>166</sup> Any reputable history of that period has <sup>at least</sup> a word to say about the Hamburg Temple. Truly, it may be said that had the Hamburg Temple not been organized and carried through successfully, Reform would surely have had to wait a longer time than it did for its recognition. And when we speak of the Hamburg Temple as an established

fact in the Reform Movement, we mean, in reality, that Salomon is the one person responsible for that success, for that recognition.

We must bear in mind that a hundred years ago the Christian world still thought of Judaism as the last glowing embers of a heroic and once powerful faith; and as such, it must be permitted to carry out the Lord's will; i.e., to die in peace. And we know, as has been indicated in the Manifesto of the Emperor, that no change is to be tolerated in the Jewish ritual, since it is incapable of new life. Thus, the Orthodox leaders played right into the hands of the Jew-haters; they resorted to all manners of tricks, honorable and contemptible--mostly the latter--to bring pressure to bear upon the government to disband the new movement.

Fortunately, the group in Hamburg were men of influence and so were permitted to carry on their work for a time. But with the death of these leaders the end was inevitable. And even Salomon hints at this fact when he asserts in the introduction to his first volume, that the collection of sermons is partially intended to give the government a chance to study the new movement as mirrored in the sermons preached from the pulpit of the Hamburg Temple. Perforce, had Zunz been chosen to that office, he might have reflected just as much credit upon the movement; perhaps even more. But this is pure conjecture. For though Zunz was, and remains, the greatest scholar of his day in his field, it is clear that Homiletics was not his field. The movement was new; it had no idea as to just what form it should take; and it needed such a personality as Gotthold Salomon to give them assurance and self-confidence.

In spite of the fact that Salomon was no Rabbi, and though he had never had a systematic training, his work must have challenged the admiration of the world. What the greatest Jewish preachers and scholars thought of the

"Master of the Word", we have indicated by quoting from various documents and letters. But what is more important for any movement--he won the sympathy of the common people, the average men and women everywhere, to the cause which he championed. Many of the phrases which he uttered in his sermons have since become stock-phrases in Liberal Judaism. Some of his sermons were translated into Dutch in 1825 (under the title, "Het huiselijk leven" at Amsterdam. A small volume, containing translations of twelve of his sermons, was published in England and later re-issued by the Charleston congregation in America. And though he seems to have been quickly forgotten, it is unbelievable that so great a man in his field--and Homiletics was surely his field--can remain long in obscurity. Sooner or later, history will assign to him the proper place which he merited in the Reform Movement of Europe.

Is it too much to say that Wise and perhaps the other great leaders and pioneers of American Reform Judaism were influenced by the word of this "Master Builder" in Jewish Homiletics?

That Isaac Meir Wise was acquainted with Salomon and knew his works we have no reason to doubt. For, in his periodical, "The Israelite", he eulogizes Salomon, and among other things, he tells us that Salomon translated the entire Bible for the use of the school and the home, a work which was still very popular in Germany at the time of Salomon's death. As to his Homiletical influence, Wise says, "His volumes were read as far as the German tongue reaches, by preachers and private persons." And anyone who can read between the lines can understand that Wise not only read German, but was, no doubt, one of those "preachers" who read the volumes of Salomon. In closing the rather long eulogy, Dr. Wise says, "It is not necessary to say much about the deceased Dr. Salomon, he lives in the hearts of the Thousands,.....in the pages of history."<sup>167</sup>

Abraham Geiger, in his "Zeitschriften", also eulogizes Gotthold Salomon (that he revered Salomon when alive, we have learned from the letter he sent to Salomon on the occasion of the twenty-fifth jubilee celebration of the latter). Perhaps, no one knew better than Geiger just what Salomon meant to the Reform movement; and so we may consider as authoritative his statements, that, "The living spirit of the dead man inspires us to new life.... Gotthold Salomon knew how to grasp the essential religious content of Judaism, and how to present it in its chaste purity to his listeners, warming their hearts with his word as it came warm-heartedly from his mouth.... Salomon was the first and foremost preacher. The mighty and benign Word welled forth from his heart and found a ready welcome in the heart of his listeners.... His ability to comprehend intuitively, all the treasures of Judaism was greater than his scientific knowledge to construe them; but he knew how to present and to evaluate them. Through Salomon the Jewish sermon attained its finished mastership, having proper rule and homiletical form, yet permeated with the Jewish spirit. Jewish adages connected it with the whole historical development of Jewish thought..... Up to an advanced old age he continued in his youthful masterliness, fresh and vibrant.... It needed the overwhelming gift of his captivating word to free the Jewish sermon from its imprisonment of prejudice.... He knew how to elevate the spirit; to touch the depth of feeling; to interpret the <sup>moods</sup> ~~mood~~ of life to his auditors, and withal, in a refined form and in a popular way, to arouse thoughts and to vitalize them into warm and positive convictions.... The Jewish sermon has become an institution and a power in Judaism, as the foremost means of religious advancement, thanks to Salomon (and with him his fast disappearing colleagues).... The memory of the master should be honored by the younger generation.... Though his gifted lips are silent now, his words still resound in all of Israel's Houses

of Worship, and in all the hearts of those who are conscious of their Judaism.... What was the mission of Salomon, his enduring worth....The refined Temple service, which was lifted from a withered formalism into the sphere of the upward-striving realm of the devotional soul, is mostly the work of Salomon." (168)

In spite of the fact that such prominent men as Wise and Geiger, though separated by several thousand miles of distance, agree essentially as to the place of Salomon in the history of Judaism, he seems to have been neglected and forgotten by the masses. But his work appears to have borne very fine fruit. Many of his adherents, and countless thousands of his admirers emigrated to America; and these were undoubtedly the very ones who rallied around the standards of the reformers in America. It seems reasonable to believe that if Rinhorn and Wise had not found here the many ready supporters, they could not have succeeded in building so quickly. It was the many years of work which the early pioneers did in Germany, the excellent service rendered by Salomon in teaching the young at Lessau, and later in preaching to the youth at Hamburg, that paved the way for the great American Experiment.

In closing, a word may be said about the effect of the movement upon Salomon himself.

The fiery youth who preached Universalism and non-Nationalistic Judaism seems to have ended his career in broken-hearted solitude. Mercifully, Providence robbed him of the power to realize what was going on, for as was pointed out in the chapter on the life of Salomon, the death of his wife brought on an attack of atrophy of the brain, which caused a lingering illness and a painless death. All his attempts to reconcile Christianity, even to the point of writing sermons with the aim to please his Christian auditors, as he himself admits, were in vain. The nobility of the Christian expresses itself best in

his Christianity; (it is perhaps fitting that it should be so,) and no amount of flirtatious effort.. can give the Jew any better standing among his neighbors than he merits by his personal conduct.

Salomon depicts the desperate attempts of German Jewry to secure emancipation, when he cries out in his little polemical tract, "The Blue Book", "Come to our homes, you will find nothing that smacks of Orientalism. Our mother tongue is German. Our Literature is German. The music in our homes is German. We do not even sing Psalms of oriental origin. No! we sing instead songs by Heine and Uhlan!" These pioneers tried <sup>to give up</sup> everything for a little share of citizenship! For the privilege of securing the right to life, liberty and happiness, they were willing to give up their birthright. But in the lifetime of Salomon, though they receive political emancipation, they did not realize full emancipation. Social recognition was still largely withheld. For it is not enough that one desires to gain entry into a circle; it is also necessary that the circle should be willing to receive him. This can never be achieved by submerging self; nor by yielding up one's self-respect. These earnest folks claimed, and Salomon championed their cause valiantly, that they were Jews by religion only. And that is just as inconsistent, <sup>perhaps,</sup> as the cry of the ~~new~~ nationalists of today; that they are Jews by nationality only. To be a Jew, one must tie himself loyally to the past of his people--this is what the Nationalists really mean--and at the same time, utilize and adapt to his needs whatever is best in his religious heritage for his happiness and for the well-being of his fellow-man.--This is the religious phase. ~~we are~~ This should be done, not for the purpose of currying favor with our neighbors, but because it is the dignified and self-respecting thing to do. One need not compromise his Jewish

principles in his relations with his neighbor; neither is it necessary to preach the questionable doctrine of the value of Jesus as a teacher or a prophet, in order to be respected as an honorable citizen.

Salomon, with his prophetic fire and idealism, saw only the possible millenium. In his youthful enthusiasm it seemed to him <sup>that</sup> only a little more, and Christians will realize that they are not altogether in the right, and as a result Jew and Christian will embrace each other and usher in the Messianic Age. But like all visionaries, he failed to appreciate the process of history. Progress is only achieved at the pace of the slowest member of the human race, and though we may plead and fight for it, even champion it earnestly, we must always have with us the consciousness that the ultimate result is still a long way off; ~~and~~ therefore, we may fight for much, but we should be happy with whatever we achieve in the immediate present.

Gotthold Salomon fought heroically, but the goal is still ahead of us; ~~and~~ his example may encourage us to carry on our hope, and bring it at least a little nearer towards its realization.

End

#### Bibliography of Salomon's Works

The following is a list of Salomon's works, as compiled by comparing and checking two different sources. This list indicates a busy lifetime of literary activity from his earliest youth to within a few years of his death, covering a period of over fifty years.

1805. ספר סנהדרה, כולל ספר חגי עם תרגום אשכנזי  
ויצא מלאת שלמה זלמן בה"ר ליפאן לבית הלוי  
מאגדרס לעצן, דעסאן ה'תקס"ה - כולל ספר זכריה, וגר'

1806. Ueber den ueberfluessigen Aufwand an festtagen. Sulamith, erster Jahrgang, erster Band.

Briefe an ein achtungswuerdiges Frauenzimmer juedischer Religion. Sulamith, erster Jahrgang, 1. Band, 2. Band; zweiter Jahrgang 2. Band.

1808. Ueber Aufklaerung und Aufklaerer. Sulamith, zweiter Jahrgang, 1. Band.

Was soll der Zweck alles Erziehens sein und worin soll der Erzieher seinen schoensten Lohn finden? Rede, gehalten in der juedischen Haupt- und Freischule zu Dessau, bei Gelegenheit des oeffentlichen Examens am 30 Novbr. und 1 Decbr. 1808. Dessau 1808.

1809. Rabbi Moses ben Maimon. Sulamith, zweiter Jahrgang, 2. Band.

מִלְתֵּי מֹשֶׁה בֶּן מַיְמוֹן לְדִבְרֵי שֶׁנֶּחֱדָשׁוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ וְיִסְבְּרוּם וְיַבְרִיכֵם  
בְּכָל מִשְׁלָל שְׂמֵחַ לֵב אֶל אֶלֶּם לְיָדֵינוּ דְּעִסְיָא הִתְקַדְּשׁ

(Die Anmerkungen sind in deutscher Sprache. Der Text ist aus dem Arabischen uebersetzt von Ibn Tibbon.)

1811. Recension des religioesen und moralischen Lehr- und Lesebuches fuer Knaben und Maedschen von Herz-homberg. Sulamith, dritter Jahrgang, 2. Band.

1812. Teutona, eine geordnete Auswahl vorzueglicher Gedanken, aus den besten original-deutschen Schriften, zunaechst fuer gebildete Soehne und Toechter, herausgegeben von M. Fredau und S. Salberg. Leipzig 1812. 2. Auflage 1816. 3. Auflage in 2 Baenden 1824.

1813. Licht und Wahrheit, die Umbildung des israelitischen Cultus betreffend. In zwei Briefen, gewechselt zwischen drei Freunden der Wahrheit. Leipzig 1813.

1814. Lebensgeschichte des herrn Moses Philipsson, Lehrers an der juedischen haupt- und Freischule zu Dessau. Dessau 1814.

1816. Ueber die Nichtigkeit der irdischen Gueter, eine Rede. Sulamith, vierter Jahrgang, 2. Band.

Der Rangstreit. Ebenwieselbst.

Selimas Stunden der Weihe. Eine moralisch-religioese Schrift fuer Gebildete des weiblichen Geschlechts. Leipzig 1816.

1817. Charakter des Judenthums, nebst einer Beleuchtung der unlaengst gegen die Juden von Prof. Ruehs und Fries erschienenen Schriften, von J. Wolf und G. Salomon. Leipzig 1817. (2. Aufl. ebenwief.)

1818. Die Gleichnisse, eine Parabel. Sulamith, funfter Jahrgang, 1. Band.

Auswahl von Predigten, zunaechst fuer Israeliten. Dessau 1818. 6 sermons.

1819. Predigten, gehalten beim Gottesdienst in dem dazu gewidmeten Tempel zu Hamburg. Dessau 1819.

Parabeln. Leipzig 1819. 2. Gabe 1826.



תורה ודבר Hebraeisches Elementarbuch zum bessern und stufenweisen Erlernen des Hebraeischen und Rabbinischen, nebst einem vollstaendigen Wortregister von J. Wolf und G. Salomon. Dessau 1819.

Ueber den fruhen Tod edler Menschen. Predigt. Hamburg 1819.

1820. Eine Homilie. Beim Schlussgebet am Versoehungstage im neuen Temple zu Hamburg. Sulamith 6, 1. (Diese Homilie, auch Bikur Hait im 4. Jahrgang 1822 abgedruckt, ist vortrefflich ins Hebraeische uebersetzt von Nach. Perez Karasik u. d. T. תורה ודבר Wilna 1858.)

Predigten, gehalten im neuen israelitischen Temple zu Hamburg. Erste Sammlung. Hamburg 1820. 11 sermons.

Die Natur, eine Lehrerin der Wahrheit. Vier Predigten ueber die vier Jahreszeiten. Berlin 1820.

Fuehrt uns die Religion auch nicht zurueck? Predigt. Altona 1820.

Prophetengeist und Prophetenwandel. Pr. Altona 1820.

1821. Predigten, gehalten im neuen israelitischen Temple zu Hamburg. Zweite Sammlung. Hamburg 1821. 12 sermons.

Das Familienleben. Frie Predigten u. s. w. Eine Neujaergsgabe fuer fromme glaeubige Gemuether. Hamburg 1821.

Salomon und Frankel, die Erziehungsschule. Hamburg 1821.

Salomon und M. Fraenkel, kleine Schriften. Hamburg 1821.

1825. Predigten, gehalten im neuen israelitischen Tempel zu Hamburg. Dritte Sammlung. Das. 1825. 13 sermons.

Lebt in unsern wohlthaetigen Werken der rechte Geist? Predigt u. s. w. Das. 1825.

1826. G. Salomon und C. Kley, Sammlung der neuesten Predigten, gehalten im neuen israelitischen Temple zu Hamburg. I. Jahrgang in zwei Haelften 1. und 2. heft. Zweiter Jahrgang, erste Haelste in zwei Heften. Hamburg 1826 und 1827. 3 vols., 1st, 15 sermons; 2nd, 15 sermons; 3rd, 13 sermons.

1827. Mose, der Mann Gottes. Ein heiliges Lebensgemaelde in 21 Kanzelvortraegen. Hamburg 1827.

1828. Der wahrhaft Fromme stirbt nicht. Predigt zur Gedaehtnissfeier von Israel Jacobson. Altona 1828.

Nichts dazu und nichts davon, oder die drei Grundlehren des Juenthums. Predigt u. s. w. Hamburg 1828.

1829. Denkmal der Erinnerung an Moses Menuelsohn zu dessen erster Saecularfeier im September 1829 nebst einem Blicke in sein Leben. Hamburg 1829.

Licht und Segen oder: auf welchem Wege koennen Voelker wahrhaft erleuchtet und gluecklich werden? Predigt am 14. Elul 5589 (12 September 1829) in Beziehung auf den hundertjaehrigen Geburtstag des Weltweisen Moses Mendelssohn, gehalten u. s. w. Hamburg 1829.

Israels Erloesung aus Druck und Knechtschaft, oder: auf welchem Wege koennen wir zu einer wuerdigen Stellung in der buergerlichen Gesellschaft gelangen?

Predigt am Pessach. Hamburg 1829.

Festpredigten fuer alle Feiertage des Herrn, gehalten u.s.w. Hamburg 1829.  
20 sermons.

1832. Die neue Erde und der neue Himmel. Predigt am 18 October 1832. Hamburg 1832.

1833. Ueber den religioesen Gesang im alten und neuen isr. Tempel. Hamburg 1833.

1835. Briefe an Herrn Ant. Th. Hartmann, Prof. der Theologie zu Rostock, ueber die von demselben aufgeworfene Frage: Darf eine voellige Gleichstellung in staatsbuergerlichen Rechten saemmtlichen Juden schon jetzt bewilligt werden? Altona 1835.

Ant. Theod. Hartmann's neueste Schrift: Grundsaetze des orthodoxen Judenthums mit Bezug auf die Frage: Darf u.s.w. in ihrem wahren Lichte dargestellt. Zweites und letztes Sendschreiben. Ebend. 1835.

Erinnerungen an das Seebad Helgoland im Jahre 1834 in Briefen. Hamburg 1835.

Jerobeam oder die Rueckkehr des Unglaeubigen zum Glauben. Predigt am Sabbath vor Purim (15 Maerz 1835), gehalten u. s. w. Hamburg 1835.

1837. David, der Mann nach dem Herzen Gottes, also Mensch, Israelit und Koenig. Ein heil. Lebensgemaelde in 26 Kanzel vortragen. Hamburg 1837. 26 sermons.

Deutsche Volks- und Schulbibel fuer Israeliten, aus's Neue a. d. massoretischen Texte uebersetzt. Altona 1837. 2. Aufl. 1838.

1838. Bis hierher hat Gott geholfen. Eine Predigt zum Besten der durch die Donaufluthen verarmten Bewohner Pesth's, oehrstlichen und juedischen Glaubens. Altona 1838.

1839. (Allg. Zeit. d. J. 1839. S. 341). Erinnerungen gegen die in Nr. 12, 14, 18 der j. A. von M. Hess in Trier und L. Schott, Rabbiner zu Randegg, gemachten Bemerkungen zu meiner Volks- und Schulbibel von Hr. G. Salomon in Hamburg.

1840. Eliah, der hochgeseierte Prophet des Herrn, der Kaempfer fuer Licht und Wahrheit. Ein heil. Lebensgemaelde in 19 Kanzelvortragen. Hamburg 1840.

Nachruf an Meyer Israel Bresselan, unmittelbar nach der am Sabbath den 28 December gehaltenen Predigt. Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums 1840. S. 85.

1841. Die Geschichte der zwelf abgesandten Maenner (4 Mos. 13 und 14), als ein Spiegel fuer das heutige Israel. Predigt am 13 Januar 1841. Hamburg 1841.

Die Erloesung Israels aus der aegyptischen Knechtschaft, das lehrreichste Kapitel in der Weltgeschichte. Predigt am Festsachse. Hamburg 1841.

Die Einsegnung der Jugend, eine Confirmationsfeier. Predigt. Hamburg 1841.

Das neue Gebetbuch und seine Verketterung. Auszug aus einem grossern Manuscripte, als eine Schrift fuer das Volk. Hamburg 1841.

G. Salomon und J. Meier, Sammlung von Festpredigten und Casualreden. 2 Baende. Stuttgart 1841 und 1842. 11 sermons.

Die vier Denksteine an den Grenzen der Wanderschaft. Predigt. Hamburg 1841.

1842. Sendschreiben an Dr. Z. Frankel in Betreff seines im "Orient" mitgetheilten Gutachtens ueber das neue Gebetbuch der Tempelgemeinde zu Hamburg. Das. 1842.

Es ist gefaehrlich, eine Gesamtheit die Religiositaet abzuesprechen. Eine als Wort zu seiner Zeit abgehaltene Predigt. Hamburg 1842.

Gottes Stimme aus dem Feuer. Predigt nach dem grossen verheerenden Brande vom 5 bis 8 Mai 1842, am Feste der Gesetzgebung gehalten. Hamburg 1842.

Der gottgeweihte Tag und seine dreisache Bedeutung. Eine an dem von den Vaetern der Stadt angesetzten Buss-und-Bettage, am 7 Juli 1842, gehaltene Predigt. Hamburg 1842.

Salomon und Frankfurter, Reden bei der am 18 October 1842 stattgehabten Grundsteinlegung zum neuen israelitischen Tempel zu Hamburg. Das. 1842.

1843. Bruno Bauer und seine gehaltlose Kritik ueber die Judenfrage. Hamburg 1843.

Das verklaerte Bild der Freiheit. Predigt. Hamburg 1843.

Salomon und Frankfurter, Festpredigten zur Jubelfeier des 25jaehrigen Bestehens des neuen israelitischen Tempels zu Hamburg. Das. 1843.

Das Denk- und Dankfest, eine zur Erinnerung an Hamburgs grossen Brand gehaltene und auf Verlangen in Druck gegebene Predigt. Hamburg 1843.

1844. Salomon und Frankfurter, die letzte und die erste Predigt beim Scheiden aus dem alten Temple u.s.w. Hamb. 1844.

Die Herrlichkeit des zweiten Tempels (Haggai 2, 9). Eine bei der Einweihung des neuerbauten israelitischen Gotteshauses am 5. Septbr. 1844 gehaltene Predigt. Hamburg 1844.

Kurzgefasste Geschichte des neuen israelitischen Tempels zu Hamburg waehrend seines 25jaegrigen Bestehens nebst Anmerkungen und Beilagen. Hamburg 1844.

Das blaue Buechlein. Eine Weihnachtsgabe fuer gebildete und fromme Christen, von Gottfried Siegesmund. Hamburg 1844.

1845. Die Rabbiner-Versammlung und ihre Tendenz. Fuer ihre Freunde und Feinde. Hamburg 1844.

Stimmen aus Osten. Eine Sammlung von Reden u. Betrachtungen maurerischen Inhalts. Manuscript fuer Brueder. Hamb. 1845.

1846. Der Berg des Herrn. Kanzelvortraege ueber den Decalog. Hamburg 1846.

Die Entweihung des goettlichen Namens durch Wort und That. Eine ernstes Wort zur Beherzigung fuer Eltern und Erzieher, gesprochen am 12 September 1846.

Die Aufgabe des heutigen Israeliten. Predigt, gehalten zu Breslau 1846.

Licht auf dem dunkeln Lebenswege. Predigt. Hamb. 1846.

1847. Zwei Kanzelvortraege bei der am 23 und 24 April 1847 begangenen Einweihungsfeier der renovirten Synagogue in Streslitz. Neu-Strelitz 1847.

Der Blick in das gelobte Land. Predigt. Hamburg 1847.

1849. Denkmal, einem wackern und gediegenen Schulmann gewidmet (Maimon Fraenkel). Lit. Bl. d. Orients 1849. c. 481-86.

1852. Der Herbst, Priester im Tempel der Natur. Predigt. Hamburg 1852.

1855. וְיָרֵד הַסִּיחַ מִן הַקֶּדֶשׁ. Festpredigten fuer alle Feiertage des Herrn. Hamburg 1855. 25 sermons.

1857. Allgemeines Wohlwollen und Familienliebe. Die letzte Predigt am letzten Tage des Passahfestes, den 16 April 1857. Hamburg 1857.

Es ist ausserdem noch anzufuehren: "Selbst-Biographie von Gotthold Salomon". Hamburg 1863.

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The above list is taken from "Biographische Skizzen", by Phoebus Philippson, volume III, published in 1866, at Leipzig.

To this list may be added the following items, which are culled from "Bibliothek juedischer Kanzelredner", von Dr. M. Meyersling, Rabbiner, published in 1870, at Berlin:

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Das Familienleben. Drei Predigten, gehalten im neuen isr. Tempel zu Hamburg. Eine Neujahrsgabe fuer fromme glaeubige Gemuether. Hamburg 1821.

Die Sittliche Stimmung. Eine Predigt, gehalten am zweiten Tage des Passahfestes (am 18 April 1821). Altona, 1821.

Predigt am Gedaechnisstage der Zerstoeerung Jerusalems (den 28 Juli 1822). Hamburg 1822.

Die Queellen der Verblendung bei den Vorfahren und uns. Eine Wort der Beherzigung, Gesprochen am Gedaechnisstage der Zerstoeerung Jerusalems im Jahredeer Welt 5585 (24 Juli 1825). Hamburg.

Mose und Jethro. Predigt. Jahrbuch fuer Israeliten II, 122 ff. (Wien 1843).

Amalek oder der Kampf des Boesen mit dem Guten. Predigt in J. Heinemann's All. Archiv des Judenthums (Jedidia, n. Folge), I. 222 ff. (Berlin 1842).

Betrachtung eines Wanderers am Ende der Laufbahn eines Vierteljahrhunderts. Predigt zu 25 jaehrigen Jubelfeier des neuen israelitischen Tempelvereines, am 18 Oktober gehalten und auf Verlangen dem Druck Uebergeben. Hamburg 1843.

Der Segen der Armuth. Predigt. Jahrbuch fuer Israeliten III, 123 ff. (Wien 1844).

Ruf des Herrn in der Zeit. Predigt. Gehalten am 25 Mai 1848. Hamburg 1848.

Der Neue Himmel und die neue Erde, oder die buergerliche Gleichstellung der Juden in Hamburg. Eine am 17 februar 1849 bei dem Sabbath Gottesdienste gehaltene Predigt, Hamburg 1849.

The Three Elements of Israel's Welfare. London 1851.

(Eine am Sabbath דבר דבר 12 August 1851, in der West Londoner Synagoge in London gehaltene und H. J. Montefiore und E. Mocatta gewidmete Predigt.)

## NOTES

1. "Ben Chanya" Szegedin, December 12, 1862, vol. 48.
2. "Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums, December 1862.
3. Hebraeischer Bibliography, vol. 6, p. 17.
4. Maybaum's Juedische Homiletic, p. 18.
5. Graetz, History of the Jews, pp. 564-565.
6. Fest Schrift zum Hunderjaehrigen Bestehen des Israelitischen Tempel in Hamburg, published in 1843, by Rabbiner Doctore Leindoerfer.
7. The Jewish Reform Movement Historically Considered, Gotthard Deutsch, H. U.C. Monthly, March-April, 1920.
8. The Reform Movement in Judaism, p. 9.
9. History of the Jews, vol. 5, p. 363.
10. Ibid, p. 566.
11. Ibid.
12. תעודות הרעפאצאצין, ה'ת"ר, ב'ש"ת, ח'ס"ט
13. This opinion, by the way, has permeated the entire structure of Orthodox Judaism, and to this day the cry is still heard in Orthodox and Conservative ranks that Reform is but a step towards Unitarianism and Christianity.
14. נפתי ה'רץ וינל
15. A History of the Jewish People, Margolis and Marx, p. 598.
16. The Reform Movement in Judaism, David Phillipson, p. 18.
17. Ibid, p. 19.
- 17a Berenfeld, p. 61.
18. Ibid, p.77.
19. Phillipson, p. 36.
- 19a Predigten, vol. 1, Introduction, pp. xi-xii.
20. Berenfeld. pp. 85-6.

21. Ibid, p. 85.

22. Some weeping over the וְהָיוּ מְבַכְּיִים, some uttering phrases disjointedly, so that they were in reality saying blasphemies; as, for example, וְהָיוּ מְבַכְּיִים - וְהָיוּ מְבַכְּיִים.

23. Festschrift zum hunderjashrigen Bestehen des Israelitischen Tempel in Hamburg, 1818, bei Rabbiner Dr. Leimdoerfer.

24. Ibid.

25. It was during this time that Salomon was training himself for the great future which was in store for him. He even made one trip to Berlin where he delivered a sermon at the services of the very same Israel Jacobson before the government closed down on him. And perhaps that one sermon contributed as much as anything else to the fact that he was later called to the pulpit in the newly-erected Temple at Hamburg.

26. Ibid, p. 10.

27. According to letters which have been preserved, Zunz was one of the applicants for the position of preacher of the Hamburg Temple. In a letter dated June 12, 1818, he asks for a salary of 1300 Mark a year. And though he objected giving a trial sermon, yet he promised to come to Hamburg to treat <sup>with the Congregation</sup> personally. During the next six weeks something must have happened to change his mind, for in a letter dated July 28, 1818, he announced his withdrawal from the field as a candidate, because he feels that the aspirant--seemingly Salomon--is worthy of the appointment. In that letter Zunz says that he is still young and wishes to pursue his philosophical studies. Furthermore, he knows that there are many other applicants, and he feels the uncertainty of his election. But not out of fear does he withdraw, nor because of lack of self-confidence, but out of friendship for the other contestant. The congregation must have

thought a great deal of him, for he was finally persuaded to come for a Sabbath. (Festschrift)

29. It was an Anglo-Saxon custom of calling oneself by the first name; so he retained it as a family name. And since the Bible speaks of Solomon, the son of David, also as □□□□□, he added that as a surname; perhaps, also moved by the appeal of Lessing's first name, and thus we have Gotthold Salomon.
30. In his autobiography, he states that his religious training, contrary to Rousseau's theory, was of greatest soothing and healing influence and comfort. He always had the thought of some additional being who provided for him and for his providers. This thought imprinted itself deeply on his child-mind and upon his heart, and did more good than harm, because he always felt duty bound to do good. It influenced the thought and the play of the child, giving him an intense religious disposition.
31. When he was later, as a young lad, studying away from home, the desire seized him to study medicine, but <sup>as</sup> a room five-by-six in dimension was his high school, and his college, He quickly gave up the idea of the moment and continued his private studies. (Autobiography, p. 12)
32. He read and digested Neimyer's "Foundations of Pedagogy and Instruction"; Rousseau's "Emil"; Jean Paul's "Levana"; and, no doubt, other books of a similar nature, because he decided that the future of Judaism lay in the school and in the pulpit, and he wanted to learn how to teach and to preach. (Autobiography pp. 15 and 23)
33. In spite of the dogmatic difference, Salomon combined the qualities of both. Harms had a simple style, with an emotional appeal, mild, tender, lucid, naive, easy flowing. Draeske, on the other hand, had an analytical style, defining



the text in masterly manner; witty and powerful, but with an appeal to the mind.

34. Festpredigten, Introduction, p. ~~X~~. *see Introduction*

35. Biographische Skizzen, p. 110.

36. A complete list of all his works is appended hereto.

37. Of the 417 songs listed in that Hymnal, 95 were composed by Gotthold Salomon.

38. Festpredigten, Introduction.

39. A special chapter is devoted here to a study of his endeavors in that field.

<sup>39a. Festschrift - Testimonies</sup>  
<sup>39b. "Die Erziehung der Jugend". Supplement to "Bruders Hymnen"</sup>  
 40. Philippson's Biographische Skizzen, pp. 183-5.

41. Ibid.

42. A little girl of his died in infancy and he never tired of referring to her memory in the tenderest terms.

43. Article in "Die Neue Zeit, weekly magazine, published in Vienna, Dec. 26, 1862.

44. Biographische Skizzen, pp. 225-226.

45. Here, as elsewhere, he shows his lack of historical knowledge; due, perhaps, to lack of university training; or else he <sup>deliberately</sup> ~~merely~~ overlooks the fact that the *מסכתא* and *תלמוד* functioned in that manner.

46. He was accused of preaching "pa-re-veh sermons" which had no Jewish flavors, were too universalistic, and dealt too much with general ethical questions.

47. His frequent reference to "Oriental" characteristics is one of the few weaknesses he had, and perhaps the weakest link in the entire chain of factors which justified the Jewish Reform Movement. In their great anxiety to obey the will of the Royal Edict of Emperor Joseph II, 1788 (for the Jews to divest themselves of such of their laws and customs as ran counter to the Imperial legislation), and in order to prove that they were thoroughly German they spoke of everything characteristically Jewish as being Oriental.

- 48a. Predigten, by Kley und Salomon, vol. I, p. 141.  
 49. *דבר יי, 97, 102  
ע, 97, תענית*  
 50. Predigten, vol. III, p. 89, 1825.  
 51. David als Mensch, Israelite und Koenig, 1837, pp. 127-8.  
 52. Ibid, p. 127.  
 53. Festpredigten, p. 285.  
 54. Ibid, p. 338.  
 55. Yerushalmi Sota, Oh. 5, Mishna 5; page 25a, Pietrokov edition.  
 56. Moses, the man of God, p. 284.  
 57. Berg des Herrn, p. 165.  
 57a. Predigten, Kley und Salomon, vol. 3, p. 14.  
 58. Ibid, vol. 1, p. 169.  
 59. Berg des Herrn, p. 50.  
 60. *ש קודם 77*, p. 337.  
 61. Predigten, vol. 3, pp. 8-10.

62. Ibid, vol. 2, pp. 70-71.
63. His universalistic interpretations of Biblical and Walmudic material will be treated under "His Contribution to Reform".
64. Ibid, Introduction p. xii.
65. Berg des Herrn, p. 165.
66. Festpredigten, p. 252.
67. Moses, the man of God, pp. 25-26.
68. Predigten, vol. 1, p. 167.
69. Festpredigten, p. 203.
70. Ibid, Introduction, p. xii.
71. Berg des Herrn, p. 169.
72. Festpredigten, p. 213.
73. Berg des Herrn, p. 154.
74. Festpredigten, p. 235.
75. Moses, the man of God, p. 24.
76. Festpredigten, p. 248.
77. Predigten, vol. 2, p. 123.
78. Festpredigten, introduction, p. xii.
79. Predigten, vol. 3, p. 15.
80. David, the Man after God's Own Heart, p. 125.
81. Ibid, 127.
82. Moses, the man of God. p. 26.
83. Predigten, vol. 1, p. 166.
84. Festpredigten, p. 251.
85. Ibid, pp. 40-42.
86. Ibid, p. 38.

87. Ibid, p. 248.
88. Predigten, vol. 1, p. 165.
89. Ibid, vol. 3, pp. 80-91.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid, p. 86.
92. Berg des Herrn, p. 170.
93. David, the Man after God's Own Heart, p. 122.
94. Predigten, vol. 3, p. 15.
95. Ibid, vol. 2, p. 71.
96. Ibid, vol. 1, p. 166.
97. David, the Man after God's Own Heart, pp. 338-9.
98. Berg des Herrn, p. 168.
99. Predigten, vol. 2, p. 166.
100. Ibid, p. 167.
101. Berg des Herrn, p. 162.
102. Ibid, p. 163.
103. ~~Predigten, vol. 3, p. 100~~ Ibid, p. 172.
104. Predigten, vol. 3, p. 100.
105. Festpredigten, p. 340.
106. Predigten, vol. 2, p. 67; also vol. 3, p. 1.
107. Ibid, p. 3.
108. Festpredigten, p. 3.
109. Ibid, p. 67.
110. David, p. 123.
111. Ibid.
112. Berg des Herrn, p. 167.
113. Ibid.

114. Biographische Skizzen, p. 112.
115. Predigten, vol. 2, p. 70.
116. Festpredigten, p. 8.
117. Predigten, vol. 3, pp. 32-3.
118. Ibid, vol. 1, p. 170.
119. Ibid, p. 165.
120. Berg des Herrn, p. 149.
121. Festpredigten, p. 48.
122. Predigten, vol. 3, p. 96.
123. Ibid, vol. 1, p. 170.
124. Berg des Herrn, pp. 152-3.
125. Ibid, p. 127.
126. Festpredigten, p. 343.
127. שְׁמֵי קַדְשֵׁי ה' בְּקִרְבָּנוֹ, p. 180.
128. Festpredigten, p. 240-1.
129. Berg des Herrn, p. 126.
130. Predigten, p. 1 ff.
131. Ibid, vol. 1, p. 171.
132. Ibid, vol. 2, p. 155.
133. Ibid, vol. 2, p. 160.
134. Ibid, p. 167.
135. Ibid.
136. Ibid, p. 168.
137. Moses, the Man of God, p. 281 ff.
138. Festpredigten, introduction p. xlii.
139. Berg des Herrn, p. 136.

140. Ibid, p. 165.

141. Ibid, p. 172.

142. *שָׁרָא וְאַרְבָּעָה עָרָה*, p. 21.

143. Ibid, p. 127.

144. Ibid, p. 165.

145. Ibid, p. 125.

146. Berg des Herrn, p. 166.

147. Ibid.

148. Ibid, p. 169.

149. Here, Salomon makes an astonishing assertion. He claims that the word,

*רְשָׁעִים* is perhaps synonymous with the Latin "Sindones", and says that the Biblical injunction against the wearing of garments having a mixture of wool and flax, was intended as a provision to perpetuate simplicity in dress; for "Sindones" in ancient times referred to an elaborate, luxurious garment made just that way, its noble and distinguishing value being due to the fact that it had a mixture of wool and flax.

150. Festpredigten, pp. 205 ff.

151. Ibid, p. 255.

152. Here, Salomon gives his reference, something which he neglects to do the other time he used it; this may be offered as proof that he was a good sermonizer, but not a meticulous scholar.

153. Festpredigten, pp. 330 ff.

154. Ibid, p. 340.

155. Berg des Herrn, p. 33.

156. Ibid, p. 39.

157. Ibid, pp. 45-49.

158. Ibid, p. 50.
159. Margolis and Marx, p. 663.
160. Biographische Skizzen, vol. 3, p. 134.
161. Salomon does not explain what he is referring to, but the reader who is interested will find that Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, 11:17, calls them the "Wild olive branch which was 'grafted' upon the olive tree." This proves Salomon's familiarity with New Testament literature.
162. Biographische Skizzen, vol. 3, chap. 2.
163. Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentum, Berlin, April 1894, pp. 188 ff. and pp. 197 ff.
164. Perhaps, they reason by analogy, by "kal vo chomer"; if I, who spent so many years attending lectures--or sleeping in the Beth Hamidrash--know so little, how much less can a man know who has never been inside either of these two institutions?
165. Predigten, vol. 1, p. 126.
166. A comparison of the photograph of the New Hamburg Temple brings out the interesting fact that the builders of the Plum Street Temple in Cincinnati must have had the Hamburg Temple as a model, for the resemblance is striking, especially the interior with the appearance of the ark, the quaint pillars, even the Chanueliers seem to have been copied; cf. The Festschrift, 1918.
167. Israelite, January 30, 1863.
168. "Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben"  
Dr. Abraham Geiger, Breslau, 1863, pp. 125ff.

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