

A STUDY OF THE LIFE AND WORK OF  
SOLOMON MUNK  
IN RELATIONSHIP WITH CONTEMPORARY JUDAISM

BY

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## Foreword

The purpose of this paper is <sup>finally</sup> to study the life of Munk, supplementing what has already been done on the subject. An effort has been made to evaluate Munk's contribution to the development of modern scholarship as it stands today.

Secondly, to situate his career in contemporary Judaism, and thereby to gather in form accessible to me material to which may be of value to my own study of Joseph Salvador in his relationship to Jewish thought of the day.

Thirdly, it is hoped that out of all this material, a short article can be written in order at least to keep alive the memory of one of the noblest figures in Jewish scholarship, and, and to learn from his attitude towards life what lessons may be learned by us today.

This paper contains a good deal of material on what may seem relatively unimportant points, and much that is apparently without the inner connexion, especially in the section dealing with French Judaism in general. It is acknowledged that this material is only here for a purpose, namely to help the author in his mental processes in his research. He does not intend to quote it.

## Abbreviations

C I S	<u>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</u>
G G A	<u>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</u>
J A	<u>Journal Asiatique</u>
J E	<u>Jewish Encyclopedia</u>
R E J	<u>Revue des Etudes Juives</u>
Z D M G	<u>Zeitschrift für der Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.</u>

## INTRODUCTION

The main source for Munk's life is his biography by M. Schwab. Salomon Munk Paris 1900, p. 236. The author was Munk's secretary. There is a bibliography of Munk's works

(1) R.E.J. 41 (1900) p. 289.

(p. 229-233) in chronological order, which contains a few errors noted in this paper.

The notice in Morais Eminent Israelites of the Nineteenth Century, Philadelphia 1880, 247-252, is less inaccurate than most of the biographies in that book, but of course can scarcely be read for real information. The notice in J.E. IX 110-111 (1905) by M. Schwab is of course much better, as is the biography in S. Wininger, Grosse Judische National Biographie IV, 471-473. We need only refer to the short account of Munk's life in Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, vol. II (1858) Paris 1859 p. 392-396 (with a bibliography of his works p. 395-396). This biography the work of E. Desjardins, the secretary of the Academy, is apparently based entirely on an article by M. F. de Sauley in the Courrier de Paris, 16 fev. 1858.

There is a biography of Munk in the Sefer Anshe shem of Jonathan Eibenschuetz, Lyck, 1879 p. 31-43. An excellent appreciation is found in Leopold Low, Gesammelte Schriften II 1890 p. 463-461 (reprinted from Ben Chananja X, 1867, 105-112).<sup>1</sup>

(1) These two biographies are not listed by Schwab.

An article by M. Schwab, Nécrologie, Salomon Munk Archives israelites 28 (1867) p. 154<sup>1</sup> gives extracts of the speeches made by Albert Cohn, M. de Longpérier, Ad. Franck

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giving biographical details, by them, and by Moise Schwab his secretary. The discourse made by the grand rabbi Isidore is given in Archives israelites 28 (1867) p. 224-229. The Discours prononcés sur la tombe de Salomon Munk par M. de Longpérier, Ad. Franck, M. Isidor Albert Cohn, were published in Paris (1867) p. 29.

In the Rapport sur les études sémitiques en France de 1840 a 1866 Paris 1867, begun by Munk, and finally edited by E. Renan we find, under the pen of the latter, a good appreciation of Munk's work. See the quotations in Archives israelites, 29 (1868) p. 648-655.

Under the title Oeuvres posthumes de M. Munk (somewhat bogged by the printer) Archives israelites 28 (1867) p. 1125-1128 reproduced the biography of Munk by Mohl in the Rapport Annuel to the Société Asiatique, with a few corrections by M. Schwab.

A. Brann wrote Aus Salomon Munk's nachgelassenen Briefen, Jahrbuch für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, 1899 p. 148-203. After a short outline of Munk's life comes a selection of 44 letters.

Among the addresses delivered after Munk's death special reference should be made to A. Jellinek, Gedächtnisrede auf den verewigten Herrn Salomon Munk, Wien 1867 p. 16.

A pithy appreciation of Munk on the occasion of the centenary of his birth is found in the Maccabean for 1902.<sup>1</sup> While from a human standpoint, this is unsurpassed, there are some inaccuracies.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) George Alexander Kohut, Solomon Munk (April 29, 1802 - Feb. 6, 1867) An appreciation, the Maccabean, vol. II 187-191
- (2) A list of 22 biographical notices is given by Schwab, op. cit. p. 186-188.

MUNK'S EARLY LIFE

Solomon Munk was born on May 14, 1803 at Gross-Glogau in Silesia.

- (1) The date of 1805 and still maintained by Morais op.Cit.p. 248, given by his birth certificate, may be explained by carelessness, as it is by his biographer M. Schwab. Salomon Munk, sa vie et ses oeuvres, Paris 1900, or else the discrepancy may be due to custom. In the biography of Munk based on M. de Sauley's article in Courrier de Paris, 16 fev. 1858, it is said that he was born in 1805 and not in 1807 as was said by the Dictionnaire des Contemporains. We find the same date of 1805 in Munk's obituary in 8 N 2 (1867) p. 48 c. The date of 1802 is given by G.A. Kohut and by J. Eybenschultz Sefer anshe shen p.32. The same date is given by Leopold Löw, Gesammelte Schriften II (1890) p. 454.

As a small boy, he received a good talmudic education, and proceeded to Berlin, and later to Bonn, when his desire to enter the rabbinate gave way before a thirst for research in the field of Semitics.

Munk found out very soon that there was no hope of being appointed to any professorship, even the poorest kind of chair, if he refused to submit to baptism. In those days, Prussian antisemitism was still Christian, and not the sadistic rabies it became recently. Munk did not even take his degree of Ph.D. at Bonn. In a letter to his sister, written in June 9, 1833, he tells her why: "In no case would I accept your advice to receive the title of doctor. Not only would I have reproached myself for accepting outside help for that purpose, but even, had I more than I need, I would rather use that money in any convenient way, rather than in buying a scrap of paper, as long as this title would lead me nowhere. Besides, what is the value of a title, which can be bought for a certain quantity of gold coins in some German Universities, and which

many ignoramus turn into an ornament? The spirit found among German professors is too hateful to me, and too despicable, that I care to own a diploma that they will grant to me, a Jew, only because they will earn a few gold coins. Let them keep their diploma. As long as the situation of our fellow Jews has not changed in Germany, I renounce it. I consider any Jew who tries to acquire this title as a madman, who sacrifices his dignity to his vanity".<sup>2</sup>

- (2) M. Schwab. Op. Cit. p. 21. "How truer was this attitude of Munk than that for instance of Hess who tried to believe that Fichte's attack on the Jews in the Kreuzzeitung and the similar attack by an anonymous author The Jews and the German State were productions with which 'the German public has little sympathy'." (M. Hess: Rome and Jerusalem, p. 265) Tragic events such as history never witnessed before have demonstrated that Germany is the most dreadful embodiment of antisemitism. Hess should not perhaps be singled out here, as he was not really blind to German characteristics.

Solomon Munk was now in Paris. He had arrived there in 1828. He had continued under Silvestre de Sacy the Arabic begun in Bonn under Freytag. He read Sanskrit under Chezy.<sup>3</sup> (He had begun it as Bonn also with Lassen). He also read Persian with Quatremère. In order to support himself, he continued to give private lessons. He had as pupils the two young boys who became Barons Alphonse and Gustave de Rothschild, and thus began lasting friendships which came in good use later. In 1831, we find him living in most congenial and refined surroundings, with Michel Beer<sup>4</sup> the poet who fondly hoped to find time for real study with him. There he became acquainted with his mother, Amelie Beer, a remarkable woman,<sup>5</sup> Meyerbeer, and Wilhelm Beer, the two brothers of Michel.

<sup>3</sup> The chair of Sanskrit at the College de France was founded for Chezy in 1814. JA vol. 229 (1937) p 275.

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4) Unhappily he died in 1833, being only 33 years old. In his will he left 4,000 francs to Munk. Munk refused the legacy.

5) She was the widow of the great Jewish banker Jakob Beer at whose house Israel Jacobson had begun Reform services. Cf. M. Bloch. La mère de Meyerbeer. Univers Israélite, Année 51 (1926) p. 507-509, 608-609, 694-696, 828-830, II 20-22.

Munk saw the birth of a more hopeful regime for liberals in France. And so, in November 1832, we find him writing to Girod de l'Ain, minister of Education, asking for a position in the Royal Library (now Bibliothèque Nationale). In his application, he describes the need of a cataloguer of the large collection of Oriental Manuscripts, which had been badly listed and only in part. 6 He emphasized in

(6) While in Berlin, Munk had made a Catalogue of the Hebrew MS in the Library. This contribution was not acknowledged in the preface of the printed catalogue.

his petition the importance of the Syriac Manuscripts for the History of Science and Philosophy, and the value of Hebrew translations of Arabic philosophers.

In the meantime, Munk added to his income, by doing some literary tasks which others might have considered as pot-boilers, but which he handled with the same accuracy and industry, as if they had been productions submitted to University professors and specialists. For instance, he contributed articles to the Dictionnaire de la conversation, to the Encyclopédie des gens du monde, to l'Encyclopédie Nouvelle, edited by Pierre Leroux and Jean Reynaud. In this publication, we find articles on Alfarabi, Algazali, Alkendi (Alkindi) Arabia (in part) Averrhoes, Avicenna, which he need only <sup>needed</sup> enlarge to



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later to republish them in the Dictionnaire des Sciences philosophiques. He contributed articles on the geography of the Orient to Hertha, a geographical magazine. In the rather desultory Dictionnaire de la Conversation, only the article Cabale is signed by him. We may note that it was good enough to be used later as the foundation of what he later wrote on Kabbala in his Palestine. It seems that the news that her son wrote on Kabbala, reached Gross-Glogau in a somewhat distorted form, so that Munk's mother was concerned about her son losing himself in a subject akin to magic. He wrote to her in 1833 to assure her that there was no fear of his becoming a Baal Shem.

More valuable is some of Munk's work on Cahen's French Bible. This pioneer work is indeed superior to ~~its~~ fame. Samuel Cahen saw the value of Munk who did not always agree with him. In 1832 Munk contribute to the second volume of Cahen's Bible an Examen de plusieurs critiques du premier volume de la Bible S. Cahen, in 20 pages. No less a critic than Renan, with whom Munk had not so very much in common, said later of that work of a young man, that "it should not go unnoticed,<sup>1</sup> as a statement of the modern point of view, or rather what both he and Renan meant "rationalist". Munk tried to avoid both extremes of incredulity and superstition.

The following year 1833, he contributed to the fourth

- (1) Journal des débats, 8 déc. 1858, quoted by Schwab p. 36.

volume of Cahen's Bible Réflexions sur le culte des anciens hébreux dans ses rapports avec les cultes de l'antiquité, pour

servir d'introduction au Lévitique et a plusieurs chapitres des Nombres (p. 56). The fruit of his Sanskrit studies showed itself also in the same volume where he published Lois de Manou, livre V, traduit littéralement du sanscrit avec notes (p. 57-78). And finally, like a harbinger of a great work to come we find on p. 79-89 Deux chapitres de la troisième partie de la Direction des égarés, par le Reis de la Nation Israélite, Mousa ben Maimoun de Cordoue. We may just note here the rendering Direction for Moreh which is rather striking, but more especially the glorious title given to Maimonides.

May we not find here the keynote of what was and remained Munk's characteristics. He was indeed on the line of the great Jewish scholars and philosophers, religious without religiosity, faithful without narrowness to what he had inherited from his parents and was part of his spiritual ancestry. He was enough of a Jew to be a poor German; and therefore to become easily a good Frenchman when he found his feet standing on a land of freedom and fair equality.

He never abandoned the essential lines of Judaism and life. A letter from him to his sister dated Dec. 4, 1858, which was a Saturday, has with the date the word Abends.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Jahrbuch für Jüdische Geschichte II p. 202. This is the letter informing her of his election to the French Academy which had taken place on the preceding day in the late afternoon. He wired it at once on Friday before sunset.

On the Sabbath he dispensed with a secretary. When he became a member of the French Academy, and Friday was on a high day Munk managed to arrive at the Academy after the members had signed their names in the register so that he did not have to write his name. For all this he was respected because his religion was not a matter of showing off, but of

quiet and discreet obedience to a custom respectable and respected among tolerant people.

During the cholera epidemic of 1832, the Paris Consistory allowed eating rice, peas, lentils and dry vegetables and urged not eating too many Matzoth during the Passover period.<sup>1</sup> The very pious protested against this laxity. In 1837 (in Régénération) Dr. Creizenach asks that during Passover permission be granted by the Central Consistory to eat peas, beans, lentils, millet and rice, and that without taking precautions against acid fermentation.<sup>2</sup> The fearless Tsarphati took up the subject again in an article O. Terquem, Prescriptions pascals (Archives israélites 8, 1847, 318-326) with a note by himself signed S p. 323-324.

(1) A. Brann op. cit. p. 170. M. Schwab, Salomon Munk p. 39.

(2) Régénération II (1837) p. 45.

In 1833, Munk writes to his brother-in-law about oppression of the Jews in Posen. "It is below the dignity of Jews to continue to defend their rights through the press, all the more so since their adversaries may not be reached by any human feeling. All we can do is to look at our oppressors with the deepest scorn, and to withstand oppression in submission, as our medieval ancestors, until it please Providence to assist us in our right, one way or the other.<sup>1</sup> Evidently in the papers published here one may blame the

(1) Paris

shameful conduct of our rulers, and it is done sometimes, but it is of no consequence. The scorn with which such low attitude is regarded here by all needs no strengthening".<sup>2</sup>

(2) Schwab, p. 57.

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Although so far he had found no permanent position, he constantly set forth the difference between Prussia and France. There, he had been plainly told by Altenstein: "The Ministry informs you that, as long as you belong to the mosaic confession, there is no ground for assisting you in extending your scientific education".<sup>1</sup>

(1) Schwab, p. 59.

Here when he had applied to the Duke de Broglie, minister of Foreign Affairs, for a position of translator of oriental languages which did not exist but might be created, the following answer was sent by the Minister:

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Sir, M. Aniston let me have your request etc. The present staff of translators has no vacancy in my department. It is with the deepest regret that I find it impossible to offer you a chance to utilize the knowledge you have acquired in the study of oriental languages. However if a favorable circumstance presented itself, I would do my utmost in your favor. The recommendation of M. Aniston are a guarantee that nowhere could I find one better deserving confidence.

(2) A former member of the Chamber of Deputies.

The only way to reach the goal was hard work and perseverance. To Munk's credit it must be said that he never doubted. He knew the French could be polite. He also knew by this time that they were not always polite. Success in Paris, in a narrow field, might be slow in coming, but somehow it was bound to happen.

We already noted that Maimonides decidedly takes a large place in Munk's horizon. He already knows that Maimondes is not quite orthodox, and there Munk is right against Franck. There is no need to suppose that Munk was greatly influenced here by the third Moses, Moses Mendelssohn, whom he greatly admired. Munk knows the subject first hand.

He studies it thoroughly. Aristotle being constantly quoted and argued against in the Moreh, Munk decides to study Aristotle. He had been asked to write about him in the Encyclopédie pittoresque. But the article was probably too good for a pot boiler and so it was turned down by the editors, on the ground that it was not in accordance with "the philosophical outlook" of that publication. Munk offered it to La France Littéraire where it was printed in November 1834 (p. 73-119).

Munk perseveres. In scientific periodicals such as the Journal Asiatique with a French translation of the Maqamat of Hariri. In more popular settings: De la poésie hébraïque

(1) 1834 N.S. t. XIV p. 540-69.

après la Bible (Chaldaic and persian influence) Temps Dec. 27 1834. Arabic influence, Temps 19 Jan. 1835. In the same journal he writes on De la poésie Arabe et en particulier des séances de Hariri (march 4, 1835) De la poésie persane (March 14, 1835) Littérature Orientale. Les Aventures de Kamrup par Tahoin Uddin, translated from Hindustani by Garcin de Tassy, April 20 and 21 1835, Poésie Orientale, fragment d'un roman persan de Djami, July 2 and 10, 1835. Fragments de littérature sanscrite, Jan. 24 and 26 1836. Persan Literature Takhlis al-Ibriz fi telkhis Paris, Feb. 14, 1836 (Purification de l'or pour la description succinte de Paris, by Refaa Rafi al Tahlawi).

There we find important book reviews Essai sur la philosophie des Indous par Colebrooke, translated into French by J. Paulthier, Aug. 9, 26, Sept. 10, 1836. Des Rapports de la philosophie des Grecs avec celle des Hindous (7 Oct. 1836) La Bible de M. Cahen, May 19, Oct. 1 1836. Rapport sur la Vie de Jésus by Strauss, Oct. 5, 1836. A review of les Oeuvres de Wali by Garcin de Tassy, Dec. 8, 1836, Histoire de la philosophie

by H. Ritter, translated by Tissot, April 1 and Aug. 8 1837.  
 A review of Exposé de la Religion des Druzes by S. de Sacy,  
 March 2, 1838. Shall we also refer to Sri Mahabharatam, Dec. 26  
 1836, and Mahabbarata, Feb. 3, 1838. We have here not a  
 dilettante spreading himself in disconnected fields but a  
 philological and philosophical craftsman ploughing his way  
 through, and conquering the esteem of a most critical world.  
 It was through Meyerbeer that Munk had entered the Temps.  
 He soon hoped that his literary labors there (we would not  
 care to say journalistic) would allow him to live without  
 giving private lessons (1835). He realized that the position  
 he hoped to have in the Royal Library would come by way of the  
Temps, although he was not naturalized.

But even though Munk writes on many subjects in the  
 fields he has mastered, somehow Maimonides remains a focus.  
 In 1838 we find that in Cahen's Bible vol. IX he writes a  
Notice sur R. Saadia Gaon et sur une Version persane d'Isaie,  
manuscrit de la Bibliothèque royale, suivie d'un extrait du  
livre Dalalat al Hayirin,<sup>1</sup> en arabe et en français sur les  
métaphores employées par Isaie et par quelques autres prophètes.  
 (p. 112). On the same subject<sup>2</sup> cf. Journal Asiatique, 1839  
 IIe Série t. VII, p. 179 t. VIII p. 91. Shortly afterwards  
 he writes on Saadia Alfajumi in Jost's Israelitische Annalen  
 1839, p. 22 and 30.

(1) The notice on Saadya is used very much by L.  
 Wogue, Saadyah Verité Israelite IV (1861)  
 p. 298-300, 346-349, 376-380. The chapter  
 of the Moreh given here is 29th of the second  
 part.

(2) A more developed study of arabic and persian  
 documents.

It was rather fortunate that Munk was so interested

in Arabic literature and philosophy and that it was precisely the Arabic text of Maimonides which attracted him. Somehow the French public, because of the memory of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt and now because of the conquest of Algiers, took (and takes) much more interest in Arabic than in Hebrew subjects. The opposite may be true in England, but France is not a country especially interested in questions related to the Bible.

II

Munk enters religious controversy

In 1836 and 1837, Simon Bloch edited in Strasbourg a periodical in French and German in parallel columns called La Régénération, Journal périodique destiné à améliorer la situation religieuse et morale des Israélites. Die Wiedergeburt, eine Zeitschrift zur Beförderung religiöser Aufklärung und moralischer Bildung. This bilingual method of publication offered the advantage of presenting to the French public articles by German Reformed Jews, although with a good deal of care in so doing. For instance, several articles manifestly Reform are signed Dr. R who is Rehfuß (from a comparison of p.76, 114, 158, 160) of Heidelberg. Thereby began a little controversy in which Munk took a part, discreetly showing where he stood. In Pesachim 112a (on X,I) we read: The rabbis taught R. Akiba charged his son with R. Joshua with seven things

מִיָּדָא דְּרַבִּי אֶלְעָזָר בֶּן אֶזְרִיָּא  
 מִיָּדָא דְּרַבִּי יוֹסֵף בֶּן אֶזְרִיָּא  
 מִיָּדָא דְּרַבִּי יוֹסֵף בֶּן אֶזְרִיָּא  
 מִיָּדָא דְּרַבִּי יוֹסֵף בֶּן אֶזְרִיָּא

Rehfuß had translated, Mache selbst deinen Sabbath zum Wochentag, nur dass du der Leute Unterstützung nicht bedarfst <sup>1</sup> The French rendering

(1) Regeneration I p.76

was ~~less~~ : Travaille le jour du Sabbath comme les autres jours de la semaine, pour que tu ne sois pas obligé d'implorer l'assistance d'autrui.

Leon Mayer Lambert, chief rabbi of Metz director of the rabbinical school in that city, then the ~~only~~ rabbinical seminary <sup>of</sup> France, protested most strongly and called his translation Machiavellian <sup>2</sup>. At once

(2) p. 127.

Rehfuß protested <sup>3</sup> and dared Lambert to give a better translation <sup>4</sup>. We

(3) p. 158-60

(4) p. 159



may also note that Rehfuss refers to the epithet of disciple of père Vol-<sup>A</sup>taire which applied to his kind by the orthodox<sup>5</sup>. We also gather from

(5) p. 127, 189

the controversy that the strange name of éclaireur<sup>6</sup> was given to the French followers of Reform, no doubt a local ~~was~~ attempt to label French adepts of Aufklärung<sup>A</sup>.

S.Bloch tried in vain to parry and to avoid the controversy in dwelling on the word lin and stressing the change of clothes, so that the Jew will put on more respectable clothing, and open his heart to nobler and pure feelings, although this purity of heart and body must not be at the cost of honor and esteem of other men. Therefore on the Sabbath it is better to make no outward change in clothes or food, rather than having to depend on help from others to do so in order not to suffer the rest of the week.<sup>7</sup>

(6) p. 159, 188  
(7) p. 128

The fiery Tsarphati (Terquem) vanguard advocate of Reform wrote at once from Paris supporting Rehfuss against Bloch, claiming that R.Aqiba meant treat the sabbath as a working day rather than becoming a beggar. Then Tsarphati asked the rabbis generally, and M. Lambert especially, three very difficult questions.

1. Is it not better to have the sabbath on another day rather than becoming a beggar

2. May a Jew teach his children a calling where sabbath and dietary laws cannot be obeyed, and for instance prepare them to be officers in the army or navy, engineers, farmers, etc.

3. Which professions opened to the Jews since the Emancipation can be taught to children without a risk of breaking the sabbath?<sup>8</sup>

(8) p. 190

S.Bloch declared that the sabbath was not transferred; there he was on<sup>9</sup>

(9) p. 191

strong ground. On question 2 and 3, he referred to the decision of the Napoleonic Sanhedrin that a Jew may train his child in any profession for the general good. Before the emancipation trading was the only possible calling that Jewish workingmen can obey the laws is proved feasible in many cases.

A collective answer to Rehfuss was drawn in a rather naive grandiloquent<sup>10</sup> style by the students of the rabbinical seminary, because the dignity of

(10) p. 192-196. After that, Dr. Rehfuss, probably hurt in his feelings, vanishes out of Regeneration

the grand rabbin did not allow him to answer a plain "teacher" like Dr. Rehfuss. They dwell on the fact that the latter's lack of knowledge of French is much to be lamented. These young people are rather sharp here, and even impolite. S. Bloch answered their letter sharply declaring that these seminarians did<sup>11</sup> not know German, which would be rather hard on their future congregations. He

(11) p. 198. the teaching of German had been banned by baron Altentzin when the rabbinical seminary had been organized under the ministry of M. de la Bourdonnaye in the reign of Charles X and preaching in German had been officially forbidden to the Jews.

quoted the rendering of this passage made by M. Marchand Ennery, grand rabbin of the Consistoire Central in Paris "que tes dépenses pour le samedi soient aussi bornées que celles des<sup>12</sup> autres jours plutôt que d'avoir recours à ton semblable. It is rather amusing

(12) p. 199

to see the epithet of jésuitiques (jesuitischen) applied by S. Bloch to the<sup>13</sup> ideas of these rabbinical students. He ends his message with a note that

(13) p. 200

demonstrates the hopelessness of reforming French judaism through the rabbis: "Your letter disappointed all the Israelites of France. For they thought that one day you would teach our world these pure principles lacking for so long, and in this pleasant illusion, they were looking forward to be happy time when you would guide their children towards to spiritual progress (perfectionnement spirituel) of the dead letter of the Law and of its interpreters. They found mighty comfort in the thought that you would return to mosaism, as befits

worthy ministers of God, its pristine purity, its true spirit, its moral power and influence, so they believed... but these beautiful hopes of theirs vanished, for you are certainly not qualified to realize these vows, and to inspire a full confidence to Society "<sup>14</sup>

(14) p. 200

We may note here that this controversy did not augur well for the success of La Regeneration. As a matter of fact, E.M. Lambert was not at all an enemy of light. It was well known that as a young man he had published in Franckfort an anonymous work called Grundlage der wahren Aufklärung, zur Nutzen derjenigen welche aufgeklärt sein wollen, ohne Anspruch auf Gelehrsamkeit zu machen. He had planned as early as 1818 a French translation of the Bible with <sup>15</sup> commentaries, and other works, but there was little response to his circulars. A sidelight on the noble character

(15) p. 229

of M. L. Lambert is found in a final letter by him on this controversy there he declares that he was not aware of the letter written by his pupils. He defends the curriculum (which apparently does not include German). He admits that the students "profess not pure mosaism, namely karaism"<sup>16</sup>. There we find a rather involved sentence, but containing a good

(16) p. 231

deal of truth. "Possibly might it not be that these students profess karaism, and even look upon this religion like our enlightened men, as a step toward the destruction of all religion "<sup>17</sup> He continues: "Natural

(17) p. 231.

religion is excellent for the angels. For men it is a wax religion that every one fashions according to the nature of his passions, and no society in the world can exist half a century with that religion. It is not enough that a religion teach us to vanquish our passions, it must also compel<sup>18</sup> us to do so. This is the great folly of our philosophers.<sup>19</sup>

(18) p. 231. S. Bloch did not quite like that.

(19) p. 231.

M. L. Lambert then declares that the sabbath is fundamental. "No<sup>20</sup> Saturday, no Israelite. not even a French Israelite."

(20) p. 232.

When the grand rabbin of Metz Aaron Worms died there were two candidates Mayer Lazard professor at the rabbinical school, for the orthodox and L.M. Lambert, representing moderate reform in worship. It was felt<sup>21</sup> locally that both candidates had about an equal chance.

(21) Regeneration I. p. 282

Lambert was appointed. (18 Jan. 1838) We do not find much evidence of mental growth in him. A sermon on Prov. 28.12 published in La Vérité israélite, 6, (1862) 784-787 is one of the poorest we ever read.

The grammatical science of chief rabbi L.M. Lambert is rather surprising. For instance, he wrote: The Hebrew language n'a pas de racine de trois lettres; elle n'a que des racines monosyllabiques. Ainsi le mot baith maison, chambre, n'a pour racine que la lettre beth, dont la forme représente un plancher, un mur, un plafond et une entrée. Il s'en est formé<sup>22</sup> le verbe boh, venir, arriver, entrer.

(22) Univers israélite 5 (1850) p. 284

Further, Le verbe calciner, et non bruler, comme on traduit<sup>23</sup> toujours, se compose de calc; la forme, la superficie en est ôtée.

(23) p. 284. we are at a loss to understand the last sentence. unless calc is also given a strange etymology from calc<sup>24</sup>  
We learn also that from calc miracle came calc

(24) p. 175, 284-285. We may say here that L.Wogue observes in this place that calc would have given a form calc

Still better: Le verbe calc a pour racine calc repos, avec transposition de lettres comme calc, calc afin de ne pas le confondre avec calc doucement.

The chief rabbi of Metz was at times a kind of unscientific semi-rationalist.<sup>25</sup>

(25) So he explained Ex. 20.20, on the basis of Ber-Rabba 55 which he took to be real lexicography when it was sermonic.

- (25) (continued) Sur l'Etymologie hebraique Univ. israelite 5  
175 - 176. See remarks by L. Wogue p. 234-238. Wogue is  
more religious and more scientific than his old teacher.  
We may see here the influence of Munk.

26

L.M. Lambert declared that belief in the angels is not compulsory,  
although he declared that their existence is certain. He takes occasion for

- (26) L'israélite n'est pas obligé de croire a l'existence des  
anges. Exposé des principes qui régissent le judaïsme.  
Univers israélite 6 (1851) p. 216.

some etymology sui generis: The word  $\text{מַלְאָךְ}$  does not mean angel. This  
root is  $\text{ל.ך.ה}$  "progresser, être en mouvement" from which was formed the  
verb  $\text{ל.ך.ה}$  to go.<sup>27</sup> The participle hiphil active is  $\text{ל.ך.ה}$  qui conduit,  
qui dirige, from which was derived  $\text{מַלְאָךְ}$  guide, conducteur (et non roi),  
comme on le traduit toujours; le substantif roi n'a pas d'équivalent en  
hébreu. Insinuant  $\text{נ}$  dans  $\text{מַלְאָךְ}$  on en a formé le substantif  $\text{מַלְאָךְ}$  un  
messager, un envoyé. Cf. p. 216.

We learn in the same article that La croyance a la vérité de la  
cabbale n'est pas obligatoire pour l'israélite.<sup>27a</sup> The note declares that the  
(27) *Really the old form goes back to old Babylonian alu to come.*  
*preserved in Hebrew מ.ל.ך.*  
Zohar "a fait la fortune littéraire de Spinoza, qu'on a fait passer pour  
un grand génie, tandis que ce n'était qu'un audacieux plagiaire. Tout le  
système prétendu philosophique de Spinoza est littéralement copié sur le  
Sohar, voilà tout, ni plus ni moins. Seulement ce que le Sohar donne comme  
figure, ce charlatan le donne comme réalité."

28

[Samuel] Dreyfus, rabbi in Mulhausen answered the question set by

- (28) So he signs. Later he is called Samuel Dreyfus. He died  
in June 1870 "Le Lien" which was shortlived. Cf. Univers  
israélite (1869-1870) p. 641.

Tsarphati. The Jews of Alsace will send their sons to military school,  
whether the rabbis like it or not. Very keenly he declares that the Sanhedrin  
had released those compelled to be soldiers from the observance of the  
sabbath, but it was not likely that France would soon need to compel young  
men to enter military school for the training of officers. An understanding

attitude of sabbath difficulties in the line of talmudic fictions was advocated with a good deal of moderation by Dr. Creizenach.

But the controversy was not over. In his letter quoted above, M.L. Lambert had made a lapsus. He had said; probably as a little joke: "The popes put the sabbath on Sunday, in order that the Christians do not celebrate this day jointly with the Jews, if these put it also on Sunday, the Holy Father would certainly not fail to put Sunday back on Saturday, and we would be continually playing collin-maillard with the Christians "

(29) p. 232.

The lapsus was of course in saying "the popes" instead of the Christians. For this the fiery Tsarphati took him to task. Not that Tsarphati

(30) p. 296-298. <sup>30</sup> The change from sabbath to Sunday <sup>among Jews</sup> was made first by Samuel Holdheim. <sup>I do not know whether</sup> Terquem was aware of that. was always infallible. In this very letter, he quotes as being John's

<sup>31</sup> the apology of Justin martyr. The argument of Tsarphati is ~~new~~ as follows:

(31) p. 297

"the Jews thrown out more and more out of civil life, had kept a day of rest different from the civil day of rest, but since 1789, we came back into civil life. This difference can no longer be maintained. We may unhappily end in celebrating no sabbath, either Saturday or Sunday, but to wish to observe both may seem possibly only to M. Lambert, a scholarly man who living out of the world, can take as his horizon the walls of his study"

(32) p. 297

He then takes up M. Lambert saying "No Saturday, no Israelite. <sup>" If so then</sup> ~~then there~~ he does not know one in Paris, and none in his family except one rabbi, who receives a thousand ecus to rest on Saturday from the labors of the week. In one of his pamphlets Tsarphati <sup>had previously also</sup> ~~was~~ advocated the change of

(33) p. 298

Saturday to Sunday. S. Bloch ably answered this proposal in his review of

(34) Huitième lettre d'un Israélite français Paris 1836 p. 23.  
Rev. by S. Bloch, Régénération p. 313-321.

35

of this pamphlet, and there we note a little hint that on 2 Kings 20 with a ~~little hint~~ <sup>remark</sup> on the deep agreement of the author of this note and Tsarphati. The change to Sunday had been set forth by Olry Terquem as early as 1821, In his Première lettre d'un Israélite français à ses coréli-gionnaires, sur l'urgente nécessité de célébrer l'office en français le jour du dimanche, à l'usage des Israélites qui ne peuvent assister à l'office asiatique <sup>36</sup> de la Veille, comme unique moyen de rendre désormais

- (35) p. 318-319  
(36) This is rather evil.

l'éducation religieuse possible en France. Paris <sup>37</sup> [1821] p. 15.

And now came an answer from Solomon Munk which strikes one as being superior to the usual run of articles in Regeneration.

- (37) p. 330-331.

It is and it is not an answer, but certainly it is scholarly and while not proving M. Lambert right in his lapsus, leaves little of Tsarphati's argumentation standing. Munk declares that it is only too true that the church has always been more intolerant than the synagogue. The Council of Laodicea forbade the observing of Saturday as a day of rest not in order to make religious legislation conform to civil law as Tsarphati <sup>38</sup> had said in his ardor to prove his thesis, but because "it is not proper

- (38) However we catch Munk napping here, for he refers to "une prétendue loi civile de Constantin", but it is well known to us.

that Christians judaize" as says Canon 29. He supports Lambert's saying which he paraphrases as follows: "No Saturday, no Israelite worship". We may quote more of Munk, for it is almost prophetic. "The day you can persuade the israelite community to abolish the sabbath, their worship shall be definitively abolished, that is to say, for the masses there will be no Jewish religion. The rational deism that you want to substitute for their religion, may fit such and such an individual under such and such surroundings, but never ~~to~~ a whole social group."

"Let us therefore abandon this rationalism which can only end in destroying in the Jewish masses all moral and religious feeling. To cut the knot does not mean solving the difficulties. Let us try to bring into our public worship useful and practical reforms. Let us foster good religion education, to make the ethical aspect of our religion predominate over external practices. As for these, let us not force opinions, let each one find rest and comfort where his intelligence and his feelings allow him to find them."

We may note here that this letter of Munk written on Nov.2,1836 was found so weighty that it was reprinted in the Univers Israelite whose editor was S. Bloch, who seems to us to have become less of a reformer. There S. Bloch declares clearly that Tsarphati is "l'inspirateur et le <sup>39</sup> vrai auteur de la Bible Cahen, sauf du mauvais français qui s'y trouve "

(39) Univers Israelite Vol.25 (1870) p. 530.

This reference to Tsarphati "de savante et paradoxale mémoire" brought <sup>40</sup> about first a reprint of the letter of Albert Cohn and that of Solomon <sup>41</sup> Munk <sup>42</sup>. In a note calls attention to Munk's cleverness in citing Tsarphati

(40) Réflexions d'un Israélite allemand sur la huitième lettre d'un Israélite français a ses collègues. Regeneration p. 346-349 reprinted Univers Israelite p.576-580, but characteristically without the title.

(41) Univ.Israel. p. 697-702.

(42) p.701.

against himself. S. Bloch adds here: "On voit par cette lettre qu'on a très mal agi, en ces derniers temps, de présenter Munk comme imbu d'idées et de principes anti-israélites" ("This proves that it was quite wrong to pretend as was done lately that Munk was filled with anti-jewish ideas and principles."

<sup>43</sup> Shortly after , S. Munk is mentioned by name as one of his collaborators in Regeneration at the head of the list, the next being S.Cahen. But

(43) p. 345



no other contribution from S.Munk appeared in this monthly although it was published one year longer.

Munk admitted into the official world of French scholarship

In spite of the <sup>in Arabic subjects</sup> larger interest the Essai d'une traduction française des séances de Hariri did not arouse a great interest. Munk had tried like Ruckert to imitate the Arabic style, and its use of rhymed prose, alternating with poetry. The niceties of Hariri do not attract everybody. Vainly did Munk come back to the subject in the Temps of March 4, 1835 did not persevere in his project to publish a selection of translated "Séances of Hariri". He himself became so imbued with the French point of view <sup>and its indifference</sup> that he set forth most clearly in his public Leçon d'Ouverture du Cours d'hébreu au Collège de France, although there was probably a purpose in it then.

In the Notice sur R. Saadia Gaon he feels himself on surer ground, though scarcely in a popular subject. He lays stress on the importance of Judeo-Arabic books, naming particularly the Hebrew-Arabic dictionary of Abulwalid, from which Genesius borrowed much, and the Commentaries of R. Tanchum of Jerusalem on all the Prophets (except Isaiah). <sup>R. Tanchum</sup> ~~who~~ is also the author of an Arabic-Talmudic Dictionary. And of course <sup>Munk</sup> he refers again to the Moreh.

It is not quite clear why Munk ceased in 1838 to contribute articles to the Temps. Was there some difficulty about a rather mild case of antisemitism at Saint-Espirit near Bayonne? <sup>1</sup> Was it because

(1) M. Schwab op.cit. p. 72-74. <sup>This village now a suburb of Bayonne has no Jewish inhabitants to speak of.</sup> Munk did not really care to waste his time over such popular work after his appointment to the Royal Library. Was it because the reading public of Le Temps was not really very interested?

At any rate, after ten years of patient labor, Munk has now the modest position of sub-librarian, which made him quite happy. He owed much to the protection of two men, the baron James de Rothschild and Mayerbeer who was then the only Jewish member of the French Academy

(in the section of Fine Arts)<sup>2</sup>

- (2) There was some opposition because he was a German. Der Orient. I (1840) p. 43

The position Munk occupied has been occupied by A.L.A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps<sup>3</sup> who had been a brilliant sanskritist. Munk had to attend

- (3) This scholar died in 1840, at the age of 35. He had begun to publish a Sanskrit dictionary the Amarakocha of Amara Sinha (2 vol) and had translated the Laws of Manu which greatly influenced the French intellectual elite. Les Lois de Manou, premier législateur de l'Inde, in J.P.G. Pauthier Les Livres Sacrés de l'Orient. 1840.

immediately to a catalogue of budhist and vedic Manuscripts, to which he worked until 1844, and which was continued then by Michel Breal. <sup>then</sup> But he turned to the catalogue of Hebrew MSS. He had done work of this kind in his younger days in Berlin although no mention of Munk's work on a catalogue of the Berlin MSS is made by M. Steinschneider in his Verzeichnis der Hebraischen Handschriften (Königlichen Bibliothek Zu Berlin/1878-1897<sup>2 vol.</sup>

The Paris manuscripts came in part from the Library of the Congregation of the Oratorians, confiscated at the time of the French Revolution, from another fund at the Sorbonne (which was then an entirely theological school) confiscated at the same period and from various accessions coming to the Royal Library since the printing of its Catalogue General des manuscrits orientaux (in 1739).

Munk's work is the basis of Zotenberg 1-159 Zotenberg himself says<sup>4</sup>

- (4) Catalogues des manuscrits hébreux et samaritains de la bibliothèque impériale 1866, p. 233

La plupart de ces bulletins (Munk's) ont été maintenus dans le présent Catalogue sans changements; plusieurs ont été abrégés, d'autres développés, selon les exigences du cadre adopté dans les catalogues des autres fonds de la Bibliothèque impériale. L'auteur a reproduit en grande partie les notices relatives aux ouvrages de philosophie dans son ouvrage: Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe, Paris 1859 (and in the first instance in Frank's Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques)



compared to the unbelievable happenings of today must not blind us to its importance then. The small size of Columbus fleet compared to Normandie and Queen Mary would be no reason to discard the date of 1492 as a vital historical date.

Thiers was opposed to an investigation not because he was antisemite, but because his policy was one of blind support for Mehemet-Ali. Adolphe Crémieux ~~was~~ sent by the Consistoire Central and Sir Moses Montefiore <sup>was</sup> sent by the Jewish Community of London to appeal to Mehemet-Ali in the name of justice. Crémieux asked Munk to accompany him as his secretary and interpreter. The special Fund raised by the French and British Jews paid for the travelling expenses of Crémieux and Munk. <sup>6</sup> The Royal Library granted the

- (6) Sir Moses paid for his own expenses. He also was accompanied by Orientalists R.R. Madden and Dr. Louis Loewe, his learned and private secretary.

latter a leave of absence with full salary paid. This was money well spent for Munk purchased for the Library 48 volumes mostly <sup>Judea arabic and Hebrew</sup> ~~Hebrew~~ at a saving of more than his salary. <sup>7</sup>

- (7) Cf. Der Orient vol. II 1841 p. 63-64, 72, 96. Schwab op.cit. p. 103-104

Munk philological talent was truly remarkable. Although his knowledge of Arabic had been at first literary, was limited to the classical; he had a good insight into the importance and value of what is called colloquial Arabic <sup>8</sup>

- (8) I may be allowed to compare here with what happened to a Regius professor of Oxford, great authority on the Quran. My teacher on Arabic in Algiers told me that when he arrived in this town he was unable to ask the simplest questions from the natives.

In J A ser. 4. vol. 16 p. 229 (1850) I find an interesting ~~view~~ <sup>view</sup> of Munk on the value of colloquial Arabic, which was new at that time. Munk notes that Ibn-Janah had discovered the adverbial ending in  $\text{مِنْ}$  (in such words as  $\text{مِنْ}$  '  $\text{مِنْ}$  '  $\text{مِنْ}$  ' We already find this idea in a foot note of Palistine <sup>p. 434.</sup> long before Vater. <sup>Munk</sup> Indeed, <sup>he</sup> gave it a good name "Circumstantial mim" <sup>ibn</sup> (ميم الحال) which, by the way, shows that Janah was not unaware of

syntax. With an insight that was justified since by the discovery of  
 9  
 mimation in Assyro-Babylonian, Munk says: I doubt not that it be a remnant

- (9) The problem is a complex one. The mimation is not a sign of the accusative, and its occurrence in the nominative and genitive is current in Babylonian, the adverbial endings in  $\text{ן}$  and  $\text{נ}$  may be old plurals. Proto-semitic plurals may have had the three fundamental vowels for the three fundamental cases, nominative genitive, accusative.

of a declension formerly existing in Hebrew, or else in the primitive language from which are derived both Hebrew and Arabic. The accusative  $\text{ו}$  in Arabic  $\text{ف}$  was preserved as an adverbial form, as in colloquial arabic. He shows further that  $\text{ו}$  is the same as  $\text{و}$ . He finds an old accusative in  $\text{ו}$  Ps.65.10,  $\text{ו}$  in Job.24.16. In advance of his time, Munk shows also that the locative he is often an accusative of specification (p.230). He opens lines of thought here which to our knowledge have remained unfollowed. He certainly is ahead of his time in noting that Hebrew resembles colloquial Arabic more than it does the classical, *as he does later in advancing the idea that Hebrew is not one single language.*  
 10  
 Munk's correspondence tells us the history of the journey. Besides

- (10) Cf. Schwab p. 83 ff.

we have a very good preliminary history of the ~~affair~~ <sup>*Samaritan*</sup> ~~at~~ by S. Posener, 11

- (11) Adolphe Crémieux. 1933 vol.I. p. 198, 247, 259-260.  
 Cf. also I. Loeb, Biographie d'Albert Cohn, 1878. Posener who has access to the files of the Consistoire Central is preparing a history of the Affair.

12  
 although it does not mention Munk's name at all, Thiers did not shine

- (12) Neither do we find it in Montefiore, Crémieux and Riesser, by P.F. Frankl, Monatsschrift 33 (1884) 385-413.

very brilliantly in this affair, where French prestige was in question.  
 13  
 Munk echoes Crémieux statement: "la France est contre nous" Was Thiers'

- (13) J. Elk  $\text{ו}$  '  $\text{ו}$   $\text{ו}$   $\text{ו}$  '  $\text{ו}$  (1882) p. 32

attitude due to the opposition of the bureaucracy in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was composed of men chosen on the basis of their social position rather than on the rating of their intelligence.

No doubt, such was the case with Count de Ratti-Menton French consul at Damascus.

Cremieux was very wise in taking Munk along with him as an interpreter. A trick whereby the innocent Jews of Damascus received their grace <sup>عفو</sup>, and remained therefore as well as the whole race under the cloud of guilt was seen by Munk in the Turkish text of the firman granted by Mehemet-Ali

(14) This government official was apparently of Italian ancestry. Nothing is known about him.

(15) Schwab p. 91 In the Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore edited by L. Lowe, vol. I. Chicago 1890, p.252, we find the statement as follows "We noticed the word afoo". How far the "We" is editorial, we do not know. One think we know well enough, and that is Munk's modesty. At any rate, neither Sir Moses nor Cremieux were present, but only Munk and Loewe. Munk went to see Cremieux at once, and not Sir Montefiore and Cremieux alone called on the pasha to have the word removed.

Munk was however first a scholar, and only secondarily a linguist, so that when it came to conversation, he wisely (and modestly) let native translators work for Crémieux.

In the meantime, Cremieux and Munk noted the low state of education, and especially of Jewish knowledge among the Jews of Alexandria and Cairo. Munk addressed to them a Hebrew and Arabic call. The Hebrew text is Divrei ha-hakham Munk asher katab leyoshbe erets Mitgraim. <sup>16</sup> (The find

(16) The title is quoted wrongly is Schwab p. 231.

in the Magazine Zion vol. I. (1841) p.76-78. The Arabic text appeared in S.Munk's Aufruf an die jüdischen Gemeinden Egyptens, Literaturblatt des Orients (1841) p.103-105. The translation in German had been given in Orient vol. II. Nr. 6 (1841) p.41-42 <sup>17</sup>

(17) The references are all wrong in Schwab p. 231. Moreover the translation is given there is made on the Arabic and not on the Hebrew text.

A school was established in Cairo, and Munk succeeded in having Caraites <sup>also</sup> admitted at it. The school was named Cremieux for obvious reasons.

18

vious reasons

- (18) However the school authorities granted Munk the title of Protecteur primitif de l'Ecole du Caire.

On the way back, Munk stayed a very short time in Rome where he conversed with Cardinal Mezzofanti in Hebrew, German, Arabic and Persian. He noted however that this polyglot ecclesiastic took no interest in the literature of these languages .

Munk's family noticed that his name was scarcely mentioned with that of Cremieux but characteristically Munk did not really care. But Cremieux valued him rightly and showed it later and often. *by the press*

Munk's position at the Royal Library was modest. It paid nine hundred francs a year. And yet we find that he sent to his mother 1,200 francs a year and that he even entered matrimony . The secret was that he had a

- (19) On Oct. 26 1841 he married Fanny Reishoffer. He had one son who died young and three daughters who married Jewish husbands.

tremendous industry and still gave private lessons and also wrote articles for which remuneration was in order. Among articles for which no payment was expected must have been some in Der Orient.

Until 1850 Munk's name appears in the Mitarbeiter-Verzeichniss of Der Orient, combined with Literaturblatt des Orients. In 1851 J. Furst found himself <sup>unable</sup> to continue in the same way, <sup>and</sup> this was <sup>his</sup> last year. In this last volume, there is no ~~Munkian~~ list of Mitarbeiter at all, and the periodical was showing signs that the depression of the day was going to bring it to an end. *periodical's*

Salary increases were slow in the Royal Library, so that Munk applied for the position of secretary to the Consistoire Central, to which he was appointed in 1844. The salary was 1500 francs a year. At the same time, he was raised to 1200 at the Library on condition he spent there five hours a day. He was compelled to continue to give private lessons.



IV

Work in judeo-arabic philology

In 1850-1851, S.Munk published in the Journal Asiatique (4e série (1850) vol. XV, 297-337; vol. XVI, 5-50; 201-247; 353-427 (1851) vol.17 p.85-93) a Notice sur Abou'l-Walid Merwan Ibn-Djana'h et sur quelques autres grammairiens hébreux du X<sup>e</sup> et du XI<sup>e</sup> siècles suivie de l'Introduction du Kitab al-Luma' d'Ibn-Djana'h en Arabe avec une traduction française. This long Arabic name is that of Rabbi Yona Ben Janah who is the first scientific grammarian and lexicographer of Biblical Hebrew<sup>1</sup>. His great work then

- (1) One should read now A. Neubauer Notice sur la lexicographie hébraïque avec des remarques sur quelques grammairiens postérieurs à Ibn-djana'h Paris 1863 especially the part concerning David ben Abraham.

unpublished is the source for all the later authors including Kimchi. His introduction had been copied by Munk in Oxford years before.

No doubt there had been Hebrew grammarians before. Here Munk notes the Karaite authors Sahl ben Matsliah (ס'מטליה) Yeshua ben Yehuda (ישוע בן יהודה) and Yefet ben Ali (יפת בן אלי) and of course Saadia Gaon. But before

- (2) In Hebrew יפת בן אלי

- (3) Munk (p.303-306) identified him with Abu'l Faraj ibn-Asad who is, he says, the same of as Abu-Ali-al-Basri

the work of Zakariyya' Hayyuj on Hebrew roots Hebrew grammarians are greatly handicapped<sup>4</sup>. No one knew as yet the rules governing the weak letters י / ה / כ The

- (4) For instance Yefet uses the term for the second radical in an y"y verb. Cf. Munk. p. 313<sup>5</sup>

lexicographers admitted not only biliteral but monoliteral roots. This backwardness of Hebrew studies is surprising. Arabic was not only spoken but appreciated and written by the Jews, but somehow the Scripture was to be

- (5) We still find this method in Menahem and in the Arukh of Nathan ben Jehiel

studied by itself, <sup>in its own right</sup> and that of course would be true of the Karaites. Yefet for instance says: How many <sup>6</sup>  $\text{אלללל}$  do we commit! How many transgressions

(6) We here translate only the Arabic leaving the Hebrew words of Yefet.

occur to us. For we mix with the <sup>7</sup>  $\text{ב'ל}$  and we imitate their deeds, and we sit to learn their language with the grammar  $(\text{ג'ללל})$  and we

(7) Arabic of course

spend money to learn it and we neglect the knowledge of  $\text{שקללל}$   $\text{ללל}$  and the study of the <sup>8</sup>  $\text{ללל}$ .

Ibn-Ezra <sup>did not include</sup> ~~left~~ these Karaite grammarians in his list of eight. However

(8) In his introduction to Moznaim.

he knew about them, since he calls <sup>9</sup>  $\text{סללל}$  obstinate ass  $\text{קללל}$ . He knew also the two others. Saadya Gaon who is the first on that list of

(9) p. 306

eight had already been well studied, particularly by Munk himself.

Munk gives then a good deal of information on Adonim ben Tamim, called also Dunash  $(\text{ללל})$  who had been wrongly identified with <sup>Isaac</sup> <sup>10</sup>  $\text{ללל}$  following

(10) vol. 16, p.8

a false colophon in a Luzzato MS. Most interesting as showing progress <sup>11</sup> is a statement by Dunash  $\text{ל}$  If my Maker helps me and prolongs my days

(11) p. 21

I shall complete the book in which I have begun to explain that the holy <sup>12</sup> tongue is the first of the languages, and that it was the language of the

(12) In Hebrew  $\text{לללללללללל}$

First man and after that is the Arabic. He continues in saying that Hebrew is a pure Arabic  $(\text{ללללל})$  He gives credit to the Eldad ha-Dani.

Munk took up in detail the work of R. Yehuda Hayyuj, when Ibn Ezra, who was not easily pleased, calls the chief of the grammarians <sup>13</sup> or the first grammarian

(13) Only Dunash escapes somewhat his sarcasm. He says of him: He woke up a little from the sleep of ignorance.

Ibn-D'Janah first work Kitab al Mostal'hik is a study of Hayyuj's in the weak letters and <sup>14</sup>  $y^h y$ . Several works explained and defended his point of view. Then came the great work the كتاب التنقيح (14) p. 47-48

(book of Examination as research) made up of two works Kitab al luma' which Munk translates Livre des parterres émaillées and the Book of roots, Kitab al usul. This second volume is often in Gesenius' <sup>quoted</sup> Thesaurus

Then Munk makes a very long digression on Samuel ha-Nagid who was also a great grammarian, so much so that Ibn Ezra places his <sup>15</sup> شهادة over all the grammarians, even Ibn-Janah (15) p.201-225

This is followed by an outline of the contents of the 46 chapters in the Introduction to the Luma'. He notes in passing that many so-called discoveries of recent times are in the Luma' <sup>16</sup> He notes <sup>also</sup> ~~in passing~~ (16) p. 229

a few errors of Ewald <sup>17</sup> no doubt because he found the <sup>non-printed</sup> ~~Hebrew~~ Hebrew difficult <sup>18</sup> (17) p. 245, 212, 235.

(18) So that Gesenius never used ~~that was not written in~~ Square Hebrew.

The text of the Introduction follows (p.353-381) with the translation (p.381-427). In his Introduction Janah shows from the Talmud that the Tannaim had a real grammatical knowledge, that they made use of <sup>19</sup> other languages, even Greek, but of course, Arabic and Syriac are closest.

(19) p.398-399.

An important note <sup>20</sup> treats of the Lexicon <sup>whose</sup> ~~the~~ Arabic MS is at the

(20) vol. 17 p. 90-93

Bodleian, <sup>it</sup> which was translated by Ibn Tibban. A manuscript of that translation in the Vatican Library was partly copied by Renan.

A translation of Munk's article with valuable remarks in the foot-notes was contributed by Jul. Furst Nachricht uber Abu'l-Walid Merwan ibn 'Ganach und über einige hebräische grammatische Schriftsteller des

<sup>21</sup>  
Zehnten und elften Jahrhunderts, Der Orient vol.XI (1850) 441-443;  
451-454; 467-471; 481-484; 585-587; 737-740; 753-759; 785-790; 806-813;  
vol. XII (1851) 58-63; 73-77; 155-159; 171-173; 398-410; 477-  
479; 720-735; 760-766.

(21) This reference not found in Schwab.

In 1842 Munk discovered in the Library the Arabic MS of Albiruni's  
description of India <sup>22</sup>. He planned to publish it but could not. Several

(22) Cf. JA 1849 I 384

short notes on his discoveries are found in Israel. Annalen of Jost  
III p.76, 86, 93. He planned later when blind to edit the text in  
collaboration with Hartwig Derenbourg, but the latter could not find  
the time. Sachau well known edition of the text finally disposed of  
this question.

There was in 1843 a controversy between Munk and Sedillot concerning  
the astronomical discoveries of Abulwefa. Munk's statements are found in  
Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Sciences 1843 t. XVI. p. 1444-6;  
t. XVII p.76-80

Part of the article on Ibn-Djanah was reprinted under this title:  
Notice sur Abou'l Walid Merwan ibn-Djanah's Univers Israelite 6 (1850)  
147-160 <sup>23</sup>

(23) Not given by Schwab. The section reprinted here  
concerns Samuel ha-naghid.

The work of Munk on Ibn-Janah was presented to the Institut de  
France and received the Prix Volney of 1200 francs, which then was money.  
As for the grammatical works of Ibn-Janah his grammar was edited by  
Joseph Derenbourg, Le Livre des parterres fleuris Paris 1886 p.LXIV, 388  
(in the Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes études Sciences philosophiques  
et historiques vol.27 fasc.66). The same scholar had already edited  
Opuscules et traités d'Abou'l Walid Merwan ibn Djanah de Cordoue; texte  
arabe, publié avec une traduction française. Paris 1880 p. CXXIV, 400.

The contents traced again the influence of Judah b.David Havvui and

Samuel ha-Nagid on the works of the author. Then followed the Mustalhi<sup>4</sup>, the Risalat at-tanbih, the Kitab at-takrib wat-tashil and Kitab at-taswiya.

Thus did Munk start a line of study which has been continued by others. The Sefer ha-riqmah translated by Jehuda Ibn-Tibbon was edited in 1856 by S.D. Luzzato ספר הריקמה Frankfort 1856 p. XIV, 252, New Edition by Abraham Wilensky Berlin 1928-1930 2 vol.

As for the translation made by Ibn Tibbon of the Sefer ha-shorashim, it was also edited by W. Bacher Berlin 1896 p. XLII, 596 this scholar contributed a study of great value in Die hebräisch-arabische Sprachvergleichung des Abulwalid Merwan Ibn Ganah (Kais, Akad. d. Wissensch Phil. Hist. Cl. Sitzungsberichte Bd 106 p. 119-196. Vienna 1884 and Die hebräisch-neuhebräische und hebräisch-aramäische Sprachvergleichung des Abul Walid Merwan Ibn Ganah . (K. Ak. d. W, Phil. hist. C. Sitz. Bd. 110 p.175-212. Vienna 1886) Bacher's work's was made available in the translation to a now larger public by A.S. Rabinowitz

נצחיה הקדקדק חקירה  
היסטורית בקצוותיה  
הקדקדק העברי  
printed at Tel ~~Aviv~~ Aviv 1927 p.120.20

In order to be complete we should also mention that A.S. Rabinowitz edited the פירוש לכתבי הקדש

of Ibn-Janah Tel-Aviv 1926 p. VIII, 150, and again Tel Aviv 1936 p. X.305

This is based on the Sefer ha-shorashim and the Riqmah and shows in a manner that Munk would never have imagined that the great medieval lexicographer and grammarian he had discovered, has now again found a public, and not only among bookish scholars. It would have surprised him less to hear that medievalized Germany would now ostracized work such as that done by Ewald, Dukes and Bacher on Ibn-Janah.

The great work of Ibn-Janah was edited by A. Neubauer in 1876 under the title. The Book of Hebrew roots <sup>24</sup> by Abull-Walid Marwan ibn Janah, otherwise called Rabbi Yonah, Oxford 1875 p. VIII, 808 columns. There are two

(24 Inaccuracy in Schwab p. 137 N. 2.

This edition is based

columns to a page on the Bodleian MS. Known to Gesenius and Munk, but mostly on the Rouen Arabic MS which was unknown until discovered by Dr. A. Lowy, and which had belonged to Richard Simon <sup>25</sup> Neubauer transliterated

(25) Histoire critique du Vieux Testament, Rotterdam 1685 p. 540. the Arabic text in Arabic characters which is probably a better method than that followed by Munk in his edition of the Moreh.

In 1861 Munk presented to the Academie the work of Professor Abbé <sup>26</sup> Bargès on the Arabic Psalter of Yefet ben Ali making remarks which it is useless to repeat here on the Arabic versions of the Bible and Karaism.

(26) Comptes Rendus 5 (1861) 134-136

The edition of Yafet's Commentary of Psalms by Bargès <sup>26</sup> was also

(26) Libri psalmorum David regis et prophetarum, versio a R. Yapheth Ben-Heli Bassorensi Karaita by J.J.L. Bargès, Paris 1861

<sup>27</sup>  
reviewed by Munk

(27) La secte des Karaites et la traduction arabe des Psaumes. Revue orientale et américaine vol. 7 (1862) p.5-12.

After a survey of <sup>28</sup> what is known then of Arabic versions, <sup>29</sup> he rejects Bargès' high opinion of the Karaites. On the contrary he shows that they were more fanatical <sup>30</sup> than the rabbanites. The text published by Bargès was

(28) We suspect that controversy lurked there; there was also unripe scholarship. We note that Bargès still believed in Mikkozi, not knowing that it meant <sup>Mosai</sup> de Colley.

(30) So Yefet calls the Quran <sup>115 P</sup> (ignominy)

a manuscript brought by Munk from Cairo. But the Commentary has been left unpublished.

Work on Phenician inscriptions

In 1847 Munk studied L'Inscription phenicienne de Marseille, J.A. 4<sup>e</sup> ser. t. X p. 483-532 (p.164 and plate). There is also a reprint. This inscription had already been studied by F. de Sauley, Nicolay Limbery, Judas, L. Bargès, Movers. On Munk's work, one should read Z.Frankl's

(1) This fanciful study, scarcely worth while except as a symptom is mentioned by Munk p.476, but left out of the bibliography in CIS I, 1 (1881) p. 223

review in the Monatschrift, II (1853) p.237-245. Munk's work is far above anything done before. Much has been done on the subject since the studies of this inscription culminating as it were with the luxurious apparatus which the world will probably never see again in the chapter on Massilia in CIS I, 1 p. 227-238. Going over Munk's article we find in it a philological sense wanting in his predecessors, we note that on p. 584 he returns to the Punic of Plautus already interpreted by him in his Palestine and improves his rendering. On p. 510 he gives an Arabic quotation from the Moreh about the use of blood by the Sabeans.

We find in Munk a pronounced tendency to use Arabic for lexicographical purposes. For instance l. 16 reads מנעו לך מן המזבח מנעו לך מן המזבח. Munk's rendering was not accepted by Renan in CIS in spite of the good argumentation on p.512-513.

While it may not be true as Schwab says that Munk's translation is still authoritative we believe that the CIS did not always improve upon it.

~~Munk's study of the Sarcophagus of Eschmounzer JA 1856 2<sup>nd</sup> series t. VII, p. 274 ff. was reprinted in Univers Israelite XI, 482 ff.~~

About this Sarcophagus there is quite a bibliography in CIS I, 1 (1881) p.11-12. Munk's article Essai sur l'inscription phénicienne du sarcophage d'Eschmoun - Ezer roi de Sidon appeared in 5e ser. vol. VII (1856) Munk was blind, and therefore could work only on the reprint in Univers Israelite XI L 482 ff.

## transcriptions

Hebrew ~~translations~~ already made, especially that of M. le duc de Luynes. The inscription has 22 lines the words not being separated. Munk had to visualize the text as it was spelled out to him. In his articles he gives a transcription of the Phoenician text in Hebrew and ~~one~~ <sup>a translation</sup> into French. When we compare Munk's translation of the difficult third line to the attempts of his seven predecessors <sup>3</sup> the science of the blind scholar shines as the

<sup>3</sup> (2) JA op.cit. p. 290-291

rising sun. Renan in his edition of CIS leaves most of it untranslated (p.16 a). We feel that Munk here is a better scholar than Renan. In l. 6 Munk was less happy in his rendering of what ~~Munk~~ <sup>he</sup> calls the opening of the fourth paragraph. In l. 17 his rendering seems to us better justified than Renan claim in his doubt. Most certainly we feel no hesitation in saying that in a new study of this difficult text, which perhaps should be done again, in the light of more recent findings, the work of Munk should not be forgotten as a basis for further study. A good deal of what he discovered remains truer than Renan thought. Most certainly, when compared to men famous in their days such as Hitzig and Dietrich, Munk was far above them in philological acumen. At any rate after Munk's onslaught there was not much left of the grammatical reputation of M. Auguste Célestin Judas (1805-1872) who rather hastily, it seems, had written an Etude démonstrative de la langue phénicienne et de la langue libyque Paris 1847

On the Um-El- Awamid inscription (which can be seen in CIS I, 1 (1881) 29-34 there was a discussion between Renan and Munk. Munk gave a translation of the main inscription <sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions, 6 (1862) p. 86-88

<sup>5</sup> p. 88.



V  
Munk's work on Jewish philosophy

We already referred to the Extrait du livre Dalalat el-'hayirin in the 9th vol. of Cahen's Bible. (Cf. ~~reprint~~ p.88-112\*.)

of The Notice sur Rabbi Saadia Gaon et sa version arabe d'Isaie et sur une version persane manuscrite de la Bibliothèque Royale suivie d'un extrait du Livre Dalalat al-hayirin en arabe et en français sur la métaphore employée par Isaie et par quelques autres prophètes (extrait du tome IX de la Bible de M. Cahen) <sup>1</sup> was published separately by Munk in 1838. Saadya's

- which  
(1) the copy in the New York Public Library is inscribed to Garcin de Tassy by S. Munk himself.

Arabic version had already been severely badly edited by Paulus. Munk gives an outcome of Saadya's life, a list of some of his works unknown to Rapoport, Munk shows that Saadya avoids anthropomorphism and anthropopathism, how he follows sometimes the Targum in giving short additions to the text. He translates geographical names so as to modernize them for his Arabic readers.

The Persian version is less important. Munk follows it with a Note additionnelle sur les apocryphes persans (p.83-87) including <sup>the</sup> Persian Targum of Daniel.

The translation of Isaiah was edited by Derenbourg, Oeuvres Complètes de Saadia Paris 1896 vol. III. <sup>Of</sup> the Kitab al-Amanat of which Munk published a part (op.cit. p. 20-29), ~~We~~ have now S. Landauer's edition Leyden 1880 Cf. I. Goldzibar  $\Sigma D M G$  34 (1881) p. 773-783.

Munk's notice on Saadya was the first known to us in an European language. The only important previous work had been by Rapoport

1177 ה'תקע"ז 1120 ה'תק"ל in Bikkure haitim IX (1828)

20-37 Munk was right in stating that Saadya did not write the  $\text{ה'תק"ל}$   $\text{ה'תק"ל}$

$\text{ה'תק"ל}$  (Notice par 15). He was correct in showing that Saadya followed the

Targum Onkeles (Malter, Saadya Gaon 1921 p. 314), and in pointing his influence on Maimonides. (Cf. Malter p. 182, 190, 192, 212, 213, 238; but see p. 211).

He showed Saadya's use of words of similar sound. (Cf. Malter p. 145 n. 315)

We think that Munk's mind really more of the Saadya's than the Maimonides type. This may be the reason why he never actually wrote his announced Prolegomena to the Moreh. Lazare Wogue who learned much from Munk used Saadya so much as the foundation of his theology that we are inclined to see there Munk's guiding hand. If this is correct Saadya through Wogue (and therefore through Munk) had a more important role than Maimonides in the development of French Jewish religion thought and its general orthodoxy.

In 1842 S. Munk wrote a Notice sur Joseph Ben Iehouda Aboul' Hadjadj Yousouf Ben-Yah'ya al-Sabti al-Maghrebi, disciple de Maimonide, which was published in the Journal Asiatique.<sup>2</sup>

- (2) We quote from a reprint Paris Imprimerie Royale 1842 p. 73  
The reprint contains a page of errata not found in J A.3e  
series vol. 14 (1842)

This Joseph Ben Yehuda was a famous disciple dear to Maimonides and to whom he dedicated the Dalailat el hairin (דלילות הירין) This pupil is called יוסף בן יהודה אבול' ח'ד'ג' in Milhamot Adonay Wilna 1821 p. 4. He was from Aleppo (ח'ל'פ'ו) and had come to Ceuta (Sabta). He was also a physician. Yehuda - al- Harizi calls him יוסף בן יהודה אבול' ח'ד'ג' a saviour and a master... whose wisdom is like that of Koh'e'leth. On p. 22-25 Munk gives the reconstituted text (with the two versions Hebrew and Arabic) of a letter of Maimonides. There he mentions the

- (3) p. 20


distinction between the קד'ו'ן מ'ס'ח'ו' and the "days of the Messiah"<sup>4</sup>

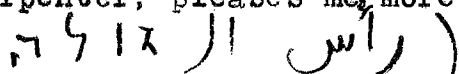
- (4) As he had already done in his commentary on the Mishna at the beginning of the tenth chapter on Sanhedrin. This introduction was published in Arabic with a Latin translation by Pococke in Porta Mosis p. 133 ff.

This bore on the Resurrection because he who denies it has no part in the world to come. There Maimonides announces his treatise on the Resurrection of the Dead which we have in Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation. We note in this

5 letter of Maimonides <sup>a</sup> the statement which no doubt Munk heartely approved .

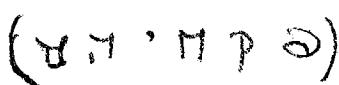
(5) p. 13

He exhorts Joseph to attend to trade and medicine and not too much to teaching. "A drachma earned as salary, by the profession of weaver, tailor or carpenter, pleases me more than the license of Resh-Galutha (  )



Munk shows that Joseph conformed for a time to Islam <sup>6</sup>

(6) p. 35-37 Munk <sup>wrongly</sup> believed that Maimonides had done likewise. p. 37-39. <sup>^</sup>

This short essay is replete with knowledge in the foot notes, There is one which we should like to mention here because it is one subject on which the Moslem says had dome first hand knowledge, and where Maimonide did rationalize too much, namely the subject of prophecy. Simon Duran says in Maghen Aboth (fo.74 v) about the Mohammedans: "I have heard their sages (  ) say that the Rambam was right in all that he wrote in the Book of the Moreh, except on the subject of Prophecy" <sup>7</sup>

(7) Munk p. 27

About this article of Munk, we must refer to a Lettre a M. le Rédac-  
teur du Journal Asiatique J.A 3e série <sup>8</sup> vol. 14 (1842) p. 446-447 where he

(8) the reference is wrong in Schwab p.231 shows that his work was anterior to that of Lebrecht, since he had already referred to his demonstration that Maimonides had not met Averrhees (as had <sup>9</sup> been claimed by Leo Africanus) in Archives Israelites Aout 1841 p. 520

(9) Labrecht wrote in the same sense later. Magazin fur die Literatur des Auslandes 4 July 1842 Cf. Sept.19. Cf. On this point Munk Mélanges p. 486. Franck Etudes orientales p. 318 Renan Averroes et l'Averroisme, p. 140

An article on Salomo in Ibn Gebirol Philosoph bei den Christlichen Theologen des Mittelalters <sup>10</sup> berühmt appeared in Literaturblatt des Orients 7, 721-727 (1846) . This article begins with a quotation of the ten-line

(10) Correct here Schwab p. 231 for minor errors paragraph granted by Ritter to the Jewish influence in medieval philosophy

In his monumental Geschichte der Philosophie. Then he shows that Ibn Gabirol

ח'י'ן ו'פ'ן is the Fons Vitae attributed in medieval times to and Avicbron, which was known to Albert the Great/Thomas Aquinas through Shem-tob of Palquera. This is proved by parallel passage and by a quotation from Ali ben Josef Habbillo<sup>11</sup> Ritter adopted Munk's point of view readily (G G A April 17, 1847, quoted by Munk, Archives Israelites 9 (1848)<sup>12</sup>)

(11) For Elijah. He lived in the fifteenth century,

(12) On this Cf. A. Jellinek, Thomas von Aquino in der Jüdischen Literatur, 1853.

327-328. The demonstration was taken again by Munk in his article Juifs in Frank's Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques<sup>13</sup>

(13) See the reprint in Archives Israelites 9 (1848) 327-332 ~~in~~

In a Notice sur quelques ouvrages inédits de Iedaia Penini, fils d'Abraham de Beziers, Archives Israelites VIII (1847) 67-72 Munk describes five philosophical essays which he discovered in a MS of the old collection of l'Oratoire.<sup>14</sup>

(14) This notice was translated in an abridged form by Dukes in Literaturblatt of Der Orient 1848 p. 260. On Iedaia Penini Cf. Art Juifs. Rep. in Archives Israelites 9 (1848) p. 422

We come now to Munk's great work, his edition of the Moreh :

Le Guide des égarés, traité de théologie et de philosophie par Moïse ben Maimoun dit Maimonide publié pour la première fois dans l'original arabe, et accompagné d'une traduction française et de notes critiques littéraires et explicatives, par S. Munk Tome I Paris (1856) p. XVI, 463, 261; Tome II, (1861) XVI, 381, 209; Tome III (1866) p. XXIV, 532, 274. A popular edition of the translation was edited recently (1930) with a preface by E. Fleg in the collection, Le Judaïsme vol. XII. The second and third part parts of Al-Harizi's translation was edited in 1876 with notes from Munk by L. Schlossberg. Sefer Moreh Nebuchim, London (Bagster) p. 104. The first part of Alharizi had been edited by the same Schlossberg London (Bagster) 1851 with notes from Simon S. Scheyer.

Albert Cohn found the financial means for publishing the Moreh that is to say, he interested Baron James de Rothschild . And so the splendid-

(15) Univers Israelite, VI, 1850, 125

ly edited first volume, which sold at the low price of 15 francs, was dedicated gratefully to Baron and Baroness James de Rothschild.<sup>16</sup>

(16) We may mention here a short review of the first volume by S.Cahen, Archives Israelites, 17, 1856, 528-532

In his preface, Munk who used Hebrew type, following the Jewish custom, explains the system of transcription of Arabic into Hebrew and some changes he made in it.

It would take too long to do more than call attention to the wealth to the wealth of material in the notes. They manifest a real knowledge of Aristotle and of Arabic peripapeticians. The versions of Ibn-Tibbon are constantly collated and often emended. Talmudic and even Midrashic references are given. We find quotations of unpublished notes of Ibn-Tibbon (p.102-103).

The second volume begins with an outline of its contents. Maimonides's system of prophecy which so greatly influenced Salvador~~o~~, who only knew the Moreh through Buxtorf's translation, is found on p. 259-356. Munk notes (p.259-260) a parallel between the three views on prophecy and the three systems on the origin of the world (2nd part~~2~~, chap.XIII, p. 104-112). Maimonides' view of prophecy is not the orthodox view, in spite of his claim. Munk quotes here (p. 262) Albo, Isaac Arama, and Abravanel.

The third volume begins also with an outline. The note on Chapter XXIX (p. 217-243) embody valuable criticisms of Quatremere and Chwolson on on~~at~~the Sabeans and on Nabatean Agriculture. (where Maimonides was a better scholar than these two modern~~10~~)<sup>17</sup>

(17) p. 238

There is a very complete index of contents (p.481-510) of Hebrew and Arabic terms in the notes and of biblical references. We can see that Moise Schwab his secretary was here under good tutorship. So we can appreciate the patience and love for scholarship of both men

when we read that ~~the~~ M. Schwab spelled every word of the proof of  
18  
the Arabic text ~~et~~ Munk

(18) Vol. III. p. XI

Under the title Philosophie religieuse, part of the preface  
of the third volume of the Guide des Egarés was given out to the  
public in Archives Israelites, 27 (1866) p. 661-667

The Paris edition is now rare, so an edition of the Arabic  
text was published recently in Palestine 170107 910 910 97  
Jerusalem (1931) p. 517.

Vol I and II of the Moreh were made the subject of important  
article by Ad. Franck in the Journal des Savants 1862  
147-163. 1863, p. 113-121; 228-238. This is a masterly critical out-  
line of the philosophical system of Maimonides. Franck declares that  
Munk's work is perfect except that the translation is sometimes  
19  
somewhat stilted.

(19) dont la perfection... ne laisse rien à désirer, qu'un  
peu plus de liberté et de naturel dans la traduction.

Another important review of these two volumes is <sup>by</sup> M. Schwab :  
La philosophie de Maimonide, Revue orientale et américaine vol VI,  
(1861) p. 132-142.

We should also note here the section on the Moreh in L. Wogue  
Esquisse d'une théologie juive. Vérité israélite III (1861) 343-  
352 and his review of vol. II of the Moreh in Vérité Israélite  
(VI. 1862) p. 491-497.

by  
The discoveries made Munk in the field of philosophy were greatly  
20  
appreciated by Victor Cousin. Indeed, we find in the Mélanges

(20) M. Schwab], La Philosophie des Juifs d'après V.  
Cousin. Archives israélites 24, 1863 p. 790-796

~~x(21) Series added Thomas Aquinas Revue des Deux Mondes~~  
~~x(22) Series added 1862.~~

(p.487) that "by the reading of the Moreh the greatest geniuses of modern times, Spinoza, Mendelssohn, Solomon Maimon and many others were brought into the sanctuary of philosophy"<sup>21</sup> Cousin took up this

21 Saisset added Thomas Aquinas, Revue des Deux Mondes  
15 Janvier 1862.

statement and proved it.

Emile Saisset wrote an important review of Munk's philosophical work in his article La philosophie des Juifs. Revue des Deux Mondes vol.37 (1862) p. 296-324. Saisset tells us that almost nothing was known of Hebrew philosophy before Munk. Even Leibnitz knew of ~~the~~ it only what he had heard from Baron Knorr de Rosenroth, the author of Kabbala denudata and ~~in~~ in order to understand Maimonides, he could avail himself only of the poor Latin translation of Buxtorf.<sup>22</sup>

(22) Saisset quoted here a recent study by Foucher de Careil on Leibnitz and Moreh  
~~the~~

Coming now to Munk's work, it is at least interesting to note that he is ~~quite~~ <sup>considered</sup> a Frenchman for Saisset ~~who~~ says of Munk "cette vaste érudition est chez lui au service d'un esprit supérieur où la netteté française se marie heureusement avec la <sup>23</sup> finesse, la souplesse, et la rigueur hébraïque". He notes the importance of Munk's work for

(23) p. 297

the question of the originis of Spinoza's thought. The latter is not at all a Cartesian as Cousin now maintained <sup>24</sup> giving back his

(24) Saisset quotes Compte Rendu des travaux de l'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques Avril and Mai 1861 and the last edition of Histoire generale de la philosophie (1861) p. 457

<sup>25</sup>  
former opinion.

(25) Fragments de philosophie cartésienne p. 428 ff.

A better appreciation of the relationship of Spinoza to Jewish Medieval philosophy is found in Joel, Beitraege zur Geschichte der

Philosophie, Breslau 1876.

Certainly Spinoza statements which caused him to be excommunicated were ~~the thought of~~ Maimonides Gersonides and Crescas set in a more explicit, clearer and perhaps more brutal manner.

A very important study of the first volume of the Moreh and of the Mélanges under the pen of Geiger appeared in ZDMG vol. 14 (1860) 722-740 under the title Munk, Gebirol und Maimonides.

Munk was asked by Ad. Franck to collaborate to the Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques. He contributed 20 articles some of which developed from previous sketches in the Encyclopedie Nouvelle. Here are some of the titles Arabes Gazali, Farabi, Ibn Badja ou Avempace, Ibn Roschd ou Averrhoes, ~~Avicenne~~ Ibn Sina ou Avicenne, Juifs, Kendi, Leon Hebreu, Tofail (Ibn).

This article Juifs was published separately as La Philosophie chez les Juifs, article extrait du Dictionnaire des Sciences philosophiques et augmenté de Notes historiques et bibliographiques, and was privately edited in 1848. Cf. J. Fürst in Der Orient 12 (1851) 193-196; 273-275. This is a reprint of De la philosophie chez les Juifs Archives Israelites 9 (1848)<sup>26</sup> 169-184, 325-336, 419-433.

(26) Schwab p. 231 erroneously 1852

This was translated into German by Benhard Beer Philosophie und philosophische Schriftsteller der Juden, eine historische Skizze Leipzig 1852 p. 128. Beer added notes. An English translation unknown to Schwab is Philosophy and Philosophical Authors of the Jews, a historical sketch, translated by Isidor Kalisch. Cincinnati 1881 p. 60 It is not equal to Beer's work.

This essay of Munk was reprinted in Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe Paris 1859, p. 459-511 under the title Esquisse historique de la philosophie chez les Juifs.



Munk's point of view is not new<sup>for us</sup> now, but its value still lies in its fairness. We shall therefore give only a short outline of the article.

To know God and to let the world know him was the "mission" of the Jews. They did not try to delve into the mystery of the Divine being. They believed.

The great philosophical problem is that of the existence of evil. It had no real existence (Gen. I.) 216 5 ) Evil entered the world when intelligence had to wage war against matter. Evil was born of the conflict between the intellectual and material principles (Gen. 3) Therefore man is free (libre arbitre) qui est une des doctrines fondamentales du Mosaïsme) Cf. Deut. 30, 15, 19

This doctrine is fundamental. Its development in its relation with Divine Providence, and the will of God, as unique cause of Creation, was ever considered by the Jewish philosophers as a most important subject (More Nebuchim 3e part. C. 17 Buxtorf translation p. 380)

The religion of the Hebrew left no room for philosophical speculation proper. Philosophy was poetical as we find in Job, a book which grants too little to human reason to foster philosophic speculation. As for Ecclesiastes it is post exilic and betrays foreign influence.

The Babylonian Exile and what followed marked some evolution. Persian influence appears in Ezechiel, Zechariah and Daniel but parsism<sup>27</sup> itself is <sup>27. p. 171</sup> ~~not~~ philosophical and it is only contacts with hellenism which brought about a philosophical development in Hebrew thought.

This development took place in Egypt and was apologetic. ~~So~~ the Septuagint<sup>27</sup> uses allegory and prepares Philo and the book of Wisdom.

On the basis of biblical chronology, the Alexandrian Jews even claimed that Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle had drunk at the springs

of Hebrew learning.

To this question which was discussed even at the end of the eighteenth century, Munk contributes an interesting foot note (p.173) Kalonymos ben Kalonymos quotes a passage of פ"ד פ"א מ"ז taken from the Preatise of the Ikhwan-al-safa which was verified by Munk in the Arabic original where it is declared that the Greeks borrowed their wisdom and their knowledge from the פ"א מ"ז

Passing on to Palestine, and its sects, Munk declares that probably the Essenes cultivated the doctrine known latter as Kabbala, which came from various sources, and which inspired the first gnostics.

The Karaites are compared by him to the Mutazila, although a part of the rabbanites also followed these. <sup>28</sup> . Indeed the Karaites

(28) He here quotes (p.179) this opinion of Ahron ben Elia, the Karaite in Delitzsch's edition p.4.

called themselves Mutekalemin and Maimonides agrees, as well as the Khuzari.

Munk shows how the rabbanites had now to make use of reason to defend themselves. He treats of Saadya who is a theologian rather than a philosopher. He then turns to the Spanish School. Ibn Gabirol is rather unique as a thinker and deserves an important place, although his philosophy came to be regarded as heretical. The Fons Vitae, which Christians studied in the translation of Gundisalvi is ignored by Maimonides. However Ibn Gabirol poems became part of the liturgy and his

Book of the correction of morals, became popular in Ibn Tibbon's translation as פ"ד מ"ז

To some extent Bahya ben Joseph can be compared to Al-Gazali in his point of view that practical morality is better than speculation, and in his tendency to asceticism.

The reaction against philosophy comes in the Khuzari <sup>29</sup> of Juda

(29) Here Munk engages a foot note on the authenticity of the story of the conversion of the Khazars in

- (29) (continued) Masudi's Meadows of gold, and remarks on Buxtorf, Barattier and Basnage and their ultra-  
cepticism.

Halevi. This book may have been contributed to the recrudescence of the Kabbala.

In Abraham Ibn Ezra we find a bizarre syncretism of philosophy,  
30  
Kabbala and astrology

- (30) We learn here that Ibn Ezra's astrological works were popular. A double redaction of the Book of Astronomical reasons was found by him in the Royal Library confirming a statement of Pico de Mirandola.

Munk comes then to the great Maimonides whose Moreh the kabbalists even tried to explain esoterically, and who marks the last phase of the development of philosophical ideas among the Jews as  
31  
a separate social group

- (31) p. 336

Munk takes up the Provencal scholars, especially Iedaia Penini  
32  
and Levi ben Gerson (or Gersonides) of whom he speaks at length. He expresses the opinion that the העיר היסופ the city of Hysop where

- (32) He took him up again in his Mélanges. p. 498.  
33 34  
he declared he lived is Avignon.

- (33) Munk, Archives Israelites 9 (1848) p. 424.

- (34) This has been disproved since by I. Loeb, La ville d'Hysope REJ I, 72-82) The city of Hysope is Orange near Avignon. It had already been declared by Isidore Weil, Philosophie Religieuse de Levi-ben-Gerson, Paris 1868 p. 16.

The Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe have a preface dated February 1859, which informs us that the first part p. 1-232 was published two years ~~ag~~ previously (1857, but dated 1856). This first-part contains the Hebrew extracts of the פנתיקה (p.74) made by Ibn Palquera, a translation of these extracts with notes, ~~(p.149-175)~~ (p.149-173) (p. 1-148)/an outline of the life and writings of Ibn Gabirol and a short analysis of the Fons Vitae (p.173-232).

In the Notice on Gabirol Munk dwells a good deal on his poetry, <sup>and</sup> his contacts with the kabbala.

The second part (p.233 ff) contains a study of Gabirol's sources (p.233-261), an estimate of his influence (p.261-306), which is found not later Jewish philosophy (p.301-306), but in the Zohar (p.273-291), and in Christian thought under the name of Avicenna (p.291-301), the last page of this essay shows the clear insight of the powerful mind of Munk. He says of Gabirol:

"Although he only appropriated the consequences of a foreign philosophy, he was able, by bending them under his religious convictions, to give to his doctrine a certain originality, which distinguishes him, to his advantage from contemporary philosophers, and from those who came after him both in the Jewish and Moslem worlds... the role of Gabirol in the middle ages is about the same as that played by his co-religionist Philo at the end of the pagan world. The latter inspired more or less directly the philosophers of the neo-platonician school; but like Gabirol he had to himself the consequence of his criticism, as he took position behind the authority of religious tradition. More consequent, and endowed with colder logic, a third Jew, Baruch Spinoza became the father of modern pantheism, as he forsook all religious ideas and disdained a possible refuge unto mysticism. It is a rather strange thing to find these three men, brought up in biblical tradition, and who became at three various epochs the heralds of doctrines so diametrically opposed to these traditions. Philo, with all the Jewish school of Alexandria, was soon deeply forgotten by his co-religionists; Spinoza, because of his sincerity and logic, was excommunicated by the synagogue. Only Ibn Gabirol, because of the deep religious ~~mysticism~~ feeling manifested in his hymns, and of the mysticism which hid his heresies to the traditionalists and his own conscience, has remained

in honor in the Synagogue, and left a famous name and a hallowed memory<sup>35</sup>

(35) Mélanges p. 305-306.

The third section ~~xxxx~~ is entitled Des principaux philosophes arabes et de leurs doctrines. (p.307-458), there is first of all an Introduction (p.309-338) then he takes up Al-Kendi (Al-Kindy) (p.339-341), Al-farabi (p.341-352) Ibn Sina (p.352-366) Algazali (p.366-383) Ibn-Badja (p. 383-410) Ibn-Tofail (p.410-417), <sup>but</sup> which does not refer to his probable influence on De Foe's Robinson Crusoe. The last study is on Ibn-Roschd (p.418-458). These chapters are an enlargement of articles already published in the Dictionnaire. After the Esquisse historique de la philosophie chez les Juifs, referred to above, we have in the appendix a judeo-arabic text of Moses Ben-Ezra, three Arabic epigrams on Ibn-Rushd, a note on the astronomer Alpetragius, a note on Leo Hebraeus, and some final notes and errata.

An appreciative review of his book was contributed by A. Castaing to the Revue Orientale et Américaine Les Juifs et les Arabes du Moyen Age et leur influence sur la civilisation. Revue Orientale et Américaine vol. 7 (1862) p. 219-240, after having been read as a paper before the Société d'Ethnographie On Dec.2.1861 the first part was reviewed by A. Franck in Seances et travaux de l'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques 3e série vol. VIII p. 45 and by Ch. Jourdain in Revue Contemporaine vol. XXXII (1857) p. 630. Jourdain took up the whole volume in an article entitled La Philosophie des Arabes et des Juifs Revue européenne 1re année, vol. 5 (~~1859~~ 1859) p. 525.

It should be noted that Renan owed much to Munk's work in his on Averroes et l'Averroïsme.

Munk speaks then of Moses ben Joshua of Narbon. Less important is Albo. The expulsion of the Jews from Spain marks the end of Jewish

philosophy. Even Mendelssohn "qu'on peut considérer comme le créateur de la nouvelle civilisation des Juifs d'Europe n'a ni pu<sup>36</sup> ni voulu fonder pour eux une nouvelle ère philosophique"

(36) p. 433.

Munk declares that the Jews as a nation or religious group have only a secondary importance in the history of philosophy. that was<sup>37</sup> not their mission . The point of view given here by Munk was endorsed

(37) p. 433. We underline here again this word mission. the mission idea in Judaism is not limited to ~~X~~ Reform.

<sup>38</sup>  
by E. Vacherot .

(38) La Religion, Paris 1869, p. 251 quoted by S. Jellinek, Franzosen über Juden Wien 1880 p. 16.<sup>39</sup>

Benzion Kellermann's work on the Milhamoth of Levi ben Gerson bears evidence to the value of the contribution made by Munk. In the indices of both volumes the name of Munk occurs more frequently

(39) Benzion Kellermann Die Kämpfe Gottes, Uebersetzung und Erklärung des handschriftlich revidierten Textes Berlin 1914-1916

by far than that of any other modern scholar.

In Histoire Littéraire de la France (t.XXI, p. 506 ff.) Munk published without signing them biographies of French rabbis of the XIIIth century. Iehiel of Paris, Nathan the Official, and his son<sup>40</sup> Joseph, Isaac of Corbeil, and Moses of Coucy . These articles were

(40) Quelques rabbins français de la fin du XIIIe siècle. Iehiel de Paris; Nathan l'Officiel et son fils Joseph, Isaac de Corbeil, Moïse de Coucy.

reprinted in Annuaire Créhange 1858 and 1861. This popular work has no special significance.

Munk though blind could see better than some with their eyes<sup>41</sup> open. The name of Bishr ben Aaron, father in law of Sarjadah had been

(41) Cf. H. Malter Saadia Gaon, his life and works, Philadelphia 1921 p. 121.

42 43  
read Kashar ben Aharon by Rapoport . L. Wogue tells us that Munk

(42) He had read 7 6 2, Jost had read Cassad.  
had told him to read 7 6 4; this was not far from the truth

(43) Vérité Israélite IV (1860) p. 300 n. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

and is just one of the many discoveries made by Munk.

On Albo (Munk, Melanges p. 507) (or Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques III 365), See L. Wogue La Vérité Israélite V (1861) 228-234 for contemporary opinion. The commentary שנינו of 1618, 2nd ed. 1788 was reedited with introductions, Berlin 1928 p.530 Add to the bibliography the Extracts of a translation by M.S. Raphall in Galed I-III (1834-1836) A. Tanzer Die Religionsphilosophie Joseph Albo's nach seine Werke "Ikkarim" systematisch dargestellt und erläutert, Frankfurt 1896 I. Husik, Joseph Albo, The last of the Jewish philosophers, Amer. Acad. for Jewish Research. Philadelphia Proceedings, 1927-1928, p. 61-72 And the edition with translation in 4 vol. by I. Husik, Philadelphia 1929-1930.

44. The Mélanges were reprinted in 1927, therefore they still have their value in the history of philosophy.

Munk's Palestine and other Hebrew studies

Before he published his Moreh, Munk had reached fame through a piece of honest work, his Palestine, which ~~also~~ gave him some financial profit.

The publisher, <sup>Firmin</sup> ~~Le~~ Didot had asked him for this volume in his collection L'Univers pittoresque<sup>1</sup>. Munk's work is called

*the book of Caussin de Perceval*  
1. This series was rather popular and is now forgotten, except for the volume contributed by Munk and to some extent on l'Histoire des Arabes, also the work of a master.

Palestine, Description géographique, historique et archéologique, 1845,  
p.704, 68 plates, 3 maps. The text<sup>2</sup> <sup>and</sup> illustrated is quite compact

2. It has 1500 columns so that the German translation by M.A. Levy, Palästina Leipzig (1871-72) is incomplete although it is a two-volume (500 pages) publication.<sup>3</sup>

3. It reaches p. 267 out of 662 and has no plates.

Palestine was put on the Index Librorum prohibitorum only in 1853. The Roman Censors move sometimes very fast, but in this case, at first, no one apparently brought Munk's work to their attention. And yet it seems to us to be most conservative.

The work of Munk can still be read with profit. The first part covers the geography flora and fauna. Sometimes, there are traces of outgrown scholarship, as for instance (p.43) an etymology of Jerusalem as "heritage de la paix." On p.87, he adds to Gelenius' rendering of Plautus' Punic words in Poenulus. We note here and there, in the foot notes, several interesting renderings of the biblical text.

After a study of the various nations comes a history of the



Hebrews. On Criticism of ~~the~~ Pentateuch Munk remarks adhuc sub judice lis est (p. 133), but he does not accept a complete mosaic authorship) (p.142). There is a very full treatment of Mosaic institutions. Munk has no ax to grind. And so (p.178) he takes issue with Salvador who had claimed that the tribe of Levi received only one seventeenth of the national income (Histoire des Institutions de Moïse, I. p. 253 ff.) He shows that Salvador erred in his identification of the third year tithe with the first tithe, and also in deducting the seventh year because there was no tithe then. Yes, says Munk, but there was no income either.

Coming to Mosaic Law we find this statement (p.192): "Le meilleur ouvrage qu'on puisse consulter sur cette matière est le Mosaïches Recht (Droit Mosaïque) de Michaelis que nous avons déjà cité bien des fois. L'Histoire des Institutions de Moïse et du peuple hébreu (3 vol. in 8 Paris 1828) par M. Salvador, s'occupe de toutes les parties de la loi mosaïque. Beaucoup mieux écrit que l'ouvrage de Michaelis, et plein de vues élevées, cet ouvrage offre une lecture attachante au littérateur et au philosophe, mais il a l'inconvénient de manquer de critique historique. Confondant toutes les époques, il ne distingue pas assez le fond mosaïque des développements ultérieurs de la loi, et il ne saurait satisfaire qu'imparfaitement aux besoins de l'historien."

But Munk uses Michaelis only to defend his own conclusions. And here and there he disagrees with him. For instance, on p. 194, he rejects Michaelis idea that the Nasis (in the book of Numbers 2 and 7) are the same as the elders. He shows against Winer (p.194-195) that they might be elected.

The question of the Hebrew's right to Palestine which was so important even in the days of Michaelis (tom. I § 29) has now

taken again a pragmatic importance, which Munk could never have guessed in these pre-zionistic days. He says of it (p.199) Ce sujet fut longtemps considéré comme un chapitre essentiel du droit des antiquités bibliques. M. Salvador nous paraît avoir mieux compris cette question. Voy. son Histoire des Inst. de Moïse. t. II. p.96-110.

Then comes the history of the conquest of Canaan by Joshua, the judges, David and Solomon and the Kings. This is followed by a book on Hebrew Antiquities or the civilisation of the Ancient Hebrews. (p.356-458) This is followed by a history to the Fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. About the sects, we notice that Munk brings in the Kabbala (p.519-524) Coming to the history of Jesus (p.565-567), which he treats with great fairness, declaring that he himself "professes the Jewish religion" (p.565 b. note I). An appendix treats of the history of Palestine since 70 A.D. We note on p. 652 a little remark against Mehemet-Ali. "Un jour, quand les préventions de la politique et le froid égoïsme de la diplomatie auront fait place à la justice sévère de l'histoire, on s'étonnera que la France ait pu oublier un moment la cause de l'humanité pour servir celle de Mohammed-Ali, et on aura de la peine à croire qu'elle ait été à la veille de déclarer la guerre à l'Europe tout entière, pour conserver la Syrie au tyran d'Egypte" (p.562) Munk had been in it. We note also on the following page a little knock on the protestants for

4. Saint-Marc Girardin, wrote in La Revue des Deux Mondes vol. 41 (1862) La question d'Orient en 1840 et en 1862 p. 286 je n'ai point hésité à dire franchement comment tout le monde en France s'était plus ou moins trompé sur l'Egypte en 1840.

establishing a bishopric in Jerusalem with "l'évêque Alexandre ex-Juif" (p.653) 5.

5. His name was of course Michael Solomon Alexander, ~~who~~ was really a good and worthy man, scarcely deserving

5. (continued) ... this knock and quite different from the usual run of "converts".

We note also here Munk's final words on Palestine most certainly pre-zionist:

"On s'est beaucoup occupé, dans ces derniers temps, des destinées futures de la Palestine, et on a formé les projets les plus singuliers. Il ne nous est pas donné de soulever le voile de l'avenir; mais quelles que soient les destinées politiques réservées à la Palestine, elle devra rester, sous le rapport religieux, un pays neutre, où, sous la protection de la civilisation européenne qui doit y pénétrer, les hommes pieux, quelles que soient leurs croyances, se livreront en paix à l'adoration, aux regrets et à l'espérance"

6. p. 653

What we have noted here from Munk's Palestine gives a poor idea of a work which then attracted universal attention, by its scholarship, its fairness, its excellent method and presentation. The book has an excellent index.

That the book does not belong entirely to the past is proved by the fact that there was a Hebrew abridged translation as late as 1909

פֶּלַח תִּינָה ... תַּאֲחָר גִּיאָר אֶפִּי שֶׁל  
אֶרֶץ לֵב-עֲצֵנָה עַד תְּקוּפַת הַיָּשׁוּב  
הַחֹדֶשׁ שֶׁל קוֹבֵצֵי צִיּוֹן

translated by M. Robinson (on the basis of the German work of Levy) Wilna (1909) p. 124.

In the twelfth volume of Cahen's La Bible 1843 (p.114) Munk published Commentaire de R. Tanchum de Jérusalem, du XIIIe siècle, sur le livre de Habakouk, publié pour la première fois en arabe, et accompagné d'une traduction française et de notes

7. See a note on Tanchum by Fürst in Literaturblatt des Orients 1842 t. III, 828. The same year 1843 sees T.Haarbrücker R.Tanchumi Hierosolymitani in

- 7 (continued) Prophetas commentarii arabici Specimen I.  
Halle 1843 review by I. Kampf, Literaturblatt des Orients  
vol 4. 1843 p.49-58.

In 1847 Munk wrote an Uebersichtliche Darstellung der hebraische Literatur bis zur Zerstörung des Zweiten Tempels, in the Jahrbuch für Israeliten, edited by Klein vol. 5. p. 50 ff.

8. This volume does not exist in the New York Public Library. The volumes of the Jahrbuch found there are not of such value that a search for Munk's article ~~was~~ really necessary.

In 1866 Munk presented Meleketh ha-shir of Neubauer and gave a short survey of Hebrew prosody adapted from the Arabic

9. Comptes Rendus 1866 p.86-88

In a discussion about the tomb of Helena Munk declares that Josephus third wall is not the present wall and is certainly right

10. p. 122-123, 136-137  
against de Saulcy.

In the same year, he presented Levy's Chaldaisches Wörterbuch vol.I with a good survey of aramaic dialects comparing the Talmudic aramaic to a patois (like Mandaean) while the Targumim are in classical aramaic. His conception of the Assyro Babylonian language was not right. (this was before any one knew much about it)

11. p. 380-381

As he presented E.A. Astruc Poesies rituelles des juifs Portugais to the Academie des Inscriptions Munk made a survey of Hebrew poetry placing Kalir in the 7th or, at the latest, eighth Century

12. Comptes Rendus 1865 p.131-132.

This Compte- rendu of Astruc's work (which is part of a five volume translation of the Rituel des Juifs d'Espagne et du Portugal) is friendly It places Hebrew poetry above Arabic.

13. p. 131-133. Cf. La poésie juive espagnole. Revue orientale et américaine, vol 10 (1865) p.1-10.  
14. p. 132.

He gave great praise to Segond's talent as a translator in  
his Chrestomathie biblique<sup>15</sup>, saying of him "M. Segond me paraît

15. p. 173

<sup>16</sup>  
appelé à nous donner enfin une traduction française qui puisse

16. Italics are ~~added~~.

satisfaire aux besoins des études hébraïques et aux exigences du  
gout littéraire<sup>17</sup>. The translation made by Segond justified Munk's

17. p. 173

hopes. It was published both in the order of the Hebrew canon and in the usual order adopted by Christians, and in this case with Oltramare's translation of the New Testament into French. Segond's version soon had the field to itself for driving out the old Protestant translations of Martin and Ostervald. It was even used a good deal by Crampon in his Catholic translation. However, Segond has largely been replaced now by a new translation called version synodale, which is largely the work of William Monod who was my teacher of Hebrew. The version synodale is in excellent French but does often skip over textual difficulties. A scientific counterpart is la Bible du Centenaire, with abundant textual and critical apparatus edited by Adolphe Lods, my second professor of Hebrew, member of the Institut de France, where he somehow fills Munk's fauteuil, rather than that of Renan.

In l'Univers Israélite 15 (1860) p. 505-514 Munk wrote about Le poète Juif Manoello ami du Dante. He doubts that this ~~Manoello~~ be the same as Emmanuel of Rome. Munk calls attention to the fact that the share played by Jews in the development of poetry in the language of the country where they lived has been lost sight of.

Geiger answered and claimed the identity of Manoello and Emmanuel were the same person (p.562-563). An anonymous answer justifies Munk's doubts (p.564-565).

The Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles

Lettres 8th year 1864 p. 341-345 give two reports on two memoirs made by Neubauer to that Academy on Forkowitz (sic) manuscripts. <sup>Munk</sup> He notes that Moses Dara<sup>f</sup> is a poet of the 13th century, and not of the 9th as Graetz had said, led astray by Pinsker.

In 1861, Munk presented to the Academie des Inscriptions the Dictionnaire hebreu-français of Sander and Trenel<sup>18</sup>, note the assis-

18. Trenel had been director of the Ecole Centrale Rabbinique of Metz and was now directeur of the Seminaire Israélite of Paris

<sup>19</sup> tance of M. Ulmann grand rabbin of the Consistoire Central. added some

19. Comptes Rendus, 5 (1861) p. 95,96

biographical notes on Aboth. This dictionary which I used in my student days, because there was no other in French, is a tremendous advance on the midrashic etymologies of a Lambert<sup>20</sup>, but it has only a practical value. It is not an instrument of research.

20. We refer of course to grand rabbin M.L. Lambert (Cf.p.19-20) who however marked a distinct advance on his father-in-law - and not to the late Professor Mayer Lambert who taught at the Paris Rabbinical School and contributed excellent grammatical notes and exegetical studies to the R.E.J and who wrote a Hebrew grammar published in part.

Munk had apparently declared in an unguarded moment; Une lacune serieuse existe dans la litterature francaise; on y chercherait en vain une traduction satisfaisante de la Bible<sup>21</sup>. This was certainly true, and especially from the Jewish point of view. The Bible

21. Archives Israelites, 27 (1866) 284. Cf. 366-367.

of S. Cahen was written in such bad ~~French~~ French, that the translator's son Isidore Cahen did not use it in La Bible de la famille,<sup>22</sup> The protestant versions were as we already said, in indifferent

French, and the catholic versions were too influenced by the Vulgate to be reliable for an understanding of the Hebrew text. The situation is quite different now ; there is an excellent Jewish translation, in the preparation of which Zadoc-Kahn played a most important part.

22. On S. Cahen's Bible, Cf. quotation of Report, by. S. Munk, rather than by Renan, on Les etudes bibliques et hebraiques en France, Archives Israelites, 29, (1868) 651-652. That Isidore Cahen should defend his father's work was normal, but it was said commonly that he had retranslated it in la Bible des familles. Cf. Archives Israelites, 27, (1866) p. 366 in a letter of Munk.

## VIII

## About two Hebrew Grammars

There is a human element in the reviewing of books.

We may perhaps wonder why, great scholar as he was, Munk recommended to learned societies two elementary grammars of the Hebrew language. The reason is that in both cases we find behind <sup>the work</sup> the personality in which he was interested

In a Review of Nouvelle Grammaire hébraïque raisonnée et comparée by Klein<sup>1</sup>, Mulhouse 1846<sup>2</sup> Munk praises the rabbi for his work and especially for his noting a second (or apocopated) future, which could be called subjunctive<sup>3</sup>. While this term is not quite accurate, it was interesting.

1. He was not an alumnus of Metz.

2. J A ser 4 vol 16 p. 151-152

3. p. 152

It is somewhat surprising to see a work of this kind granted space in the Journal Asiatique. Solomon Klein (1814-1867) was only 32, and that was his first work. But he gave promise of being a good scholar. He gave a Traduction française et Annotation du Sefer Yesodot ha-Maskil de R. David ben Bilia du Portugal, XVe siècle (in the Dibre Hakhamim of Eliezer Ashkenazi, Metz, 1849)<sup>4</sup>. His conservative point of view is

4. Albo, Ikkarim, Ed. Husik, I p. 36, 61, refers to a writer who advocated 26 principles as against Maimonides' thirteen. David ben Bila (or Bilia) did so, but Albo's description of some of these 26 principles does not quite agree with David ben Bilia. Cf. Schechter, Studies in Judaism, I, p. 167, 352.

evident in his guide du traducteur du Pentateuch, in three small volumes. More important is Le Judaïsme ou la Vérité sur le Talmud, Mulhouse, 1859, p. II 7 (German translation by Mannheimer, Das Judenthum oder die Wahrheit über den Talmud



1860). In this book, Klein attacks Chiarini who was evidently quoted a good deal in those days. This book was an answer to Louis Veuillot's recent strictures a l'Univers. (Dec.18,1858) In <sup>Klein's</sup> apology for the Talmud, the fact that the Greeks philosophers borrowed from the Hebrews is accepted (p.47), Bossuet (Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle, 2e partie, <sup>f</sup> v) being quoted in support of this opinion. The Zohar is considered as an early document. The author disposes of a number of false and mischievous statements made by Chiarini. The appendix gives the Doctrinal decisions of the Paris Sanhedrin (p.105-116).

O. Tarquem wrote an interesting review of this book, Univers Israelite, 15 (1859) 87-91. He praises M. Klein whom he would like to see head of the Rabbinical School, but he says (p.91) "M.Klein approve indistinctement tout. Un éloge exagéré est plus nuisible qu'une critique exagérée." Another review in the same number was by Raphael Kirchheim (p.98-100) He calls attention to an answer to Chiarini by Zung in 1830). Klein answered both in the November issue (p.139-145).

Continuing his grammar, Klein wrote a Cours de themes <sup>et de</sup> versions hébraïques a l'usage des commençants, Colmar 1866, the first of its kind in French.

Klein printed a book of sermons which are well written and eloquent. An article of his on M. Philipppson et sa traduction de la Bible. Univers Israelite, 15, 1664-674 shows an hostility to Philipppson which was rather general among French rabbis.

Klein also wrote four Hebrew books. Three of these are not mentioned in his biography in J E.

We must also refer to a posthumous work La Justice criminelle chez les Hebreux, Archives Israelites, 59 (1898) 124-125, 141-142,

155-156, 182-183, 196-197, 213-214, 236. In this article, Rabbi Klein maintains that the Great Sanhedrin ~~goes~~ back to Moses (p. 141) Proofs are brought up in a foot note. The qualifications for membership are given on p. 142 according to Synedrin 17 a, 36 b Menachoth 65 a, and Maimonides des Synedrins chap. II

§1,3,6. About the other tribunals Maimonides' Yad is also quoted frequently as an authority, as he is about the testimony, (155-156, 182-183) This essay which had been planned as a supplement in a second edition of Judaisme was edited by his son, Dr. Klein, who was also quite conservative.

5

The Hebrew Grammar by Israel Jehiel Michel Rabbino-wicz is one of many elementary grammars of the Hebrew language.

5. Hebräische Grammatik nach neuen sehr vereinfachten Regeln... mit Beispielen zur Übung, Grunberg, 1851 p. XIV, 282

Munk said (after Fürst) in the seance of March 11 of the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres that five hundred  
6  
Hebrew grammars had already been published since Reuchlin

6. Schwab p. 130 says erroneously plusieurs millions. wrote his Rudimenta hebraica ~~in~~ (Basle 1506). When I.I. Rabbino-wicz came to Paris, as many a poor Hebrew scholar had done  
7  
before, he was befriended ~~by~~ among others by Baron Ury Günsbourg.

7. To him the French translation was dedicated.  
8 is the one that  
He had previously written a shorter grammar. This was translated

8. Praktische hebräische Grammatik, Breslau 1853.  
into French by the Arabist J.J. Clément. Mullet and attracted  
9  
Munk's sympathy and interest. He ~~note~~ that the German edition

9. Grammaire hébraïque de J.M. Rabbino-wicz traduite de l'allemand sous les yeux de l'auteur, par J.U. Clément Mallet, membre de la Société Asiatique de Paris 1864 p. XXIV, 115, 108.

had been dedicated to Alexander von Humboldt.

We note in the French translation several new grammatical forms dependant (for construct), conjonctif temporel (for the old term conversive~~or~~ now abandoned). The author takes the infinitive as the basis of the conjugation and so calls the seven forms<sup>10</sup> of

10. We like this term form used in Arabic

conjugation, Kal, niphol, pael, puel, hophil, hithpael. We would not care to recommend this grammar to-day,<sup>11</sup> but it did mark progress on certain lines. At any rate, we note that a two page inset giving

11. It has no paradigm tables, no index, no syntax. The rules about qamets are too complex, the vowel system is unscientific. The grammar is too bulky for a beginner, not reasoned and not scientific enough for an advanced student.

Munk's opinion was added to the French edition. No doubt Munk was rightly considered the leading authority in France<sup>12</sup>

12. Rabbino-wicz was a typical Hebrew scholar. He made his home in Paris and wrote much on the Talmud. We do not think that he had a grammatical mind.

S. Cahen also praised Rabbino-wicz's grammar (Archives Israelites 16, 1855, p. 170-177). Munk also presented this grammar to the Academie des Inscriptions Comptes Rendus 1864 p. 82-83

In order to earn a living Rabbino-wicz took up medicine as Munk had though of doing. This naturally deepened his interest in Maimonides So that he wrote his doctor's thesis on the Treaty of poisons of Maimonides, in 1865. It was rather an analysis than a real translation.<sup>13</sup> The title was Traité des poisons, avec une table

13. M. Schwab. Le docteur I.M. Rabbino-wicz, Paris 1903.p. 10-11

alphabétique de noms pharmaceutiques arabes et hébreux d'après le

traité des synonymes de M. Clément-Mullet. A new edition came out in 1935. We want to note this new evidence of collaboration with Clement-Mullet, who is also found as a friend and helper to Munk when blind, also no doubt as one well repaid by his contact with a great scholar.

Rabbinowicz is well known for his Legislation civile du Thalmud 5 vol. Paris 1877-1880, and his Législation criminelle du Talmud, Paris 1876. Also by his La Médecine du Talmud, Paris 1880 (German translation 1883. Hebrew translation 1894) He even wrote an Histoire sainte (Ancien Testament), Paris 1877 p. 180.

Men ~~just~~<sup>these</sup> these, who were conservative scholars were the kind that Munk liked. He was willing to help them in the world of scholarship where his word carried much weight, because somehow he felt that in scholarship of that type, there was something honestly Jewish .

~~VIXI~~

# MUNK'S BLINDNESS

Then a terrible accident happened. Munk's ~~sight~~ overworked sight, never very good, failed him. He had to resign from the Royal Library but was granted a pension of 1,200 francs (1848).

This affliction no doubt interfered with his work, but Munk showed a wonderful courage and never in history did a blind scholar accomplish so much.

In his affliction, Munk developed still more a tremendous memory. As he dictated to his secretary, he would himself go to the shelf of his library and pick up the volume which should be collated or consulted. To some extent, the same quality of serenity which enlightened Munk in his blindness was found in Joseph Derenbourg who also lost his eyesight.

The anonymous chronicler from Paris in Allgemeine Zeitung des  
<sup>1</sup>  
Judenthums described Munk's office in a rather witty manner. In

1. Pariser Briefe VIII. Die Studiestube eines Blinden All. Z. d. J. 25 (1861) 644-645.

diesem Bureau findest du Bücher und Manuscripte aller Sprachen und aller Art, die Herr Munk alle im ~~Kopfe~~ trägt, und dieselben durch Gefühl besser findet, als ein Anderer mit seinen Augen. He calls him "living catalogue"<sup>2</sup> ~~Here congenial was Meise Schwab, who became~~

2. p. 644.

It would seem that being a secretary to Munk in itself a privilege. The first was Isidore Stillman, who died young, and whose loss is mentioned in the preface of the first volume of the Moreh. He was succeeded by Joseph Mistowski otherwise unknown to us, and then by A. Neubauer, who later carved for himself an honorable career, but who lacked somewhat in certain characteristics which help a good deal to live with others.<sup>3</sup>

3. No remarks are passed by Schwab.

-69-

The last <sup>was</sup> ~~Moise~~ Schwab who became his biographer and helped him in vol. 2 and 3 of the Moreh. Others helped him. Such was young Zadoc Kahn who prepared the tables of these two volumes and became grand rabbin.

Not only did young men assist him, but even scholars considered it a privilege to collaborate with Munk. Such were Samuel Brandeis, and Lazare Wogue, who transformed the scholastic point of view of French rabbinate, and who was appointed by the efforts of Munk and Franck to the Ecole rabbinique of Metz to transform it somewhat before its transfer to Paris.

Another unpaid secretary called also to a great future was Hartwig Derenbourg. He was destined to a great career as an Arabist <sup>4</sup>. ~~He~~ was an inspiring teacher, as I remember him.

4. G. Maspero Hartwig Derenbourg (1844-1908) Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg Paris 1909 p.1-13 M. Schwab Bibliographie des Oeuvres de M. Hartwig Derenbourg, ibid. p. 443-466.

Another assistant was J.J. Clement-Mullet who wrote a good deal on Arabic lexicography in the Journal Asiatique.

J.J. Clement-Mullet translated the treaty of Ibn al Awan Le Livre de l'agriculture (Kitab al Felahat) Paris 1864-67, 2 vol. He had prepared a work ~~on~~ Traité des Synonymies, a lexicon of Arabic and Greek <sup>5</sup> quotations from it are given in I.M. Rabinowicz translation of

5. Clement-Mullet had translated his grammar into French.  
See above p. 64

Maimonides, Traité des poisons, 2nd ed. Paris 1935 p.63-70. We have of Clement-Mullet a pamphlet Il faut toujours respecter la religion du serment, apologue oriental traduit du texte hébreu d'Abraham <sup>6</sup> Maimonides

6. meaning Judeo-arabic

One of S.D. Luzzato's sonnets tells us about Munk's blindness on the occasion of the publication of the first volume of the Moreh.

It was first published in Archives Israélites vol. 17. 1856. p. 706-707

and reprinted in his posthumous work Poesie ed epitafie Padua 1879 p.318. A French translation is given by Schwab p. 144. It is not very accurate. *The sonnet reads as follows:*

The blind is as if he were dead. So declared the ancient.

This saying thou hast set aside

Who liveth like thee now herolike

For the sun and the flame are not darkened

I saw thy work, and my thoughts were astonished

Thou hast set light on the Guide

Thou hast renewed its aspect, thou hast made known all its sources

Thou hast opened all that is sealed, enigmas have ceased.

From Javan, from Kedar thou hast collected witnesses.

The hidden thou hast brought out from all corners

And in the depths of its mysteries thou hast diffused light.

<sup>7</sup>  
Therefore Moses before he who rideth the heavens

<sup>8</sup>  
Intercedes: Have mercy on R A S H who knows

And renew as the eagle both his youth and his eyes.

7. Maimonides

8. Rabbi Shelomoh i.e. Munk

The two last lines are so translated by S. Meyer, a nephew of Munk :

So, Herr, den Dulder, der in Dunkel ringt,

<sup>9</sup>  
Mit Deinen Strahl begnade und belohne

9. quoted by A. Brann, op.cit. p. 158-159

Munk's tragedy, his fortitude, his wonderful capacity for work / inspired a universal admiration . His friends Jews and non Jews the scholastic world took his case up with the French academic authorities.

No doubt, an article of de Saulcy in the Courrier de Paris 16.Fev. 1858 was there for a purpose. One immediate result was that

Solomon Munk was made a chevalier ~~et~~ de la Legion d'honneur on August 13th "Sa Majesté (the Emperor Napoleon III) a voulu par cette distinction récompenser l'orientaliste distingué a qui la science est redevable de travaux justement appréciés", says the letter from the Ministre of Education <sup>10</sup> that was rather late, but Munk did not

10. Letter from Munk to his sister Jahrbuch für judische Geschichte und Literatur, II (1899) p.201

care for honors and never intrigued for them.

Munk's name appears for the first time in 1858 in the Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

In ~~the~~ vol.II (1858) edited by Ernest Desjardins (Paris 1859)

<sup>11</sup>  
On Nov.19,1858, his letter as a candidate was presented as well as that of Charles Ernest Beulé, both being candidates for the fauteuil of F. Lajard. On the same day, Ernest Renan presented to the Academy the first part of Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe <sup>12</sup>

11. p. 381

12. He speaks of Scham Tob-Ibne-Salaopiera.

M. Desjardins was not quite familiar with the subject and his note <sup>12</sup> is rather amusing in its errata

At the next meeting (December 3rd) Munk was elected no doubt thanks to Renan's support and also because M.Beulé was really so much <sup>13</sup> younger,

13. This brilliant archeologist was then only 32 years old. He was elected two years afterwards to fill Lenormant's fauteuil.

Guizot who certainly had not agreed with Munk's point of view on the Damas affair, had travelled expressly from Normandy to cast his ~~Vote~~ for Munk, whom he considered the greatest Hebrew scholar in France. Guizot's coolness to Salvador is rather a contrast.



Guizot relied much on Munk's Hebrew knowledge. One of Munk's letters to Guizot gives the latter some information on Ezekiel and Jeremiah and declares that their grammar is somewhat incorrect. No doubt, Guizot considered Munk as superior to any one else in France. As a conservative Protestant, he was glad to feel that there was some one whose science surpassed that of Renan and of Reuss.

I4. Schwab, p. 161.

Even to day, one of the differences between conservative and liberal protestants, is that the former believe that the Jews know Hebrew, while the latter are usually convinced that they do not.

~~XX~~

## DIFFERENCES WITH RENAN

We saw how Renan was one of the supporters of Munk's candidacy, as he even was one of his admirers. And yet these two scholars were far apart on the point of view of scholarship/

E. Renan had read before the Academy des Inscriptions a memoir on Nouvelles considerations sur le caractère général des peuples sémitiques et en particulier sur leur tendance au monotheisme. He declared "Le monotheisme n'est pas et ne peut être l'oeuvre personnelle de Moïse".<sup>1</sup> He ~~declared~~<sup>also</sup> that Terah was not an idolater. Munk

1. Comptes-Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. vol. 3. (1859) p. 69

objected<sup>2</sup>. Renan declared that the characteristic of the book of

2. p. 71

Job was a human daring criticism of the divinity.<sup>3</sup> Munk maintained

3. p. 77

that the first point of view is submission to the will of God.

This memoir certainly aroused heated discussions in those days of June and July 1859.<sup>4</sup> Renan was apparently alone then. Munk criti-

4. p. 67-100

cizes Renan's theory of the name of God.<sup>5</sup> Munk quoted Latin and Greek

5. p. 80

poets which would have given a better reason for monotheism than the arguments of Renan<sup>6</sup>

6. p. 89-90

Munk summarized his objection to the Memoir in every strong terms. The memoir... contradicts the Bible, and...all of antiquity...What seems grave to me, is the assertion that other people in the semitic race<sup>7</sup> had the notion of monotheism. He could not find in Arabic

7. p. 91. Truly Munk aged less than Renan.

poetry even the shadow of a religious sentiment like that of Israel,  
but only selfishness and pride<sup>8</sup>. Renan had to admit that Arabic poetry

8. p. 93

is not religious. Renan seemed at a loss for arguments of his thesis<sup>9</sup>

9. p. 93

and had to bring in Melchisedek!<sup>10</sup> Munk had a far more scientific

10. p. 93-94

explanation in his Palestine. This God <sup>Eliou</sup>~~El~~ served by Melchisedek  
is a Phenician God. The Ras Shamra texts have justified Munk!

Renan brings him again the book of Job as an argument, a  
weak support.

We note here that Munk knew that the Phenicians were not  
Semites only in part<sup>11</sup> which Renan admitted.

11. p. 95

Naturally, Renan was sometimes right against Munk, for ins-  
tance as to the late date of Joshua's discourse,<sup>12</sup> and about the  
date of l'Agriculture nabatéenne,<sup>13</sup> However, the value of the content

12. p. 96

13. p. 130-131

of that book is greater than Renan admitted. In the following year<sup>14</sup>  
Renan presented a Memoir sur le Traité de l'agriculture nabatéenne.

14. Comptes-Rendus 4 (1860) p. 47-59

which disposed of Quatremère and Chwolson's theories. Munk concurred<sup>15</sup>  
judging the latter severely

15. p. 59

The chair of Hebrew held by Renan at the College de France was  
declared vacant by imperial decree Dec.24,1864. Munk is appointed his  
successor. Munk's appointment to Renan's chair apparently originated<sup>16</sup>  
from Victor Cousin, who admired Munk's philosophical work. A

16. From a letter of Cousin quoted by Schwab p. 175

As customary, the opening lecture was quite a ceremony, friends of the new professor, and the curious, crowding in with few prospective students. This lesson was published as a pamphlet by Munk himself.

Cours de langues hébraïque chaldaïque et syriaque au Collège de France  
Leçon d'Ouverture (faite le 1er Février (1865) Paris 1865. p. 23

Perhaps because of a feeling against Renan in ecclesiastical circles Munk's lectures were attended by a fairly large number of Catholic theological students. The fairness of Munk was clear to all. He avoided in his course all dogmatic or theological exegesis. One could feel here and there a certain opposition to Renan's sweeping statements in l'Histoire des langues sémitiques. Some severity for these Arab writers <sup>17</sup> which Renan had written with some affectation

17. p. 12.

"On a beaucoup écrit, dans ces dernières années, sur le caractère general des Sémites <sup>18</sup> et je croirai presque répéter une banalité en

18. p. 12 the allusion <sup>is</sup> here clearly to Renan

vous disant que la pauvreté du langage tient à une pauvreté des idées, de l'imagination, des sentiments... Mais il me semble qu'on n'a pas été juste envers les Hébreux, en les confondant, sous tous les rapports, avec les autres peuples sémitiques."

Then Munk speaks of "le prétendu monothéisme des Sémites...". C'est tout un échafaudage de déductions philologiques que le plus léger souffle suffit pour renverser <sup>19</sup> And most certainly Munk is right <sup>here</sup>

19. p. 13

~~here~~ against Renan. He compares the Psalms to the Hamaza. No monotheism <sup>20</sup> among Semites or Indo Europeans says Munk. So Hebrew monotheism

20. p. 17

is a "fait providentiel, l'intervention directe de la Providence dans les destinées de la race humaine" <sup>21</sup> Munk declares that the Hebrews did

21. p. 18

not shine in philosophy<sup>22</sup> . He declares that he is opposed to pantheism<sup>23</sup>

22. p. 18

23. p. 19

He ends his lecture with praise of Hebrew poetry.

An anonymous article in Archives Israelites 26 (1865) Ouverture<sup>p.149-155</sup>  
du cours d'Hebreu au College de France, describes the first lesson.  
This was, as usual, a great occasion for his friends to come at  
least once. The report tells us that several catholic ecclesiastics  
were present and seemed satisfied, as was the Journal l'Union. The<sup>24</sup>  
discourse ended, the whole assembly applauded . The lecture was pu-

24. p. 155

blished the same year in German by Geiger in his Juedische Zeitsch-  
rift fur Wissenschaft und Leben vol. 5 , and in English by Leeser  
in Occident.

XI

Munk's last years

This study of Munk does not dwell on his personal life, well presented by Schwab, but only on his activity as thinker and scholar.

It may not be out of place to give here a passing notice to a feature of Munk's character which is however part of the life of the truer talmid hakham, namely his active charity. He found time to teach religion to a group of poor children. He assisted the poor, and especially the impoverished scholars with great tact in spite of his own limited means. When he had nothing <sup>1</sup> to give, he begged from the rich

1. Schwab, Solomon Munk p.131-133.

Part of a lecture at the College de France being a survey on Aramaic Literature was published by Munk under the title of De la Littérature araméenne, first in Revue Orientale et américaine 10 (1863) p. 213 ff. reprinted in Archives Israelites 27 (1866), 262-268, 303-309. This survey ~~is~~ rather popular in tone shows however that Munk had a critical acumen, as he expressed doubt on the early date imagined by Quatremère and still more by Chwolson on the Nabatean agriculture.

2. Reference not given by Schwab

Because philosophy found refuge among the Jews of Spain while banished by Moslem renewal of fanaticism, was according to Munk in Les Arabes. les Juifs et la Civilisation <sup>3</sup>

3. Archives Israelites. 27 (1866) p. 473-474. It was the preface to a work by Hermann Cohn, Moeurs des Juifs et des Arabes de Tétuan (Maroc) avec une lettre de S.Munk. The first edition (not seen) is of 1866. A reprint was issued in 1927. Munk's preface is on p. 1-2. This reference is not in Schwab.

In 1865 Munk wrote in the Archives Israelites (vol. 26 p. 399-402) an Esquisse biographique, Le Professeur Ollendorff He knew him since ~~in~~ 1828, when he was giving private lessons in German and thus evolved his famous method for the study of modern languages.

Munk's classical education was never allowed to become obsolete. We find that he always kept his interest in it. He opposed the idea that the modern pronunciation of Greek, ~~its~~ accent and ~~prosody~~ <sup>4</sup> were similar to the use in antiquity <sup>4</sup>

4. Comptes-Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres  
1864- tom.8. p. 335-336

Louis Marcus who had been considered a coming great philologist <sup>5</sup>, S.Munk contributed a necrological article to this scholar who <sup>6</sup>

5. Archives Israelites 4 (1843) p. 459.

6. Archives p. 541-549.

~~died when~~ <sup>5</sup> was only 45 years old. He had refused to accept baptism in order to have some kind of a position, as had been the case of Munk himself. He came to Paris in 1825 and published in Journal Asistique two articles which were part of a great work on Abyssinia which was never published. There is a deep note of pathos and appreciation in Munk's notice.

For the sake of completeness we note a letter of Munk to Abraham Firkowitz published in <sup>7</sup> year 14 ~~Ma~~ 16 p. 314 ~~(1878)~~ (1878) in the book <sup>7</sup> ~~dated 23 of~~ Nisan's year <sup>7</sup> ~~This item is not found in~~ Schwab's book.

Death came to Munk by a stroke February 6th 1867 <sup>7</sup>. We already

7. Nécrologie, Archives Israelites 28 (1867) p. 254 referred to that ceremony at the beginning of this paper. The impression made by the death of Munk was great. David Henriquez

de Castro published a biography in an Amsterdam weekly and suggested a monument to Munk. The same idea was offered by ~~offered~~ by Rabbi Gerson of Durmenach. It was expressed also in the Consistoire Central and Alliance Israelite. Nothing came out of it.

It was hoped that a supplementary volume to the *Moreh* would be that memorial. No one was qualified to prepare that crowning piece of Munk's work without his presence and his unfailing erudition.

Solomon Munk's private library acquired by L.M. Rotschild, for reasons that can easily be understood became the nucleus of the important Bibliothèque de l'Alliance Israelite now in the Ecole Normale  
8  
Israelite

8. R E J, 49 (1904) p. 74



XII

Contemporary Judaism

The second of the sympathetic Briefe aus Paris<sup>1</sup> gives us statistics

1. Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums I (1852) 176-179

of French Jewry in 1850. The third and fourth letters<sup>2</sup> were translated in l'Univers Israélite 7, 291-299, the fifth and sixth letters<sup>3</sup>

2. Monatschrift I. 221-227

are in l'Univers Israélite 7, 336-341, the seventh and eighth letters<sup>4</sup> are in l'Univers Israélite 7, 435-444. Four of the

3. Monatschrift I. 261-265

are in l'Univers Israélite 7, 336-341, the seventh and eighth letters<sup>4</sup> are in l'Univers Israélite 7, 435-444. Four of the

4. Monatschrift 7, 335-343

eight consistories Strasbourg, Colmar, Metz and Nancy represent the Ashkenazi rite, Bordeaux and Bayonne (St-Esprit) the old Sephardic settlements. To the Sephardic consistory of Marseilles belong the Ashkenazic community of Lyon (1800). Paris had both elements. Out of 80,000 Jews, 8 to 10,000 were Sephardic, but all the Jews of Algiers who were then estimated at 30 to 40,000 were Sephardic.

At the head of French Jewry was the Consistoire Central of Paris.

The Consistories were of unequal size, that of the Bas-Rhin (Strasbourg) having 24,000 Jews, that of St-Esprit 2,000. Yet each one had<sup>one</sup> delegate at the Consistoire Central there were therefore 5 Ashkenazic delegates and 3 Sephardic. There was less scholarship among the Sephardis. In 1850 there<sup>in</sup> 3 chief rabbis are Ashkenazis.

Samuel Dreyfus of Mulhouse who was a candidate to the position of Chief rabbi of France left vacant by the death of Marchand Ennery, tells us in a letter to S. Bloch<sup>5</sup> of the decline of the rabbinate.

Indeed, the old fashioned rabbi, he claims, was more useful, and really more important. His ambition was to cultivate theological

5. Univers Israelite. 8 (1853) p. 337-343.

knowledge and he had no time for administrative duties or almsgiving as such. He corresponded on learned subjects with other rabbis. When he preached (twice a year) his message was forceful, but at all times he was a director of conscience revered and listened to.

Now ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ a rabbi like the old rabbis would be a living anachronism.

<sup>Truly</sup> eloquent preaching is <sup>now</sup> emphasized, but the services are so long that clearly preaching is not compatible with them. Besides youth and women do not come to services, and most of the older men are not interested, and do not understand.

Now he says the essential quality of a rabbi is to have an *exterieur agreable*, "pour se faire bien venir dans les salons dorés."

French judaism in the fifties has become a real entity. J. Bloch gives in 1852 a very ambitious program which we shall quote in full:

6. La France Israelite, in Univ. Israelite 7. p.248

"Help us to examine and to cause to triumph the three points which we are going to develop and upon which, according to us, is based our moral salvation in the world, namely :

1. French judaism must make such progress in virtue, in holiness, in knowledge of divine law, that it become a light and a flag for world judaism.

2. French Judaism, while learning on the arm of the State, much acquire a full independance, and see in temporal power only the rock on which it may engrave freely the words of the commandments.

3. French judaism, accepting all whatever noble and healthful

7. regevant en lui

there be in the spirit and the genius of France, must more and more penetrate the social fiber, and inoculate its blood in this generous country by which Providence, apparently, will deliver and regenerate

8  
Society

8. Inoculer son sang dans les veines de ce généreux pays par lequel la Providence semble vouloir délivrer et régénérer la Société. Cf. Univ. Israelite, vol. 8. p.244-247, 294-295 vol. 7, p. 289

In his review of the year 1850, S.Bloch says: Un heureux travail, un retour inespéré s'opère dans l'esprit et dans la croyance des Israelites allemands. La fumée et les vapeurs de la Réforme se dissipent de plus en plus, les autels schismatiques sont tombés en poussière au premier choc des événements, et les prêtres de Baal se sont enfuis, frappés d'épouvante, en entendant dans la tempête la sévère voix de la vérité. La ville d'ou la négation religieuse ~~était sortie pour envahir~~  
~~xxx~~ préchée dans une chaire de mensonge était sortie pour envahir comme un fléau toutes les communautés de l'empire, Franckfort-sur-le-Mein cette ville a purifié son temple par la présence et par l'action d'une  
9  
fidèle ministre du Très-Haut

9. Univers Israelite, 6 (1851) p. 185-186

S. Bloch in 1860 wrote an article on Les Rabbins réformateurs 10

10. Univers Israelite, 16 p. 119-124. There the number of rabbis with reform tendencies is given as 5 to 6 for all of France, or about ten per cent.

We may quote a part of it here:

Nous l'avons dit encore: Le judaïsme français est conservateur ; ses 11

11. italics in the original.

catéchismes, ses rituels, ses livres d'instruction et de piété, tous ses usages religieux sont conformes à la tradition Israélite; ils sont en outre consacrés officiellement par la reconnaissance de l'Etat. Or, donc, le rabbin qui trouve ce judaïsme contraire à ses convictions doit, s'il est honnête homme, donner sa démission, résigner des fonctions ou il est forcé ou de faire violence à sa conscience en se faisant le gardien d'un état de choses en opposition avec ses principes ou de se faire l'agent de la désertion de sa communauté, de lui faire abandonner d'antiques et saintes croyances. En France, tout rabbin réformateur

est un fonctionnaire infidèle; car il a reçu son éducation théologique son diplôme et son institution en vue du principe d'ordre et de conservation qui règne heureusement dans le judaïsme de notre pays<sup>12</sup>

12. p. 123.

No doubt, the fact that dominant religion was Roman Catholicism helped to stifle the spirit of Reform, the French jew not understanding Hebrew better than the average Catholic knew Latin, attended a synagogue service which he could not follow, because that was the custom of the land.

We even find under the pen of S. Bloch a strange argument, psychologically based on that. "Où est le prêtre catholique, he says, surtout le prêtre subalterne qui oserait déblatérer contre les institutions<sup>13</sup>

13. Univers Israelite 16 (1860) 122.

de son Eglise, comme le font certains de nos rabbins contre les usages de la synagogue? Que doit dire l'opinion publique chrétienne d'un culte dont les ministres eux-mêmes montrent les tâches et les plaies?<sup>14</sup>

14. p. 122.

S. Bloch declared that no rabbi ought to publish a work or even a discourse on religion without the approval of his chief rabbi, not because<sup>15</sup>

15. p. 123

of infallibility, but because the chief rabbi, being older, has more experience. There is something in Bloch's conclusion: Un illustre philosophe a dit: Une grande vérité approfondie vaut mieux que la découverte de mille erreurs."<sup>16</sup>

16. p. 124

The reforming influence of Philippson began in France at least in 1847. Then his book Die Entwicklung der religiösen Idee im Judenthume Christentum und Islam, Leipzig 1847 was given an enthusiastic notice by Isidore Cahen<sup>17</sup> A French translation by L. Levi-Bing appeared in

17. Archives Israelites, Mai 1855.

1856 under the title Le développement de l'idée religieuse dans le judaïsme, le christianisme et l'islamisme.

In l'Univers Israelite, S. Bloch attacks constantly Philippson, and later Geiger.

In Philippson's Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums there had been a chronicle from Paris which aroused the ire of S. Bloch. There it was said: "I would divide the rabbis of our days in two classes: those who learned something and those who are orthodox. I do not wish at all to include the French rabbis, because they belong to neither class."<sup>18</sup>

18. Pariser Briefe III, All. Zeitung d. Judenthums 25  
(1861) p. 105

We saw that Klein was strongly opposed to Philippson, but S. Bloch being now exasperated, his tone is far stronger. He declares that Philippson "doit être frappé de démence furieuse" ... si cet homme n'était pas fou, et s'il lui restait une étincelle de raison (p. 675)... se dit rabbin (p. 675)

And yet, <sup>France</sup> had a Reformer, but as he was not a rabbi or a professor, he was allowed to be the enfant terrible of French Reform.

It was O. Tarquem (who formerly signed Zarphati) We find that he contributed to La Vérité Israelite,<sup>19</sup> a short article the editor printed<sup>20</sup>

19. Avenir religieux. Question de probabilité Vérité Israelite  
Vol. III (1861) p. 382-384.

because of "l'importance de son auteur".

20. It was really a letter, but no doubt was written for the purpose of publication.

The third part of mankind says Tarquem has adopted monotheism. The trihypostasy<sup>21</sup> is not an essential difference. This, adds Terquem, is

21. This is the first time we find this term, which is rather good and may have been one of Terquem's brilliant finds

the opinion of Luzzato<sup>22</sup>, and besides Saint-Augustine says in the City

22. He calls him "reverend Luzzato", but Terquem being rather anticlerical<sup>a</sup> did not mean any special reverence.

of God" qu'on ne peut attacher aucune idée a la Trinité; or, un mot vide d'idées devient vite un pur son". The real difference is in the doctrine of the Incarnation; as has been so well proved by Joseph Cohen<sup>23</sup>, Les Juifs Deicides (published serially in La Vérité Israélite and, since printed in book form) (in 1864). Of that work, Terquem

23. Joseph Cohen 1817-1899<sup>should be</sup> better known. The Vérité Israelite which he edited was a good weekly. His work on Les Pharisiens 2 vol. Paris 1877 is of great value. Les Deicides examen de la vie de Jésus et des développements de l'Eglise chrétienne dans leur rapport avec le judaïsme. came out in an American translation, The deicides. Analysis of the life of Jesus, and of the several phases of the Christian Church in their relation to Judaism. Baltimore 1873. No doubt the work of Cohen is not always critical but it is certainly as good as Renan's.

says that it is l'écrit le plus remarquable, à mon avis, qui soit sorti d'une plume israelite de France"<sup>24</sup>

24. p. 283

Terquem declares "Si l'on admet les progrès indéfini de la raison, système que l'histoire semble vérifier,<sup>25</sup> la plus forte probabilité

25 We are tempted to insert here a question mark, but still there is hope.

est en faveur de l'unité israélite, sans hypostatie, sans incarnation. Tel pour le dogme."

Then Terquem brings up the question of circumcision which he has already aired as Tsarphati long ago: "But there is another question about the future, which belongs to worship. Here the most important difference comes at the starting point: hematic,<sup>26</sup> in two of the unita-

26. The term is Terquem's and refers of course to the sign of the Covenant..

rian creeds.<sup>27</sup>

27. Here Terquem is not quite right. Circumcision does not play the same role in Islam as in Judaism.

28  
hydric in the third, There are only four possible cases:

28. "hydrique" says Terquem. This characterization of baptism is interesting.

1° hematism is generalized

2° hydrism is generalized

3° both remain

4° both disappear

And then comes the most interesting statements of Terquem:

Lequel de ces quatre cas est le plus probable? Je ne trouve de réponse dans aucun écrivain israélite. Il est bien à désirer que les hommes les plus éminents de notre époque, tels que le révérend Luzzato en Italie, le révérend Philippsohn en Allemagne, M. Salvador en France qui se sont tant occupés de l'avenir<sup>29</sup> veuillent bien descendre un ins-

29. Italics are Terquem's

tant de leurs hautes méditations, et, se mettant à notre portée, nous dire leur opinion sur cette toute simple question, mais la dire sans philosophisme, sans poésie, sans ~~X'~~élocutions figurées, d'une manière précise, nette, carrément.<sup>30</sup>

30. Terquem writes as a soldier and a mathematician.

This letter was answered by Professor L. Wogue in the next number of La Vérité Israelite<sup>31</sup> and much as Luzzato would have done. There

31. p. 393-398 L'avenir selon le judaïsme.

is, says Wogue, a fifth solution, that of the synagogue. Circumcision will remain and baptism "deviendra ce qu'il pourra; c'est-à-dire qu'il sera ou maintenu, ou remplacé par une autre cérémonie, ou simplement supprimé, selon ce qu'il plaira à Dieu." The answer to the question is in messianism, the result will be the rehabilitation of Israel on the map of the world, of GOD in human consciousness.<sup>32</sup>

32. Wogue refers to his Guide du croyant israélite p. 303.

Wogue has no trouble <sup>maintaining</sup> that circumcision is the essential practice of judaism. There are three more important ones which must be observed even if there is peril to life, The shedding of blood is not the essential part of the rite. At any rate, baptism is also of Jewish origin, and is still practised in the case of proselytes. <sup>33</sup>

33. p. 397, Wogue refers here to La Prière du proselyte, in his Guide p. 446

But O.Terquem was about the only one of his opinion in his claim for a radical transformation of French Judaism. An appeal was made by I. Cahen in 1848 to have the service in French met with no response.

One marked feature of French Judaism was ignorance of Hebrew. Gerson-Levy says that of the fifteen hundred people who crowded the Metz synagogue on New Year's day, less than half a dozen understood the service, which they however wanted to have at full length.

The idea of congregation taking part in in the service is not really French. Naturally, it is not found among the Catholic majority, and even in the Protestant minority, where attempts to make the congregation join in responsive readings have been few, and failed. Some of the customs were discouraging. Often a congregation could not afford a rabbi as teacher and was satisfied with a minister (ministre officiant) whose qualification was a strong voice. The service exceedingly long was really his service. Should a worshipper timidly join his voice to that of the minister, the Shamash hurried to silence him, "car il ne plaisante pas sur ce chapitre, le bedeau."  
... "Cependant, il serait si naturel de chanter... Mais le bedeau <sup>34</sup> n'entend pas de cette oreille; du reste, le règlement est formel."

34. C. Bauer, Nos Offices, in Univers Israelite 25 (1878). p. 661.

And so the people talked a good deal among themselves. Several hours of silence ~~was~~ really too much.



There was no desire to use the French language in the service. No doubt, the fact that Latin was used by most Frenchmen as the vehicle of religious spoken rites, was an important element in French Jewish conservatism.

On the ground that Shemo ehad A. Neubauer declared that: it was not right that in prayer one said Dieu, the other Gott, the third Dio.<sup>35</sup>

35. Univers Israelite, 16, 1860 p. 319

He added: C'est pour la même raison qu'on a tort de vouloir substituer dans notre Rituel des prières, a la langue hébraïque les langues modernes, quoique le Talmud le tolère <sup>וְהָיָה כְּשֶׁלֹּא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים</sup> mais il est bon de conserver dans les synagogues la langue sainte, comme étant réellement la seule que tout juif, de quelque pays qu'il vienne, puisse employer, pour suivre la prière. Il est même évident que si cette substitution s'opère et qu'elle se généralise, le judaïsme s'affaiblira de plus en plus et ne tardera pas a se perdre. Car ce qu'on nomme le judaïsme spirituel n'est qu'une expression qui passe comme un souffle

36. p. 319

It was admitted generally that the Israelite community of Paris was the least Hebraic among the important Jewish communities of the world.

The Jewish community of Paris radiated its thought through three French periodicals Univers Israelite, Archives Israelites, Vérité Israelite. Whether it could give birth to a Hebrew periodical is far from certain. At any rate, Senior Sachs was not endowed with the quality of perseverance that are necessary for such an enterprise. This haskalist had come to Paris to be ~~the~~ preceptor

37. Born in Russia 1816, died in Paris 1892. For bibliography in addition to the titles quoted in J E 10 p. 614 A. Nir <sup>אברהם ניר</sup>

(continued)

37. Jerusalem 1928 p. 88 and S.B. Schwarzberg  
reprint from  
Freidus Fastschrift Wien 1930 pp. 44-45

in the family of Baron <sup>Wry</sup> Gunzbourg. His Gazette was of the essay-  
type of the  $\square' \omega \delta \kappa \omega$ . He had already published a little  
 $\eta \eta' \eta$  in Berlin 1851, and previously a  $\eta \eta' \eta$  in  
Berlin 1848; in 1860 appeared in Paris a  $\eta \eta' \eta$  38 |  $\eta' \eta' \eta$   
predestined to be of short duration from its very name

38. The first and only number is really a pros-  
pectus of 72 pages. It was printed at the  
printing press of Ch. Jouaust 338 Rue St-  
Honoré. The text is in ordinary square charac-  
ter; notes in rabbinical type. With this is  
bound a  $\eta \eta' \eta$  of 4 pages announ-  
cing the second issue which never came out.  
Two pages and one half of this prospectus are  
a poem with a rhyme in  $\eta' \eta$  (forty  
one verses)

A Neubauer gave an appreciative article on  $\eta \eta' \eta$  |  $\eta' \eta' \eta$   
Journal Hébreu publié à Paris par M. S. Sachs, Univers israelite  
16 (1860). 316-322. ~~And that was the end of it.~~

L. Wogue also wrote a friendly article on Sachs venture Un Jour-  
nal hébreu à Paris, La Vérité israelite 5 (1861) p. 58-64. Professor  
Wogue begins his article as follows: Here is a title that will asto-  
nish many readers, and I am not quite sure that they will believe me.  
I hear already the denials of some, the mockeries of others, the ex-  
clamations of all... To write in Hebrew! To write in Hebrew in  
Paris, a French and <sup>39</sup> anti-hebraic city par excellence. What a sorry  
<sup>40</sup> speculation!

39. This means the French city par excellence among  
the Jews where the tendency to forget Hebrew  
was the strongest.
40. Voilà un titre qui va surprendre bien des lec-  
teurs, et je ne suis pas bien sûr qu'ils me  
croiront sur parole. J'entends d'ici les dénég-  
ations, des uns, les railleries des autres, les  
exclamations de tous... Ecrire en hébreu! Ecri-  
re en hébreu à Paris, la ville française et an-  
ti-hébraïque par excellence! o la triste spé-  
culation! op.cit. p. 58

Professor Wogue also praises Sach's Hebrew<sup>41</sup>. He protests against

41. Although he corrects several errors  
(p.62)

textual emendations (?) of the Biblical text, He doubted that the author would find many readers in France where Hebrew was a dead language (morte dans bien des coeurs non moins que dans le langage)<sup>42</sup> and he declares that the abandon of Hebrew is a fact "et les

42. p. 57

faits ne se discutent pas"<sup>43</sup>, so that to reawaken the taste of Hebrew

43. p. 64

through that language is a vicious circle like offering a key to an armless man, instead of opening the door to him<sup>44</sup>.

44. p. 64

That Sachs' Journal was a mere spark is rather symptomatic.

The rabbinical school founded at Metz (1829) was a professional school and not a faculty of theology. There was a five year course. If during his study the ~~scholar~~ student also passed his degree of bachelor of arts which was largely classical, he received a diploma of second degree which qualified him to become grand rabbin if there was an opportunity. That was not easy because there were only eight positions. There is no doubt that the graduates were religious, moral and respectable, but no scholars.<sup>45</sup>

45. Nous ne connaissons pas un seul de tous les anciens élèves de l'Ecole qui ait écrit un livre sur la science judaïque Lettre de Paris, Univers Israelite 7 (1852) p. 291

That was largely due to its isolation in Metz the school had formed about 50 rabbis in 1852 but in the words of that Paris letter "pas un seul savant israelite de quelque réputation"<sup>46</sup>

46. p. 299

The course at the rabbinical school lasted five years. At a period somewhat later than Munk's arrival in France, we find that

the school and ~~its~~ pupils were criticized a great deal. The school was expensive. It cost the government 15,000 francs a years for 9 students.

47. S.Bloch, Les élèves sortant de l'Ecole rabbinique, Univers Israelite 6 (1851) 465-469.

Several graduates deserted the rabbinical career.

Certainly the election of Samuel Ulmann in 1853 did not put at the head of French Judaism a great scholar in our modern sense. All he ever published was a little Recueil d'instructions morales et religieuses a l'usage des jeunes israelites (1847). <sup>But</sup> He was a good faithful shepherd. He certainly accomplished quietly a good deal, and more especially with the rabbinical school.

During 23 years, Munk though blind, remained secretary of the Consistoire Central, and attended to the minutes, to the correspondence with the consistories and with the Ministère des Cultes, These were important days in the history of French Judaism and the Consistoire Central had to take most important decisions, especially concerning some simplification of worship, reform of abuses, and the improvement of the rabbinical school, and its removal to Paris.

The appointment of Lazare Wogue to the Metz rabbinical school which he really transformed before it was transferred to Paris was due, as we said above to both Munk and Frank who saw his remarkable talent.

48 Univers Israelite 52, II (1897) p. 138

Now it is certain that the level of the rabbinate has been raised to a level ~~of~~ above the average French ecclesiastic. It was stated ~~by~~ in 1898 that out of about 40 rabbis in France and Algiers, about ten contributed to the Revue des Etudes juives (four of these ten being

professors at the Seminary . We are far from the days of S<sup>r</sup>. Bloch and his remarks in Regeneration and in l'Univers Israelite

48. R.T. Le rabbinat et la science juive, Un. Israel 53, I (1898) p. 809-812,

In this respect, the role of the Consistoire Central, though often criticized from both wings of Judaism accomplished good and honest piece of work. In this governing body, Munk's position was more than that of a secretary, Colonel Cerfbeer and Adolphe Franck never regretted the support they gave to his request for the appointment.

## CONCLUSION

While the primary purpose of this study ~~was~~ to collect material giving, as it were, a spectral analysis of French Judaism on the nineteenth century, Solomon Munk's personality is sufficiently important to interest us for its own value.

The first point we noticed in his biography is his hostile reaction to German antisemitism, and his joy in finding in France the living spirit which had broken down the gates of the Ghetto. The French Jews (and more so, if possible, the Alsatian Jews) have no love for Germany and its mixture of hypocrisy and brutality in dealing with Judaism during last century.

The other event we noted was Munk's apparently losing any attraction for the rabbinate. This we can easily understand. The old fashioned rabbinate did not interest him, neither did he feel like becoming a preacher.

Of Munk's religious attitude in general Adolphe Franck wrote: Membre de toutes les commissions dont les travaux réclament une véritable connaissance de la langue et de la théologie hébraïque, Munk apportait à nos délibérations générales un esprit qui lui était personnel. Partisan de la plus complète liberté en matière de critique religieuse, ne reconnaissant que la lumière de la raison, la lumière qui résulte de la philologie ou de l'histoire, dans l'interprétation des textes bibliques, il se montrait d'une extrême timidité dans la voie des réformes. C'est qu'en véritable archéologue qu'il était, tout ce qui portait le cachet de l'antiquité lui était cher. Il y voyait comme une ruine vénérable, bonne à conserver parmi les monuments historiques.

1. Quoted by M. Schwab p. 172-173

Munk's lack of sympathy for Reform is not praise worthy in it-

self. The writer of this paper admires in Reform an interesting resultant of the prophetic and of the intellectual forces of Judaism. The lack of success of Reform does not mean that it was wrong, but perhaps that it tread on the wrong paths, or rather that the problem of the future of Judaism is the most complex religious problem the world ever faced and failed to solve. Munk rightly felt that the weakness of Reform in its breaking away from the Jewish masses. Now it has always been true that the mass of Israel is *י ו א מ ע* but this mass knew that the saints and the learned were not sociologically different.

We may note ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> in an appreciation of Reform French Judaism evolved, as we find it exemplified in the case of S. Bloch, <sup>that</sup> Reform was desirable is certain; that it was wisely conducted on Jewish lines did not necessarily follow. We personally believe that the failure of Reform was felt from the very first as a necessary consequence. The reformers too often lacked the religious spirit. Certainly some of their friends did. When a Tsarphati asked for Reform, he was already practically an Epikuros. Reform failed therefore largely because of the character of some of its allies. Had French Reform centered around a Montefiore, it would have fared better.

And yet the spirit of Reform is potentially in every Jew. What <sup>often</sup> chokes it is that Judaism is exceedingly complex, and is more than a religion.

As a matter of fact, Reform was unnecessary and impossible in France and even in Alsace because of the growth of practical unbelief in Judaism. For instance, it may happen that in a community the rabbi was unable to examine the children in religion, because the elementary teacher, although a Jew, taught Luther's Bible and not the Chumash. Elsewhere, as in Christian schools, the teachers made their Jewish pu-

pils commit to memory a small catechism, called Précis élémentaire d'instruction religieuse, which did not even make a reference to circumcision. ~~It is~~ <sup>Now,</sup> not true, even in this country that almost every Jew will tell you that this rite was hygienic, as were also slaughtering regulations. ~~No~~ <sup>in this manner</sup> one, and no religion, can afford to dodge the issue. There was not enough religion left, after religious education given in such a perfunctory form, to build any protest against the evils of the past.

We personally believe that Reform Judaism was condemned for this general lowering of Judaism, because something or somebody had to be made the scape goat. The falling away of the family of a Mendelssohn or of a Tsarfati was pointed as a sign of the inner defect of Reform. No one dared to say that such events happening in the family of grand rabbin Deutsch or of Adolphe Cremieux proved the weakness of the non-Reform attitude.

However, we must not exaggerate the extent of the disagreement in Judaism. It is after all only a family quarrel <sup>הבית</sup> <sup>היהודי</sup> <sup>העתיק</sup> <sup>החדש</sup>. The problem of what to do in the wide world with the gates of the Ghetto broken down can no more be the subject of a systematic treatment than any other aspect of Judaism. It is a problem for each person <sup>א</sup>, in a certain place. It admits of no formula. The problem of assimilation is therefore only part of a larger one which is purely sociological, and as complex as it is painful, and saddening, or inspiring, or joyful.

Munk did not write a philosophical study of the soul of Israel. In that he was wise. Many a Jew tried and lamentably failed. But pragmatically he solved the problem. Love the simple life and not luxury, be straight and fair, and work, work, work. And so, <sup>he</sup> succeeded in entering the Royal Library without being naturalized and that

2. He was appointed in 1838, and naturalized in 1844.



is a wonder in a country as nationalistic as France (under an assumed zeal for cosmopolitan idealism).

Assimilationism and Reform are not necessarily correlated since France is called a land par excellence of Jewish assimilation and yet knows Reform only as an exception. Our opinion based on a good deal of honest personal contacts, largely with Alsatian Jews of the Société Israélite Française, is that the French Jew likes to be called an "Israélite" and not a "Juif", because as an Israelite he is a Frenchman accepted as such, while as a Juif he is questionable and questioned. He knows also that people who call him "Juif" do not like him and mean him to know it. The shade of meaning cannot be rendered into any other languages. At any rate, one cannot conceive any mob compiling the name of "Israélite" with insults or threats, such as were heard in antisemitic riots. This is what Munk caught on with his delicate philological sense. He saw the value of the required meaning of "israélite." He understood at once that it had nothing in common with the mosaisch of the land beyond the Rhine, which was really the most absurd of ethnic terms.

Although there is today a Jewish nationalist tendency <sup>3</sup> this movement is analyzed with a dangerous sympathy by Joseph Bonsirven <sup>4</sup>

3. Nahum Goldman, Positions, Cahiers Juifs June 1936 p. 449-451; also Josue Jehouda, frequently in the Revue Juive de Geneve, ~~This movement is~~

But there is also the other tendency manifested by the Union <sup>5</sup>  
patriotique des Français israélites

Between these extremes and the Consistoires keep away from ~~extremes~~ <sup>rashness</sup>. And so the Consistoire Central, l'Alliance Israélite Universelle, l'Univers Israelite continue on the French Jewish tradition.

4. Chronique du Judaïsme français. Le Juif réassimilant l'Israélite. Etudes 230 (1937) p.507-522.

The enemy of Judaism is materialism. It takes sundry forms. Judaism has ever felt that scholars are on the right track, because their attitude is essentially non-materialistic, whatever their outward profession may be. This is why there is healthy Jewishness in a real scholar like Munk.

While his prodigious memory did to some extent correct his disability,

The blindness which struck Munk at an early age, did naturally interfere with the full scientific production. His science was one of detail, rather than of ensemble. Had the time been propitious, he ~~might~~ have been another Maimonides, though blind.

We believe that Munk contributed to the patient painstaking scholarship found now in France, and which he inaugurated in his own field of study.

No doubt also the fact that such gigantic scholarship was found in a man who was not a modernist helped to keep French Judaism in its officially semi-orthodox attitude, for it is most interesting to note that in France, Judaism has had a rabbinate which was well educated and not modernistic.

Lazare Wogue's able Esquisse d'une théologie juive, largely based on Saadya, written when Wogue was a young friend of Munk, for la Vérité Israelite, printed in book form in 1887, could be reissued fifty years later just as well.

But after all, does not modern Christian theology see a revival of faith in the form of neo-calvinism, and of neo-themism?<sup>?</sup> Why should not a neo-saadyanism be justified?<sup>?</sup> And if Aristotle be in fashion again, why not the Moreh, which we think ourselves is a better book than Aristotle could have written, because in the very soul of Maimonides was a religion of conscience and liberty?<sup>?</sup>