

The Life of Jacob Emden, as Revealed
in His "Megillat Sefer."

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for
the Degree of Rabbi

Abraham D. Shaw
Hebrew Union College
1936

Referee: D. Weiss

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	Page 1
PART ONE: JACOB EMDEN'S LIFE AND WORKS	7
Chapter 1. Family Background of Emden and Life of His Father, Zebi Hirsch	7
Chapter 2. Early Life of Emden	14
Chapter 3. Rabbinate at Emden	34
Chapter 4. Residence at Altona	42
Chapter 5. The Emden-Eybeschuetz Controversy	55
Chapter 6. Conflict with the Frankists	72
Chapter 7. Emden's Last Years	77
Chapter 8. His Writings	85
PART TWO: JEWISH LIFE IN EMDEN'S DAY	97
A. Limitations of "Megillat Sefer" as Source-Book	97
B. Jewish Education	97
C. Charity	100
D. Industry	103
E. Health Conditions	106
F. Travel	109
G. Relations with Gentile Community and Government	111
H. Moral Conditions	115
I. Jewish Communal Structure	117
J. Synagogue and Ritual	119
K. Secular Culture	123
PART THREE: CHARACTERIZATION OF EMDEN	125
NOTES	132
ABBREVIATIONS	143
BIBLIOGRAPHY	144

Introduction

The autobiography of Jacob Israel Emden, "Megillat Sefer," is the chronicle of a long and crowded life in eighteenth century Germany. It is the story of seventy of the eighty years of the man's life, told with intimate and vibrant details, but with little chronological sequence or logical structure. Its pages, filled with personal and family anecdotes, descriptions of communal activities, and accounts of travels and literary accomplishments, offer a mine of information to the Jewish historian, revealing vivid pictures of significant events of Emden's times -- and they were many -- as well as a clearer understanding of German Jewish communal life of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Most clearly, too, the character of the man himself is laid bare -- all his stubbornness, which almost approached fanaticism, all his wounded vanity finding outlet in "heresy hunting," and with it all, the courage and strength of the man's conviction.

The significance with which the book is regarded by scholars is revealed in this statement of Max Grunwald: "Next to the Memoirs of Glückel (von Hameln) these writings (Megillat Sefer) furnish us the finest presentation of conditions in old Jewish Hamburg, and they merit, therefore, the most complete consideration." From such a consideration one may get a clearer picture of such aspects of Jewish life of the time as education, health conditions, industry, charity collection and administration,

moral conditions, travel conditions, literary and cultural status, Christian relationships, and Jewish communal structure.

Emden's purpose in writing his memoirs, however, was not directed toward giving a portrayal of the above, but primarily for apologetic reasons. The purpose of self-justification for his stand in the various controversies in which he engaged was his prime motivation. He himself sets forth his purposes in writing the book in considerable detail, declaring that his reason is three-fold: first, "to write all my life's activities down and withhold nothing, as far as possible... and to make known God's mercy to me from my youth....; second, to strengthen the weak hands of those crushed of spirit and persecuted without cause, as I today am persecuted by my enemies....; third, in order that the sun of my righteousness may shine, and a cloud not dwell upon it, because of the wicked men who have judged me...." Essentially, those purposes are one and the same, to justify himself. This justification was necessitated primarily, as we shall later indicate, by his bitter controversy with Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschuetz.

As we have intimated, the book is weak in structure. There is a rough attempt at chronological order, but frequently events are related without proper sequence, and there is much repetition of detail. It is obvious that the book was written over a considerable number of years (from 1751 to 1763), and this in part accounts for the lack of co-ordination of the material. In the later pages of the book, in particular, the account increases in incoherence, and the author rambles with greater frequency. The

author is verbose in style, and his writing is replete with quotations from Rabbinic literature, with lengthy and bitter imprecations against his enemies, and with prayers of petition and thanksgiving. This very verbosity, however, gives a clearer insight into the character of the man.

In addition to his autobiography, Emden has included a biography and tribute to his father, Zebi Ashkenazi, in the first fifty-four pages. The account of his own life is related up to the year 1766, when Emden was seventy years of age. The significant events of the last ten years of Emden's life, to the year 1776, are briefly related by the editor of the book, David Cahana, at the conclusion of Emden's writings.

The story of the editing and printing of this book gives a significant picture of the difficulties involved in bringing Hebrew manuscripts to publication. From the time that Emden wrote the account of his life up to the year 1810, "Megillat Sefer" remained in manuscript form. In that year the "Measeffim" scholars printed part of the work in their publication, "Ha-Meassef", and it was enthusiastically received and read. Nothing further of the book appeared in the publication, however. In the year 1848 a catalogue of the books and manuscripts of the scholar, Heimann Joseph Michael, who had just passed away, was issued, under the title, "Ozerot Hayyim.... Katalog der Michael'schen Bibliothek," in the city of Hamburg. It became known that this valuable work, "Megillat Sefer" was to be found among the manuscripts of the Michael estate, but no further effort was made to copy and print the balance of the autobiography. It remained untouched until the year 1886, when the

scholar Dr. Neubauer published his notes on the manuscripts in the Oxford library, and it was learned that the work, "Megillat Sefer," was now to be found in that institution, having been purchased by the British Government, together with the balance of the Michael library. At that time the two Russian Jewish scholars, Jonah Hayyim Gurland and David Cahana, agreed to attempt a joint effort at editing and publishing the work. They sent a copyist to the library, who copied the work completely from beginning to end. On examining the manuscript the two scholars discovered that it was full of lacunae, and required lengthy and intensive editing. They discovered, further, that the excerpt that had been printed in 1810 by the "Measeffim" was poorly done, and required revision, together with the balance of the work. Accordingly, they approached the task of editing the book, but in the year 1890 Jonah Gurland died, and so David Cahana discontinued the work. He did not resume the project until 1894. It proceeded very slowly, for he found it necessary to have another complete copy of the manuscript made, to supply words on almost every page of the work; and also to add a complete set of explanatory notes. Cahana completed the editing work in 1897, and the work was printed in that year in the city of Warsaw.

Our discussion of "Megillat Sefer" has been divided into three parts. In the first section we treat the life and works of Emden. In the second division we discuss the life of the Jewish community as revealed by Emden's work. The third section consists in a characterization and appreciation of Emden. There will, of necessity,

be some overlapping of material, but in emphasis, at least, we shall attempt to differentiate. The man and his work will be the focus of our attention in the first and third sections, and we shall concentrate on the Jewish community in the second section.

In treating Emden's life and works we shall also include a brief consideration of his father, Zebi Ashkenazi, since almost a fourth of the book is devoted to his life. Although Emden deals with the Eybeshuetz controversy in a very cursory manner in this book, we have supplemented the account with details from Graetz' "Dibre Y'me Yisroel," Wagenaar's "Toledot Yisroel," and the Jewish Encyclopedia, since it is necessary to present a fuller account of this altercation than appears in "Megillat Sefer," to understand other parts of the autobiography. We have also drawn supplementary material from the same sources as regards Emden's relationship with the Frankist controversy in Podolia. We have added to Emden's description of his writings by including details from Wagenaar and the Jewish Encyclopedia.

In the second section, dealing with Jewish life of Emden's day, we have based a considerable part of our discussion on rather indirect evidence. Almost nowhere in his autobiography does Emden set forth to describe the various Jewish and communal institutions of his time, but in the various accounts of the activities of his family and himself he refers to certain institutions or conditions from which we may draw inferential pictures of the time. We have supplemented this evidence with material from Grunwald's "Hamburgs deutsche Juden."

In our characterization of Emden, the conclusions are largely subjective. We have, however, attempted to support these conclusions with internal evidence from the book. Since the evaluations of the man have varied widely, as is evident from the completely opposite appraisals of him by Graetz and Saul Pinhas Rabinowitz, it is apparent that any characterization of him would be based in large part on the personal temperament of the writer.

PART ONE: JACOB EMDEN'S LIFE AND WORKS

Chapter 1.

Family Background of Emden and
Life of His Father, Zebi Hirsch

Jacob Israel Emden was descended from a noble and illustrious family. His ancestors were scholars in Germany and Poland for many generations. His grandfather, after whom Jacob Emden was named, was one of the leading scholars of Wilna and rabbi of the community for many years before the Chmielnicki Massacres of 1648.⁶ During the Massacres, Emden's grandfather, Jacob b. Benjamin Zeeb, was attacked by the Cossack marauders and almost lost his life at their hands, escaping death in a seemingly miraculous manner. As a consequence of this attack, however, he became separated from his family, and as they believed him dead, they moved from Wilna to Moravia. In Moravia Emden's grandmother was remarried, in the conviction that her first husband was no longer living. When he appeared in Moravia six months later, it became necessary for her to divorce her second husband and re-establish her marriage with Emden's grandfather.⁷

Jacob Emden's father, Zebi Hirsch Ashkenazi, was born in Moravia in 1660.^{7a} After a short time, Zebi Hirsch's father, Jacob b. Benjamin Zeeb, and his family moved to Ofen in Hungary.⁸ For a while Zebi Hirsch, or "Haham Zebi," as he soon came to be known, studied with his father and grandfather, Benjamin Ze'eb, who was still living. While still a youth, however, Zebi Hirsch went to Salonica to study. Here he remained for a short time under the

tutelage of the scholar Rabbi Elijah Kobo. He returned to his father's home in Ofen in a short time, however. At this time he married the daughter of one of the wealthiest men in the community¹⁰ of Alt-Ofen, and a daughter was born of the union. In 1686 the city of Ofen was besieged by the Austrians, and it brought tragedy for Zebi Hirsch. During the attack on the city a cannon shot fell into his home, killing his wife and child, while he, in another room, was miraculously spared.¹¹ Before the capture of the city, he fled to Bosnia and became rabbi of the community of Sarajevo, while his parents were taken captive by the Prussians to Berlin.¹² When Sarajevo and its environs was also besieged, and Zebi Hirsch heard that his parents had been carried away as captives, he began journeying in the direction of Berlin. En route he stopped at various communities for short periods of time, i.e., in the cities of Venice, Ansbach, Furth, Prague, and finally Berlin.¹³ While in Prague he was offered a chance to marry the daughter of the chief rabbi of that community, but he refused. Again, when he reached Berlin, many financially advantageous matches were proffered to him, but he declined them all, declaring that he was not in search of wealth but honorable family lineage.¹⁴ While in Berlin, however, he fell in love with Sarah, the daughter of Meshalem Zalman Neumark, chief rabbi of the three communities, Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck. He married her in 1689.¹⁵

In 1690 Zebi was elected Klausrabbiner in the city of Altona, where the leaders of the Jewish community built a school for him. To his institution students came from all parts of Poland and Lithuania, and he soon acquired wide-spread reputation for scholarship

and learning. For his work, however, he received the meager salary of sixty reichsthaler per year, rejecting any additional gifts or emoluments.¹⁶ As he himself declared, however, he was not interested in anything except a life of Spartan simplicity, keeping the strict-¹⁷ est diet for himself and instructing his family in similar habits.

For twenty years Zebi Hirsch maintained his school in Altona, and his reputation for learning grew not only in the three-communities, but "She'lot" were sent him from Jerusalem, and from all parts of Poland.¹⁸ In 1692 he published his glosses to "Ture Zahab"¹⁹ on the "Hoshen Mishpat" of the Shulhan Arukh. Zebi Hirsch's abilities were not merely limited, however, to a knowledge of Rabbinics, but he was also a scholar of secular learning. He could speak Spanish, Turkish, Italian, Hungarian, and German, and was an able student of secular and political matters.²⁰

After the death of Zebi's father-in-law, Meshalem Zalman Neumark, who had been chief rabbi of the three communities, there was keen rivalry and interest in the election of a new rabbi. One party favored the election of "Haham Zebi" and another group favored the election of Rabbi Moses Züsskind, the son-in-law of the wealthy Israel Fürst. As a result of the election Zebi was chosen rabbi of two of the communities, but there was a division of opinion in Altona. As a compromise it was finally decided that in that community both rabbis should serve, each for a period of six months of the year.²¹ This was in the year 1707. The quarrels between the two parties in Altona increased, however, and Zebi decided to return to

his work as Klausrabbiner in his school, refusing to reconsider the position of rabbi at Altona, despite strenuous efforts on the part of his friends, who sought to persuade him to retain his position.²²

A short time after resigning from his post as rabbi in Altona, Zebi Hirsch was elected rabbi of the German congregation in Amsterdam in the year 1710.²³ He accepted the position at a salary of one thousand reichsthaler "specie" per year -- the equivalent of 2500 guilders annually. Any pay beyond this by way of gifts or perquisites for services, he consistently refused. He declared that he desired to be independent and under obligation to no one, wishing to act justly and honestly in his official capacity.²⁴ He was honored and recognized not only by his own group, but by both Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews of the Amsterdam community, something exceedingly rare among Jewish leaders of that time.

At the very advent of Zebi Hirsch in Amsterdam, however, he encountered a hostile party. The community was divided by a conflict over two cantors. One of the parties, headed by a certain Aaron Gokkes, was the stronger of the two groups, and made every effort to win the favor and support of Zebi. The latter, however, would decide the case only on the basis of merit, and rendered a verdict in favor of the cantor sponsored by the weaker party. The case was even taken to the secular courts, and the governmental decision vindicated Zebi's opinion. As a result of this conflict and Zebi's decision, a large group in the community became inimical to him, even insisting that he resign when the contract expired.²⁵

The ill-will and conflict increased at this time, because of the issue of Sabbatianism which appeared in Amsterdam at this juncture, with the arrival of Nehemiah Hiyya Hayyun in the city. Although Zebi Hirsch's father had been a follower of Shabbetai Zebi, he himself was a strong opponent of the movement. Now the occasion presented itself to demonstrate his point of view. From the very outset of Hayyun's stay in Amsterdam, Zebi expressed his suspicions of the man. At first he mistook the man for an old enemy of his, but when he discovered his error, he apologized to Hayyun.²⁶ Hayyun's actions, however, soon justified Zebi's suspicions, and he was accused of endorsing certain heretical articles by the Sabbatian leader, Cordosa. He explained away the suspicions temporarily, but when a communication was received from Moses Hagiz, important rabbi of Jerusalem, which sided with Zebi, the latter was asked to examine the writings of Hayyun.²⁷ Another committee was also appointed to investigate Hayyun's works. When this committee, who favored Hayyun, failed to report the results of their investigation, Zebi placed Hayyun and all Shabbatians under ban.²⁸ After this action, the other party, led by Solomon Ayllon, Rabbi of the Portuguese element, announced that Hayyun was innocent of the charges.²⁹ Because of all this, Zebi Hirsch found his position in Amsterdam very uncomfortable. The condition was particularly aggravated because his opponents, the Portuguese element of the community, were the most wealthy and prominent, due to the priority of their residence in Holland.³⁰ Aside from a few loyal friends, "Haham Zebi" was practically alone. Nor did the

matter end with this one investigation, for the Portuguese party took the case to the secular courts of Holland. Certain Christian scholars were consulted for opinions in the case, and the king decided in favor of Hayyun, primarily because of the latter's belief in the Zohar.³¹ As Emden himself points out, there was a striking similarity between this controversy and its disposition and the conflicts which he (Emden) was later to experience.

This action on the part of the secular court and the infidelity of the Portuguese community caused Zebi to come to the decision to leave Amsterdam. Accordingly, he sent his family to the community of Emden in Germany, while he journeyed to London, at the beginning of the year 1714.³² Zebi's decision to go to London was due to an invitation he had received from the Sephardic Jewish community in London, members of which had known him while he was head of the school at Altona. These Spanish-Portuguese Jews of London wanted to elect him rabbi of their congregation, but he refused, because, he declared, he wanted to live as an Ashkenazic Jew, and rear his family accordingly.³³ In spite of his refusal of their offer, they welcomed him in London, and extended him every courtesy, even having a portrait painted of him in his honor. After Passover of the same year, 1714, Zebi returned to his family in Emden, Germany. From there he proceeded to Poland, stopping en route for a short time at the communities of Hanover, Halberstadt, Berlin, and Breslau.³⁴

After reaching Poland, and settling in the region of Opatow, he was summoned back to the city of Hamburg to serve as a member of

the judicial board of that community, convened to settle certain complicated legal questions which had arisen.³⁵ On his return from Hamburg, in the year 1717, Zebi was called as Rabbi to the Polish community of Lemberg. Though he only held the office for four months, he was greatly honored and respected by the congregation and the entire community, and he did much to increase the educational status of that region. Shortly after he took office, however, he died, on May 2, 1718 -- Rosh Chodesh Iyyar.³⁶

Zebi Hirsch Ashkenazi was one of the most distinguished Jewish scholars of his day. He was unselfish, honest, and truth-loving, though he often incurred the wrath of those he bitterly opposed. He was greatly incensed by anything that "smelled of heresy," and devoted much of his life to crushing it. Only a part of his works has been printed, his "Teshubot Haḥam Zebi," which he wrote and edited while in Amsterdam.³⁷

Zebi Hirsch reared a son who sought conscientiously and purposely to model his life after his illustrious father. How closely he approximated the pattern shall be set forth in the succeeding chapters.

Chapter 2.

Early Life of Emden

The full name of Jacob Emden was Jacob Israel ben Zebi Ashkenazi. He is familiarly known as "Yaabez," that name being³⁸ based on the initials of Jacob ben Zebi. He was born in Altona on the 15th of Sivan (June 4), 1697.³⁹ He was an especially welcome child to his parents, Zebi and Sarah Ashkenazi, for he was the first son born to them, being preceded by three girls.⁴⁰ Shortly before Emden's birth, his father had suffered great financial loss in a business enterprise in which he had been engaged, a partner having absconded with the funds of the firm. This loss greatly⁴¹ affected his health and he became a victim of the bubonic plague. Critically ill, Zebi had journeyed to a "Bad" or health resort for recuperation, and was there at the time of his son's birth.⁴² Zebi was forty years of age at the time his son was born.

Shortly after Jacob's birth, Zebi was restored to health and was able to return home to Altona in time personally to perform the circumcision for his son. He had been doubtful whether or not his health would permit him this "mizvoh," so he had engaged another "mohel," but, as Emden writes, "he himself entered me into the covenant with double joy, because he had been restored to health and also had finally merited a son."⁴³

Emden long remained the only son, for after him his mother bore three more daughters. He was one of fifteen children born to Zebi Ashkenazi.⁴⁴

As an only son, and more or less a child of his father's "old age," Emden was somewhat pampered and shown every attention. Nevertheless, his parents did not permit their affections to interfere with their decision to send Emden to school at a very early age. When he was but three years old he was entered in school, and by his fifth year he had already completed the study of ספר פסוקים⁴⁵ Emden was not a strong child, and was afflicted with many diseases, at times being critically ill. His early induction into schooling did not help his physical condition, and when his father realized the evil effects of such early training, he determined not to send his other sons to school so early in life. Emden enumerates some of the many ailments to which he fell victim as a child: grievous boils, a urinary disease, small-pox, measles, and constant colds.⁴⁶ In spite of his illnesses, however, he continued his studies, primarily under the tutelage of his father -- in Altona up to the year 1710, and from 1710 to 1714 in Amsterdam. Through him he was introduced to all branches of Rabbinics -- Mishna, Talmud, Sifra and Sifre, Midrashim, and Responsa, and he also delved somewhat superficially into such secular subjects as grammar, logic,⁴⁷ geography, and history.

From his earliest years Emden was cognizant of his father's financial trials and worries, and it was a source of great grievance to him. He saw that these worries were the cause of much of his father's ill health. When Zebi was stricken with pleurisy in 1710, Emden (though he was but twelve years of age) and his older sister,

fasted for an entire week, by way of supplication that health be
48
restored to their father.

In the severe winter of 1710 Zebi moved to Amsterdam with his family. Their difficulties on the journey were very great, and on their arrival in Amsterdam they were confronted with still more hardships. There was, first of all, the difficulty of becoming adjusted to an entirely new environment in which all customs, even as regarded food and drink, were greatly different from their Altona home. Furthermore, from their very advent, Zebi Hirsch was plunged into controversy -- first, the fight between the two factions over the appointment of a cantor, and, later, the even more bitter conflict concerning Nehemiah Hiyya Hayyun. All these experiences of his father seem to have affected Emden greatly,
49
for he describes his own mental distress in great detail.

Emden was "Bar Mizvoh" in Amsterdam, and it was shortly thereafter that the period of great distress began for the family. The period referred to is the one mentioned above during which Emden's father incurred the wrath of the Portuguese Jewish faction which supported Hayyun. Emden attributes most of the blame for the troubles they experienced to Solomon Ayllon, Rabbi of the Spanish-Portuguese community in Amsterdam. He is particularly bitter because all the controversy prevented his continuing his studies with his father, the latter being too much distraught by communal
50
troubles to turn to the instruction of his son.

In the middle of the winter of 1714, after giving up his post in Amsterdam, Zebi Hirsch went to London, sending the other members of his family by boat to the little community of Emden.

For several months, until after Passover, the mother and her five sons and five daughters, remained in Emden without the head of the family. During this stay Jacob fell in love with the daughter of a certain R. Loeb Emden and was desirous of marrying the girl. When his father rejoined the family, however, he expressed disapproval of the match on account of a certain blemish in Loeb Emden's family. Although Jacob was thoroughly convinced that the marriage would have been a worthy and advantageous one, his great respect for his father moved him to yield to the paternal wish, and the marriage did not take place. Some years later when he returned to the community and Loeb Emden's daughter was married to another, he re-established his friendship with her, and she worked in his behalf to secure the position as rabbi of the community of Emden for him.

Leaving the town of Emden, Zebi and his family began a hegira which was ultimately to take them to Poland. First they went to Berlin and stayed for a short time with Jacob's uncle. While here Jacob began his first literary effort, a responsum written in answer to a certain Rabbi Jehiel Michal of Glogau. After a stay of several weeks in Berlin, the family continued on its way to Breslau. En route they experienced considerable difficulty in getting through the roads over which the Prussian troops were returning from their various campaigns. Because of this delay they did not reach Breslau until the end of the summer.

The family remained in Breslau until the winter of 1714, and then continued on their way to Poland. In Poland they came to the

city of Opatow, and were planning to make their residence there, but the town was beset by fire, making it necessary for them to look elsewhere for a home. They were wandering about, living in the various villages in the vicinity of Opatow, when a messenger came from Hamburg, requesting Zebi to come to that community and act as a judge in a legal controversy. This was in the early part of the year 1715. Zebi accepted the invitation, and, together with Jacob, set out for Hamburg. On the way Jacob was stricken with a blood-disease and was forced to seek medical attention at Berlin and several other communities. They finally reached Hamburg, where Jacob remained, largely bed-fast, until the beginning⁵³ of the summer. The purpose of this trip, so far as Jacob was concerned, was to arrange for his marriage. The preceding year, while they had been in Breslau, Jacob's father, Haham Zebi, had made a match for his son with the daughter of Mordecai ben Naphtali Cohen,⁵⁴ Rabbi of Ungarish Brod, Moravia. This match was particularly acceptable to Zebi because of the great prestige and power of this family. Rabbi Naphtali Cohen, the grandfather of Emden's proposed bride, was a learned scholar and had been one of Zebi's staunch supporters in his fight against Hayyun. In addition, he had promised Zebi that Jacob should receive a dowry of one thousand rubles, food for a period of four years, and that the bride would be provided⁵⁵ with all her necessary clothing. The marriage was scheduled to be held in Breslau shortly after the festival of Shabuot, 1715. A little before that time, however, Emden's illness increased, and

he was not anxious to leave Hamburg for the ceremony. Nevertheless, his future father-in-law, Rabbi Mordecai ben Naphtali Cohen, was not willing to postpone the ceremony, particularly when rumors reached him that Emden's desire to remain in Hamburg was inspired by a wish to arrange for another marriage. This Emden denies, as being absolutely without foundation. He concurred with Rabbi Mordecai's wish, however, and together with his father, Emden went to Breslau for the wedding. On the day of the ceremony there was a terrible cloudburst in the city of Breslau, which occasioned great damage in the town, but apparently did not interrupt the marriage. This storm, however, was more or less a symbol of the domestic storm that was to mark the first few years of Emden's married life. There were several factors that provoked domestic discord for him. First of all, his separation from his father, which now took place, was a great wrench for him. Shortly after the marriage, Zebi Ashkenazi returned to the duties in Hamburg, and Emden, journeying with his wife and father-in-law to Moarvia, never saw his father alive again. Because of his intense attachment to his father -- which almost bordered on the pathological -- this separation left the seventeen-year-old boy so lonesome and homesick that he actually became ill. Further, the situation was made worse when controversy resulted over the payment of the dowry. Emden's father-in-law was unable to supply the promised dowry, and since Emden had used up all the money given him as gifts by friends of the family, he was soon in financial straits. Requests to his father-in-law for the money he needed proved of no avail, and his

his disappointment in these money matters led to such unkind feelings between himself and his wife's family that separation from
58
his wife almost occurred.

When Emden reached his father-in-law's home in Ungarish-Brod, Moravia, his troubles continued. A plague spread through the city, and it was necessary for the entire family to flee the city temporarily, and live in the nearby villages, enjoying the charity of the villagers. After the plague had passed and they were able to return to Ungarish-Brod, the problem of finances still made life uncomfortable for Emden, for the father-in-law contributed almost nothing to his daughter and son-in-law's support. Another source of chagrin to Emden was the fact that he had little material with which to continue his studies. His personal library consisted only of a set of "Arba Turim," a wedding gift from an uncle, and for a while he concentrated his studying on this work. Although his father-in-law had an extensive and valuable library, Emden did not want to make use of it or in any way obligate himself to his
59
father-in-law, because of the ill will between them.

In spite of the limitations of his library, Emden soon achieved a reputation as a scholar in Ungarish-Brod, and acquired a coterie of young students to whom for three years (1716-1718) he lectured. With them he studied Gemara, Tosefta, parts of the "Arba Turim," and the Bible. He enjoyed this work and was very conscientious in his duties, but refused to accept any remuneration for his services, although many of his pupils were in a finan-

cial position to pay him well.⁶⁰ His pleasure in teaching was short-lived, however, for in 1718 news came to him that his father, Haham Zebi, had passed away in Lemberg, Poland, on May 2⁶¹ (Rosh Chodesh Iyyar) of that year.

Emden decided to go to Lemberg, and started out alone on the long (600 miles) journey to Poland. After a perilous trip, in which he barely escaped with his life when robbers attacked the wagon train in which he was riding, he reached Lemberg at the end of the summer of 1718. In Lemberg he had a memorial stone erected on his father's grave, and he delivered a beautiful eulogy in his honor. So impressed were the inhabitants of Lemberg that they requested that the sermon be printed, and Emden complied with their urging.⁶² More than this, however, the Jews of Lemberg requested Emden to remain among them and fill the post of rabbi of the community, left vacant by his father's death. This offer was inspired by the fact that Emden had continued his work of teaching in Lemberg and had greatly impressed the people with his ability. Emden was almost persuaded to stay and accept their offer, for there were a number of factors in favor of such a decision. Economic opportunities were very favorable there, and living expenses were reasonable. The possibilities of arranging suitable marriages for his brothers and sisters were great, for the family had achieved a very honorable name in the community, and there were many fine offers of marriage extended to him on behalf of his brothers and sisters. Furthermore, Emden felt that the family needed

someone to assume the responsibility of straightening out its economic problems, now that his father had passed away.⁶³

While Emden was wavering in his decision, further misfortune came to the family. His mother, the second wife of Haham Zebi, passed away at the youthful age of forty-one, some nine months after Zebi's death. The tragedy was increased when, the following day, Emden's little sister, a child of three, also passed away,⁶⁴ and he himself was stricken ill. When he recovered, he began negotiating with a brother-in-law about the latter's assuming some of the responsibilities of the family, primarily that of settling the estate. In the meantime Emden had written to his wife in Ungarish-Brod, asking her to come to Poland to live, since he wanted to remain there. Since she was still a young woman, and as she was anxious to continue living with her parents, she was against the move and wrote him, refusing to come.⁶⁵

Emden remained in Lemberg until the winter of 1719. During his stay he disposed of a number of family matters. He helped consummate advantageous matches for several of his brothers and sisters, all of them marrying into the families of prominent rabbis in Poland and Germany. Before he left, he assisted his brother-in-law in straightening out his father's estate, but refused to accept any of the property for himself. He did take along with him certain copies of his father's "Responsa" which had been printed during his lifetime, but had not been sold. In addition, he took certain notes for money due his father from Rabbi Haendele Cohen of Hamburg, which he hoped to collect.⁶⁶

At the beginning of the summer of 1719, in the company of a

Polish servant, Emden returned to his father-in-law's home at Ungarish-Brod. Arriving there, both Emden and his servant were stricken with illness. But they both soon recovered, and Emden began making preparations to leave again for Hamburg to attempt to sell some of his father's books and to collect the debt due him from R. Haendele Cohen. Emden had paid some of his father's obligations from his own purse, for he hoped to replenish his capital with the money he would collect. Emden's efforts to collect this debt led him into a long chain of mishaps and fruitless wanderings. His first stop was Hamburg. Success there, he felt, depended upon the cooperation of an important leader of the community, Baer Cohen, and Emden corresponded with him explaining the nature of his mission. Baer Cohen replied that collection of the debt from R. Haendele Cohen would be an easy matter. There was still another reason for his wanting to go to Hamburg. Shortly after the report of the death of Haham Zebi, a certain Reb Eliezer London had donated a sum of one hundred rubles for the orphans of Zebi, and had written to Emden that if he came to Hamburg he would collect the money. In hopes of securing funds from these two sources Emden set out for Hamburg. Failure met him on both scores. As regards the debt of R. Haendele Cohen, the situation was rather complicated. It seems that R. Haendele, who had been indebted to Zebi Ashkenazi, was in turn owed money by a Reb Mordecai Cohen. The latter had died and his entire estate had been stolen and squandered by his children, and hence Reb Haendele could not be paid.

This fact ultimately meant great loss to Emden. As for the promised donation from Reb Eliezer London, Emden learned on his arrival in Hamburg that Reb Eliezer had died and that Eliezer's son, too, had squandered all his father's money. So Emden never received this money. Thus far, Emden's trip had afforded him little profit; in fact, he had not even received enough to⁶⁷ cover his travelling expenses. Furthermore, because of the fact that he had stayed with Reb Baer Cohen during his visit in Hamburg he won the enmity of several prominent Hamburg Jews with whom Reb Baer had been on unfriendly terms.⁶⁸

Emden did succeed, however, in selling a few copies of his father's Responsa in the three communities. His customers were the leaders of the communities, but when they offered him gifts -- as for example, the gift which R. Baer Cohen offered him in honor of his visit with him on the festival of Purim -- Emden refused them. Nor would he send complimentary copies of the book to certain wealthy men, as was customarily done by writers and printers of the time, for he felt that that would belittle the memory of his father. As a result, the number of books he sold in the three communities (Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck) was⁶⁹ not enough to provide him with any appreciable sum of money.

We have mentioned that Emden's residence with Reb Baer Cohen in Hamburg won him the enmity of certain Jewish leaders. In particular, he acquired the hatred of a former staunch friend of his father and a prominent leader of the Hamburg Jewish community,

Joel Shaav. Although Shaav outwardly evinced friendship toward Emden, he nursed a strong grudge against him from this time on and, in later years, openly demonstrated his enmity.

From Hamburg, Emden went to Hanover, but his streak of misfortune continued. In Hanover he stayed at the home of a prominent Jew, Gompel Hanover, who, with his brother, was highly regarded in the community. While Emden was a guest in this household, both Gompel Hanover and his brother suddenly found themselves bankrupt, and had to flee their home at night to avoid arrest. On the next day all their property was attached by the government, even some of Emden's goods being siezed. The brothers had left Emden a sum of six rubles with a servant that he might be able to continue his journey, but Emden refused the money.
70

After this unfortunate experience Emden went from Hanover to Frankfurt am Main, at that time the wealthiest and most honored of all the German Jewish communities. But even while he was on the way to the city he learned that a terrible fire had broken out there and that most of the houses on the "Jew Street" were in ashes. Emden did not want to offer his books for sale to a group of people afflicted with this plight, and so when he arrived at the city he did not attempt to make any sales. Undoubtedly he could have succeeded in disposing of some of them, and the rabbi of the community suggested that he send complimentary copies to the wealthy members of the city and accept gifts in return. But here, as in Hamburg, Emden refused to resort to

these tactics. As a result, he disposed of very few books in
71
Frankfurt am Main.

Having met with little success thus far, Emden determined to return home, but was advised to go to the nearby community of Mannheim, and also to the community of Metz. He felt, however, that he would only encounter further failure there, and he was making plans for leaving Frankfurt for Ungarish-Brod when another suggestion was made to him. He learned that Reb Haendele Cohen of Hamburg, from whom he had unsuccessfully attempted to collect his father's debt, had a brother in London, a Reb Mordecai Hamburger, founder of the Hamburg Synagogue in that community. This brother, he was told, had just returned from India where he had acquired a vast fortune. A brother-in-law of this Reb Mordecai, who lived in Frankfurt, told Emden that he would do well to go to London and attempt to collect the money due from Reb Haendele. Emden was assured that Reb Mordecai was an honorable man and would respect his brother's debt. Accordingly,
72
Emden decided to make the trip to London.

Hiring a servant, Emden embarked on ship for London. A terrific storm was encountered on route, and Emden suffered greatly from sea-sickness and fever. When he reached port he was still critically ill and he required medical attention as soon as he reached Reb Mordecai Hamburger's home. Reb Mordecai showed him every courtesy during his illness, but when Emden had recuperated and told Reb Mordecai the reason for his coming, Emden found his efforts fruitless once more. Reb Mordecai told him:

"True, I acknowledge the debts of my brothers, but I am not going to pay them, for if I did, immediately all the rest of their creditors would come here and I would be forced to give them everything I brought from India, and I would soon be just as poor as I was." ⁷³ Emden tried to reason with him, pointing out that the debt was a small one, that his need was great, that he would exercise secrecy regarding its payment; all to no avail. His efforts proved futile, and the irritation even resulted in a recurrence of his illness. Realizing that nothing could be accomplished, Emden decided to leave London.

The following spring, after Passover, Emden began his return trip by way of Amsterdam. Arriving in Amsterdam, he was stricken with fever once more and had to delay further travel for several months. While in Amsterdam he was befriended by a Reb Zalman Gordon, in whose home he stayed. The latter showed him every kindness, nursing him back to health from severe illness. It was not, however, until the end of the summer that he ⁷⁴ was able to resume his journey.

When he resumed travelling he started for the community of Prague by way of the city of Furth. En route to Prague he encountered further difficulties in that he barely escaped from highwaymen. Nor did his series of mishaps stop with his arrival in Prague. He was still carrying with him copies of his father's Responsa, unaware that in the city of Prague there was a severe restriction against all Talmudic-Rabbinic books. The authorities ⁷⁵ immediately sieged his books as contraband. Here, too, for the

first time Emden met his future bitter antagonist, Jonathan Eybeschuetz. The latter was rabbi of the community of Prague at this juncture of his career. He had already, however, begun to lose the respect of some of the people. ^{As to Emden} In particular, he had won their suspicion because of his frequent dealings with the Catholic leaders of Prague. Although the opposition to him was so intense that even his own father-in-law wanted to disown him, ⁷⁶ yet the rabbis of the vicinity were loathe to oppose him publicly because of respect for his family and that of his wife, who were so powerful and influential in that region. Emden relates how he observed through the windows of the home of his uncle (with whom he stayed in Prague), that Eybeschuetz would rush about the streets of the community attempting to collar clients involved in cases of the courts of the community, whom he would defend and to whom he would offer bail -- in order ⁷⁷ to derive fees from them. Emden further relates that Eybeschuetz sent word to him he would attempt to recover for him the books seized by the censor, if he would come to visit him, but Emden decided he would rather lose the books than make this call. The beginnings of the controversy that was later to assume such vast proportions were already apparent.

From Prague Emden went by overland-coach to the city of Brunn in Moravia. This journey also was eventful. He and several other Jews who rode the coach were subjected to taunting and Jew-baiting by an Italian merchant and a priest who were riding with them, but they had the grim satisfaction of seeing both

of their persecutors injured when the coach overturned at a time when the Jews were forced to walk behind it up an incline. Thus they were rid of their tormentors and were able to continue on their way to Brünn unmolested.⁷⁸

In the dead of winter Emden completed his journey by sleigh from Brünn to his home in Ungarish-Brod. Even to the very last his misfortunes trailed him, for his foot was painfully injured during this last stage of the journey, although he soon recovered from this. At last he arrived home, weary and ill, having accomplished very little and with all the money he had possessed now gone. Nor were the conditions in his home such as to encourage him. His was a poverty-stricken condition, and his father-in-law still did almost nothing to help him support his wife and son. Emden realized that his business opportunities in Moravia were very limited, but he recalled that during his travels in Holland he had met certain men who indicated that they could help him establish a business. He communicated with them, and soon set himself up in a sort of importing business. He shipped pelts, goats' hair, chamois, and wool to Amsterdam, and in return received various manufactured products which he sold in Moravia. For a time the business proved successful, but soon, due to embezzlement of some of his funds, and due to the decline in price of some of the goods he shipped to Amsterdam, he was forced to give up this business.⁷⁹

Emden next engaged in the jewelry business, and went to Breslau to purchase certain merchandise there. But this business, too, proved unfortunate. In Breslau he was cheated by a Jewish merchant who sold him inferior goods. And, to make matters worse, on returning from Germany, he was arrested on crossing the border at Pressburg, for attempting to avoid the payment of duty on his merchandise. He was detained at Pressburg and brought to trial, and would have surely received some punishment had it not been for the intervention of a friend, Reb Moses of Pressburg. Reb Moses pled his case before the authorities (and, incidentally, bribed the judges) and Emden was freed of the charges. ⁸⁰

While at the home of Reb Moses in Pressburg, Emden was introduced to other underhand deeds of Jonathan Eybeschuetz. A certain man had come to Pressburg from Prague, from Eybeschuetz' school. He carried with him some pamphlets written by Eybeschuetz, and which were destined for the Jews in the Vienna community. Several men of the Pressburg community decided to investigate the baggage of this visitor, who, incidentally, was also staying at the home of Reb Moses. They found these pamphlets, written by Eybeschuetz, and though they were unable to decipher them, were easily aware that they were of a mystical and strange character. Neither Reb Moses or the others, however, were acquainted with the Kabbala nor did they realize the import of the writings. They were anxious nonetheless to know what disposition should be made of them. They consulted the advice of Emden who read the pamphlets and realized their character. He suggested that they

should not be made public, but should be burned because, he said, "they contained reproaches, blasphemies, and misrepresentations of the Kabbala."⁸¹

Emden decided not to take any further action about the pamphlets, because he realized he had nothing tangible to work on. Accordingly, he decided merely to keep the matter in mind and see what the future course of events would be. He was convinced that Eybeschuetz was responsible for the writing of the pamphlets even though a signature had not been affixed to them and their authorship had been kept secret. His prejudice and suspiciousness toward Eybeschuetz were given further impetus⁸² through this experience.

At the successful conclusion of the trial in Pressburg, Emden returned to Ungarisch-Brod. Here he was subjected to further legal difficulties, this time before a Jewish court. One of the men in Breslau with whom he had had business dealings accused him of failing to pay a commission due him for the sale of some of Emden's goods. Although Emden protested that he had made no agreement with the man, he was ordered by the court to pay the man the money he demanded.⁸³

The economic circumstances in which Emden found himself continued to be precarious. This, and the fact that royal decrees had been issued in Moravia making it especially difficult for Jews to marry -- through limitation of the number of marriages that could be performed among them -- convinced Emden that he should leave Moravia and take up his residence in an-

84
other land. In the meantime, however, many of Emden's friends proffered him assistance. The chief-rabbi of Moravia, Gabriel Eskeles, offered him a post as a rabbi; and certain of the Jewish leaders of Vienna offered him an annual stipend if he would take up his residence among them. But Emden, looking upon these offers as charity, refused them. 85

Emden continued his business travels, going again to Amsterdam. He went there by way of Dresden, and was ~~the~~ the guest of a certain Jonah Dresden. This greatly astonished the Dresden Jewish community, since the man had the reputation of being far from hospitable. 86 From Dresden he went once to Hanover and while there he met the chief-rabbi of Prague who was negotiating with the rabbi of Helvetia about the marriage of the latter's daughter and his son. The Prague rabbi urged Emden to remain in Hanover and study; but Emden declined and continued his trip to Amsterdam.

In Amsterdam Emden discovered that what little merchandise he still possessed (which had been kept in the attic of the house of Reuben Norden, a friend of Emden) had been largely destroyed by moths. 87 So he was forced to sell the goods at a great loss. His friend Norden had prospered in a new and secretly developed diamond trade with Brazil, made possible through negotiations with Portuguese sailors. 88 He insisted, because of his prosperity, that Emden remain with him for some time in Amsterdam, and Emden consented to a short stay.

While in Amsterdam, Emden was once more stricken with illness, this time more severely than ever before. It was a kidney ailment which affected him; it remained with him for over a period of twenty years. The ailment was particularly aggravated by Emden's efforts at self-treatment. During his stay in Amsterdam Emden's craving for education in secular subjects became very intense, and so he had prevailed upon a young servant boy to teach him foreign languages. From him he learned to read and write the Dutch language and also to understand some Latin. On the basis of this he began extensive reading in a number of fields of secular learning: law, literature, science, and especially philosophy, physiology, and medicine. Having access to a certain medical book, written in Dutch, he began seeking for some remedy for his kidney ailment. He read that hot tea was helpful for such an affliction, and attempted to cure himself by drinking excessive amounts of it. Instead of curing him, however, it but aggravated his complaint so that his condition became critical. After a severe siege, Emden finally recovered and decided to go to his birthplace, Altona, and establish his residence there. Instead of re-establishing his home in Altona, however, his plans were abruptly changed and he accepted a post as a rabbi for the first and only time in his career.

Chapter 3.

Rabbinate at Emden

Emden's acceptance of a position as a rabbi came as the result of a sudden and rather unexpected decision, he declares. On leaving Amsterdam for Altona in the spring of 1728, he passed through the town of Emden -- the community from which he derived⁹¹ his name. While here, the people of Emden sought to persuade him to become the rabbi and teacher of their community; particularly did Reb Jonathan Levy, at whose home he stayed, urge him to accept the position. Emden at first was unwilling to assume the office for, he said, he disliked the rabbinate and did not wish to be burdened with its responsibilities. Without consulting^{him} any further, however, the people of the community met together secretly and unanimously elected him to the post. They then informed him of the election, and after much further persuasion, succeeded in making him consent to their wishes. His only proviso was that he be permitted to continue with his own studies, uninterrupted. He wrote to his wife and bade her come to Emden with their family and possessions, and the family was reunited at the beginning of the summer of 1729; they were five souls; husband, wife, two sons (aged twelve and six) and an infant daughter.⁹²

Although constantly troubled by his old kidney ailment, Emden carried on extensive work in his new position. He spent a large part of his time in writing, completing some of the books begun elsewhere, namely, part of his "Lehem Shamayim," his "Mo'ar

U'keziah," and his "Shealat Yaabez." (The description of these and other of his works will be considered later.) He gathered a group of pupils about him with whom he studied Bible, Mishna, Talmud, and Tosefta. He introduced many important laws for his community, issuing new decisions and Takkanot in order, he says, "to turn the people from their erring ways."⁹³⁹⁴

Although Emden had a fixed salary as rabbi and teacher in the community, he refused to accept any additional gifts or emoluments, for, like his father, Haham Zebi, he felt that to do so would interfere with his independence. Although his sermons were extremely popular, he would not accept the customary gift of twenty-two rubles for each sermon that the people had habitually given to the rabbi; he was in fact very reluctant to preach, desiring rather to study and to teach.⁹⁵

Emden showed no favoritism to anyone, he declares -- catering neither to the masses nor to the wealthy. As a result of this policy he incurred the enmity of the influential Reb Jonathan Levy, the man who had befriended him and who was largely responsible for the position being offered to him. Reb Jonathan began to feel that Emden was having a bad effect on his prestige as a lay leader, for Emden's predecessor had obeyed Reb Jonathan's every command, whereas Emden himself was seemingly oblivious to the wealth and influence of his patron. Thus, though Reb Jonathan was at first friendly toward Emden, he soon gave evidence of his dissatisfaction with him, and sought to be-

little him in the eyes of the community.⁹⁶ Because of this opposition, Emden wanted to leave the rabbinate, but the affection and admiration that most of the village showed him prevented his deserting them. Shortly after this, Reb Jonathan suffered financial losses and experienced family troubles in that his daughter died in childbirth, leaving an infant child. These misfortunes apparently softened Reb Jonathan, for he soon re-established his friendship with Emden, and the latter, from that time on, enjoyed⁹⁷ the support of the entire community. The people were convinced that Emden's residence in their midst had brought them good fortune, and they cited several facts as evidence. Prior to his coming, the city had been flooded and as a result, all the river-fish, the principal food of the community, had been killed by the salt water. The year that Emden came, however, the floods, which had occurred periodically for seventeen years, had ceased and the rivers were once more stocked with edible river-fish.⁹⁸ "The rabbi brought us this good luck," they declared. Business, too, seemed to improve with his coming, not only for the community but for Emden too. He did not rely solely on his income as rabbi, but continued to engage in the importing business, dealing with his friends in Amsterdam.

In spite of the fact that he now had opportunity for study, that he was successful in his new work and had the support and admiration of the entire community, and that -- with the additional income from his trading -- he was financially well off,

Emden longed to leave the community. There were many disadvantages in his residing there. He and his entire family were beset by illness again and again, and this, Emden thought, was due to bad environmental conditions: the faulty air, food, and water supply of the community. His wife, in particular, suffered from sickness, and it was even necessary to send her to Amsterdam and to Leyden for medical attention for a breast ailment. Emden saw, too, that there were few educational or economic opportunities for his children in this small community, and he sent his eldest son -- a lad of thirteen -- to Ungarisch-Brod, to his grandfather, where a marriage was arranged for him with the daughter of a prominent Polish merchant. Jacob's wife left Emden for Ungarisch-Brod, at this time, to attend the marriage of the eldest son, and she did not rejoin him until he established his residence at Altona sometime later.

Several other incidents occurred at this time which but added to Emden's desire to leave his post. Reb Jonathan Levy, who had been on friendly terms with Jacob since their first conflict, again became incensed at him when Emden refused to approve some action of Reb Jonathan's son-in-law. As a result, Reb Jonathan tried to have Emden's salary withheld and to arouse animosity against him among the congregants. At this time, however, Reb Jonathan became involved in legal difficulty with the civil authorities because he had made certain illegal utterances against them in the synagogue. Jacob was summoned to give testimony re-

garding the case, and when he refused to testify against Reb Jonathan and the latter was released, the breach between the two was healed once more. The anguish resulting from the controversy, however, gave additional impetus to Jacob's determination to leave.¹⁰²

Yet another incident occurred which strengthened that decision. In the summer of 1732, about one-half year before Emden's departure for Altona, several men made their way to the community of Emden, posing as charity collectors. They had come from Minsk and maintained they were hard-pressed and needy. They had in their possession bogus letters and false credentials which they declared were written by the leaders of the community of Minsk and were meant to be delivered to various communities in order to raise funds. The letters indicated that these men were authorized charity collectors for the Minsk community, and since their credentials seemed genuine, they were received with honor and respect in all the communities they had visited, both by Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews alike. When these men arrived in Emden one of the group said that he was related to Jacob Emden, but the latter was suspicious of the men's claims and doubted the authenticity of their credentials. He also suspected them of being followers of a Sabbatian cult.¹⁰⁴ A few days after these men had come to the city, Emden was visited by his uncle, R. Benjamin of Grodno, Lithuania, a town near Minsk. Emden related to him the story told by the "charity-collectors" and

learned from his uncle that their representations were false. Emden then endeavored to disclose the fraud, but the "collectors" had so completely won over the community that Emden's charges were not believed. Even Emden's staunchest friends and supporters refused to credit his accusations, and became antagonistic to him, while the "collectors" succeeded in gathering funds even in Emden's own community. Realizing that he could not prevent their money-collection there, Jacob decided to try to trap them elsewhere. Obtaining a copy of their credentials from the men, Emden sent them to Altona to Moses Hagis, who at that time was still a friend and supporter. Emden wrote Hagis to investigate the matter carefully and to try to verify the statements and signatures. There were then many recent immigrants from Lithuania living in Altona, and when the letter reached Hagis, he showed it to a certain wealthy man, a former resident of Minsk whose name happened to be affixed to the credentials. When this man saw the letter, he disclaimed any connection with it and emphasized the fact that his signature had been forged. Emden received a reply from Hagis containing this information which he at once transmitted to the members of his community. They still refused to be convinced, however, of the fraudulent character of the "charity-collectors." Emden then warned the men not to attempt to collect any further funds, particularly in Altona; but they disregarded his warning. When they reached Altona, they were siezed by representatives of the Jewish community and arrested. After serving a jail sentence, they were released in

105

disgrace. The fact that Emden's friends had refused to accept his warning and had preferred to trust these fraudulent men was a source of pain to him and furthered his desire to leave the community.

All the aforementioned factors, the harmful climate of the town, the distrust of Jacob's friends, the opposition of Reb Jonathan and the burdens of the rabbinate, plus the fact that Jacob was anxious to go back to his native town, forced him to act on his wish to leave Emden. His wife, as we have mentioned, had gone to Ungarisch-Brod several months earlier to witness the marriage of their first-born son. Emden himself went to Altona at the end of 1732. When the Jews of Emden realized that he had definitely decided to leave them, they made every effort to dissuade him; but to no avail. Even after he left they consoled themselves with the belief he would remain in Altona for only a short time and then would return to minister to them. Accordingly, they did not select another rabbi, pinning their hopes on his return. He assured them that this was impossible and urged them to elect another rabbi. He declared that he would have no further associations with the rabbinate, that even during his stay in Emden he had received several offers from large communities, such as the town of Frankfurt am Main, but he had turned them down, choosing to devote himself to his studies. Still, "Yaabez" arguments did not convince them, and some seven years after his departure he received another invitation to come back to Emden.

He was promised a large salary and complete authority. But he again refused, and for a period of ten years the community of Emden was without a rabbi. During all that time they made repeated offers and invitations to him, but without effect, even though on several occasions Jacob's financial conditions were such as to make their offer very tempting.

The most significant and important part of Emden's life began after he took up residence in Altona, the community in which he spent the major portion of the balance of his life.

Chapter 4.

Residence at Altona

At the end of 1732, "Yaabez" made arrangements to leave Emden for Altona. He shipped his property by boat, and he and his children went by overland coach. His wife, having gone earlier to be present at the aforementioned wedding of their eldest son, joined the family in Altona. On arriving at his birth-place, Emden was received with honor and respect by the Altona Jewish community. Because of his poor health, which made it difficult for him to go to congregational services, Emden requested the community to permit him to institute a private synagogue in his home. At first, this was readily granted, but later it proved a source of considerable contention for Emden.

At first Moses Hagis, who was head of the Portuguese community in Altona, was very friendly with Emden. Hagis it was who had rented a home for him, and when Emden came to Altona, Hagis evinced a deep interest in his literary work. They had even exchanged copies of their manuscripts for mutual criticism. When Emden, however, asked Hagis to become a member of his private synagogue, Hagis expressed disapproval of such an institution as a private chapel, and declared that Emden should attend the regular synagogue. This was the beginning of a breach in their friendship. Relations between them were strained still further when later in the year Emden wrote his "Lehem Shamayim" and did

not ask Hagis to write an approbation (Haskamah) for it. Emden declared that his reason for so doing was that he disliked praise, and felt that an approbation would not have been genuine.¹¹⁰

Emden had reasons for his conviction that Hagis was not sincere, for he saw how hypocritical Hagis was in his friendships with other leaders of the community. In particular did he demonstrate this hypocrisy in his dealings with Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen, the chief rabbi of the community, to whom he had shown great admiration in his presence, but of whom he spoke maliciously under other circumstances.¹¹¹ Various incidents and impressions led Emden to suspect Hagis. Further animosity was added when certain maligners besmirched Emden's character before Hagis.¹¹²

Although Hagis was definitely hostile to Emden, he concealed his feelings toward him. Emden was not content to leave matters at that stage, but determined to bring the issue out into the open. One one occasion at a large public wedding, Emden approached Hagis and asked him what the basis of his animosity was. At first Hagis protested that he bore him no ill-will, but finally intimated that he was angry because of certain accusations Emden had made against him in his book, "Lehem Shamayim." Emden denied these accusations, and thought that a reconciliation between them had been achieved. Later, however, Hagis revealed that he still bore the grudge as deeply as ever, for in his writings he mentioned Emden in terms of derogation.¹¹³ Emden, in turn, carried

on the controversy by answering to these attacks in his work,
114
"Asoroh Halehem." This animosity between these former friends
continued for many years, even until the time when Hagi, as an
115
old man, left for Palestine.

Though this enmity with Hagi marred Emden's happiness in
Altona, he was given a welcome reception by most of the other
Jews of Altona. There was still another person, however, who
apparently was not overjoyed at his arrival. This was the rabbi
of the community, Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen. The enmity of Katz-
ellenbogen against Emden, however, was in the nature of an in-
herited feud, for it was an animosity that had begun with Emden's
father, Haham Zebi, many years before. When Haham Zebi had been
invited to occupy the pulpit of the three-communities in 1707,
it had been Katzenellenbogen who had enlisted the support of Reb
Baer Cohen against Zebi. As a result of their agitation, Zebi
116
had not been accepted by one-half of the community of Altona.
Now that Zebi's son had come to live in Altona, Katzenellenbogen
was fearful lest he continue the fight against him. In fact, he
would have prevented Emden's coming had he been able -- at least,
117
so Emden avers.

Despite that apparent ill-feeling that Ezekiel bore against
him, Emden decided to visit him; although as a new-comer to the
community, Emden felt that it should have been Katzenellenbogen
who should have made the first move. The latter received him very
coolly, and this reception greatly incensed Emden. He attributed
the coolness to the fact that the rabbi was fearful Emden would

deprive him of part of his income by competing with him in rab-
binical and scholarly activities.¹¹⁸

At this point in his autobiography, Emden goes into a lengthy description and appraisal of Katzenellenbogen. Nor does he treat that worthy very gently. He declares that although he had been chief rabbi of the three-communities for about thirty-five years, he had not been retained in office because of ability, but because of influential friends, without whose support he would have been unable to hold even the smallest post.¹¹⁹ Before his coming to the three-communities, Emden says, Katzenellenbogen had lived in Lithuania, where he had not been in the least successful. He had been foisted upon the three-communities through the clever, unethical scheming of his father-in-law, Reb Issachar Cohen, who had described him to the Jews of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck as the outstanding scholar of Poland. The father-in-law had also hired some students to go about singing the praises of the "eminent Polish scholar." (Apparently, "high pressure" salesmanship was known in those days, too.) As a result of this enthusiastic praise of Katzenellenbogen, so Emden declares, the Jews of the three-communities accepted him as rabbi, sight un-
¹²⁰seen. When he arrived in their midst, they discovered that he stammered and was slow of speech, that he was a far from successful teacher, and that even his writings were of an inferior character, consisting primarily of effusive Haskamot (approbations)
¹²¹of other men's writings. The principal reason for his being re-

tained in office, says Emden, was because he won the support of Reb Baer Cohen, the most powerful lay-leader of the three-communities; this he did by catering to every wish of Reb Baer. On several occasions Emden bitterly disagreed with legal decisions made by Katzenellenbogen -- particularly, in a case involving levirate marriage. Because of Emden's opposition, Katzenellenbogen had issued prohibitions against Emden's printing his work, "Iggeret Bikkoret," in which he took issue with Katzenellenbogen. Accordingly, Emden appeared before a congregational meeting in Altona, demanding that R.Ezekiel justify his position. The latter refused, and Emden was warned against carrying the fight any further. Emden complied with this admonition until after R. Ezekiel's death. Then he published a book which contained full details of his opposition to Katzenellenbogen's administration.¹²² Because of the latter's deficient knowledge, his servility to wealthy lay leaders, his venality in accepting bribes, the community of Hamburg decreed that it would no longer take any of its legal cases to him, nor accept his decisions. His jurisdiction for some years, therefore, was limited to the communities of Altona and Wandsbeck.¹²³ Emden continues his tirades against Katzenellenbogen at great length, pointing out his intellectual limitations,¹²⁴ his fondness for strong drink and food,¹²⁵ the manner in which he mulcted gifts and bribes from his people on every occasion,¹²⁶ and his ludicrous efforts to serve as a cantor for the community.¹²⁷ All of these shortcomings of the man, says Emden, brought

the office of chief rabbi of the three- communities into low
repute.

Emden had incurred the enmity of still another leader in
the three-communities, namely, Joel Shaav to whom we have pre-
128
viously referred. When Emden had come to Hamburg on his earlier
travels to dispose of the books left by his father, Haham Zebi,
he had stayed at the home of Reb Baer Cohen. This act had
aroused the bitter resentment of Joel Shaav, who was an enemy of
Reb Baer. After Baer's death, shortly before Emden's removal
to Altona, Joel Shaav had been appointed one of the lay-leaders
of the Ashkenazic section of the Altona community. When Emden
came to Altona, Shaav found opportunity to show his hostility
to him. On the advice of Moses Hagis, who at first was friendly
to Yaabez, Emden paid Shaav a visit. The latter, despite Emden's
gesture of friendliness, persisted in his hostile attitude, and
demonstrated his hostility by prohibiting Emden's private con-
gregation from meeting on those particular months that he (Shaav)
129
was in authority over some of the communal affairs. Not only
did Shaav oppose Emden in the matter of the congregation, but
he also attempted to interfere with his business activities, and
130
in many ways tried to force Emden out of the community.

Though Emden was involved in these disputes with certain
individuals, on the whole the people of Altona favored and re-
spected him. Even many who had been inimical toward his father,
now manifested friendly interest in him -- particularly, the

family of Reb Baer Cohen. As evidence of their respect and admiration, each Sukkot the community would purchase an "ethrog" for him. This friendly attitude on the part of the community continued until the time that Jonathan Eybeschuetz appeared in Altona as rabbi of the three-communities.¹³¹

Emden's sources of income at this time were varied, but the amount was not great. He served as "Mohel," for which he was sometimes paid, although he was usually reluctant to accept money for the service.¹³² He dealt in jewelry and general merchandise which a friend sent him from England.¹³³ From time to time, too, he enjoyed the benevolence of the wealthy Norden family in Amsterdam and an unidentified friend in London.¹³⁴ These last-named two sources stopped, however, in 1740. Aside from this, his wife engaged in money-lending, and through small loans to neighbors, supplemented the Emden income. Emden himself looked upon this particular business with some misgiving, however.¹³⁵ Although some time after his arrival Emden had secured a royal permit to establish a printing establishment, and from time to time did publish his own works, this activity did not provide him with any considerable part of his income. It served, rather, as a means of furthering his scholarly interests.¹³⁶

Shortly after his arrival in Altona, a son was born to Emden, whom he named in honor of his father, Zebi.¹³⁷ On the occasion of his son's circumcision, Emden held a great feast and invited all the leaders of the community. Rabbi Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen served as "Sandek" on the occasion. Two years

later his wife bore him another daughter on the holiday of Purim,
and in honor of the season he named her Esther. ¹³⁸ A little more
than a year later his wife bore another daughter, but both wife
and infant died. This was a source of bitter grief to Jacob,
for he had had great admiration and affection for his wife Rachel,
in spite of the poverty and ill-feeling he had experienced on her
behalf while they were still living in Ungarisch-Brod. During
the later years of their marriage he had discovered her great
business ability, and she had been of real assistance to him in
the maintenance of the family. ¹³⁹

The death of his wife, on Rosh Hodesh Tammuz, 1739, brought
Emden into the first open conflict with the Altona community.
On the occasion of his wife's funeral, certain of the leaders of
the community had insisted that he pay a special burial fee re-
quired of non-members of the community. They refused to permit
the burial to take place until the fee was paid. Shortly after-
wards, Emden appeared before the community leaders and insisted
that they determine his status. Was he to consider himself a
member of the community or a stranger? After a heated contro-
versy, especially with the nephew of Joel Shaav, Reb Jokel Husan,
the issue was decided in Emden's favor and he was accepted as a
full-fledged member of the community. His fee was returned to
him. ¹⁴⁰

A short time before his wife's death, Emden had sent away
his second son, Meshale^m Zalman, since he saw no opportunities

for economic advancement or suitable marriage for him in Altona. Although the boy was only eleven years old, Emden sent him first to Glogau and then to Poland, where a suitable match was arranged for him. The boy had shown great scholarly interests, and it was with regret that Emden let him depart.¹⁴¹

Immediately after the death of his wife, Emden was besieged by "shadchanim," who tried to arrange another marriage from him. He was made offers in behalf of the daughter of the rabbi of Mannheim, and by representatives of a wealthy widow of Prague, but Jacob refused to be interested in them. At this time, too, Emden's brother, Ephraim, of Lemberg, and his brother-in-law, Rabbi Aryeh Loeb, rabbi of Glogau (later, rabbi in Amsterdam) decided to attempt to arrange a match between Jacob and his niece, the daughter of Ephraim. They wrote Emden accordingly, but took no further action.¹⁴² In the meantime, another friend of Emden's from the community of Halberstadt told him of a certain woman in that community, daughter of one of the merchants. He described her in the most glowing terms. She was, he said, attractive, intelligent, and of excellent lineage. Emden was impressed, and a match was arranged.

Three-fourths of a year after the death of his first wife, on Rosh Hodesh Nisan of 1740, Emden married his second wife, Sarah, of the community of Halberstadt.¹⁴³ Although he received a dowry of 1500 reichstaler and gifts from Reuben Norden of Amsterdam and his friends in London, Emden was ^{soon} embroiled in finan-

cial difficulties. He attempted to continue the loan business begun by his first wife, for he thought that his second wife, daughter of a merchant, would have a keen business sense and would be able to assume the responsibility of this work while he devoted his time to his studies. He was doomed to disappointment, for his wife was devoid of financial ability and Emden was forced to take over most of the work of the loan-business. Nor did it prosper. Not only did Emden fail to profit on the various loans he made, but he lost most of his principal and was involved in endless litigation besides.¹⁴⁴

Aside from financial difficulties, Emden's life for the next few years was burdened with much other unhappiness. In 1740 his son, Zebi Hirsch, a boy of seven, was stricken with pneumonia and died. It was the prelude to a whole siege of sickness and death for the Emden family. Jacob's wife bore him twin daughters, one of whom died. The following year she bore another daughter who likewise passed away. The next year she bore him a son, and this boy, as well as another son of hers from her first husband, died. She herself passed away on Rosh¹⁴⁵ Hodesh Adar, 1743, after the fourth year of their marriage.

This unbroken chain of misfortune became too much for Emden, and shortly after his wife's death, he, too, became critically ill. When the doctors despaired of his life, the synagogues in the three-communities demonstrated their affection for him by offering up prayers in his behalf. This was on the fifteenth of Shebat, 1743. That day marked the turning-point in

his illness and he was soon on the road to recovery. From that year onward he observed the fifteenth of Shebat as a holiday every year, and he gave a special banquet for the poor.¹⁴⁶

When news of the death of Emden's second wife reached Emden's brother, Ephraim, who was at that time attending the annual fair at Frankfurt a. d. Oder, he immediately came to Altona to see if it were possible now to arrange a marriage for his daughter, Emden's niece. Emden consented to the match and in the middle of the month of Kislev, 1743, Jacob married his niece,¹⁴⁷ Bithiah Zibiah. Emden was considerably incensed over the fact that Rabbi Katzenellenbogen demanded a fee for performing the marriage ceremony -- "particularly," says Emden, "since he had already derived a considerable sum from me for my two previous marriages."¹⁴⁸

In the first year of Emden's marriage to his niece, she had a miscarriage. The following year, however, she bore him a son whom he named Mordecai. This son, though, only lived for a year and a half. Several years later another son, Judah, was born to Emden, on the eighth day of Cheshbon, 1751, and from him Emden¹⁴⁹ derived much satisfaction because of his scholarly abilities.

At the time of his third marriage Emden was in dire financial circumstances. With the small dowry that he received from his brother, he sent to London to purchase jewelry and trinkets, but received instead a cargo of tobacco, which for the most part he was unable to dispose of. This was characteristic of his business dealings for some time, so that he was very unsuccessful

in these commercial pursuits. ¹⁵⁰ He now received financial aid, however, from a certain Reb Moses Emden who assisted him to obtain a governmental permit to open a printing establishment, to ¹⁵¹ which we have previously referred. This same Reb Moses Emden also established him in a tea and pepper business, providing personal funds for the merchandise. He later withdrew his assistance, however, when he saw it was necessary virtually to run ¹⁵² the business for inept Jacob.

Having obtained a royal permit for printing, Emden now began to devote considerable attention to writing and publishing. He bought necessary equipment from Amsterdam and began the work of printing a Siddur. In this book, called "Ammude Shamayim," Emden included various laws and customs and he emphasized the statements of certain teachers in the Mishnah who put banking and money-changing in an unfavorable light. Several Jewish bankers of the three-communities heard of these insinuations, and they angrily demanded that Emden be prevented from distributing the book. When these men appeared before Rabbi Katzenellenbogen and before other leaders of the community and presented their grievance, Katzenellenbogen demanded that Emden submit a ¹⁵³ copy of the manuscript to a "Bet-Din" for examination. Emden resented this since he had a royal permit for printing and Katzenellenbogen himself had previously granted an "Haskamah" for the book. Emden continued printing the Siddur even while it was being investigated, for the investigating committee proceeded

very slowly in their work. Even after Emden had finished printing the book, in 1748, the committee had not yet presented their report. Finally, in 1749, they decided not to prohibit the distribution of the Siddur, but they did send Emden a long list of errata which they claimed were present in the book. He denied the existence of these errors and even wrote a response to their charges. He did not print his answer, however.¹⁵⁴

Although Emden had encountered much opposition in the printing of his Siddur, he decided to continue the work by writing a second part to it, called Migdal Oz," in which he included an ethical treatise known as "Bet Midot." From the very outset, in 1748, he encountered opposition, and accordingly, he worked with great haste to complete the work, resorting, therefore, to an extensive use of abbreviations which became characteristic of his later writing.¹⁵⁵ In spite of his efforts to complete the work in a hurry, it was interrupted and he was forced to abandon it. The event which made it necessary for him to interrupt his work was the most significant and colorful of his career, namely, his controversy with Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschuetz.

Chapter 5.

The Emden-Eybeschuetz Controversy

Although Emden treats this controversy in a very cursory fashion in his autobiography, since, as he says, he has dealt with it exhaustively in other works, it played such a prominent part in his life, beginning with the year 1751, and it is so vital to an understanding of much of his activity, it is necessary to describe the events of the conflict in detail.

Jonathan Eybeschuetz was born in Cracow, Poland, in 1690.¹⁵⁷ Eybeschuetz was the descendant of a long line of Kabbalistic scholars, which may, in part, explain his own affinity to that esoteric study. His father was Nathan-Nata Eybeschuetz, who at one time served as rabbi for the sea-port town of Eibenschitz,¹⁵⁸ or Eybeschuetz, whence Jonathan derived his name.

Eybeschuetz had a keen, retentive memory, and early in life evinced interest in both Talmudic and Kabbalistic subjects. His interest in the latter was due to his innate antipathy to the gloomy ultra-piety of the German Polish Jews.¹⁵⁹ He did not, however, declare himself as being anti-rabbinical, either because his convictions in that respect were not sincere, or because of weakness of character. His life, therefore, represented a constant wavering between Talmudism and Kabbalism. Yet, in spite of this, his knowledge and family prestige gained him many followers.

In 1710 Eybeschuetz married the daughter of the chief-rabbi of Prague, Rabbi Isaac Spira. For several years following this, he lived in Hamburg with Mordecai Cohen, his wife's grandfather. In 1714 he went to Prague, where he made his home, and in 1728 he became preacher and Book-censor of that community. He soon won the suspicion of the Jews of that community, however, for they felt that he had leanings toward Sabbatianism, but in 1725 he skilfully diverted their suspicions by taking an oath publicly and declaring that the accusation was false. In spite of this act, he retained his interest in Kabbala and Sabbatianism, as he confessed to his former teacher, Meir of Eisenstadt. Although his public oath and his learning impressed many of the Prague Jews with his sincerity, his associations with the Jesuits of that community -- who were not friendly to the Jews -- gradually aroused the resentment of a large number of Jews. He had received permission from the Bishop of Prague to print an edition of the Talmud, provided he expunged any word or expression in it that was directed against Christianity, and accordingly, he began publication of the Talmud between the years 1728 and 1739. This act raised a storm of protest among Jews not only in Prague, but also in Frankfort a. M., where the Jews, at the instigation of Moses Hagis, petitioned the emperor to ban the Prague Talmud of Eybeschuetz. Recognizing this resentment, Eybeschuetz determined to leave the Prague community, and he applied for a post in the community of Metz. He was refused the position at first,

because of rumors of his heresy, but a few years later, when the pulpit was again open, he applied and was elected. This was¹⁶⁴ in 1741.

During the first years of his incumbency in Metz, Eybeschuetz was extremely popular, and when another pulpit was offered him in 1746, the Metz community insisted that he remain with them. Shortly afterwards, though, as in Prague, he began to lose favor even among his closest friends, such as Nehemiah Reischer, who had been largely responsible for his election to the Metz post. Here, too, suspicions about him regarding his affiliations with Sabbatian cults made his position anything but agreeable, and he began looking anxiously for an opening¹⁶⁵ in some other community.

When Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen, chief rabbi of the three-communities, died in 1749, Eybeschuetz began an intensive campaign to secure that position. Emden's name was also mentioned as a candidate for the office, and a few of his friends urged him to make some effort to obtain the post. Emden, independent and proud -- perhaps feeling the position should be his by heredity rather than through election, since his father had held the high office before -- refused to accept their advice, and stated that he would not accept the post even if elected. It is questionable if his refusal was entirely sincere, for he probably desired the privilege of at least declining the offer. When he learned, therefore, that he had received but a few votes, and that Jonathan Eybeschuetz had been elected, he was

keenly hurt and chagrined. In all likelihood he gave expression to this resentment by nursing a deep life-long grudge against the recipient of the office, namely, Jonathan Eybeschuetz.¹⁶⁶

When Eybeschuetz assumed his office as chief-rabbi of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck in 1750, he tried to win Emden's friendship, showing every kindness and consideration toward the latter. On the occasion of his installation into office he spoke in terms of highest praise of Emden. When the latter's Siddur, "Ammude Shamayim," appeared, Eybeschuetz gave the book his approval. Emden, however, was not affected by Eybeschuetz' overtures of friendship, and remained coolly aloof, anticipating that sooner or later a quarrel between them must occur.¹⁶⁷

A short time after Eybeschuetz arrived, the three-communities were afflicted by a considerable number of deaths through childbirth. In the period of one year eighteen women had died in childbirth, and many prospective mothers, terrified by the siege of deaths, began seeking magical and supernatural ways of preventing such tragedies. Eybeschuetz prepared amulets (or "Kameot") for them for the purpose of exorcising spirits from them. He had distributed similar amulets while in Metz and Frankfort a. M., and the women of the three-communities had heard of them and requested them for their own protection.¹⁶⁸

Not long afterwards, reports reached Altona from Frankfort that those amulets which Eybeschuetz had distributed there were not of the usual nature, but were heretical in character.¹⁶⁹ One

of these amulets was opened in Altona and it was found to contain references, seemingly, to Sabbetai Zevi.¹⁷⁰ Despite the fact that some of the words had been altered by a change of position of some of the letters, it appeared fairly clear that reference was made therein to Sabbetai Zevi.

One of the amulets was brought to Emden, who was asked to examine its contents and determine whether or not it was of an heretical character. Emden at first refused to pass judgment on the matter, and only after the urging of certain of the Jewish leaders of Altona and a promise from them of complete secrecy regarding the matter, did he agree. When he had read the contents of the amulet he was convinced of their heretical character and revealed his suspicions to these men; but he once more adjured them to keep silent about it.^{170a} Emden questioned the expediency of pursuing the case further, for he recognized that Eybeschuetz had a tremendous following -- some twenty thousand disciples, it was said.¹⁷¹ His request, however, was disregarded and, immediately afterwards, the matter was given full publicity in the three-communities. As soon as the affair, and Emden's opinion, were made known, Guiseppe Cohen, a follower of Eybeschuetz, came to Emden's home and asked him to retract his words. Emden replied that he had made no charges about the authorship of the amulets, but had merely declared that they were of heretical character.¹⁷² The leaders of the three-communities, despite the fact that they were not anxious to air the matter, decided to

appoint an investigating committee, and they met with Emden on February 2, 1751. At that meeting Emden was very reluctant to declare the guilt or innocence of Eybeschuetz, pleading that he was too ill to be involved in controversy. The community was not satisfied with that reply, however, and on the ninth of Shebat, 1751 (February 4), Emden made a speech in his synagogue in which he declared that the author of the amulets was unquestionably guilty of heresy, that he did not accuse Eybeschuetz of having written them, but that Eybeschuetz owed it to himself and the community to make a public declaration of his innocence, if he were not guilty. When Guiseppe Cohen (who was Eybeschuetz' uncle by marriage) heard of this speech, he immediately went to the officers of the community and belabored Emden and his utterance at great length. On the basis of this the council decreed on February 7 that Emden's synagogue should be closed and that no one should attend it, under pain of excommunication. In addition, they prohibited him from printing any^{-thing} further in his publishing house. They had considered Emden's words and action as an insult to rabbinical authority, and they felt that by prohibiting him from printing anything they would prevent him from continuing his attacks against Eybeschuetz.

Though Eybeschuetz thus found support among his many disciples, he felt it necessary to exonerate himself in the eyes of the public at large. On February 21, accordingly, in the principal synagogue of Altona, Eybeschuetz delivered a lengthy sermon

in which he swore he was innocent of any affiliations with Sabbatianism, and, furthermore, that he would excommunicate any¹⁷⁵ and all persons guilty of such heresy. On many of the Jews this solemn declaration made a profound impression, and it even won over some of Emden's supporters. A few months later, however, further letters arrived from the community of Metz, containing additional amulets, the authorship of which Eybeschuetz himself had acknowledged, and whose contents were clearly of a Sabbat-¹⁷⁶ian character. This rent the community even more, and the controversy between the two factions became very heated. Emden was ordered to leave the community, but he refused, and a guard¹⁷⁷ was put about his house for a period of almost four months. He was now supported, however, by the community of Metz which was¹⁷⁸ convinced of Eybeschuetz' guilt. On the other hand, the antagonism against Emden spread beyond the three-communities into Poland, where Eybeschuetz had many followers, and on the 29th of Nisan, 1751, a bull of excommunication was issued by Rabbi¹⁷⁹ Hayyim of Lublin against Yaabez. In addition to this, great sums of money were expended in Poland to disseminate propaganda in Eybeschuetz' behalf.

On May 14, 1751, the conflict between the two factions actually reached the point of physical violence. A riot occurred in the synagogue in Altona which was of such severity that it was necessary for police to be summoned and eject the¹⁸⁰ ring-leaders.

Shortly after this outbreak of violence, threats were made against Emden's life and he decided to leave Altona for Amsterdam, leaving his wife and children behind.¹⁸¹ His wife was ordered by the council of Altona not to dispose of any of Emden's property, since a damage suit had been brought against him by Eybeschuetz.¹⁸² Emden was received with courteous hospitality in Amsterdam. Perhaps it was the fear that Emden's influence in Amsterdam would be used against him, which inspired Eybeschuetz shortly afterwards to write a circular letter to all his followers in Germany, Poland, and Italy, asking them to remain loyal to his cause.¹⁸³

Irritated by Eybeschuetz' letter and also by the excommunication that Rabbi Hayyim of Lublin had issued against Emden and his followers, two prominent rabbis now took up Yaabez' cause, namely, Rabbi Joshua Falk of Frankfurt a. M. and Rabbi Samuel Heilmann of Metz. These two rabbis, together with other prominent leaders, challenged Eybeschuetz to clear himself of all the charges that had been made against him. Eybeschuetz declined to accept the challenge.¹⁸⁴ By this time the controversy had reached such proportions that even the attention of the gentile population was called to it. Nor did the affair raise the dignity of the Jews in the eyes of their Christian neighbors, for in some regions -- particularly Poland -- it was carried on in an undignified manner with bribery, spies, treachery and violence being employed by both sides.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, after some months, in February

of 1752, agitation was begun by Rabbis Falk and Heilmann to institute excommunication against Eybeschuetz and all his followers. In consequence of this action, almost every Jew was under ban -- either as a follower of Emden, or as a supporter of Eybeschuetz. The effectiveness of the ban as a disciplinary weapon in Jewish life, it has been said, began to decline from this time. ¹⁸⁶

At this point in the controversy, the scene shifts from the Jewish courts to the secular courts, just as in the quarrels of Emden's father, Haham Zebi, it had been necessary to resort to the gentile courts. The immediate cause for bringing the controversy into the courts of the King of Denmark was occasioned by a change of heart on the part of one of Eybeschuetz' followers. The latter had been expelled from the council of Altona and threatened with banishment when it was discovered that his sympathies were not entirely with Eybeschuetz. In resentment against the action taken toward him, he had turned to the ruler of Holstein, King Fræderick V of Denmark, and had brought charges of heresy and cruelty against Eybeschuetz and his party. The trial was not marked by smoothness, and there was bitterness and animosity displayed by both groups. During the entire course of the trial Emden's interests had been upheld by his followers, since he himself was in Amsterdam. His absence did not really constitute a serious disadvantage to his case, for on July 30, ¹⁸⁷ 1752, the court decided in Emden's favor. The council of Altona was severely censured for its illegal and harsh treatment of Em-

den and was fined one hundred reichsthaler. Emden was granted permission to return to Altona, and the use of his printing press and private synagogue were restored to him. Eybeschuetz was deprived of his authority as rabbi of the Hamburg community for a period of three years and was ordered to clear himself with regard to the amulets.¹⁸⁸

On the 15th of Ab, 1752, after fourteen months of residence in Amsterdam, Emden returned to Altona. He was enthusiastically received by his followers, and his joy was increased by the fact that on the very day of his arrival the edict removing Eybeschuetz from authority over the community of Hamburg¹⁸⁹ went into effect. There was one source of irritation for him, however, in that his entire case against Eybeschuetz had been carried on while he was away, and he felt that his friends had been negligent in not demanding reparation from Eybeschuetz in his behalf. Even now he was anxious to reopen the case and demand damages from Eybeschuetz, but his friends advised against it. He yielded to their arguments, but later regretted the fact that he had accepted their opinion, for he felt that Eybeschuetz' revival in power after this trial was due entirely to his (Emden's) failure to prosecute the case still further.¹⁹⁰

Emden, now safely at home and vindicated, listened to the urgings of his friends and prepared a general letter to be distributed among the various rabbis, in which he set forth his position in the controversy.¹⁹¹ In addition to this, he also pub-

lished a history of Sabbetai Zebi and his followers, in which the implication was clear that it had been the Eybeschuetz controversy which had inspired its having been written. This latter piece of literature Emden produced in the face of the government decree that nothing further should be published against Eybeschuetz.¹⁹²
¹⁹³

Eybeschuetz did not remain inactive during this interval. He felt that he was in a precarious position, indeed, and decided upon rather desperate measures. He allied himself with a certain apostate Jew, Charles Anton, who, formerly under the name of Moses Gerson Cohen, had been a student of Eybeschuetz'. Anton, after his baptism, had been appointed by the Duke of Brunswick as reader in Hebrew in Helmstadt. He possessed considerable influence with the authorities. Eybeschuetz went to him to request him to write, in German, a vindication of his (Eybeschuetz') conduct and to praise his works and character, and, at the same time, to vilify Emden. The book was written in accordance with Eybeschuetz' instructions, and, so some alleged, at his dictation.¹⁹⁴ The book sought to show that Sabbatianism had completely disappeared and that there was no Jew in the world who believed any longer in the Messianic claims of Sabbatai; certainly not a learned man of Eybeschuetz' character. The book was dedicated to the King of Denmark and hinted that he should exonerate Eybeschuetz as an innocent victim.¹⁹⁵

Through the efforts of a friend of Eybeschuetz who was a Jewish agent at the court of King Frederick V of Denmark, the book was brought to the attention of the princess of Brunswick, now queen. The latter was impressed by the merits of the Eybeschuetz' defense, and as a result of her influence a decree was issued in February, 1753, restoring most of Eybeschuetz' power to him with the notable exception of his judicial authority. In addition, it was declared that there should be no further continuation of this controversy. At the suggestion of the government, however, a poll was taken of the community to determine its attitude toward the two men and it resulted in Eybeschuetz' favor.¹⁹⁷ Though Eybeschuetz apparently was being vindicated, his status among part of the Jewish population did not improve even with this governmental edict and vote. The leaders of the opposition, and certain men who had deserted his group, were more anxious than ever now to prove to the king that his vindication of Eybeschuetz was not well grounded. Accordingly, the three rabbis: Aryeh Loeb of Amsterdam, Joshua Falk of Frankfurt a. M., and Samuel Heilmann of Metz laid before the Altona Jewish council a demand to consider Eybeschuetz as excommunicated. With great difficulty the council of Altona finally convinced Eybeschuetz to submit his case before an impartial rabbinical court and yield to its decision.¹⁹⁸ Then followed a long period of wrangling over judges satisfactory to both groups. Emden's group insisted that Joshua Falk and his colleagues serve; Eybeschuetz desired, at

various times, to submit the case to the rabbis of Constantinople or to the Synod of the Four Countries of Poland (Vaad Arba Arazot). He had reason to feel he would get more than fair treatment from the latter body, for some time later that organization barred all writings derogatory to Eybeschuetz from being distributed in the Four Countries. When it became apparent to the king that it was impossible to have the case definitely and finally decided by the Jewish courts, the king determined on another course of action. He submitted the entire matter to a group of Christian professors and theologians who were to make a final decision regarding the amulets.

When Eybeschuetz learned of the king's plan he became somewhat uneasy as to its possible outcome and for the first time in his career turned to literary defense. In June of 1755 he wrote his first work, a defense of his actions, called "Luhot Edut" (The Tables of Testimony). It was written dispassionately, but with every intention to justify himself. Emden regarded the book as of an extremely inferior character and full of deliberate falsification. But, although he declared he work unworthy of answer, he immediately proceeded to write such an answer -- namely, his "Shebirat Luhot ha-Awen" (The Breaking of the Tables of Iniquity), in which he strives to expose the ignorance and folly of Eybeschuetz as revealed in his "Luhot Edut." His answer was very abusive and venomous of expression, and it attacked not only Eybeschuetz but also those other rabbis who were

his followers. Because of the vicious tone of the writing, the answer of Emden did not achieve what he had hoped for, but it merely created resentment among many fair-minded men who were neutral in the whole controversy.

Whether it was due to this work or due to the fact that Emden was publishing another book supposedly further to derogate Eybeschuetz' character ("Akizat Ekrob"), Eybeschuetz' followers determined on more violent action against him. Through a ruse, that of sending a boy to purchase a copy of the book, "Akizat Ekrob," from Emden (the printing of which book was against the law, since the court had ordered that nothing further about the amulet controversy or against Eybeschuetz should be published),²⁰⁵ Eybeschuetz' followers obtained a search-warrant from the "Ober-Praesident" to invade Emden's house and sieze all material of a suspicious nature for further investigation. On the third of Ab, 1755, a band of marauders came to Emden's home in the company of governmental officers. They dealt roughly with Emden, his wife (who was with child at the time), and with his printing assistant, Moses Bohn. They hunted every corner of the house, siezed his books and private letters, and tampered with his printing press. Despite the suddenness of the occurrence and the fact that Emden had almost no opportunity to hide the desired materials, and although the band of men plundered almost everything, they did not succeed in obtaining the desired evidence, but took with them much material that was of no consequence.²⁰⁶ All of the material siezed was brought to the home of

the "Ober-Praesident" Von Kwalen. The latter put the case in the hands of the councillors of Altona, and after six months, when the witnesses had presented all their evidence, a special committee was appointed of three men, at the head of which was the Christian scholar, Professor Steiches.²⁰⁷ Prior to this investigation Emden had spent much money in trying to have the council of Altona reach a favorable decision in his behalf, but it had been unsuccessful. His failure was due, so he alleges, to the fact that Eybeschuetz had bribed some of the members of that body.²⁰⁸ When Steiches and his committee investigated the writings of Emden that had been submitted to them, they found nothing of an incriminating character and, accordingly, vindicated Yaabez,²⁰⁹ and his property was returned to him. Eybeschuetz, however, did not abandon his efforts to pursue this investigation still further. His followers declared to the Altona council now that there was yet another book by Emden, his "Torat ha-Kenaot," which should be investigated since it was in violence of the royal edict. The council, therefore, withheld the Steiches decision and Emden's status remained under a cloud.²¹⁰

At this time there appeared a publication which benefitted Eybeschuetz' cause before the King, but harmed him the eyes of the Jewish community. The Danish king had asked a certain Christian professor and pastor, David Frederick Megerlin, for his opinion in the case. The latter declared that the amulets referred in some mystical manner, not to Sabbetai Zebi, but to Jesus Christ.²¹¹ He declared that Anton's book had not presented

Eybeschuetz' cause in its true perspective. Eybeschuetz, he said, was secretly in sympathy with Christianity, but dared not proclaim himself openly to the Jewish community; Emden's opposition was directed against Eybeschuetz' Christian learning and sympathies, he said. He appealed to Eybeschuetz to resign from the rabbinate, express his Christian sympathies openly, and permit himself to be baptized. Megerlin further appealed to the Jewish community to act in similar fashion.²¹²

Although the Jewish community deeply resented Megerlin's work, it made a deep impression on King Frederick V of Denmark, and aroused his sympathies in Eybeschuetz' behalf. The latter, rather than completely disavow the implications of the book,²¹³ was willing to win the king's support on its basis. In the middle of December, 1756, the king, therefore, ordered another poll to be taken to determine whether or not full authority, including jurisdiction over the city of Hamburg, should be restored to Eybeschuetz. The vote, which Emden implies was of a fraudulent character,²¹⁴ was favorable to Eybeschuetz. By royal edict, therefore, Eybeschuetz was restored to complete power over all of the three communities. His victory was celebrated with great ceremony during the festival of Hanukkah in 1756, a triumphal parade being held in the streets of Altona.²¹⁵ Although minor events continuing the controversy between Jacob Emden and Jonathan Eybeschuetz occurred after this time, the greatest intensity of the antagonism terminated with this decree and cele-

bration. For six years the battle had waged -- from 1750 to
1756 -- and it had ranged in territory from France to Poland.²¹⁶

The cessation of this struggle did not mean, however, that Emden's life from this time forward was free of controversy. On the contrary, to the very end of his life his days were filled with conflict of some type or other. Of great importance was his participation in the fight against the Frankist cult.

Chapter 6.

Conflict with the Frankists

Although Emden does not deal in his autobiography at length with his relations with the Frankist cult of Poland, he makes frequent reference to this sect and it is necessary to describe something of the background of the movement in order to understand a certain phase of Emden's life.

The fall of Sabbetai Zebi and his conversion to Mohammedanism did not mark the end of his influence. In many uncultured sectors Jews still clung to their belief in him. Particularly was this true in the region of Podolia, Poland, as has already been evidenced by the enthusiasm with which certain rabbis and Jewish communities there rushed to the support of Eybeschuetz when he was accused of Sabbatianism. This sentiment in favor of Messianism was utilized to personal advantage by a certain Jacob Lebovicz, who was born in Podolia in 1726. Lebovicz had acquainted himself with Kabbala during his youth, and had spent much time travelling in those oriental sectors where the memory of Sabbetai Zebi was still fresh -- namely, in Salonica and Smyrna. While in Turkey he acquired the name of Frank. Frank was a skilful leader and influenced people by his pose of humbleness and mysticism. He had heard of the dissensions in Poland, particularly those that were stirring it during the Emden-Eybeschuetz controversy, and, feeling it was fertile terri-

tory for his exploitation, made his appearance there in November, 1755. He succeeded in organizing a large group of Sabbatian sympathizers of Podolia into a sect, called the "Frankists."

The activities of the Frankists were in direct opposition to the demands of Rabbinic Judaism, and it was necessary for the meetings to be held in secret. Even the secret meetings, however, did not prove successful in evading the attention of the rabbis, and one of the sessions was broken up. As a result of reported unorthodox and even immoral behavior at this meeting, Frank was deported from Podolia as a foreigner, and the activities of the Frankists were carefully scrutinized by the rabbis of Poland. On the basis of further investigation, the rabbinical congress in Brody (20th of Sivan, 1756) issued a sentence of excommunication against the Frankists, prohibiting anyone from intermarrying with them, and declaring them ineligible for any rabbinical or religious office. The ban was ratified by the great Synod of the Four Countries (Vaad Arba Arazot) on September 25, 1756, and was distributed throughout all the Jewish communities to be read monthly. Of particular significance was the clause in this edict prohibiting anyone under thirty years of age from studying Kabbalah. The Frankists, in this crisis, turned to the Bishop of Kamienetz and sought protection from him and from the secular authorities. They complained that they were being persecuted by the other Jews because their belief was similar to Christianity. The Bishop of Kamienetz

was won over by their appeals and gave orders that they were to be protected. He also ordered a series of disputations between them and the Talmudist Jews to be held, and when the latter group, out of fear of offending the Church, defended their cause very lamely, the Bishop ordered all copies of the Talmud found in Podolia to be burned.²²⁰

In their distress the rabbis of Poland turned to Emden for assistance. They recalled that he had championed the cause of rabbinism and orthodoxy before, and they felt he would lead them in this conflict. Emden, in reply to their letters, advised them to denounce the deeds of this cult and its immoral acts by quotations from Christian writings.²²¹ In addition, he began work on the book "Seder Olam Rabbah," which was directed against the Frankists. In this book, however, he also included certain references to the activities of Eybeschuetz and some of his allies, such as Magerlin and Anton. Eybeschuetz used every method to prevent the distribution of this book, for he felt that it was a slur against his attitude toward the Torah. He had as many copies of it as he could obtain, seized and burned. Some of the copies of the work, however, reached Poland, and were of help to the rabbis in carrying on their fight against the Frankists.²²² In the "Seder Olam Rabbah" Emden declared the Frankists to be shameful transgressors against the sacred law, and he answered the question put to him by the Polish rabbis as

to whether or not the Frankists should be turned over to the authorities with an emphatic affirmative. Although this was not the sole reason for the events that followed in Poland, it was a contributing factor. The Jews denounced the Frankists to the Catholic authorities, declaring them to be an heretical sect in no wise similar to Christianity. At this juncture the Bishop of Kamienetz died a violent death, and several other supporters of the Frankists were stricken with illness. It may have been the charges brought by the rabbis against the Frankists or it may have been the death of the principal supporters of the Frankists among the Catholic leaders, or a combination of both factors, but shortly after this time the Frankists lost favor with the authorities, and many of them even fled from Podolia. Frank, aware that some drastic action had to be taken, submitted to baptism, in the company of a number of other of his followers. This won the sympathy of the Catholic authorities once more, and the battle between the two camps resumed with even greater intensity. Later, however, the sincerity of Jacob Frank's Christianity and that of his followers was questioned by the authorities and he was put on trial. Only the fact that the king had served as the godfather at his baptism saved Frank from being burned at the stake as a heretic, but he and his followers were imprisoned for long sentences and the strength of the movement was broken.

Emden's role in this affair was of great significance. He was much consulted by the Polish rabbis, and in addition to the frequent correspondence he carried on with them, as well as the "Seder Olam Rabbah" which he wrote in connection with the controversy, ²²⁸ he wrote another book, "Shimmush," ²²⁹ two-thirds of which was devoted to a consideration of the Frankist affair. His most important action in relation to this conflict, however, was more an outgrowth of it, rather than a contribution to its solution. The conditions in Poland, particularly the championing of the Zohar by the Frankists, had led Emden to make a careful study of the Zohar and of its contents. As a result of this, his inquiry led him to the opinion that the Zohar was not entirely the work of the author to whom it had been ascribed: Simon b. Yohai. At least a part of it, he was convinced, was the work of an impostor. This was the very first time in the history of the Zohar that any question had been ²³⁰ raised questioning its genuineness or sacred character. In doubting the authenticity of the authorship of the Zohar, Emden performed more than a scholarly task. He helped open the eyes of many in the Jewish community of his time to an awareness of the frauds and Messianic delusions which had been luring them and leading them astray.

Chapter 7.

Emden's Last Years

Although the more dramatic and significant events of the Eybeschuetz controversy and the rise of the Frankist sect dominated Emden's life from the year 1750 until almost the end of his life, he did not omit, from his autobiography, a recital of some of the more intimate domestic details of his life during those years. He relates that during the fourteen months of his exile in Amsterdam, from the end of Iyyar in 1751 to the middle of Ab, 1752, his wife maintained the home and family in Altona, and that on his return he found them all well and economically sound. ²³¹ Shortly after this, however, he was soon in financial straits, for his expenses in maintaining the fight against Eybeschuetz were great, and his sources of income began to diminish. His friend, Reuben Norden of Amsterdam, discontinued to help him. Even when Jacob sent him money with which to purchase merchandise for him, he refused. Similarly, Emden's brother-in-law in Amsterdam, Rabbi Aryeh Loeb, made some unprofitable investments for him so that considerably more ²³² of Emden's money was lost therein.

In 1753 Emden's wife, Bitiah Zibiah, bore him a son, whom he named Levi, but the boy only lived a short time, dying the following year. The next year she bore him a daughter, whom he

called Hannah. This child was born but two weeks after the marauding band of Eybeschuetz' men had invaded his home in search of incriminating evidence against Emden. Although the excitement of this invasion and rough handling by the man had made the prospective mother so ill that it was necessary to bleed her, both child and mother survived child-birth, and the daughter, at the date of the writing of Megillat Sefer, was still ²³³alive.

In 1757 Emden arranged marriages for his two oldest daughters, Esther and Nahama, with members of two prominent families. It was arranged that the older daughter, Esther, child of his first wife, was to marry Rabbi Zechari Mendel, rabbi of the Polish community of Tischvitz⁽¹⁾, and son of a prominent officer of the "Vaad Arba Zrazot." Nahama, child of Emden's second wife, was to marry the son of Rabbi Baruch of Russia. ²³⁴Both daughters left by boat for Danzig at the end of the summer, in 1757. En route they encountered a terrible storm and the ship was nearly lost but finally reached the Danzig harbor safely. As a result of the trip, however, the younger of the two, Nahama, was critically ill in Danzig and was unable to continue her trip until the end of the winter. The older daughter journeyed on ²³⁵to Poland where she was married.

Other difficulties beset Emden and his family during the winter of 1757-1758. Two of his children were stricken with small-pox, and, though they recovered, one of them, his seven

year old son, Judah, was smitten with temporary blindness. Until the boy recovered his eyesight some three months later, it was a source of great grief and worry to the family. Jacob, too, was ill during this winter, but speedily recovered. But their troubles had not yet ended. Yaabez' wife bore him a son, Joseph, in the spring of 1758. At the circumcision of the boy, the incision resulted in such excessive bleeding that the life of the child was despaired of. After extensive medical care, however, the bleeding ceased and the boy speedily achieved normal
236
health.

Although there was a temporary cessation of illness in Emden's family, other worries crowded in on him. He had made some real-estate investments which occasioned him considerable trouble. A gentile neighbor appropriated some of his property and it was necessary to institute a law-suit against him to re-
237
cover it. A mortgage fell due on several of his houses and all the gentile money-lenders, apparently on the advice of his enemies, refused to lend him the money to meet it. Only at the last moment did one of the Jewish money-lenders extend him the
238
necessary funds to save his investment. Besides this Emden found it necessary to expend a large sum of money in repairs necessitated by the deterioration of the houses he owned. Yet, in spite of all this, the income from his real-estate provided
239
him with a sum of five hundred reichsthaler per year. The aggravation, however, of being a property-owner was too much for his

patience, and in a few years, Emden disposed of nearly all of
his real-estate.²⁴³

Emden's dealings with Eybeschuetz, as has been mentioned, did not cease completely with the restoration of Eybeschuetz' authority over the three-communities. Between that time (1756) and the year of Eybeschuetz' death (1764) many of the events of Emden's life had to do either with Eybeschuetz, his family, or his followers. For example, in the latter part of 1759 he received a letter of apology from Mendel Speier, leader of the band of marauders whom Eybeschuetz had sent to invade Emden's home.²⁴¹ A short time later another one of the same band, Moses Kubos, wrote a public letter declaring that there was nothing in the ²⁴² ~~serial~~ which they had siezed that in any way vilified Emden's character. In the same year (1760) a third member of the group, a Jacob Rothschild, died after having spent a term in prison. On the strength of the public expressions of apology from two of this group, and the fact that a third member was no longer alive to create further difficulty, Emden felt that the time was opportune to go to the court of Altona and demand the restoration of all properties that had been taken from his home by the Eybeschuetz party. Although Eybeschuetz personally protested against this, the court ruled in Emden's favor and he recovered possession all the books and papers that had been
²⁴³ siezed.

A short time after this, Eybeschuetz' son, Benjamin Wolf, was forced to leave the three-communities in disgrace. Although

he had married well, his great extravagance resulted in his acquiring a vast number of debts so that all his property had to be confiscated and sold. Emden speedily took advantage of this situation to write a derisive polemical work against both Eybeschuetz and his son, which he called "Sehok ha-Kesil" (The Laughter of the Fool).²⁴⁵

In 1763 Eybeschuetz' work, "Kereti u-Peleti," containing novellae on Yoreh Deah of the Shulhan Arukh, appeared in Altona. Emden examined it critically and declared it to be full of errors. In spite of this fact, it sold widely and provided Eybeschuetz with considerable income. The same year Eybeschuetz was critically ill, and during the days of his crisis, Emden enjoined upon his followers to offer prayers in his behalf. The motive, however, was not a highly humanitarian one. Emden explained to his supporters that he did not want Eybeschuetz to die before he had publicly repented of the evils he had done. After a severe siege, Eybeschuetz recovered, but did not recant.²⁴⁶

The following year a group of charity collectors came from Poland, seeking funds in Altona. They refused to stay at the home of the chief rabbi, Jonathan Eybeschuetz, because, they declared, they had seen evidence of his Sabbatian sympathies in certain writings of his distributed in Poland. Because of their refusal Eybeschuetz declined to help them collect any funds in the three-communities. Emden, however, did proffer his services, and a large amount of money was raised.²⁴⁷

Several months after this incident, on the third of Ab, 1764, Eybeschuetz again became ill, stricken with a sudden and severe attack of paralysis. After two months' illness he passed away, and his death occasioned widespread mourning. One of his followers, a teacher in Lithuania, went insane, Emden relates, for shortly after Eybeschuetz' death he discovered positive evidence of the heretical character of his former hero. In his derangement he attempted to exhume Eybeschuetz from his grave, but was seized and imprisoned. Later being released as restored to normality, he committed suicide. Emden himself offers no word of tribute to the memory of his life-long opponent.

After the death of Eybeschuetz the three-communities gathered together in the month of Shebat of the same year to elect a new rabbi. Many wanted to elect Emden to the position once held by his father, but Emden's friends evidently were not in the majority. Emden ascribed his defeat to a plot on the part of certain enemies who instituted a secret ballot and then bribed some of the voters to eliminate his name from the list of nominees. These enemies, though, were unsuccessful in having their own candidate, Joseph Mokhir, elected, and Emden was shown some honor when his advice was asked with regard to the candidate to be chosen. He recommended Rabbi Isaac Levi Hurwitz of Brody, Poland, and the latter was elected as successor to Eybeschuetz. The same year, Emden's oldest son, Israel Meshallem Zalman, was

elected head of the Hamburg synagogue in London. Here, too, it was Emden's recommendation that was largely responsible for the securing of the position.²⁵³

Emden continued his controversy with the followers of Eybeschuetz after the latter's death. In 1766 he made an effort to drive out some of Eybeschuetz' pupils from the community, and though many of Eybeschuetz' friends were opposed to this move by Emden, they did not hamper him in this. Emden was disappointed in the man he had recommended to the post of rabbi of the three-communities, Rabbi Isaac Hurwitz. The latter had arrived in Altona in 1765, but when Emden began his campaign to drive out Eybeschuetz' pupils, Hurwitz took no part in it. He paid deference to the memory of Eybeschuetz, and, despite Emden's admonitions to the contrary, honored Eybeschuetz' grandson with the title of "Morenu" and the office of teacher in the community.²⁵⁴
²⁵⁵

In the winter of 1766 Emden was appointed executor of a certain estate in Altona and, in consequence of strenuous work connected with its administration, was stricken with a severe hemorrhage.²⁵⁶ Although he recovered from this illness and lived for a full decade afterwards, there is no record in his autobiography of the last ten years of his life. A cursory sketch of a few of the important events of those years is added by the editor of "Megillat Sefer." David Cahana.

In the year 1772 Emden exchanged correspondence with Moses Mendelssohn about the edict issued by the Duke of Mecklenburg-

257

Schwerin, forbidding the burial of bodies on the day of death. The Jews under this Duke's jurisdiction had approached Emden to demonstrate from the Talmud that such a practice would be in violation of the Jewish law. Emden had referred them to Mendelssohn, since he felt that the latter had great influence with the Christian authorities. Mendelssohn, however, had agreed with the order of the Duke, and Emden had written him asking him to protest the measure, if only to demonstrate his piety and religiosity.

258

In 1774 Emden had expressed a desire to go to Palestine and to end his days there, and he had made plans accordingly. The community debated whether or not it could purchase his home to serve as another synagogue, but opposition arose and the plan was abandoned. A gift of five hundred reichsthaler was then proffered by the community, in order to permit him to carry through his plan. Emden rejected this gift, however, since he considered it charity. While he continued to postpone the trip, death intervened. On Friday, April 19, 1776, Emden passed away at the age of eighty. A tribute, written in the form of an acrostic, was inscribed on a monument set on his grave in Altona. It described him as one "unique in his generation who had gone forth to fight for the Lord, and had not shown quarter to any man" -- certainly an apt description of the life of this man.

Chapter 8.

His Writings

The number of Emden's writings was great. He himself lists forty-two works that he had completed by the time he ceased writing his autobiography, in 1766.²⁵⁹ After that time he wrote and published much more, but it is difficult to estimate the exact number of books, since many were printed in parts, and in some instances he bound several works together.

Perhaps Emden's literary fertility is in part explained by the fact that he had his own publishing house and hence was readily able to put his writings into print. Perhaps, too, it may be accounted partially by the fact that his frequent controversies required him to indulge in literary polemics often. Aside from those reasons, however, Emden was by very nature interested in scholarly pursuits, and early in his youth turned his attention to literary activity. As early as 1714 when his father, Haham Zebi, and the family were journeying toward Poland, they had stopped a short while with an uncle in Berlin. While there, young Jacob had begun his literary activity. He had prepared certain responsa for his father in answer to questions from Rabbi Jehiel Michael of Glogau. These writings were²⁶⁰ later incorporated into his work, "She'Alot Yaabez."

When Jacob became rabbi of the community of Emden, in 1728, he devoted a great deal of his time to study and writing, and

it was here that he completed part of his commentary on the Mishnah, "Lehem Shamayim." He also wrote part of the work, "Mor-u-Kezi'ah," which contained novellae on Orah Hayyim of the Shulhan Arukh, while here, and he wrote additional responsa that were included in his "She'elat Yaabez."²⁶¹

Shortly after Yaabez left the rabbinate at Emden and moved to Altona, and a brief time after his first wife passed away, he published another collection of responsa, known as "Iggeret Bikkoret."²⁶² This work dealt particularly with certain legal questions that had been raised by the decisions of the chief rabbi of the three-communities, Rabbi Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen.²⁶³

In 1743, shortly after his marriage to his third wife, Bitiah Zibiah, Emden began work on one of his most important writings, his "Siddur Tefillah," which was to include a complete edition of the ritual with a commentary containing grammatical notes, ritual laws, and treatises on these various laws and customs. He completed the first part of it, entitled, "Ammude Shamayim," in 1745,²⁶⁴ and was severely criticized for its contents by certain of the money-lenders of the community who felt that he had included comments derogatory to their profession. In spite of their efforts to have the work interrupted, Emden continued with this "Siddur" and ultimately finished publication of the entire work, comprising three sections, in 1748.²⁶⁵

The next work of which Emden makes direct mention in his "Megillat Sefer" is his book, "Seder Olam Rabbah," published in 1757 at the time of the Frankist controversy. Although this work was primarily a critical edition of Seder Olam and Megillat Ta'anit, it also included certain comments attacking Eybeschuetz and his allies, Megerlin and Anton. Because of this, Eybeschuetz made a strenuous effort to have as many copies of this book as he could obtain, destroyed. ²⁶⁶ A short time after this Emden published his book "Shimmush," which was inspired by the Frankist activity, and in it he discussed the growing influence of the Sabbatians and the threat they offered to rabbinic Judaism. ²⁶⁷

Thus far we have made mention of all the scattered references which Emden includes in his "Megillat Sefer." In the last pages of this work, as we have stated above, he outlines all the manuscripts and published books which he had completed to date -- ²⁶⁸ namely, in 1766, when he ceased recording his memoirs. Although this list gives a partial description of each of the works, it makes no mention of the many books he published between the years 1766 and 1776. Furthermore, there is no effort on Emden's part to classify his extensive writings. It is necessary, therefore, to turn to supplementary sources for a classification and more detailed description of Yaabez' works.

The writings of Emden fall logically into two classes: polemical and rabbinical. ²⁶⁹ We treat with his polemical works first.

Emden's polemical writings include the following:

1) Torat ha-Kena'ot. This is an account of the life of Sabbetai Zebi from the day of his birth until his death, drawn in part from the writings of certain of Emden's contemporaries, and in part from the account of an actual eye-witness of Sabbetai Zebi's activities in Smyrna who related the events to Emden. It also included criticisms of the activities of Nehemiah Hiyya Hayyun, Moses Hayyim Luznato, and Jonathan Eybeschuetz. It was published in Amsterdam on Purim, 1752.²⁷⁰

2) Edut be-Ya'akov. This work is a complete description, up to the date of its publication, of the Emden-Eybeschuetz controversy, pointing out all the details of Eybeschuetz' heresy. It includes a letter, known as "Iggeret Shum," written to the rabbis of the "Arba Arazot" (Four Lands), asking for their assistance. It also includes a letter written by R. Joseph b. Simeon Zebi, preacher of the Hamburg community, written to Emden in the year 1752, asking him to return to Altona from Amsterdam.²⁷¹ It was printed in Altona in 1756.

3) Shimush. This work consists of three parts: "Shot la-Sus," "Meteg la-Hamor," and "Shebet le-Gew Kesilim." The first section, "Shot la-Sus," is a collection of the letters exchanged between Emden and the rabbis of Podolia, in 1755, describing the growing threat of the Sabbatians. The second part, "Meteg la-Hamor," includes a further elaboration of the charges made at the conclusion of the Emden's work. "Seder Olam Rabbah,"

against Eybeschuetz, Megerlin and Anton. The third section, "Shebet le-Gew Kesilim," consists of Emden's answers to certain of the allegations made by the Frankists to the Bishop of Kamienetz against rabbinic Judaism. The various parts of the work were printed in Amsterdam at intervals between the years 1758²⁷² and 1762.

4) Shebirat Luhot ha-Awen. This is a refutation of Eybeschuetz' work, "Luhot Edut," which appeared in Altona in 1755. Although the work poses as having been written by a pupil of Emden, David Gans, Emden admits authorship of it in his autobiography.²⁷³ The book includes a description of all of Eybeschuetz' followers who passed away between the years 1750 and 1753, and vilifies many of them as well as Eybeschuetz himself. It also describes some of the amulets which it accuses Eybeschuetz of having written.²⁷⁴ It was printed in 1756 in Altona.

5) Hit'abbekut. Although this work was compiled by a pupil of Emden's, it contains several works of his authorship: "Sehok ha-Kesil we-Yekab Ze'eb" and "Gat Derukah." The first is a polemical work describing the follies of Eybeschuetz' son, Benjamin Wolf, and also elaborates further Eybeschuetz' misdeeds. The second is a collection of letters, a description of the various amulets involved in the controversy, and a complete account of the events of the conflict from the year 1756 to 1759.²⁷⁵ It was printed in Altona in 1762.

6) Hereo Piffyyot. This work is a description of the form in which a "Herem" (a ban of excommunication) shall be issued, and it cites descriptions of various bans issued in Brody, Poland, and in Constantinople. It was printed in 1757, but the place of printing is not indicated.²⁷⁶

7) Iggeret Purim, Teshubot ha-Minim, and Zikkaron be-Sefer. These three polemical works exist only in manuscript form, for they were never printed. "Iggeret Purim" is a description of the events of the controversy during that period of time that Emden lived in enforced exile in Amsterdam. It was written in that city and is to be found among the manuscripts of the Michal collection in the Oxford library.²⁷⁷ "Teshubot ha-Minim" is a polemic against the apostate Charles Anton, and describes the alleged conspiracy between him and Eybeschuetz. This work was never printed because of its great length.²⁷⁸ "Zikkaron be-Sefer" is an attack on money-changers and bankers. It was never printed because Emden had a change of heart and feared that the work would create further controversy in the three-communities.²⁷⁹

The rabbinical writings of Emden were as follows:

1) Lehem Shamayim. This is a commentary on the Mishnah and an essay on Maimonides' "Yad." It consists of two parts. The first part, dealing with Seder Zera'im and Seder Moed, and including the treatise on Maimonides' work, was printed in Wandsbeck in 1733.²⁸¹ The second part, dealing with the remaining parts of the Mishnah, was printed in Altona.²⁸²

283
2) Iggeret Bikkoret. This is a collection of responsa, dealing with questions raised by the decisions of Rabbi Katzenellenbogen, and others. It was printed in Altona, in 1736. 284

3) She'elat Ya'abez. This work is a collection of Emden's responsa, written in answer to questions from Turkey, from Berlin, Mantua, Brody, London, Amsterdam, Danzig, the three-communities, and many other parts of Europe and the Orient. It consists of two parts, the first section of which was printed in Altona in 1739, the latter in the same city in 1768. 285

4) Siddur Tefillah. This is a critical edition of the prayer-book containing a commentary which includes a complete description of the ritual and its laws, as well as grammatical notes. The work is divided into three parts: "Amru de Shamayim" (or "Bet El") treating primarily with the week-day and Sabbath services and prayers; "Sha'ar ha-Shamayim," dealing with laws and observances for the new-moon; and "Berakhot Shamayim" (or "Migdal 'Oz") which discusses various life-cycle customs, such as circumcision, etc. The book also includes critical treatises on several scholarly works, such as the "Eben Bohan." It was printed in parts and at various intervals between 1745 and 1749, in the community of Altona. 286

5) Ez Abot. This work is a critical edition of "Abot" from the Mishnah. It also contains a section, called "Lehem Nekudim," which is a grammatical treatise on the vocalization of "Abot." It was published in Amsterdam, 1751. 287

6) Kishshurim le-Ya'akov. This is a collection of sermons of Emden, parts of which have been published and parts of which are still in manuscript form. Those that have been published are: "Yezib Pitgam" -- a memorial sermon delivered in honor of his father in Lemberg, 1719, printed in Altona in 1740; "Pesah Godol" -- a Passover sermon preached in Emden, 1730, and in Altona, 1774, and printed in the latter city in 1775; "Sha'agat Aryeh" -- a memorial sermon in honor of his brother-in-law, Rabbi Aryeh Loeb of Amsterdam, preached in that city in 1755, and printed in Amsterdam in the same year; "Shemesh Zedokoh" -- a wedding sermon, preached on the occasion of his third marriage, 1744, and printed in Altona that same year; "Sha'are Azoroh" -- a sermon printed in Altona in 1776, the date and the place of its preaching being unknown; and "Tefillat Yeshorim" -- a sermon which Emden preached in Altona in the year 1775 on the occasion of Shabbat Shuvoh, and it was printed in that city during the same year.

288

289

7) Seder Olam Rabbah we-Zuta. This is a critical edition of Seder Olam and Megillat Ta'anit, but at the conclusion of this Emden has appended several other writings. There is a responsum to the leaders of the Synod of the Four Countries (Vaad Arba Arazot) in which Emden assures them they are permitted to hand over members of the Sabbatian sect to the authorities for punishment; there are various quotations from Christian literature which Emden cites to indicate the lack of similarity between the Frankist cult and Christianity (which, incidentally, indicates a surprising grasp of Christian theology); and there

is a copy of the confession made by one of the members of the Frankist cult before the Jewish community of Satanov, Poland.

This book was printed in Hamburg, 1757.²⁹⁰

8) Mor u-Kezi'ah. This work consists of two parts. The first section contains novellae on "Orah Hayyim" of the Shulhan Arukh, and at its conclusion contains a description of the miraculous deliverance of Emden's books from the hands of Eybeschuetz' men who invaded his home. The second part is a collection of various responsa on such questions as the laws of vow-offerings, Hanukkah, "Shaatzet," etc. Both parts were printed at irregular intervals over the period of years from 1761 (the numerical value of the letters "Mor u-Kezi'ah") until 1768, in Altona.²⁹¹

9) Mitpahat Sefarim. This work, also, consists of two parts. The first section consists of an analysis of the Zohar, in which the Emden attempts to treat its contents and its authorship critically. The second part is a criticism of a work known as "Emunat Hahamim." Both sections were printed in Altona in 1768.²⁹²

10) Zizim u-Ferahim. (Also referred to by Emden as "Leket Orot.") This book is a collection of articles which analyze Kabbalah. It discusses the methods of mathematical permutation employed and also explains some of the doctrines of this theosophy. It was published in 1768 in Altona.²⁹³

11) Luah Eresh. This book consists of a grammatical analysis of the prayer book. Its purpose primarily is to criti-

cize the vocalization of a prayer-book, "Sha'are Tefillah," issued by one Solomon Hena. It also contains responsa dealing with various liturgical questions. It was printed in Altona²⁹⁴ in 1769.

12) Dibre Emet u-Mishpat Shalom. This work consists of the arguments presented by representatives of the communities of Altona and Wandsbeck in a dispute between them, and Emden's decision in the dispute. It was printed in Altona, but the date of printing is uncertain.²⁹⁵

13) Negillat Sefer. This work, Emden's autobiography and the biography of his father, Haham Zebi, remained in manuscript form for a long time, as we have indicated. Its first complete printing was in 1896.²⁹⁶
²⁹⁷

There are a number of Emden's works which are in unpublished form. They consist of the following:²⁹⁸

1) Za'akat Damim. This is a refutation of the blood accusation made against the Jews of Poland by the Frankists and referred to in Emden's book, "Shimmush," p. 82.²⁹⁹

2) Halakah Pesukah. This work consists of a compendium of the laws mentioned in "Orah Hayyim" of the Shulhan Arukh, particularly in their relation to the order of the prayers.³⁰⁰

3) Hilketa li-Meshiha. This is a responsum to R. Israel Lipschitz refuting the Messianic claims of Sabbetai Zebi and Jacob Frank.³⁰¹

4) Mada'ah Rabbah. In this work Emden has made a collection of the various Targumim to the Pentateuch: Targum Yonathan,

Targum Yerushalmi, Targum Dibre ha-Yomim, the Masorah, Ba'al
302
ha-Turim, etc.

5) Gal-'Ed. This is Emden's own interpretation of Rashi
303
and of the Targum to the Pentateuch.

6) Em la-Masoret. In this work Emden has written his ex-
304
planation of the Masoretic notes on the Pentateuch.

7) Marginal novellae on the Babylonian Talmud. Emden has
made marginal annotations on a set of the Babylonian Talmud
305
printed in Frankfurt a. M., 1716.

Aside from his annotations on the Talmud, Emden wrote mar-
ginal novellae on a number of other works, such as Elijah
Levita's "Meturgeman"; Caro's "Kereti u-Feleti"; Maimonides'
306
"Iggerot"; and Saadia Gaon's "Sefer ha-Pedut we ha-Purkan."
The authorship of a Kabbalistic work, "Mahnayim," has also
307
been ascribed to him. In addition to his own writings, Emden
also published the works of many of his pupils and of con-
temporary scholars.

PART TWO. JEWISH LIFE IN EMDEN'S DAY.

A. Limitations of "Megillat Sefer" as Source-Book.

Jacob Emden did not conceive one of the purposes of his autobiography to be that of describing the life and manners of the Jews of his time. His objective was that of outlining the significant events of his own and his father's life. If occasionally he includes information of a more general nature which reflects something of the character of the Jewish community of his day, those facts are only incidental and subordinate to his main purpose. To attempt, therefore, to depict the Jewish life of Emden's time solely on the basis of his own testimony is at best hazardous, and certainly, in many instances, must be subjective. The material presented in this section, therefore, may in no sense be regarded as a complete treatment of each of the subjects considered, but merely a presentation of those various references to be found in "Megillat Sefer" which have to do with that particular phase of the life of the Jews in Emden's day. In some instances the material has been supplemented by facts drawn from secondary sources.

B. Jewish Education.

One of the first actions of Emden's father, Haham Zebi, on establishing his residence in Altona, in 1690, was to found a school. For twenty years he was Klaus-Rabbiner, or head of the yeshibah-dormitory there. The subjects studied were exclusively

(2)

in rabbinics, namely -- Gemara, Tosefta, the various Turim of the Shulhan Arukh, the Pentateuch and its commentaries, Midrash,
308

and grammar. To this school pupils came from all parts of Poland and Lithuania, as well as from the three-communities.

Questions were sent to it for consideration from regions as far away as Jerusalem.
309

For serving as head of this institution Haham Zebi received the salary of sixty reichsthaler per year
310

paid by the community, nor would he accept any additional gifts or stipends from any of his pupils. When Zebi moved to Amsterdam in 1710 and became rabbi there, he maintained a private school in his own home, where he lodged his pupils until their number grew so large that it was necessary to receive a subvention of five hundred gold coins to hire a special house in which to lodge his pupils. This institution was maintained as
311

a place of perpetual study, day and night.

The early age at which children were introduced to education is seen in the fact that Emden at the age of three was sent to school, and by the age of five had already completed Tractate "Berachot" of the Mishna. Even the youngest children were forced to submit to physical discipline, and the blows which Emden received from his teacher at this early age were respons-
312

ible for considerable of his childhood illness.

Shortly after Emden's first marriage and his establishing residence with his father-in-law at Brody, he, too, established a private school, which he taught without pay. The subjects studied were entirely in the field of rabbinics: Gemara,

313

Tosefta, Tur "Orah Hayyim," and Haggadah. Again, when Emden went to Lemberg, on the occasion of his father's death, he maintained classes there, even during the short period of his residence -- and apparently the need for teachers was so great that he was urged to remain and continue his instruction.

314

In addition to Yeshibot and private schools, private tutors were occasionally hired. During Emden's absence from Brody on his business trip when he attempted to sell some of his father's writings, his wife hired a private instructor for Emden's son, who lived in the home with them. Here, too, is further evidence regarding the early age of instruction of Jewish children, for this son of Emden's was but seven years of age and was being taught Gemara by this tutor.

315

Emden includes one further item of significance regarding Jewish education. In the early part of his residence in Altona he received charitable gifts from friends in London, and with this money he maintained a private "Hebrah" in his home, which met each day for the purpose of studying Mishnah. The money was used to provide for the support of the men who gathered for this purpose, and after a time, when the men demanded the money without coming for study, Emden used it to support the education of the children in Altona. Although Emden makes no direct reference to the institution of "billeting" students, he implies that it existed, and legislation of the three-communities indicates that this custom was observed there.

C. Charity.

In the reference which Emden makes to charity-collection and distribution he does not treat with the problems of local philanthropy, but discusses certain aspects of inter-communal charity. His discussion deals primarily with the problems of fraudulent charity collectors.

While Yaabez' father, Haham Zebi, was rabbi in Altona he dealt with the question of charity frauds. At this time collectors (Gaba'im) went about the various Jewish communities in Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Holland, England, France, Poland, and Lithuania raising money for the Jews in Jerusalem. These collectors, Emden declares, themselves consumed virtually all the money that they raised, and very little of it reached Jerusalem. The money was raised primarily in behalf of the Ashkenazic settlers in Palestine, for the purpose of maintaining Yeshivot and synagogues there. Haham Zebi recognized the fact that little of the money reached Palestine and accordingly he instituted a system of sending the money through trustworthy agents, rather than through these collectors. Certain of the wealthy men of the three-communities contributed money for this purpose anonymously, and Zebi sent it to Leghorn, Italy, where a trusted friend sent it secretly to a Jew in Hebron, who in turn distributed it among the Ashkenazic Jews in Jerusalem. Each person who received money there was required to sign a receipt, and these receipts were sent back to

Zebi. When the philanthropists in various of the larger western European cities learned of Zebi's method of charity-distribution, they turned over their charity funds to him. Even the Sephardic Jews, who were not in the habit of supporting Ashkenazic charities, contributed funds to Zebi for distribution. ³¹⁸

Jacob, too, had to deal with the problem of fraudulent charity collectors. While still rabbi of the community of Emden, a short time before he left that city for Altona (1732), there appeared a group of three charity collectors in the city, ³¹⁹ who said they had come from Minsk, Lithuania. They declared that the government there had issued certain restrictive legislation which had left the Jews in economic straits and they had come to collect funds to help these needy Jews. They had credentials, apparently signed by the heads of the Minsk community, and on that basis they had collected funds in many other German communities, and had even raised funds in the Sephardic congregations of Amsterdam and London (despite the usual policy of the Sephardim not to contribute to Ashkenazic philanthropies; these men had so persuaded them that they had altered their stand). Jacob, however, doubted the integrity of these men, and a few days after their arrival, when his uncle from Grodno, Lithuania (near Minsk), came to Emden, Jacob questioned him about the reported restrictive legislation. The uncle denied knowledge of any such laws, and Emden was now convinced of the dishonesty of the "Gaba'im." He told the men that if they would entrust to him all the funds they had col-

lected he would send the money to Minsk by a local representative, and would also help them collect funds in the community. They refused his plan, and he wrote to Moses Hagis in Altona, asking the latter to investigate the matter further. At the time one of the men whose name had been forged to the credentials was living in Altona, and he immediately convinced Hagis of the fraudulent character of the letter and the claim. Emden revealed this information to his own community, but the people refused to accept his statement, and permitted the "Gaba'im" to continue their collections. When Emden warned the collectors against proceeding to Altona, they ignored him. On arriving in Altona, however, the men were arrested, and though they spent the funds they had collected, in an effort to be released, it was to no avail. After serving sentence for fraud they were set free, but Emden took advantage of the case to point out to the Jewish community the need for investigating charity collectors before ³²⁰ turning over funds to them.

Around 1764 a group of charity-collectors came to the three-communities from the town of Khotin, in Podolia. They came seeking funds to care for a group of Jewish immigrants from Russia who had begun migrating to their city in 1760. The Jewish community of Khotin was too small to provide for the needs of this large group of impoverished immigrants and had sent representatives to the various communities of Germany for help. These collectors, whom Emden was convinced were legiti-

mate representatives, refused to have anything to do with the three-communities' chief-rabbi Wesselschuetz, for they had heard of his Sabbatian tendencies in Podolia. Accordingly, they turned to Emden for assistance, and he designated two members of the Altona community to assist them. The campaign was conducted in a door-to-door appeal for free-will offerings, and a sum of fifty gold ducats was raised in this region.

321

D. Industry.

There was a surprisingly large number of occupations in which the Jews of Emden's day engaged. In the main, however, most of the industries to which he refers had to do with trading, rather than crafts or professions.

While Haham Zebi was rabbi in Altona he did not live solely on his meager income as "Klaus-Rabbiner." He entrusted funds to certain friends who invested his money in jewelry, and from the sale of this he earned profits -- as large as 300%. He also derived income here from the sale of Kosher wine, which he imported from France and Italy. During the invasion of the Swedish army, however, he sustained great losses when all of his merchandise had to be disposed of hurriedly.

323

While in Brody, Emden engaged in the importing business. He purchased pelts, goats' hair, chamois, etc. from the surrounding territory in Moravia and Hungary and shipped them to Amsterdam to friends there. In exchange for this he received various

small manufactured articles from Amsterdam which he sold in Brody. Due to a sudden depreciation in the price of pelts, however, he lost most of his principal and was forced to abandon this business.

324

Of particular interest is Emden's description of the participation of his friend, Reuben Norden of Amsterdam, in the diamond industry. A rich diamond mine had been discovered in Brazil by the Portuguese, and they desired to dispose of the products of the mine without revealing the discovery. They were unwilling to make known the origin of the diamonds, for all the jewels prior to this time had come from the East and merchants might be skeptical of the value of the new product. Anxious to find an outlet for the diamonds in Amsterdam and London, they revealed their secret to the Norden family, and the latter disposed of the jewels (purportedly as Eastern ones) at tremendous profits. Although the Nordens extended Emden hospitality in Amsterdam, they did not offer to share any of the business with him.

325

During the early part of Emden's residence in Altona (1733-1740) his wife engaged in money-lending. Although Jacob was opposed to this type of business, and later became involved in a conflict with some of the money-lenders of the three-communities, apparently he did not protest too much against his wife's activity. The business was on a small scale, minor loans having been made various gentile and Jewish neighbors. During this time, also, Emden engaged in the sale of various merchandise

326

which friends purchased for him in Amsterdam and London: such things as jewelry-trinkets, pepper, tea, and small manufactured objects.³²⁷

The real-estate business was also attempted by Emden, and he purchased a number of houses in Altona. Although he experienced great difficulty in meeting the payments on his mortgage and the expense of maintenance of the houses was very great, he still managed to derive a large sum of money from rentals, and considerable profit from the ultimate sale of his property.³²⁸

In addition to the aforementioned industries, Emden devoted a large part of his time to his printing business. Although he does not mention anywhere that he derived income from this work, unquestionably the sale of his own books and those of others which he published must have provided him with part of his livelihood.

Emden makes mention also of the fact that Jews participated in the various merchant fairs, such as the annual fair at Frankfurt a. d. Oder. He refers to several such buying trips made by his brother, Rabbi Ephraim of Lemberg.³²⁹

It is significant to note the distribution of Jews in industry in the community of Hamburg during the latter part of Emden's life.³³⁰ Of 858 Jewish tax-payers of that city, the following businesses and professions were represented: 278 merchants, 23 teachers, 20 scholars, 3 "Informatores" (informers?), 3 musicians, 4 doctors, 2 speech-teachers? ("Sprachmeister"), 1

postman, 1 arms merchant, 1 dyer, 1 watchman, 1 "Stock-Jude" (?),
11 retired on income, and 1 money-lender. (There were unques-
tionably more money-lenders than this in the community of Altona.)³³¹

E. Health-Conditions.

Although the various details which Emden includes regarding the health problems of his family and himself can hardly be regarded as a description of the difficulties which confronted the entire Jewish community of his day, they may be considered more or less representative. In the light of this, one is immediately struck with the vast amount of illness and infant mortality which must have plagued the Jewish community of Emden's time. That anyone should live to a ripe old age of eighty years, as did Emden, seems well-nigh miraculous.

Shortly before Jacob's birth, his father, Haham Zebi, was stricken with cholera (Holi Shehorah). On advice of physicians he went to the watering-place of Ems-bad, indicating that even in that period Jews were familiar with and took advantage of, the medicinally-valuable waters of the Rhine spas.³³² Emden, himself, experienced illness from his earliest until his last days. In his childhood he was afflicted with small-pox, measles, and a severe plague of boils which seriously endangered his life.³³³ The lack of quarantine restrictions in that day may account for the frequency with which he and other members of his family fell victim to contagious diseases.

While journeying with his father to Hamburg, in 1715, Emden was stricken with a severe pulmonary ailment (probably pneumonia), and the doctors resorted to the method of treatment common in that day: bleeding of the patient.³³⁴ He recovered both from the ailment and the cure. Although Emden suffered occasional illness from time to time after this, his next serious sickness occurred in Amsterdam some ten years later, when he was afflicted by a tape-worm, the removal of which he describes in all its "gruesome" details. The nature of this illness reflects the probable lack of sanitation of the time, since this is usually a contributing factor to the development of tape-worm.³³⁵ On the occasion of his second trip to Amsterdam Jacob fell ill with the kidney-ailment from which he suffered for almost a quarter of a century. Attempting self-treatment, he read a medical almanac (a procedure to which many Jews of his day probably resorted), and tried to cure himself by drinking excessive amounts of tea, which but aggravated the ailment.³³⁶

Because of the bad water, resulting from floods, Jacob and his entire family were stricken with fever during their residence in Emden. He also attributed their illness to the bad climate of that region, which may well have been a contributing factor.

The frequency of infant-mortality during this period is evidenced by the fact that of five children born to Emden's second wife, between the years 1739 and 1743 (two of the children were twins), four died either at birth or shortly thereafter.

The mother herself passed away at the birth of the fifth
338
child.

Small-pox struck Emden's entire family in the winter of 1758, and left one of his children temporarily blinded. The same year an infant son suffered severe hemorrhages at circumcision. Both of these ailments were in part aggravated because of the limited medical knowledge of the time. A few
339
years later Emden himself suffered hemorrhages which nearly cost him his life; and small-pox struck the family again, taking the life of one of Emden's daughters.
340

Although there are other extensive descriptions of the illnesses which beset the Emdens, the foregoing indicates sufficiently how grave was the health situation in Emden's time. Three causes for the prevalence of ill health evidence themselves. The first is the lack of sanitation. Although the Jews of the three-communities were not restricted to a ghetto, they
341
did live in the less acceptable parts of the cities. The ignorance of adequate medical treatment is another reason for the health situation. Emden's foolish attempts to cure himself and the use of amulets to prevent infant mortality are two illustrations of how backward was medical knowledge at the time. And, thirdly, the absence of quarantine restrictions could not but make for frequent illness and early mortality.

F. Travel.

It is not our purpose to outline here the itinerary covered by Haham Zebi and Jacob Emden during their lifetimes, for that has been more or less described in the section treating with the lives of these two men. There were, however, difficulties experienced by Jews in their travel during those days which are significant and worthy of mention.

When Emden journeyed from Brody to Lemberg, after receiving news of his father's death, the overland coach in which he travelled was attacked by robbers, while passing through a forest in Poland. Just as the robbers were about to pillage the coach a merchant train approached, and the bandits were frightened
342
away. That highway-robbery was not uncommon is evidenced from the fact that again, some years later, when Emden was returning from Amsterdam to his home in Altona, he encountered bandits near the community of Prague. The coach, which he had hired to go from Furth to Prague, refused to delay in the latter city to permit Emden to remain there over the Sabbath; and when he hired a private coach after the Sabbath, the driver of this second coach proved to be in a conspiracy with bandits and permitted
343
Emden to be exposed to their mercies.

Nor was the possibility of robbery the sole hazard to which Jewish travellers were exposed. On the aforementioned trip from Amsterdam to Altona, Emden encountered other unpleasantness. In

travelling from Prague to Brünn Emden experienced some of the discomfort of Jew-baiting. He had hired a seat in this coach under the impression that only Jews were to be in the party, but there were two Christians present, also -- an Italian merchant and a priest. These two immediately demanded that the Jews yield their choice seats to them, and they proceeded to ridicule and mock them. They would not permit the Jews to perform their devotions (i.e. to "lay Tefillin") and whenever the coach had difficulty in climbing hills, they insisted that the Jews get out and walk. This, however, proved to be fortunate for the Jews, for on one occasion the coach was mounting a steep incline, where on one side of the road there was a deep declivity. The two Christians and the driver insisted that the Jews get out and walk. Suddenly the coach side-slipped and turned over and the Italian merchant was injured. The priest was forced to remain behind with the injured man while the Jews (deriving a grim satisfaction out of this poetic justice visited on their persecutors) proceeded on to the next town without further discomfort.

344

The dangers of sea-travel were experienced both by Emden and members of his family. When Emden travelled across the channel from Amsterdam to London at the time shortly after his father's death when he was trying to collect some of Zebi's debts, he experienced a terrific storm and the boat was almost lost. As a result, both Emden and his servant became seriously

345

all for some time after the ship reached England. Again, when Emden's two daughters went by ship to Danzig, in the summer of 1757, they met with such a terrific storm that the boat was driven miles off its course, lost its mast, and barely reached port safely. ³⁴⁶ It took considerable courage to brave the rigors of sea-travel during those days.

In spite of the dangers of sea and overland travel, there were Jews courageous enough to journey great distances. Emden records that one of the purposes of his trip to London (referred to above) was to attempt to collect funds from Reb Mordecai Hamburger who had just returned from India. This man had spent an entire year travelling to India and had remained there for some eight or nine months. As a result of his dealings there, however, he had returned home to his wife and nine children with a vast fortune in gold and jewels. The willingness to make such lengthy and hazardous journeys was usually inspired by economic necessity, and in this case the risk was well-rewarded. ³⁴⁷

G. Relations with Gentile Community and Government.

Although Emden nowhere elaborates exhaustively on the exact status of the Jews in relationship to the secular government of the various cities in which he and his father lived, he does make frequent mention of some particular function performed by the Jews for the government, or incidents in which Jews were

brought into conflict with the government. He also relates various dealings between Jews and gentiles which throw some light on the position of the Jews in the opinion of their Christian neighbors. We propose to indicate a few examples of this.

During the residence of both Haham Zebi and Emden in Altona they had considerable dealings with Reb Baer Cohen of that community. This man, a "parnos" of the city, was very influential among the Jews owing to the fact that the civil authorities had empowered him to levy the amount that each individual Jew should pay in taxes to the government. The fact that such power was entrusted to him indicates the extent of
348
privileges granted certain Jews by the Christian officials. Haham Zebi was also granted considerable power by the Christian authorities of Amsterdam. During the period of his residence there he was empowered by the officials to deal directly with
349
all litigation involving cases between members of the community. Again, when Zebi was living in Lemberg, the secular authorities became so impressed with his ability that they empowered him to
350
deal with all Jewish cases, except those involving capital crimes.

The great influence which Eybeschuetz possessed with the
351
Catholic authorities in Prague has already been referred to. Because of this power, he represented the Jews in all civil cases of that community, and was empowered to provide the Jews of
352
Prague with bail, when such was necessary. His influence with the Danish officials over the three-communities has also been
353
indicated. It is particularly evident when one recalls that

because of this intimate relationship (abetted by the intervention of Anton and Megerlin) Eybeschuetz persuaded the King of Denmark to force the Jews of the three-communities to accept him again as chief-rabbi, with all powers restored, in 1757.³⁵⁴

That Emden, too, possessed considerable influence with the Christian authorities is demonstrated by an incident which occurred during his residence as rabbi of Emden. At that time one of the Jewish elders, Reb Jonathan Levi, had issued a proclamation in the synagogue which was contrary to a ruling of the government. As a result, he was summoned for trial. Emden was called by the court to testify regarding this proclamation and although there was considerable enmity between Emden and Levi at the time, Emden indicated that he was totally ignorant of any wrong-doing on Levi's part. So greatly was Emden's word respected by the authorities that Levi was immediately freed following this testimony.³⁵⁵

The relations of even the influential Jews with the gentile authorities were not without some conflict, however.. Emden himself experienced several disagreeable incidents. On one of his business trips, while he was still living in Brody, Emden, on the advice of a friend, had crossed the Hungarian border with some jewelry without paying the required tax. He was arrested by the officials and held for trial at Pressburg. At first, some of the authorities were determined to seize all of his merchandise and then release him, but through the intervention

of a friend and through a plea of ignorance of the law, Emden was held over for trial. In the meantime under the guidance of this same friend, Emden proceeded to bribe several of the officials, and when his case was finally called for trial, he was dismissed. The fact that a man of Emden's character was not only willing to resort to bribery, but actually records the incident without any effort at self-justification must indicate that this was a frequent and necessary procedure in the relationships between Jewish merchants and the civil authorities of the day.

During the time that Emden and his wife were engaged in the loan business in Altona, he experienced further unpleasantness in his relations with certain gentiles. On several occasions gentiles came to him with what were purported to be letters of credit from the famous Christian loan company of the Lombards. On the basis of these forged documents Emden extended money to these gentiles, but on attempting collection discovered the fraudulent character of the credentials offered. When he succeeded in having the deceivers arrested, in one instance the judge freed the criminal almost immediately, and in another instance Emden was forced to pay for the maintenance of the gentile prisoner during the period of his sentence, so that he soon agreed to have the men released. The discrimination which was shown by the courts in favor of gentiles in their litigation with Jews, is readily demonstrated by these incidents. This was not always true, however, for some years later when Emden brought

suit against a gentile neighbor who had appropriated part of his property, the court decided in Emden's favor, although he was forced to pay for the court costs.

H. Moral Conditions.

Most of the references in Emden's work which have to do with the moral status of the time do not deal so much with conditions among the Jewish community as a whole, but rather are more or less related to the activities of the various rabbinical leaders. The statements must be discounted somewhat, too, because of the intensity of Emden's personal resentment against several of the people whom he describes derogatorily. Within these limitations, however, some insight may be gained as to the moral stature of the Jews of Emden's day.

In his description of the events of his father's life, Emden relates several incidents which reflect on the character of some of the Jews of the time. While Haham Zebi was rabbi in Ansbach one of the influential Jews of that community was trying to secure permission to remarry. Through bribery, according to Emden, he had secured the permission of some of the rabbis of Poland, and he now sought to use the same tactics with Zebi. The latter, however, refused to be persuaded by money, and prevented the man's remarriage as illegal, according to Jewish law. Again, when Zebi was in the community of Hanover straightening out the affairs of a certain widow, the latter sought to

have him send his family away and live with her for a month. Emden implies that her intentions were immoral, and his father³⁶⁰ sternly rebuffed the advances.

The unsavory character of rabbinical politics is discussed by Emden in considerable detail. He relates how Rabbi Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen was chosen chief-rabbi of the three-communities through shady manipulations on the part of his father-in-law. The latter had bribed certain students to recommend Katzenellenbogen to the three-communities in glowing terms, as being an outstanding scholar and orator, neither of these claims being justified; and on the basis of these recommendations the three-communities had elected Katzenellenbogen.³⁶¹ He relates, further, of the abuse of power on the part of the chief-rabbi, declaring that Katzenellenbogen had, in one instance, separated a certain woman (suspected of immorality) from her husband for a period of³⁶² twenty years, without cause. Both he and the members of his rabbinical court had been guilty, too, of accepting bribes (so Emden charges), and he had confiscated parts of estates entrusted to him for probation, as well as mulcted gifts from various wealthy members of his congregation.³⁶³

One incident occurred during Katzenellenbogen's term as chief-rabbi which Emden cites as indicating the low moral status during that time. Emden's private synagogue had been temporarily banned and he and certain of his friends were attending services in the community synagogue of Altona. When Reb Ephraim, a friend

of Emden's, discovered a man smoking tobacco in the synagogue he became very angry and at first rebuked the man and then knocked the pipe from his mouth. The latter became enraged and, drawing a knife, stabbed Reb Ephraim. Not only did this shocking murder occur within the very synagogue, but, to make matters worse, the murderer was freed when none of the members of the congregation was willing to testify against him.³⁶⁴

One evil of a more general character which prevailed in the three-communities was the practice of coin-clipping which, Emden indicates, was carried on in spite of both governmental edict and Jewish laws to the contrary.³⁶⁵ In addition to this, he relates that the gouging of certain of the Jewish money lenders was a serious problem, so much so that he was moved to devote part of his "Siddur" to a diatribe against their practices.³⁶⁶

I. Jewish Communal Structure.

It is impossible from the few scattered references in Emden's writings to the officers and functions of the Jewish community to reconstruct anything like a complete picture of the organization of the Jews in the three-communities. In one instance, Emden indicates that the authority of the chief-rabbi was completely under the jurisdiction of the Danish king, and that the power to judge, assess fines and impose other punishment was granted to the chief-rabbi by the royal government.

In the case of Katzenellenbogen, however, he declares that the chief-rabbi delegated many of his powers to some of the lay leaders of the community. Emden further implies that various of these laymen had authority at different intervals, that power was delegated to one particular leader for a specific month and that during that time he was known as the "elder of the month." The extent of power possessed by these laymen during their designated month is seen in the fact that Joel Shaav, who became an enemy of Emden, was enabled to close up Yaabez' private synagogue during the months when he was in authority.

Any further picture of the communal structure must be derived from a scrutiny of the legislation in effect at this time. It reveals that each of the three communities had the following officers: Hamburg had a council of seven persons, comprising three elders (Altesten) and four assistants (Beisitzern): two cantors and two sextons (Küster), the latter being empowered to act as witnesses and notaries: five rabbis who served as "Dayyanim": and four treasurers or tax-collectors (Kassieren). Altona had a council of six elders and four assistants: it had two cantors and three sextons, eight "Dayyanim" and six treasurers (the latter being authorized to work in Hamburg also). Wandsbeck, the smallest of the three cities, had a council of three elders and four assistants: it had three cantors and two sextons, three "Dayyanim" and four treasurers.

On the occasions of the selection of a chief-rabbi, the communities were authorized ³⁷⁰ to increase the size of their council to fifteen, and the number of votes granted each community in such an election was as follows: Altona, seventeen; Hamburg, six; Wandsbeck, five. The residence of the chief-rabbi had to ³⁷¹ be established in Altona.

Each of the three communities had to respect all laws in ³⁷² effect in the other two cities.

J. Synagogue and Ritual.

Since a great deal of the life of Emden and that of his family was identified with the synagogue, he includes in his autobiography a description of many of the customs and problems which had to do with the synagogal and ritual practices of the day.

In the early pages of "Megillat Sefer," treating the life of some of Emden's ancestors, there is related an incident which indicates the manner in which the problem of "Agunoh" troubled the Jews of the period. Emden's grandfather, Jacob b. Benjamin Ze'eb, was ¹⁶⁴⁸ living in Poland at the time of the Chmielnicki massacres (1648), and he and his family felt the fury of these pogroms. Emden's grandfather was separated from his family and siezed by the "pogromchiks." The report reached his family that he had been slain, whereas in reality his life had been spared, although he was forced to hide among the dead in order to save

himself. On the strength of the report, however, the family had moved from Poland to Moravia, and there Jacob b. Benjamin's "widow" had remarried. Some months later, when Jacob b. Benjamin managed to rejoin his family his wife discovered herself in the unhappy situation of being an unintentional bigamist, and although she managed to have her second marriage annulled and was reunited with her first husband, because of this experience Emden's father had sternly maintained the principle during the balance of his life of not permitting any "Agunoh" to be re-
373
married.

While Haham Zebi was rabbi in the community of Amsterdam he had to deal with several ritualistic problems which are of interest. Immediately on his arrival in Amsterdam he discovered that the "Sho'hetim" had not been conforming to certain ritualistic injunctions and that they had, in consequence, been providing the Jewish community with meat improperly slaughtered. He immediately summoned all the "Sho'hetim" and in addition to demanding conformity to all ritual stipulations regarding slaughter, he had instituted a new method regarding payment for the office. Prior to his coming the "Sho'hetim" had received a salary from the Jewish community and had also received certain portions of each animal slaughtered, from the gentile butchers. Zebi immediately ordered that the office of "Sho'het" should be sold by the community for a sum of one thousand rubles, and that the "Sho'het" should derive his income solely from fees for his work.

In addition, Zebi had ordered that, with regard to the "Mikveh," the community should not hire men to maintain it, as heretofore, but that this too should be disposed of as a concession for which rent should be paid by those who were to control it, and that they should charge individual fees for use of the "Mikveh."³⁷⁴

Yaabez, too, experienced certain ritual problems. At the time he was rabbi of the community of Emden, he got into a heated controversy with Reb Jonathan Levi over a ritual matter. Levi had permitted a certain blind "Cohen" to be summoned for an "Aliyah" in the reading of the Torah. Emden maintained that this was in utter contradiction of Rabbinic rulings, and though he finally became pacified in this particular argument, he was moved on the basis of this, to write a lengthy responsum pointing out that such a practice was ritually forbidden.³⁷⁵

We have already referred to Emden's difficulties in securing permission to establish a private synagogue, during the time he was in Altona.³⁷⁶ It is Emden's implication that the practice of granting individuals the right to establish such private houses of worship was frequent at this time, and the sole reason for his being denied such a privilege was the personal enmity of some of the Jewish officials of the community.³⁷⁷

Another ritual custom is revealed by Emden in connection with a severe illness he experienced in 1743. At the time of the crisis of this sickness, when Emden was very near death, all the synagogues in the three-communities offered up prayers in

his behalf, and when Yaabez recovered, he vowed to commemorate the day on which these prayers had been offered (the 15th of Shebat) by holding an annual feast for the poor and a special service of thanksgiving. He observed this custom the rest of his life.
378

There are several violations of traditional ritual practices which Emden points out as having been committed by members of the Jewish community. They indicate that the ritual code was not as stringently observed by the Jews of this time as might be expected. On the occasion of Eybeschuetz' restoration to full authority over the three-communities, in 1757, his followers held a triumphal parade in which they rode through the streets clothed in uniforms of the Hussars, and, Emden charges, in so doing they knowingly violated the Jewish law against the wearing
379 "sha'atnez." In addition to this, Emden points out several other ritual violations perpetrated by the Eybeschuetz family. When Eybeschuetz' son, Benjamin Wolf, was married, a wedding feast was held which extended through the annual fast day on the 17th of Tammuz, without any cognizance being taken of the
380 fast. A further violation of Jewish custom was committed by the same family when Eybeschuetz' son had statues erected about
381 the grounds of a new home he had had built. The fact that it was the family of the chief-rabbi who were guilty of these violations indicates that certain phases of the ritual code were not strictly adhered to by the Jewish community.

K. Secular Culture

Most of the discussions in "Megillat Sefer" which deal with the learning and cultural level of the Jews in the time of Emden are concerned only with their education in, and familiarity with Jewish subjects. The nature of the subject matter taught in the Jewish schools of the time has already been described.³⁸² As secular subjects were more or less frowned upon, any knowledge of them had to be secured by individual study which, it is interesting to note, even religious leaders of the time often indulged in. Emden says that his father, in addition to a knowledge of rabbinic subjects, had also mastered five secular languages: Spanish, Italian, Hungarian, and German. Aside from this, he had studied and acquired a reading knowledge of Dutch. On this basis, he attempted the study of geography, botany, biology, and even medicine. As this period of instruction was very brief, however, he could not have mastered any of these subjects very thoroughly.³⁸⁴

That the Jews of the time were beginning to manifest some interest in art, despite rabbinic injunctions against it, is indicated by several incidents. While Haham Zebi was visiting in London, the members of the Sephardic congregation there had an artist paint his picture. It was accomplished without the knowledge of Zebi; the artist worked in an adjoining room. Copies of the portrait were sold extensively.³⁸⁵ This interest in art

is further evidenced by the incident, related above, in which Eybeschuetz' son had statues erected on the estate of a newly-constructed home. Although Emden ridiculed this practice, he infers that there were many who approved and enjoyed this art.³⁸⁶ Again, after the death of Eybeschuetz, when his followers had a monument erected over his grave, they had his likeness painted on the tombstone and they also distributed pictures of him³⁸⁷ among his many supporters.

Beyond these few references, there is no general description by Emden of the cultural level of the Jews of his time.

PART THREE: CHARACTERIZATION OF EMDEN

Characterization of Emden

There are two completely antithetical opinions held by scholars regarding the character of Jacob Emden. Graetz describes him as one who was "just, truthloving, faithful to his beliefs, and one who spoke his honest convictions." On the other hand, Rabinowitz, commentator on Graetz, has this to say of Emden: "We see in him a man who appeared to the majority of the people as an expounder of truth, yet who in reality expounded only its semblance and what was really hypocrisy, a man who readily became angry and angered others. The passions of his heart, revenge and heated anger, had dominion over him, and he could not find the inner strength to subdue them... He was crooked in his ways and walked perverted paths, writing vilifying books which he attributed to his pupils...."³⁸⁸

Somewhere between these two diametrically opposite evaluations of Emden the true picture of the man is probably to be found. To fill in the details of that picture, however, is no easy task, for it is the picture of a man whose career was long and hectic, of a man who was involved in innumerable controversies in which he could not always have been motivated solely by love of truth, of a man whose words, often written in the heat of anger, can not always be accepted as thoroughly reliable.

One of the most significant forces in the character of Emden was his intense, almost pathological, love of his father.

It is an attachment which reveals itself in almost every page of "Megillat Sefer," and in those fifty-four pages of the work, which Emden devoted exclusively to the life of his father, he portrays him in veritably superhuman form. He speaks of Zebi's learning in the most hyperbolic terms, attributing to him knowledge of all sciences, mastery over six languages, and complete comprehension of all branches of rabbinics and philosophy.³⁹⁰ He refers to his great piety and his abstention from profit-making enterprises.³⁹¹ He describes his great personal beauty and grace of manner.³⁹² Above all, he emphasizes Zebi's hatred of anything that smacked of heresy, and of his constant efforts to crush those suspected of such irregularities.³⁹³

Because of this intense affection for his father, Emden desired to imitate him in his own life and behavior. Was his father reputed for scholarship? Emden determined to follow in his footsteps, and produced some sixty books to establish his claim. Was his father disinterested in pecuniary affairs? Emden was set on making the world conscious of his own unconcern for material things. (Often, though, his own statements protesting lack of interest in economic affairs unconsciously condemn, rather than praise him.) Was his father resolved to oppose all forms of Sabbatianism on the grounds that they were heresy? Emden took up the bludgeon against this movement with almost irrational vehemence. In one respect, however, he fell short of his father's example. The latter had successfully held the post of rabbi in

the three-communities, but Emden had been unable to succeed him. Although he protests, frequently and hotly, in his writings that he was not interested in the rabbinate, that it was not his desire to hold a pulpit, the protestations ring false.³⁹⁴ The fact that he finds it necessary to repeat this statement of his lack of interest again and again indicates that the rabbinate was uppermost in his thoughts. On the occasion of the election of Eybeschuetz to the post of chief-rabbi, and again in the voting which resulted in the election of Isaac Hurwitz, the fact that Emden received so little support in the balloting was a real source of aggravation to him, as his writings unconsciously reveal.³⁹⁵ It was this which in large part fanned the feud with Eybeschuetz, and certainly, in no small measure, contributed to his resentment against Katzenellenbogen and Hurwitz. In the case of Katzenellenbogen, Emden says that the reason for his dislike of him was his failure to recognize the prestige of the Emden family.³⁹⁶ The frequent mention of the enthusiastic manner with which the community of Emden received his preaching reflects the unconscious desire to convince the reader that it was through no shortcoming on his part that he did not occupy the post of chief-rabbi of the three-communities.³⁹⁷

Though Emden strove to emulate the deeds of his father, Haham Zebi, he did not succeed in achieving the fineness of the latter's character. Withal Zebi's zeal to prevent heretical influences from penetrating into Judaism^{it} never led him to mean

and petty acts, at least not according to Emden's description of him. Emden, on the other hand, discloses in his very own words of justification, a disposition that had a great deal of stubbornness and even meanness in it, a certain amount of haughtiness, and a full measure of jealous suspicion. His stubbornness is seen, for example, in his insistence, despite doctor's orders, upon fasting on Tishe B'Ab when he was ill, lest his ritual scrupulousness be doubted. His meanness is revealed in his statement that he ordered his followers to pray in Eybeschuetz' behalf when the latter was critically ill, not because of any sincere solicitude for the sick man, but because he did not want him to die before he had an opportunity publicly to apologize to Emden. His suspicious nature appears in the characteristic statement he makes that at the election for a chief-rabbi after Eybeschuetz' death, there must have been bribery and collusion since his own name was eliminated from consideration. Whether, as Rabinowitz says, he was consciously dishonest, however, is questionable. It is true that he was not above bribing the judges of Pressburg at the time of his arrest for failing to pay a ³⁹⁸border-tax. But this was a circumstance to which he probably resorted as an accepted practice among Jewish merchants of the time; and it may be that his frequent statements about his refusal to accept gifts and bribes are in the main true. In his frequent quarrels and controversies, he was probably convinced that he was always fighting for the "right,"

and in many instances there must have actually been some basis for his suspicions of unsavory or heretical practices on the part of the men he accused. That occasionally he was merely quarrelsome and fanatical is true and is probably explained by his over-anxiety to achieve some of the fame and repute of which failure to win the rabbinate in the three-communities had deprived him.

There were other forces which no doubt contributed to the shaping of the man's character. His childhood was not of the happiest. There were unfavorable economic conditions. And his health was not too good. He had been plagued by illness throughout his childhood, and in addition, must have been pampered by his parents (which in part may account for his father-fixation). As a result, when he was forced to leave his father's home, he was hardly prepared to meet all the discomforts which confronted him. He suffered from poverty, from a shrewish wife, from illness, and from nostalgia; and so, early in life began to develop some of the bitterness which frequently manifested itself in later events.

Although, thus far, we have pointed out the weaknesses in the make-up of Emden, he was not without his strong points, too. It was something more than stubbornness which steeled him to risk the wrath of the firmly entrenched Eybeschuetz and his numerous followers, to adhere to his convictions even when it involved physical danger, loss of prestige, temporary exile from the land and his family, and -- no small factor with him -- con-

siderable loss of money. He had courage and the strength of his convictions. Though the weapons he chose were often to his own disadvantage, though they reveal the arrogance, quarrelsomeness and obstinacy of his character, yet there was much in his fight for the truth as he saw it which was genuine and effective. He saw that truth from the viewpoint of a strictly orthodox, rabbinic Jew, true to tradition. In a sense he considered himself the guardian of true Orthodoxy, and he was ready to devote his time, his efforts, his writings -- everything -- to the support of it.

As for the most significant controversy of his lifetime, the quarrel with Jonathan Eybeschuetz, it is difficult to determine entirely who was in the right. Graetz holds that history has not decided unequivocally with whom the right lay, although the evidence which Emden has offered against Eybeschuetz is very convincing. It would seem that Emden proves that Eybeschuetz was not entirely free of some Sabbatian sympathies, nor above resorting to all types of political devices to fight his cause. It may be true, as some have alleged, that the quarrel was primarily one of personal grievance; nevertheless, its ultimate consequences went far beyond that. The attention of all Jews of Europe was focussed on the problem of mystical cults and Messianism, and from that time on, the air was cleared of much of this unhealthy atmosphere. Emden's part in bringing about this clarification was a significant one. He may have

been mistaken in the cause, but he did help prevent the further rapid development of irrational mysticism. In this respect, however, it is significant to remember that Emden was not thoroughly anti-mystical in viewpoint. Although he never wavered in his fight against the Sabbatianism of Eybeschuetz and the Frankists, although he was one of the first to discredit the traditional authorship of the Zohar and to approach the book from a critical point of view, yet he still regarded both the Zohar and the movement which arose from it, i.e. Kabbala, most sympathetically. He merely insisted that mysticism should not be permitted to get out of bounds, that in certain forms it had taken, such as Sabbatianism, it must inevitably lead to moral decay and degeneracy. In emphasizing this, in helping the Judaism of his day to a saner and more rational basis, Jacob Emden performed a signal service.

NOTES

1. Grünwald, Ham d. Jud., p. 74.
2. Meg. Sef., p. 54-55.
3. Cahana, Ed. Pref., p. vi.
4. Ibid., p. iii-vi.
5. J.E., VI, p. 568, art. on "Hermann Joseph Michael."
6. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 1.
7. Meg. Sef., p. 6-7.
- 7a. Grünwald, Ham d. Jud., p. 66.
8. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 1.
9. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 66.
10. Meg. Sef., p. 8.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 9.
13. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 67.
14. Meg. Sef., p. 10.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., p. 11.
17. Ibid., p. 12.
18. Ibid., p. 13.
19. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 67.
20. Meg. Sef., p. 16.
21. Ibid., p. 22.
22. J.E., II, p. 202, art. "Zebi Hirsch Ashkenazi."
23. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 67.
24. Meg. Sef., p. 26.
25. Ibid., p. 29 ff. The J.E., II, p. 202, states that a record is to be found which indicates Zebi's salary was even withheld from him because of his stand on the cantor controversy.
26. J.E., II, p. 202.
27. Meg. Sef., p. 30-31.
28. J.E., II, p. 202. The date was July 23, 1713.
29. Meg. Sef., p. 30. Emden declares that at first Zebi's opinion was accepted, but that later the other committee examined Hayyun's writing, and then made a favorable report.
30. Ibid., p. 32.
31. Ibid., p. 34.
32. J.E., II, p. 202.
33. Meg. Sef., p. 35.
34. J.E., II, p. 203.
35. Meg. Sef., p. 41.
36. Ibid., p. 45 ff.
37. J.E., II, p. 213.
38. Meg. Sef., p. 18; Graetz, G. d. Jud., X, p. 357, which also adds that Emden was officially called Jacob Herschel.
39. Meg. Sef., p. 56, although Graetz, G. d. Jud. gives the date as 1698.
40. Meg. Sef., p. 18.

41. Ibid., p. 55. Emden calls it חולי השחור "Black disease." generally understood to be bubonic plague, or melancholia.
42. Ibid., p. 54.
43. Ibid., p. 56.
44. Ibid., p. 40.
45. Ibid., p. 56.
46. Ibid.
47. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 5.
48. Meg. Sef., p. 57.
49. Ibid., p. 57-58.
50. Ibid., p. 58.
51. Ibid., p. 58-59, also Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 74-75.
52. Meg. Sef., p. 38, Note 2 of Cahana, and Meg. Sef., p. 59.
53. Ibid., p. 59-60.
54. J.E., V. p. 149, art. on Jacob Emden.
55. Meg. Sef., p. 39.
56. Ibid., p. 42.
57. Ibid., p. 60.
58. Ibid., p. 42 and 60.
59. Ibid., p. 61.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid., p. 62.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., p. 63-64.
64. Ibid., p. 64-65.
65. Ibid., p. 70.
66. Ibid., p. 70 and Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 75-76.
67. Meg. Sef., p. 71-75.
68. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 76.
69. Meg. Sef., p. 75.
70. Ibid., p. 75-76.
71. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 76.
72. Meg. Sef., p. 77-78.
73. Ibid., p. 79.
74. Ibid., p. 80; Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 77.
75. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 77.
76. Meg. Sef., p. 81, note 1: התאבדות, p. 2: פ"ב
חומן 37 ה'רצ"א
77. Ibid., p. 82.
78. Ibid., p. 83-84.
79. Ibid., p. 84-85.
80. Ibid., p. 86-88.
81. Ibid., p. 89.
82. Ibid., p. 89.
83. Ibid., p. 91.
84. Ibid., p. 92.
85. Ibid., p. 93; Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 78.
86. Ibid., p. 93.

87. Ibid., p. 95.
88. Grünwald, Ham. b. Jud., p. 79.
89. Meg. Sef., p. 96-98.
90. Ibid., p. 99.
91. J.E., V, p. 149, art. on Jacob Emden.
92. Meg. Sef., p. 99-100.
93. Ibid., p. 100.
94. Ibid., p. 101.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid., p. 102.
97. Ibid., p. 103.
98. Ibid., p. 104.
99. Ibid.
100. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 79.
101. Meg. Sef., p. 104.
102. Ibid., p. 105-107.
103. Ibid., p. 107. The text reads תפ"ז, "1722," but this undoubtedly is a misprint for תפ"ג, "1732."
104. Ibid., p. 108.
105. Ibid., p. 108-111.
106. Ibid., p. 112-114.
107. Ibid., p. 112.
108. J.E., V, p. 149; Meg. Sef., p. 115.
109. Meg. Sef., p. 115.
110. Ibid., p. 116.
111. Ibid., p. 118.
112. Ibid., p. 117.
113. Ibid., p. 119-121. Hagis revealed his animosity most clearly in his commentary to the Mishnah Seder Zeraim. See Meg. Sef., p. 120.
114. Ibid., p. 121. עשרה הלכות is to be found at the conclusion of Emden's work, אילנות יצחק.
115. Ibid., p. 122.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid., p. 123.
119. Ibid., p. 124.
120. Ibid., p. 124-126.
121. Ibid., p. 127.
122. Ibid., p. 129-133.
123. Ibid., p. 134.
124. Ibid., p. 135.
125. Ibid., p. 136.
126. Ibid., p. 137.
127. Ibid., p. 138-139.
128. Supra, p. 25.
129. Meg. Sef., p. 140-141; Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 80.
130. Meg. Sef., p. 143.
131. Ibid., p. 143.
132. Ibid., p. 147.
133. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 80.

134. Meg. Sef., p. 148.
135. Ibid.
136. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 7.
137. Meg. Sef., p. 150. A previous son, who had been born in Ungarisch-Brod, and to whom he had given the same name, had not lived.
138. Ibid., p. 150.
139. Ibid., p. 150-151.
140. Ibid., p. 151-152.
141. Ibid., p. 152-153.
142. Ibid., p. 154.
143. Ibid., p. 155-156.
144. Ibid., p. 157-160.
145. Ibid., p. 160-161.
146. Ibid., p. 161-162.
147. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 8, note 116.
148. Meg. Sef., p. 163-164.
149. Ibid., p. 177.
150. Ibid., p. 164-165.
151. Supra, p. 48.
152. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 81; Meg. Sef., p. 165-166.
153. Meg. Sef., p. 167-168.
154. Ibid., p. 168-171.
155. Ibid., p. 174-175.
156. Ibid., p. 175.
157. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 71. Some authorities state that Eybeschuetz was born at Pinczow, Poland.
158. Ibid.
159. Graetz, G. d. Jud., X, p. 358.
160. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 71.
161. J.E., V, art. on Eybeschuetz, p. 308.
162. Graetz, G. d. Jud., X, p. 358 ff.
163. Meg. Sef., p. 81.
164. Graetz, G. d. Jud., X, p. 353, note 5. Deutsch in J.E., V, p. 308 declares the date of this election was 1744.
165. Graetz, G. d. Jud., X, p. 364-365.
166. Graetz, D. V. Y., VIII, p. 472.
167. Ibid., p. 473.
168. Ibid.
169. Graetz, G. d. Yud., X, p. 368. The contents of the amulet were as follows:

בשם יי אלהי ישראל המלך המצוי
עליו יחיה ממציא כל חכמים ואלהי חסידו נאמן
עליו יחיה אשר קרוהו פיו יחיה ויש אלהי כל
עולמים נאצלם ברואים יצורים ברבנו עמים
וכל יתדות המעטן נחשת אלהי אלהי ופוקד על כל
רוחין נגדי ונגדי קני אדם וכל סטרא דמלא בא נחשים

אלא יציקו בשום גזק וכאם וצדק ונחום וקסם
להאמר נוסאת קחיד לו לעדן יתגדל ויתקדש שם
אלהי ישראל ואל צבי עזתי גדולי.

The translation, in part: "In the name of the Lord God of Israel Who dwelleth in the adornment of His might, the Unique One Who causeth all existing things to be, God of the faithful Messiah, Sabbatai Zebi, Who by the breath of His mouth slayeth evil, God of all worlds created and fashioned by His word.... I decree and ordain on all spirits of plague and those that smite men.... and all snakes, that they shall not bite or injure or bewitch the woman carrying this talisman, in order that the name of God and Sabbatai Zebi may be praised and sanctified in the world."

In his note on this, Saul Pinhas Rabinowitz declares that Graetz' translation of the contents of the amulet is arbitrary, since in part it depends on the solution of the permutation of letters. He states that "in any case there is not enough in the amulets to establish the suspicion of Rabbi Eybeschuetz as a Sabbatian." D. V. Y., p. 474, note 1.

170. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 13.

171. Graetz, G. d. Jud., X, p. 369.

172. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 13.

173. Ibid., p. 13-15. The substance of Emden's speech, as quoted in Tol. Ya'ab., p. 15, follows: "Hear me, my masters: Inscribe it, and be innocent before God and Israel -- for I would make known to you what has befallen me. The affair with regard to the amulet concerning which I was questioned is well known to you, and also you wished me to reveal my opinion before the congregation. Therefore, I, in innocence of my heart, answered that assuredly it contained heretical, suspicious matter. Now idle men have arisen and threatened to kill me, so I am obliged to cleanse myself publicly, to clear myself of suspicion and idle hatred, because truly I had no guile or guilt in this matter at all, and have no connection with the Ab bet Din, R. Jonathan Eybeschuetz, for I swear before the ark that I love him. I have no contention with him. Only with the writer of that amulet is my quarrel, for in this matter I stand by my word, nor all the winds of the world might budge me from my stand to retract it because of fear of violent men; for not mortal fear, but awe of God's Word is mine. Therefore, I say in your presence, just as before, that the word that has gone forth from my mouth, in innocence of heart, that that amulet which was shown me, and inquired about, is absolutely heretical, regardless of who wrote it. That is clear to me without any shadow of doubt, and I declare this writing to be heretical, come what may, as long as no one shows me that I have

erred.... But I am not able to say that R. Jonathan Eybeschuetz is the man that wrote it; Heaven forbid! For I am not a testifying witness, but inasmuch as the word has gone forth that this has come from his hand, in this respect he is guilty, that he has not justified himself or declared his innocence publicly, to relieve us of suspicion (for in any event he has in no wise eliminated our suspicions). And so I have requested him by earnest petitions through his representative R. Guiseppe Cohen, who is here with us, that he appear on the platform in my synagogue, and when I say to him: 'Tell us everything and conceal naught,' that he do so. Therefore, I repeat my request that he do this kindness, that men be not enabled to stumble because of him, or accuse him for naught. I have already assured him that if he will do this and prove his innocence, then I'll accept the responsibility of fighting his cause, to stamp out this slander and close the mouth of his adversaries. If he'll do this, then all this congregational storm will be speedily silenced, and the controversy ended, and grace and good sense will prevail. All will abide calmly: there will be no further opening of the mouth against him. Furthermore, this will I do: I will go to the Synagogue on meeting day and publicly ask his forgiveness, although I have in no wise sinned against him, and have knowingly had no part in all this, but have acted only because he put this stumbling block before us, because he did not seek to reveal his righteousness before everyone, because he heard his slander, yet was silent. If he will do so, I'll declare myself guilty with atoning words, after he has made clear the errors. Even though he seek this not from my hand, I shall do it most willingly, and others shall see me and do likewise, for they will have sinned indeed and have brought forth evil slander, and it shall be well with him and with others. But as long as he does not do this, he causes evil for himself and does not remove the stumbling block from all sides. Therefore, I urge you to inquire into this, to weigh it in the scales of honesty, that the claim of his honesty truly be not hidden."

- 174. Ibid., p. 15-16.
- 175. Ibid., p. 16.
- 176. Graetz, D. Y. Y., p. 477.
- 177. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 16.
- 178. Graetz, D. Y. Y., p. 478.
- 179. Ibid., p. 478-479.
- 180. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 16.
- 181. Meg. Sef., p. 177.
- 182. Graetz, D. Y. Y., p. 479.
- 183. Ibid.,
- 184. Ibid., p. 481.

185. Ibid.
186. Ibid., p. 483.
187. Ibid., p. 484. M. Seligsohn, in his article on Emden, in J.E., declares the date was June 3, 1752.
188. Graetz, D. Y. Y., p. 484.
189. Meg. Sef., p. 177.
190. Ibid., p. 178-179.
191. Ibid., p. 179.
192. Graetz, D. Y. Y., p. 485-486.
193. J.E., V, p. 309, art. on Eybeschuetz.
194. Graetz, D. Y. Y., vol. VIII, p. 487. The name of the book was "Kurze Nachrichten von dem Falschen Messiahs Shabbetai Zevi und den Neulich seinetwegen in Hamburg und Altona Entstandenen Bewegung, zu Besserer Beurteilung derer bisher in den Zeitungen und Anderen Schriften davon Bekannt gewordenen Erzählungen von Karl Anton," Wolfenbüttel, 1752. Note 1, by S. P. Rabinowitz.
195. Ibid., p. 488.
196. Ibid.
197. Ibid.
198. Ibid.; Meg. Sef., p. 179.
199. Meg. Sef., p. 180.
200. Graetz, D. Y. Y., vol. VIII, p. 489-490.
201. Ibid., p. 491.
202. Ibid.; Meg. Sef., p. 182.
203. Meg. Sef., p. 182-183.
204. Ibid., p. 183.
205. Ibid., p. 191-192.
206. Ibid., p. 192-197.
207. Wagenaar, Tol. Va'ab., p. 31.
208. Meg. Sef., p. 183-184.
209. Ibid., p. 199.
210. Ibid., p. 199-200.
211. Supra, p. 65.
212. Wagenaar, Tol. Va'ab., p. 19. The title of Megerlin's book was "Geheime Zeugnisse von die Wahrheit der Chr. Religion, aus 24 neuen und seltenen Jüdischen Amuleten, oder Anhängzetteln gezogen," Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1756. See also Graetz, D. Y. Y., vol. VIII, p. 493-494.
213. Graetz, D. Y. Y., vol. VIII, p. 494.
214. Meg. Sef., p. 184.
215. Ibid.
216. Graetz, D. Y. Y., vol. VIII, p. 494.
217. Ibid., p. 496-497.
218. Ibid., p. 500.
219. Ibid., p. 503.
220. Meg. Sef., p. 185, 187; J.E., V, art. on Jacob Frank.
221. Meg. Sef., p. 185.
222. Ibid., p. 185-186.

223. Graetz, D. Y. Y., vol. VIII, p. 507.
 224. Meg. Sef., p. 188.
 225. Graetz, D. Y. Y., vol. VIII, p. 509.
 226. Ibid., p. 511.
 227. Ibid., p. 516-520.
 228. Supra, p. 74.
 229. Meg. Sef., p. 189; Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 27, note 20.
 230. Graetz, D. Y. Y., VIII, p. 502, note 2, referring to Emden's work "Mitpahat Seforim," pt. 1, 2.: כ"ק ח'פ"ס
בתחלת דת הקלוג ספר הקלוג בכתב ספר ויצא
הדפוס חתמו חתמי ירי הקלוג ר' חסד בי אלאו הספר
חשובו על דורו שלא החמיצו חסדו דגרי סתרי אלה

231. Meg. Sef., p. 177.
 232. Ibid., p. 180-181.
 233. Ibid., p. 180.
 234. Ibid., p. 186.
 235. Ibid., p. 187.
 236. Ibid.
 237. Ibid., p. 189.
 238. Ibid., p. 190.
 239. Ibid., p. 191.
 240. Ibid., p. 200.
 241. Ibid.
 242. Ibid., p. 205.
 243. Ibid.
 244. Ibid., p. 201. He describes at length Benjamin Wolf Eybeschuetz' extravagances in building a home.
 245. Ibid., p. 204.
 246. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 22, note 6, part 2.
 247. Meg. Sef., p. 206.
 248. Ibid.
 249. Ibid., p. 207.
 250. Ibid., p. 208-209.
 251. Ibid., p. 209.
 252. Ibid.; Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 83, for the full name of Rabbi Isaac.
 253. Ibid., p. 209-210.
 254. Ibid., p. 211.
 255. Ibid.
 256. Ibid., p. 212.
 257. Ibid., p. 214.
 258. J.E., V, p. 150, art. on Emden.
 259. Meg. Sef., p. 203-204.
 260. Ibid., p. 38, 59.
 261. Ibid., p. 100.

262. Ibid., p. 154.
263. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 34, note 1.
264. Meg. Sef., p. 167-168.
265. J.E., V, art. on Emden, p. 150; supra, p. 68.
266. Meg. Sef., p. 185-186.
267. Ibid., p. 189.
268. Ibid., p. 203-204.
269. J.E., V, p. 150, art. on Emden.
270. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 29-30.
271. Ibid., p. 25.
272. Ibid., p. 27-28.
273. Meg. Sef., p. 182-183.
274. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 26-27. Wagenaar suggests that the book may have been printed in Zalkiev.
275. Ibid., p. 22-23.
276. Ibid., p. 23.
277. Ibid., p. 20.
278. Ibid., p. 30.
279. Ibid., p. 23.
280. Supra, p. 87.
281. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 41.
282. Ibid., p. 42.
283. Supra, p. 87.
284. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 34-35. Seligsohn, in J.E., V, p. 150, dates this work as of 1733.
285. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 45-47. Seligsohn dates the printing of the second part of this work as of 1759, J.E., V, p. 150.
286. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 8-12, 47.
287. Ibid., p. 43-44: J.E., V, p. 150.
288. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 39-41.
289. Supra, p. 88.
290. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 43.
291. Ibid., p. 42.
292. Ibid., p. 42-43. Seligsohn, in J.E., V, p. 150, treats this work as though it were part of the book, "Mor u-Kezi'ah," but Wagenaar deals with it as a separate work.
293. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 44.
294. Ibid., p. 41, 44.
295. Ibid., p. 43. Wagenaar believes the date of printing was 1775. See op. cit., p. 65, note 322.
296. Supra, p. 3-4.
297. Meg. Sef., Introduction, p. vi.
298. This list is drawn from M. Seligsohn's art. on Emden in J.E., V, p. 152. We are uncertain whether any of these manuscripts have been printed since the writing of this article.
299. Wagenaar, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 44.
300. Ibid., p. 39.

301. Ibid.
302. Ibid., p. 47.
303. Ibid., p. 48.
304. Ibid.
305. Ibid.
306. J.E., V, p. 152.
307. Magenear, Tol. Ya'ab., p. 48.
308. Meg. Sef., p. 11.
309. Ibid., p. 13.
310. Ibid., p. 12.
311. Ibid., p. 26-27.
312. Ibid., p. 56.
313. Ibid., p. 61.
314. Ibid., p. 63.
315. Ibid., p. 84.
316. Ibid., p. 150.
317. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 41.
318. Meg. Sef., p. 14-16.
319. Supra, p. 38-39.
320. Meg. Sef., p. 107-111.
321. Ibid., p. 207.
322. Ibid., p. 19.
323. Ibid., p. 20.
324. Ibid., p. 84-85.
325. Ibid., p. 94-95.
326. Ibid., p. 148-149.
327. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 80-81.
328. Meg. Sef., p. 189-191.
329. Ibid., p. 162-163.
330. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 60.
331. Meg. Sefer, p. 168. The protest raised by the money-lenders of Altona over certain charges made against them by Fmden in his "Siddur," would substantiate them.
332. Ibid., p. 18.
333. Ibid., p. 56.
334. Ibid., p. 59-60.
335. Ibid., p. 80.
336. Ibid., p. 95-99.
337. Ibid., p. 103-104.
338. Ibid., p. 160-161.
339. Ibid., p. 187-188.
340. Ibid., p. 188.
341. Jud. Lex., article on Hamburg.
342. Meg. Sef., p. 62.
343. Ibid., p. 81.
344. Ibid., p. 83-84.
345. Ibid., p. 79.
346. Ibid., p. 187.
347. Ibid., p. 77-78.

- 348. Ibid., p. 21.
- 349. Ibid., p. 26.
- 350. Ibid., p. 45.
- 351. Supra, p. 28.
- 352. Meg. Sef., p. 82.
- 353. Supra, p. 70.
- 354. Meg. Sef., p. 164.
- 355. Ibid., p. 105-106.
- 356. Ibid., p. 87-88, 89-90.
- 357. Ibid., p. 158-160.
- 358. Ibid., p. 169.
- 359. Ibid., p. 9.
- 360. Ibid., p. 37-38.
- 361. Ibid., p. 126.
- 362. Ibid., p. 128-129.
- 363. Ibid., p. 134.
- 364. Ibid., p. 141.
- 365. Ibid., p. 173.
- 366. Ibid., p. 173-174.
- 367. Ibid., p. 133.
- 368. Ibid., p. 140-141.
- 369. Grünwald, Ham. d. Jud., p. 51.
- 370. Ibid., p. 44.
- 371. Ibid., p. 40.
- 372. Ibid., p. 39.
- 373. Meg. Sef., p. 6-7.
- 374. Ibid., p. 27.
- 375. Ibid., p. 102-103.
- 376. Supra, p. 47.
- 377. Meg. Sef., p. 114-115.
- 378. Ibid., p. 161-162.
- 379. Ibid., p. 184.
- 380. Ibid., p. 201.
- 381. Ibid.
- 382. Supra, p. 97, 98.
- 383. Meg. Sef., p. 16.
- 384. Ibid., p. 98-98.
- 385. Ibid., p. 37.
- 386. Ibid., p. 201.
- 387. Ibid., p. 208.
- 388. Graetz, D. Y. Y., vol. VIII, p. 471.
- 389. Ibid., p. 623.
- 390. Meg. Sef., p. 16.
- 391. Ibid., p. 50.
- 392. Ibid., p. 51.
- 393. Ibid., p. 11, 47-48, and many other passages.
- 394. Ibid., p. 99, 105.
- 395. Ibid., p. 209.
- 396. Ibid., p. 122-123.
- 397. Ibid., p. 101, 112.
- 398. Ibid., p. 205.
- 399. Ibid., p. 206.
- 400. Ibid., p. 112, 154, and others.
- 401. Ibid., p. 61.

ABBREVIATIONS

D. Y. Y.	<u>Dibre Y'no Yisroel.</u>
Ed. Pref.	Editor's Preface.
En. Jud.	Encyclopedia Judaica.
G. d. Jud.	<u>Geschichte des Juden.</u>
Ham. d. Jud.	<u>Hamburgs deutsche Juden.</u>
J. E.	Jewish Encyclopedia.
Jud. Lex.	<u>Jüdisches Lexikon.</u>
Meg. Sef.	<u>Megillat Sefer.</u>
Tol. Ya'ab.	<u>Toledot Ya'abez.</u>

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Cahana, David. Editor's Preface, Megillat Sefer.
- Emden, Jacob. Megillat Sefer.
- Encyclopedia Judaica. Article, "Hamburg," by E. Duckes.
- Graetz, H. Dibre Y'me Visroel, vol. VIII, 1st ed.
- Graetz, H. Geschichte des Juden, vol. X, 3rd ed.
- Grünwald, Max. Hamburgs deutsche Juden.
- Jewish Encyclopedia. Article, "Heimann Joseph Michael," by I. Warsaw.
- Article, "Zebi Hirsch Ashkenazi," by J. Vredenburg.
- Article, "Jacob Emden," by W. Seligsohn.
- Article, "Jonathan Eybeschuetz," by Gotthard Deutsch.
- Article, "Jacob Frank," by S. M. Dubnow.
- Judisches Lexicon. Article, "Hamburg," by M. Grunwald, vol. II.
- Rabinowitz, Saul Pinhas.
- Notes on Dibre Y'me Visroel.
- Wagenaar, H. A. Toledot Ya'abez.