DAISM

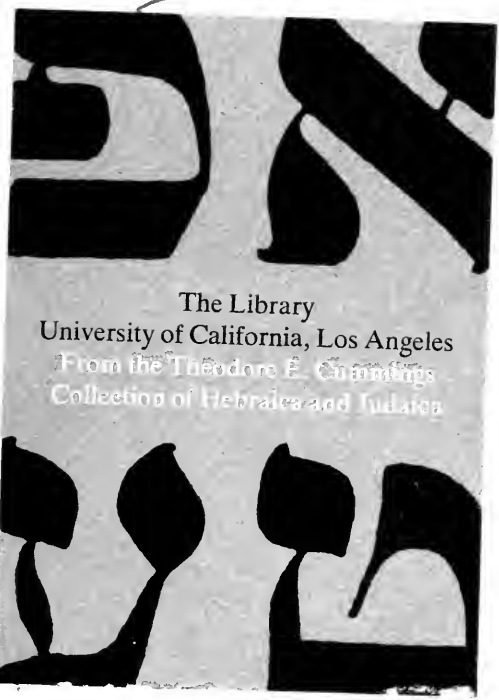
AIM LEVINE, M.A.

THE·PEOPLE'S·BOOKS

Ex Libris

Reynold Boden

Reynold B. Bodan.



172

THE
PEOPLE'S
BOOKS

JUDAISM

JUDAISM

By EPHRAIM LEVINE, M.A.

LONDON: T. C. & E. C. JACK
67 LONG ACRE, W.C., AND EDINBURGH
NEW YORK: DODGE PUBLISHING CO.

PREFACE

THE following chapters are nothing more than an attempt to give the general reader interested in Judaism some idea of the various stages through which that religion has passed, and of the many tendencies that have reacted and still react upon it. A subject so vast and complicated must of necessity be difficult to present in so brief a compass. The Bibliography, however, which is appended, will it is hoped enable the student to pursue his studies by referring to the important volumes there mentioned.

The writer is greatly indebted to the Very Reverend Dr. M. Gaster for much valuable help, and desires to take this opportunity of expressing his thanks.

CONTENTS

JUDAISM

CHAPTER I

THE BIBLE IN JUDAISM

THE history of the religion of the Jew dates from a time far back in the mists of antiquity, and looks forward to an epoch when the belief of all mankind in the one and only God will be the final consummation. It is thus almost synonymous with the history of man. From those far-away days when a horde of slaves left Egypt till our own time, the Jewish people have been a wonder and a problem to the world—a wonder because of the chequered nature of their history, a problem because of the uncertainty that prevails as to the reasons for their continued existence. The problem is thus not new, though it is as perplexing in the twentieth century as it has ever been. A study of Judaism is therefore of great importance, for in the nature and history of this religion lies the solution of the problem. The Jew has persisted because Judaism persists. The modern man asks, Why does Judaism persist? What differentiates the Jew from the rest of mankind? Is there any reason why the Jews should remain distinct as a religious people? The answer to these and similar questions will be set forth in the following pages. It will be shown that Judaism is not an effete religion but a living

force, the result of centuries of continuous growth. Its origin is the Bible, the Book which more than any other has shaped the character and destiny of the Jewish people.

(*a*) The Book

The Bible is the most complete record of Israel's early History and Religion. Commencing with the story of the Creation it brings us as far as the days of Ezra and his reformation. Without entering here into the question of the dates of the various books, and the general trend of Biblical criticism, it is safe to say that in the Bible the Jew recognises references to events which bring his history down as far as the Maccabean struggle, *i.e.* 165 B.C. Divided into three main headings, (*a*) Law, (*b*) Prophets, (*c*) Writings, the Bible is to-day the basis of the Jewish Creed.

The Law, or Torah, comprises the Five Books of Moses, with the story of the beginning of the world, and its history till the death of the great Lawgiver. Modern conservative Judaism adheres to the belief that the whole of the Pentateuch is from the hand of Moses, written by the inspiration of God. With the exception of the last few verses of Deuteronomy describing the death of Moses, no question of its authenticity ever perturbed the Jewish mind. The Torah forms the basis of Judaism, and on the principles and laws outlined there, is built up the whole structure which we understand by the word Judaism. The Torah is the written law, containing 613 precepts covering the whole sphere of man's life. The importance of the Pentateuch, therefore, cannot be over-estimated. Its sanctity remains, and its influence is dominant. At an early

period in Israel's history, the Torah was divided up into sections, and a cycle of readings for every Sabbath of the year was arranged. It is maintained that the original division was into a three-year cycle, the complete law being read once during that period. The practice that now obtains is to read the Pentateuch from Genesis to Deuteronomy once every year. The division is thus into some fifty-four weekly portions (the length of the Jewish year varying by the addition of a whole month in leap years). It was the custom, too, to read the Law on Mondays and Thursdays, these being the days when the people would assemble for marketing purposes. The Torah is read on Festivals and Fast Days, special passages being assigned for each occasion. The modern usage has varied little amongst orthodox communities, but sections of Liberal or Reform Jews complete the reading in three years, or read passages of their own choice without reference to custom. But for all bodies of Jews, the Torah occupies a foremost place, though Reform communities are not bound by the same ideas of inspiration and immutability as are claimed by the conservative or orthodox wing. The Law is read from a scroll made of parchment, which must be written by hand, by accredited scribes who are proficient in their work. It is unpointed and unpunctuated. The strictest accuracy is necessary, no scroll which has been found to be at fault even in the most minute detail, being considered *Kosher* or fit for religious service.

"The Prophets" comprise both the historical books and the writings of the prophets. In the Hebrew Bible they are subdivided into (1) former, (2) latter prophets. By the former are meant such books as Joshua, Judges,

Kings; by the latter are meant the three greater prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets. Almost all these books still occupy a place in the Synagogue Service. The practice of reading a passage from the prophetic writings dates from an early period. The readings embrace most of the books, though there are some which are never included in the ritual. Curiously enough, a book like Haggai, important as it is, is never read as part of the service.

The third division of the Bible is "the Writings," including everything not comprised under the two former headings, viz. The Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the two Books of Chronicles. It should be remarked that Daniel does not come to be considered among the Prophets. The Writings find a place in the Synagogue readings, the Psalms forming a large part of the liturgy. The five Megilloth, *i.e.* Canticles, Ruth, Esther, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, are assigned to special days which make their recital appropriate. Thus Ruth is read on Pentecost in the early summer, Esther on the Feast of Purim, Lamentations on the ninth of Ab the anniversary of the Temple's Fall, Canticles on Passover, and Ecclesiastes on Tabernacles.

(*b*) The Teaching

From the foregoing it will be seen that the Bible means much to the Jew. It is venerated as *the* Book, which has been handed down from generation to generation. The antiquity that can carry Jewish history far back into the beginnings of the world, added to the thought that countless generations of men and women

have drawn their inspiration from its pages, gives the Bible a special sanctity to the Jew. But he does not base his reverence on these reasons alone. The Bible is the treasury of the finest and most sublime thoughts; it is a moral and ethical compendium, containing a scheme of life, pointing the way to goodness and fellowship with God. It is the word of God communicated to His people, by lawgiver, prophet, and sage. It is the covenant which binds Israel to God. Its teaching is not of to-day, but for all time. The Immutability of the Law still remains one of the Thirteen Articles of Faith drawn up by Maimonides in the twelfth century, and embodied in one of the present-day Synagogue hymns. At the root of the teaching lies the one supreme idea—Faith in God. In a passage in the Talmud one of the Rabbis sums up the matter somewhat as follows: There were 613 precepts communicated to Moses on Sinai. The writer of the 15th Psalm compressed them into eleven, Isaiah (chap. i.) compressed them still further, Micah (chap. vi. 8) narrowed them down to three, "to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with God," and Habakkuk condensed them into one (chap. ii. 4), "The righteous shall live by his faith." It gives an index of the stress laid on faith. The Bible, however, does not enjoin faith as a commandment. It lays emphasis on knowledge as the way to faith. It thus teaches first, and through knowledge one comes to belief. "Know therefore and consider this day in thy heart that the Lord He is God, there is none other."[1] The first article of the creed is the belief that God is one, alone and incomparable. When this actual belief was first thoroughly

[1] Deut. iv. 39.

understood by Israel, is matter upon which Biblical critics are not agreed. Yet we may assume that, accepting as Judaism does the record of revelation as outlined in the Bible, even in the very early days the people to whom the Law was delivered from Sinai were deeply imbued with the conception. It is difficult to understand how and by what means Israel forged ahead of other peoples in its conception of God. Yet the Pentateuch from the Exodus is monotheistic, and the serving of other gods is the gravest offence against God. The lapses which are recorded were the cause of a heavy visitation upon Israel. Aaron's sin in yielding to the people's request to have a visible representation of a deity in the shape of a golden calf, the result, no doubt, of the memory of Egyptian experiences, was regarded as a terrible moral lapse. In later times, too, the sin of idolatry denounced again and again by the prophets, was the inevitable prelude to civic degradation and moral decrepitude. Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, is a typical sinner against God, because he led Israel astray by means of a species of idolatry. There is no more wonderful tribute to the abhorrence of Israel for idols, than is to be found in the latter half of the Book of Isaiah, where the prophet in words of biting satire denounces the fashioning of so-called gods, and contrasts the helplessness and unreality of a figure cut from wood or stone, with the grandeur and illimitability of the power of the one God. It is Israel's legacy to mankind to have been the first monotheistic people, and at no time in the history of the religion was this idea ever threatened. Judaism, by reason of the vicissitudes through which its adherents have passed, has taken over and assimilated much from different

sources, but the doctrine of the Unity of God, which stands in the forefront of the Jewish belief, has ever remained intact. The first words that a Jewish child is taught to lisp are: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is Our God, the Lord is One."

Closely allied to the belief in the unity of God, is the Love of God. "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might." The love is reciprocal. God has selected Israel to be a peculiar treasure, a witness to the truth of revelation. His care for the people, His guardianship of Israel—these are signs of the covenant between God and man. The Love, however, demands allegiance in return. But it must be allegiance that emanates from love. This lesson is written on every page of the Bible. To the Jew, therefore, the ideal to strive for, is the imitation of God. God is good, righteous, just, and merciful. Man must be good, righteous, just, and merciful. As the Rabbis express it: "The Torah commences with a loving act of God—'He made them garments'; and closes with a loving act—He (God) buried him (Moses). Just as God clothes the naked and buries the dead, so do ye Israelites likewise." From birth till death, every action should be modelled on the example of God. The Jew's life must be a living testimony to his religion with the love of God present at every step. Thus it is not merely the expression of life arising in the heart and remaining in the heart, but it is a love that calls forth a zealous response to the dictates of the heart. Belief in God and love of God lead to a proper life. Life is the sum of a series of actions no one of which can be other than Godlike, if the belief and love mean anything. Man is governed

by the will of God, but he is also a free agent. His knowledge, on which his faith is to rest, enables him to distinguish between right and wrong, and thus he is responsible for his actions and their moral quality. Revelation and responsibility are closely related. The right way to live has been shown to man, and man is accountable to God for his deeds—"He has shown thee, O man, what is good. What does the Lord thy God require of thee, except to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with God."[1] But God is not a stern and implacable Judge. The relationship is rather that of Father and Son. A child turns instinctively to his father for help and love. So the Israelite to God the heavenly Father.

The relationship between man and God thus postulated, carries us to that between man and his neighbour. The truly religious man is he who seeks to find grace in the eyes of God and man. Judaism, as seen in the Bible, lays down the code of actions that shall govern the intercourse of man with his neighbour. Respect for human life, regard for our neighbour's property, care for his good name, honesty, chastity—are some of the necessary concomitants of the belief in God. The ethical value of the Bible is kept to the fore in Judaism. This must needs be emphasised, because Judaism has often been charged with being a religion of ceremonial, and lacking in that real moral and spiritual worth which the advent of Christianity is said to have introduced into the world. This creates an erroneous impression, for the whole teaching of the prophets is a condemnation of a performance of ceremonial observance, divorced from a truly sincere and religious heart. The moral virtues

[1] Micah vi. 8.

have ever been cherished by the Jew—and this in spite of the buffeting and wandering which have been his lot. Chastity, especially, has been a Jewish treasure, and few will doubt that the beauties of Jewish family life are unsurpassed amongst any other nation.

Mention has just been made of ceremonial. This is an aspect of Jewish teaching and custom which, although developed in later times, takes its origin from the Bible. The law is incumbent on each man as an individual unit. A number of units becomes a society, and it is clear from the time of the call of Abraham that the Hebrews were to form themselves into one united body, acting with the same knowledge and spreading the truths they had received. Religion, if it is to have any permanent force, must become systematised. Mere abstract principles must often be translated into concrete actions. The Tabernacle in the wilderness served as a visible dwelling-place of the Divine presence. The religion had a centre whither its adherents might come to seek advice on any matter that perplexed them. The Temple in later days served as a rallying point in Jerusalem. There, the Priests and Levites were the human agents of God, administering His will and teaching His behests to the people. The sacrifice was a material representation of the Israelite's sincerity in his relation to God. The sacrificial system is too often misunderstood. To modern eyes the slaughtering of animals to appease the Deity seems to savour of barbarism and superstition. It must be remembered, however, that the mind of a people does not develop quickly. Ideas take long to root themselves in the mind and mature, and the sacrificial system was not meant to be an end in itself, but simply the means to an end. If a

man sinned against God or against his neighbour, to receive pardon he had to present himself before the altar, and offer a sacrifice. In Leviticus the details of the various sacrifices required on different occasions, are given at length. The sacrifice had to be accompanied by an expression of regret on the part of the offender. Without this contrition the offering was useless and a mockery. From the sacrificial system is the Jewish doctrine of atonement to be traced. There was no agent to be employed in offering a sacrifice to obtain pardon. The offender himself had to bring it. No intermediary between man and God was required; but the forgiveness of the wronged party must first have been obtained.

Ceremonial, however, played a large part in Jewish life, and continues to this day. From the Bible come the observance of the Sabbath, the institution of the Festivals, and the origin of the innumerable ritual customs which are the outward expressions of the religion. The Sabbath is the day of rest, a covenant between Israel and God, enjoined several times in the Pentateuch, and to this day one of the corners of Judaism. The Festivals divinely ordained in the Jewish mind, commemorate the great events of the people's history. The Passover, with all its ceremonies, recalls the Exodus and the events that led up to it; Pentecost in the early summer is associated with the giving of the Law; Tabernacles in the autumn, the season of the ingathering of the harvest, is connected with the *Succah* or temporary booths in which the Israelites dwelt in the wilderness; the Day of Remembrance or New Year, is an occasion for solemn introspection and meditation over the year that has

gone ; and the Day of Atonement is set apart as a day of fasting and prayer, whereby man, if he is sincere in his penitence, can obtain pardon from God and strength to begin a new life. From the Bible, too, originate such celebrations as Purim or the Feasts of Lots, commemorating the deliverance recorded in the Book of Esther, and the institution of Fasts referred to in Zechariah. Later, Judaism added the feast of Chanucah, to celebrate the victory of the Maccabees over Syria.

Other ceremonies there are, which regulate Jewish life. In the eleventh chapter of Leviticus will be found a list of animals that may be eaten, and specific mention of those that are forbidden. The Dietary Laws, as they are binding on the Jew, have been elaborated in the Talmud, as we shall see. It is difficult to overestimate the important part these laws play in the life of the Jew. They have served as a differentiating mark between Jew and non-Jew, and much of the very strength of Judaism lies in their observance. It is not too much to say that a total abrogation of these laws would mean a speedy end to Jewish separatism, and the beginning of the end of Judaism. Obedience to these laws meant purity of body. Purity would promote holiness, and Israel was to be a holy nation. The people distinguished from other nations by such prohibitions, were to consecrate their lives to holy service. There may be nothing irreligious in the eating of forbidden foods in these days when modern hygienic methods ensure the purity of man's food ; but hygiene was not the only purpose of the dietary laws. Their aim was, by promoting purity of body, to promote purity of mind. They lead to self-sacrifice and self-denial, and inculcate virtues of self-control. To observe such laws

was to help to master unholy desires and impure passions, and to be able to resist temptation of every kind. "The Dietary Laws," says Maimonides (More Nebuchim, iii. 25), "are designed to train us in self-control; they make us able to curb carnal desires; they condemn sensual pleasures." As such, their retention in Judaism is of the utmost importance.

Reference has been made to separatism, and therein lies the secret of Jewish strength. The work of Israel in the world is to disseminate the knowledge of God, and to mediate the truths that have been communicated to them. This can only be done by a stringent adherence to the conception of Israel as a people distinct from other peoples with a mission to the rest of mankind. How far Israel has been faithful to that mission, does not effect the general truth that the mission is the inevitable result of Biblical teaching. Allegiance to Judaism is the first duty of the Jew, and so long as the Jew wishes to work for the welfare of mankind *qua* Jew, he must bear in mind the value of separatism. Modern Judaism is apt to neglect this aspect of the religion, and the Jew like many another, in the general tide of worldly affairs often is satisfied to see the mission floating away from himself to others. Yet it cannot be forgotten that the permanent worth of Judaism depends on the place the Jew occupies in the religious life of the world. Content to follow blindly in the wake of every new idea, he loses his individuality and jeopardises the heritage of centuries. On the other hand, if he zealously maintains the separateness of his people, and binds himself as an indispensable link on to the long chain that stretches from Biblical times to our own day, the necessity for taking the lead in the

religious teaching of the world must force itself upon his mind. The world is still far from the elementary conceptions of a true life as outlined in the Bible. Truth, Justice, and Equity are, in many quarters, theories which require to be called into practice. There is thus room for the Jew to carry on his mission; but this will require a deeper consciousness of the importance of the brotherhood of the Jewish people. It is the lesson that emerges from the teaching of the prophets. Again and again, prophet urged upon his people, that the observance of the ceremonial law was meant to bind them together as servants of God. Its aim was to produce good and upright men living one life in the sight of God and man. Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Jeremiah, are sometimes quoted as rigid opponents of ceremonialism. This is not accurate. Their teaching denounced mechanical observance when religion was absent. They preached a purification of the heart, a moral and spiritual cleansing as the necessary prelude to religious service. Ceremonial bound the nation together and helped them to understand what their mission was. That mission, when properly understood, they were to announce to the world. The message of the Bible is the record of a people acquiring a gradual knowledge of God, believing in God as the only One, serving Him with zeal, living under laws that make for a perfect life, and from these coming to the realisation of the idea, that the chosen people were only *chosen* in the sense that they were singled out from all nations to be the first to understand the great truths of religion, which, communicated to them by God, they in turn are to communicate to all God's creatures.

CHAPTER II

JUDAISM, HELLENISM, AND THE DAWN OF CHRISTIANITY

THE Babylonian Exile was not an unmixed evil. The Temple fell, and the people of Israel were carried into captivity, but the religion continued to exist, and even became permeated with higher spiritual energy. The sojourn in Babylon was not of long duration, but it was long enough to enable them to adopt Babylonian customs and Babylonian culture. Soon, Persia conquered Babylon, and became master of the Jews. Under the Persian sovereignty there was little oppression, and the Jews could attend to their own spiritual life. The advent of Cyrus upon the scene, however, wrought a complete change in the Jewish condition. The exiles were allowed to return and rebuild their temple. Once again they succeeded in establishing a nationality, a remarkable phenomenon paralleled by no other people of history. That they were able to do this, is due to the fact that they were something more than a nation, they were a religious community bound together by an idea, of which nationality was but one expression. Prophecy was not dead. Once again men arose to greet in prophetic strains the returned exiles, and to inspire a new life into the people. Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi sounded the last notes of prophecy; the two former hurried on the work of rebuilding; Malachi's message closed with the appeal to remember the law of Moses. In some ways revelation was at an end, but

something else was to arise and take its place. Tradition may be said to have filled the gap. Tradition has been defined as "the developing power which continues in Judaism as an invisible, creative agent, as a certain ennobling something that never obtains its full expression, but ever continues to work, transform, and create. Tradition is, like revelation, a spiritual energy that ever continues to work, a higher power that does not proceed from man, but is an emanation from the Divine Spirit, a power that works in the community, chooses its own ministers, manifests itself by its ever purer and riper fruits, and thus preserves vitality and existence itself."[1] With Tradition began the second period in Judaism, and if the Temple fell again, and the nation once more went into exile, the four hundred years that separated Ezra and his school of scribes from the birth of Christianity, were years fraught with more significance in the development of Judaism than any subsequent period in its history.

(*a*) Scribes and Men of the Great Synagogue

In the tractate of the Mishna, known as "The Ethics of the Fathers," there is the following passage: "Moses received the Law on Sinai and handed it to Joshua, Joshua to the Elders, the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue." Here is indicated what is known as the chain of tradition, beginning with Moses on Sinai and stretching through the centuries. From the time of Ezra, who was regarded as the first scribe, there sprang up a body of scribes, whose duty was to interpret the Law to the people. The period at which Ezra flourished witnessed what is regarded as a

[1] Geiger.

reformation in Israel. The return from exile was not followed by the realisation of all the hopes which the people had anticipated. With the rebuilding of the Temple, the services and sacrifices were once more resumed, but it was not long ere a spirit of laxity and indifference began to prevail. The Book of Malachi exhibits the state of Israel's worship, and the moral lapse of the priesthood from a proper conception of their high office is more than once hinted at. Again, the question of intermarriage and divorce seemed to perplex those of the people who had taken strange wives. The Book of Ezra attempts to grapple with the problem. If the people were to understand the necessity for maintaining their separatism as a religious body, by keeping their stock pure from foreign admixture, it was obvious that they must have a closer and more intelligent knowledge of the demands of their religion. Modern criticism of the Bible attaches much weight to the work of Ezra. It is maintained that the Pentateuch, in its present form, is the work of his hands. While orthodox Judaism adheres to the belief of the Mosaic authorship of the Torah, Jews recognise the immense debt owed to Ezra and his school of scribes. "The Law was forgotten," say the Rabbis, "but Ezra restored it." Certain it is, that he inspired new life into the teaching of the Law. According to tradition, the scribes were the teachers of the people, Ezra being reckoned the first, and Simon the Just the last. These have been identified with the Men of the Great Synagogue. Many acts are ascribed to them. Part of their work was devoted to the fixing of the canon of the Bible. The Books of Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther, and the Twelve Minor Prophets were by them included in the

canon. In addition to completing the canon, they were anxious to introduce a scientific treatment of interpretation. They are credited by some authorities with having divided the study of the Mishna into the three aspects—Midrash, Halacha, and Agada, though R. Akiba is more generally believed to have been the originator of this system. Again, they instituted the observance of the Feast of Purim. They probably had a definitely-fixed ritual and Prayer Book, it being generally agreed that the prayer known as the Eighteen Benedictions to be found in the authorised Prayer Book was embodied by them in the liturgy.

In the Ethics of the Fathers, to which reference has already been made, three characteristic sayings are attributed to them—Be careful in delivering judgment, raise up many disciples, and make a fence round the Torah. Who was the author of this saying, is not known, but it seems to crystallise the general trend of their aims and teachings. Their words were addressed more to the religious guides than to the body of the people. The three ideas attributed to them sum up their contribution to the development of Judaism. Deliberation in judgment—accuracy in getting at the meaning of the law and expounding its purpose. By law, it should be mentioned, was meant not only the Pentateuch, but the whole body of religious truth, study, and practice. The raising up of disciples ensured the handing on of the tradition, and by making a fence round the law, they were able zealously to guard its sanctity and observe its every detail. Thus in the Persian period they were able to preserve Judaism as the custodians of the religion which, later on, the Pharisees were to defend by their accuracy in legalistic

matters, their assiduity in founding schools, and their formation of rules and prohibitions to point the way to correct obedience to the Law.

The second birth, so to speak, which this epoch witnessed, was not easy of accomplishment. The State being merely a province under the rule of Persia, the Priesthood came into greater prominence than the representative of the House of David. Corruption speedily set in among the priestly families, many of whose members, under the garb of sanctity, concealed the worst of human passions. Oppression became rife, internal life was decadent, and the political life of the nation seemed to remain stationary. When there is no development discontent and impotence appear. Yet, with all its heavy burdens, Judaism did not sink. There was one thing that could raise the Jewish people from their lethargy. When the religion was threatened, the best in the nation made its appearance. The opportunity of exhibiting the staying power of Judaism and its living force to regenerate the Jew, arrived when the religion came into conflict with Hellenism. There was a hard struggle, but Judaism emerged strengthened and more alive than before. It was in Egypt that the scene was enacted, the land so bound up with the early history of Israel.

(*b*) Hellenism

Till quite recently, the long period from the time of Ezra till the days of Alexander the Great, was regarded as a blank as far as Jewish history is concerned. The discovery, however, a few years ago, of a number of papyri in the Island of Elephantiné, proved that in Egypt lay the secret of much that is of vital interest.

In Egypt, at the very time that the exiles were returning from Babylon to Judea, there was a large and influential community of Jews. Probably they emigrated there with Jeremiah after the destruction of the Temple. But they were certainly there, and soon became acclimatised both to the life and the language. Greek even became the language of Judaism. At Leontopolis they erected a temple modelled on the Temple in Jerusalem, not because they wished to secede, but actuated by the thought that there they were in a new country, of which they were a part, free and untrammelled. The Temple of Onias, as it was called after its founder, supplied a visible resting-place for the glory of God. Soon, too, the Bible was translated into Greek, the famous Septuagint version being completed about 200 B.C. Legend relates how seventy translators, isolated one from another, arrived at exactly the same rendering; but legendary as the tradition is, it at least proves the sanctity and reverence that must have attached to the version. Thus with the advance of the Greek language among the Jews, the knowledge of Hebrew steadily decreased, and even distinguished scholars like Philo had little more than an elementary acquaintance. It was only natural that Judaism should assimilate some of the culture of Hellenism. Judaism has ever had a tendency to grasp new ideas and adopt them, while reconciling them with traditional belief.

It was not long before this desire manifested itself. Judaism and Hellenism were bound to clash, but opposed to each other as they were, it was necessary to effect some sort of a compromise. The difference between the two conceptions is apparent. Judaism is the result of evidence and experience, and requires or asks for

no proof. Hellenism, on the other hand, has its foundation in research or investigation, beginning with the physical and striving to reach the Higher Idea. To attempt to reconcile such wholly divergent ideas was almost to attempt the impossible. Yet attempts were made, and so much was Judaism modified thereby, that it almost lost its distinctive character. As a writer has expressed it in a recent valuable work on the subject:[1] "Judaism cannot be a religion of compromise. To be both Greek to the Greeks and Hebrew to the Hebrews is an impossible task for the Jew. Judaism can only be one form of that divine, eternally true universal religion at one particular time to all the world." Judaism had to reassert the old views, and thus arose the Apocryphal literature. The Wisdom of Solomon sought to correct the already existing Book of Ecclesiastes by maintaining the impossibility for Jews to favour Hellenistic philosophy. There can be little doubt that the original language of the book was Greek. The argument is that only in Judaism is true wisdom to be found. An earlier book than this is the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, called Ecclesiasticus, written originally in Hebrew, fragments of which were discovered by Dr. Schechter in 1896. In this book the divine attribute of wisdom plays an important part. Wisdom "came forth from the mouth of the Most High" and "covered the earth as a mist." Wisdom was a creation of God, and was prominent in the providential history of Israel. These two books of the Apocrypha, to mention no others, date from that period, and if they foreshadow some of the ideas which afterwards germinated in Christianity, it must be remembered that their origin

[1] *Hellenism and Christianity*, by Rev. G. Friedlander.

was on Grecian soil, and that many of their conceptions were repudiated by Palestinian Judaism.

Mention must be made of Philo, the most distinguished philosopher of the Judæo-Alexandrian period, whose idea of the *Logos* presents a fascinating introduction to the subsequent development of that doctrine in New Testament times. Philo is often assailed with the charge of being un-Jewish, yet it is more generally conceded that he was a believing and zealous Jew. For him, Judaism was true and required no proof; but the doctrines of Judaism had to be examined, and he could not divorce his conception of the moral purity of the religion from symbolical interpretation characteristic of the Greek philosophy in which he was saturated. Hence the doctrine of the Logos emerges. The Logos is the creation of the world, the first creation of God, emanating from Him as thought, producing the world and sustaining it as animating and transforming energy. How differently the Fourth Gospel understands the Logos will be seen when Judaism and Christianity came into conflict.

Thus far Egypt. In Palestine, too, Judaism met Hellenism. The Syrio-Greeks were at a lower stage of culture than their brethren in Alexandria. Palestine was under the dominion of Syria, and though, for a time, all went well, the accession of the madman Antiochus Epiphanes to the throne, soon disturbed the calm. The events of the period that led up to the Maccabean struggle have been told again and again. The part the Maccabees played in saving Judaism from absorption in Paganism cannot however be overestimated. Judaism had undergone many trials without complaining, but it was too much to expect that

the attempt to annihilate it and substitute in its place Greek ideas and Greek customs would be allowed to pass unchallenged. There is a certain power in Judaism which at times is apt to lie dormant. Like the Shulamite in the Song of Songs, "it is asleep, but its heart is awake." The innate strength appears when an onslaught is made to strike at its very vitals. This is what Antiochus wished to do. The image of Jupiter was to be placed in the Temple; contributions were to be paid to the heathen temple; Grecian games were to be established in Judæa; and in other ways Greek customs were to dominate Israel's life. Many of the people yielded all too willingly. The rulers by vacillation, the priests by tacit obedience, would have allowed the king to have his way. But from the heart of the people stubborn resistance was soon offered. A zealous band of Hasmoneans, gathered together by one priestly family, sounded the call to arms. Mattathias and his five sons at first, and later on Judas Maccabæus at the head of his brethren, determined to strike a blow for the freedom of Judaism. It was not long before they were joined by other zealots, and after a struggle, victory after victory was gained and the menace passed away. To the everlasting glory of the band of warrior Jews, Hellenism received a deadly blow and Judaism survived, whereas the Syrian empire soon sank into obscurity and perished. To this day, the Jewish synagogue commemorates the Maccabees, though the church has almost forgotten them.

For a time quiet reigned. The Maccabean family, backed by the people, deposed the ruling classes and gained possession of the kingship and priesthood. But the peace was not for long. Internecine strife and

warfare undid much of the good that had been accomplished, and the dynasty beginning so well ended disastrously. The value of their services lay in the impetus which was given to Judaism, and in the books that date from that period. But the many sects and factions into which the people were broken up, precluded the continuation of a healthy national life. The history of the time makes sorry reading; the political government was always uncertain, and the religious life was gradually being sapped by the misuse made of the priesthood. Matters came to a head when Christianity appeared and threatened Judaism.

(c) Christianity

It was inevitable that Judaism should come into conflict with Christianity. The meeting, however, was gradual rather than sudden. Christianity at first was nothing more or less than a part of Judaism. Jewish writers distinguish between the teachings of Jesus and Christianity. The latter is regarded as the work of Paul. True, it is maintained by Christian scholars that the preaching of Paul is in every way a development or amplification of the work of Jesus, that it is not a new theology, but a restatement of the old understood in the light of the sayings of Jesus, and the reported doings of his earthly life. The Jew, on the other hand, is drawn to the conclusion that the divorce between the two religions could not have been consummated without the abrogation of the ceremonial law which was the work of Paul. It is not within our compass to detail the events that led to the cleavage between Judaism and Christianity, but no survey of Judaism would be complete without a consideration

however brief, of the process which culminated in that religion's assertion of its independence, and rejection of the new teaching which developed into Christianity.

Reference has already been made to sects within the Jewish people. Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes and Zealots are the most common, though they were only a few of the many that flourished. Their growth was gradual, and their strength varied at different times. To the Gospel writers is due the misconception that still commonly prevails with reference to the Pharisees, who are depicted as a body of hypocrites, who strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel. In other words, they are represented as a body of men who made a parade of the outward forms of their religion, and neglected the spiritual teachings that make for a pure and healthy life. It is late in the day to attempt to correct this misrepresentation. Of recent years, writers both Jewish and non-Jewish have whitewashed the character of the Pharisees as the synoptists conceived them, and the time may come when impartial students of Judaism will understand that the general condemnation of a body of earnest, pious men, for the sins of a few, is neither a true picture of Pharisaism nor a just estimate of the inner work of its adherents. The Pharisees aimed at observing the law in all its details. They were composed of those God-fearing sons of Israel who regarded the highest service to be the service of God. Ceremonial observance was the only way to ensure continual intercourse with God. If Judaism were to dominate life, it must sanctify life at every hour and with every action. Spirituality is well enough, but religion requires something more. The body is the complement of the spirit no less than the spirit is of the body. Heart religion is

not enough. It requires certain outward ceremonies to express its spiritual cravings. This was not a phenomenon of those times only. It is true also to-day. The Pharisee was essentially religious, and strove to regulate every action of his life by religion. There is, however, a danger. A systematised religion from its very nature may become formal; the husk may overshadow the kernel. Outward form may obscure inner conviction. In other words, opportunity is afforded the hypocrite to cloak his hypocrisy under the guise of religion. It would be untrue to nature to maintain that all Pharisees were perfect. There may have been, and there probably were, some who, in their zeal to appear God-fearing outwardly, were really sinners in secret. What must be remembered is, that ceremonial practice is not incompatible with spiritual and moral cleanliness—it is designed as a necessary prelude to it. A hypocritical Pharisee, here and there, is not sufficient to malign a body of pious men. The point that matters is, that the essence of Pharisaic doctrine and belief was Godliness. They believed in a future life, and were content to suffer the inequalities of the world, firm in their hope that, hereafter, the pious would come to their own.

Different were the Sadducees, comprising the party that favoured Hellenism, and the rich upper classes. They were, too, anxious to further Judaism. Vested as they were, with powers, in virtue of their office of priesthood, or their connection with the court, they wielded great influence, though in the actual preservation of Judaism from the catastrophe which afterwards overtook the religion when the Temple was destroyed, they played but little part. The Sadducees were content

with the present. They are commonly declared to have repudiated the belief in a future life and the resurrection of the body. That one should, on this account, deny them the shelter of Judaism, is to place too much importance on this doctrine. Men situated in happy circumstances, with their lines fallen in pleasant places, and enjoying power in this world, are not tempted to turn their eyes to the future. It may be that the hardships under which the Pharisees lived prompted them to despair of ever effecting any change in their worldly condition, and to peer hopefully into the future, assured that wrongs would be righted. It is a natural transition. Another idea of Sadduceeism was to insist upon the letter of Scripture as binding, ignoring the work of traditional interpretation.

Another sect was that of the Essenes—pious ones—spiritual descendants of those very people who had borne the brunt in the Maccabean wars. They were a mystical sect living in seclusion, in a sort of ascetic brotherhood, anxious to avoid the stain of worldliness, and preferring to remain as hermits in the wilderness. More strict than the Pharisees in their adherence to the law because they believed that the latter did not go far enough, they were naturally opposed to the Sadducees, whose views on the joy of living in this world would ill accord with communism and seclusion. The general idea of asceticism has never found much favour in Judaism; there is nothing of the cloistered cell or the hermit's cave. Religious ecstasy there was in many forms. Judaism has its number of mystics, but it was a mysticism that found expression in the joys of earth, not in abstention from them. If in later times the Chassidim, in the eighteenth century, came near to over-

stepping the moral boundary, there was enough spiritual work in their doctrine to distinguish God in the beauties of nature as the all-pervading presence of the world He had created.

The Zealots, too, might be reckoned as a sect, though of a different nature from the others. Jewish nationalists determined to defend the State at all costs; men of burning faith they were, ready to sacrifice all to perpetuate Judaism. To them it appeared that the best means lay in defiance of the foreigner. They came into prominence when Roman rule dominated Judæa. Josephus tells many tales of their zeal and the lengths to which they went; and though accuracy cannot always be distinguished from bias in that historian, it is fairly certain that the Zealots regarded it as almost criminal to obey Rome and pay taxes to the Imperial authority. By the time of the Temple's fall in 70 A.D. the Zealots were a power.

The existence of parties holding such divergent views cannot be said to point to the dying embers of Judaism. Yet writers on the origin of Christianity usually commence with the statement that Judaism was in a state of moribundity, and that some divine communication was expected. The conditions may not have been satisfactory, but they were at least indicative of vitality. Jesus came from Galilee, where much of his ministration took place among a people intellectually lower than their brethren in Judæa. He speedily attracted followers; every movement that makes an appeal to the people, and promises better conditions than they already enjoy, will gain adherents. Jesus did not come with a new religion. He saw that much that was good in Judaism was being lost sight of, and like many an

inspired preacher, he pointed out faults and sought to remedy them. Regarded from a Jewish standpoint, the life of Jesus was passed in accordance with the Torah. It was a religious mission to reassert the beauties of Judaism, not to repudiate them. Had the political situation of Judæa been otherwise, the religious mission of Jesus would, in all probability, have remained such and nothing more. The assumption, however, of the claim to be the Messiah, the descendant of the House of David, gave a political significance which pointed to the desire to re-establish the Kingship. "The King of the Jews" would be a menace to the Roman State, and Rome regarded the mission as political. His subsequent death on the Cross was the work of Rome. Jewish law would not have sanctioned it, though the crime is often laid at the door of the Pharisees. The truth is, however, that Jesus did not offend the Pharisaic party, many of whom were attracted by his preaching, as evidenced in Acts xv., where the Pharisees are said to be on the side of the Christians. Too much stress cannot be laid on the innocence of the Pharisees; the subsequent history assumes a different aspect if it is kept in mind that, at the death of Jesus, religious differences had not created Christianity as a sect apart from Judaism. If the Gospels are pointed to as proof of Jewish hostility, it should be remembered that the first three, to say the least, date from after the death of Jesus, while the Fourth Gospel was probably written towards the close of the century, and influenced by the events that had transpired since the fall of the Jewish State, after the destruction of the Temple in 70.

It is subsequent to the death of Jesus that we trace the beginning of a schism. The memory of Jesus lived

on in his disciples. His death, and the belief in his rising from the tomb, formulated the conception of divinity with which the disciples endowed him. Soon Paul conceived the idea of developing the work of Jesus by enlarging Judaism, and making it a universal religion. Here the difficulties commenced. If Judaism were to maintain circumcision and the other ceremonial laws, the number of converts must needs be limited. The question was discussed in the Epistle to the Galatians. The abrogation of the ceremonial law was not long delayed, and once that was rejected, a cleavage was imminent. Yet the separation was not immediate. It began with the Apostolic conference in the year 50; after 70 A.D., the Jews, deprived of their Temple, were without a visible centre at Jerusalem. The Fourth Gospel is decidedly anti-Jewish, with its idea of the Logos as a man-Christ. Yet there was still a definite schism. It was not till the year 135 A.D., when the Jews, under Bar-Cochba, made their last desperate stand to recover their national independence, that the breach was complete. Thus, for fully one hundred years after the death of Jesus, the two religions were working side by side; Judaism, though not a proselytising faith, carried on an active missionary movement in Rome towards the end of the first century, but there were ideas in the new religion which were incompatible with the observance of the old.

A word is necessary as to the reasons which made a severance inevitable. Jesus' claim to be the Messiah could not be supported by Jews unless the proof that he was a lineal descendant of the House of David could be established. As genealogy was reckoned through the father, and miraculous birth was claimed for Jesus,

the unbelief was not remarkable. Again, the Messianic age, as heralded by the Prophets, did not arrive with the Messiah. War was still rampant, and swords had not been beaten into ploughshares. Vicarious atonement which Jesus brought to mankind, is an idea opposed to the spirit of Judaism. The belief of the Jew was, and is, that every man shall die for his own sin, that no intermediary between himself and God is required; God being a God of justice and mercy, delights when the wicked turns from his evil ways and seeks pardon. It is unnecessary to point to the insistence laid upon this by the writers of the Old Testament. It is an idea, part of Judaism, necessary to Judaism. The doctrine of original sin is un-Jewish, due allowance being made for the reference in the Apocryphal Book of 2 Esdras. Finally, the incarnation, and doctrine of the Trinity made the Unity of God unintelligible to the Jew. It is on the Unity of God that Judaism rests. This tenet of the faith has been kept pure and unmistakable. The Jew recognises the debt the world owes to Christianity, but at the same time he believes the breach between the two religions was necessary. The history of the centuries that have followed is sufficient proof of the contention that neither of the two religions has yet finished its part in the world. They both work on different lines, yet they both strive to reach the same goal.

CHAPTER III

RABBINIC JUDAISM

The dissolution of the Jewish State, and the destruction of the Temple, did not annihilate Judaism. Important as the Temple had been in the religious life of the nation, that religious life was too firmly embedded in the mind of the people to allow it to be overwhelmed by the catastrophe. Just as the exile brought into play the factors that rejuvenated the religion in the time of Ezra, so now, too, new factors were to arise, new ideas were to develop, and a new birth was to be witnessed. The cessation of sacrificial service, the disappearance of the priesthood, and the absence of any outward visible centre of the religion such as the Temple had been, prepared the way for the formulation of a new conception of worship, with prayer as the all-important element. From a theological standpoint the Temple had outgrown sacrifice and priesthood; the outward forms did not succeed in imbuing the people with the inner worth of the religion. So long as conditions were at hand for this preservation, the service in the Temple would in all probability have continued. Had there been any strong desire to maintain the old forms, the rebuilding of another Temple in another place would have soon taken definite shape. But such was not the case. Judaism underwent a complete reorganisation. There were, of course, many who were anxious to re-

build the Temple, and who looked forward to the time when the sacrificial service would be restored. Yet as time went on, the idea receded further and further from the mind. Whatever be the longings of Jews to-day for Palestine and a renascence of Jewish nationality in that country, the re-establishment of a Temple ritual on the old lines, is seldom, if ever, contemplated. Prayers for a return to Zion, and a restoration of the Temple Service, are still included in the liturgy of the orthodox community, but they are more a survival of ancient custom than a passionate desire for the Temple Service. The truth is, that there is a visible development at work in Judaism. Different periods mark successive stages. The Temple had consecrated the assemblage of Israelites who made their periodical pilgrimages to Jerusalem. Henceforth Israel was to show that a band of men meeting together for worship could consecrate that worship, that religion depended not on place or condition, but that the all-important factor was the heart of the worshippers. In other words, prayer, contemplation, and instruction were henceforth to be the worship of God. It was not an altogether new idea; already it had been said:[1] "In every place where I cause my name to be mentioned, there will I come and bless thee." The future history of Judaism was to exemplify the truth of the Divine promise given to the Lawgiver.

What was the actual state of the different factions after the year 70? The Sadducees almost disappeared. Without the Temple, and without the priestly office to strive after, deprived too of the possibility of political preferment, their continued existence was almost an

[1] Exodus xx. 21.

impossibility. The Zealots, also, were powerless to effect much. Anger could avail nothing in the face of the Imperial power. For a time they nurtured plans of revenge, and sought to annoy the Empire. But such policy could not endure for long. The end was bound to come; and after 135, at the close of the Bar-Cochba insurrection, they disappeared from the pages of Jewish history. A crusade against the powers that be, ignoring the spirit of history and attempting to conserve old conditions in the face of new circumstances, was destined to fail. Asceticism, too, as seen in the Essenes, was not likely to wield an influence over the general body of the people. Sects like these have their time and their place in the general scheme of history. Theirs, however, is not a policy that endures when conditions alter. They help as contributing factors in building up the foundation of the edifice, but once their work is accomplished, they must give place to changed circumstances. Israel's task, after 70 A.D., was not to remain a priestly caste, or a political entity, or a band of hermits, but to be a religious brotherhood with a mission to the world.

It was thus left to the remnant of the Pharisees to reorganise Judaism, and make it live with renewed vigour. There were men with the spirit of Hillel, the great teacher who had lived in the time of Jesus, and had carried on the tradition of the elders. Hillel's work was along the lines of accepted revelation, but it kept in prominence the necessity of making Judaism alive to changing conditions, allowing for new movements, while at the same time being content to be guided in the formation of new laws, by traditional ordinances. How revered his name is, may be gathered from a glance at the pages of the Talmud, where legends

are related to attest the humility that distinguished all his efforts. His followers, in spirit, were actuated by similar ideas. To them, conviction was more important than outward ceremonial. The visible bond might be broken, but the spirit would endure.

The salvation came from the schools. Even before the fall of the Temple, teachers had rallied pupils round them to expound the Law. Jochanan ben Zakkai, during the war with Rome, had advocated a policy of peace. Round his name there has circled a legend that it was owing to the high favour in which he was held by the Emperor that he was permitted to leave Jerusalem, and transfer his college to Jamnia, where he set up the Sanhedrin as it had been in Jerusalem. In the vineyards of Jamnia was the central authority that decided all questions that affected the religious life of the people, endowed with all powers such as were vested in the ancient Sanhedrin. Jochanan was the President, and the supreme authority, but there was no idea of infallibility or arbitrariness. The injunction to rear up many disciples was the chief aim of Jochanan. Thus he surrounded himself with students whom he imbued with zeal for the Law. Many of his disciples became famous teachers. It should be mentioned that there was no professional class of Rabbis or teachers. The great names are those of men who carried on the study of the Law from motives of love, while they had a worldly occupation. It was one of the commands of Hillel to make no worldly use of the crown of the Torah. Jochanan was a man of this type, and the same ideal was followed by his disciples. The study of the Law was to be the aim of the Israelite ; nor was there anything meritorious in the performance of what was a

duty. "If thou hast acquired much knowledge of the Law, boast not of it, for to this end wast thou created." To his school only zealous students were admitted, and they set themselves to frame a sort of Jewish Theology. Judaism had two laws, one the complement of the other. The Pentateuch or written Law had been given to Moses on Sinai and had been committed to writing. In addition to this, there was the Oral Law, *i.e.* precepts and customs handed down from generation to generation, and believed to have been given by word of mouth to Moses. The Oral Law was not yet written down. The different precepts were communicated from one generation to the following, the sayings of any one Rabbi being carefully treasured by his pupils, and recorded orally by them in turn, to their pupils. A minute study of the Pentateuch, with the strictest accuracy given to every verse, would often reveal parallels, and contradictions, and it was the work of the teacher and his pupil to reconcile differences, and formulate a definite standard of Law. These decisions were called *halachas;* and as there was no written record of *halachas*, to retain them in the memory was no easy task. A saying or a decision was handed down in the name of the man who was responsible for it. It became necessary to formulate these *halachas* into a systematised code. This code came to be known as the Mishna.

The Mishna in its present form was compiled about the year 200 A.D. The meaning of the word is "repetition," or "teaching by repetition." What the old law had laid down, briefly, was here repeated and expanded. Rabbi Judah, the Prince, set the final seal on the work. The Mishna is divided into six sections, and deals with Divine Service, the Festivals, Marriage

Relations, Civil Law, and the like, and regulations regarding the soil, sacrifices, cleanliness and uncleanliness. An attempt had been made at a codification some sixty years earlier by Akiba, one of the greatest influences in Rabbinic Judaism, who has left his mark on the religion. It was Akiba who was to reconcile the apparently antagonistic conceptions—the immutability of the Law, and its power of development.

Midrash, though not codified into Law, was another form of interpretation, homiletic as well as legalistic. It is the application of history to the condition of Israel at any period, or to their future hopes. The Bible supplied the texts on which the discourses were based. Midrash made the heroes of the Bible prototypes, and in the light of the memory of the past it illumined the darkness of Israel's present. There have come down to us many different Midrashim comprising homiletic and exegetical interpretations. Their study reveals the wide ramifications of Israel's genius. Their value lies not in their methods of Biblical exegesis, so much as in the interesting light they throw upon the idea of the continuity of Israel's history from Biblical times to such time as will witness the advent of the future Messiah. The greatest modern Master of Midrash study was Zunz, whose admirable summing up is well worth quoting: "The value of Midrashic literature lay not in literal interpretation, and in natural hermeneutics, but in the application of Scripture to contemporary views and needs: everything that was venerated and beloved by the present generation, was connected with the sacred, though limited, field of the past. This method of free exegesis was manifested in many ways; the obvious sense of the Biblical passage was followed;

or the inner meaning of the text, to the exclusion of the literal sense, was considered; or recourse was had to the traditional agada. But this liberty wished neither to falsify Scripture nor to deprive it of its natural sense, for its object was the free expression of thought, and not the formulation of a binding Law."[1]

With the completion of Rabbi Judah's Mishna, in the year 200, the scene of Jewish activity moves from Palestine. That country was no longer a safe place for the Jew. Babylon again became the home of the Jewish religion. Here Ezra had risen, and here, too, Hillel had grown up. Now schools were established in Sura, Pumbeditha, and Neherdea, and in many other places, and a renewal of religious activity was begun. Whatever longing the Jew might have for Palestine, here in Babylon he found a quiet haven of refuge far from the interference of Rome, and here his religious work could develop, untrammelled by persecution and intolerance. The Law of the Land became binding because the Law was founded on legitimate principles. Study was not restricted to the Torah only; Science and Astronomy began to interest the scholars, and their influence was seen in the fixing of the Calendar. In Palestine it was the custom to fix the festivals by the appearance of the new moon, and to send messengers to announce the date fixed. In Babylon the want was felt to be independent of the arrangement in Palestine. Calculation took the place of seeing the new moon, and in some cases the days of the festival were shifted. Sabbath and the Day of Atonement could not follow each other; the Day of Atonement could not fall on a Friday or a Sunday in order that conditions of life

[1] See article *Midrash* (Jewish Encyclopædia).

should not be interfered with. In other ways, too, Babylon asserted its independence of Palestine without completely emancipating itself from its influence, and the Judaism of later times was the outcome of the deliberations of the Babylonian Schools. Till the sixth century the discussions went on in the schools, the result of which we have in the Talmud or Gemara of Babylon, which, in its present form, dates from that time. The Gemara or completion, or learning, as the word has been interpreted, is the record of the debates on the Laws of the Mishna. There are two recensions of the Talmud, the Babylonian and the Palestinian. The latter was probably completed a century or two earlier than the former.

The Talmud is thus the result of the deliberations of Rabbis, extending over a period of some six or seven centuries. It is not a book, but a literature. It is not the work of one or of several authors, but the result of the labour of generations. The Babylonian Talmud is divided into six treatises, comprising about thirty-seven tractates dealing with the many matters affecting religion and life. The order is as follows : First, there is a section of the Mishna with the decision on a certain point enunciated. The language of the Mishna is Hebrew, not quite the Hebrew of the Bible, but a Hebrew of later date which includes in its vocabulary words of late origin. After the Mishna there follows the discussion, with the views of different authorities cited. The language of the Gemara is Aramaic, and, though related to Hebrew, is an entirely different dialect. One might have a full and comprehensive grasp of the Hebrew of the Bible and yet be totally unable to decipher a few lines of the Gemara. The

nature of the language is concise, and compressed: there are no punctuation marks, no marks of interrogation, no stops except at the end of a discussion. It thus requires great familiarity with the idiom and the style of the Gemara to make much headway. A glance at a page of the Babylonian Talmud is interesting. In the middle of the page, is set out the Mishna and the discussion on it in large bold type. One column contains the Commentary of Rashi (to whom reference will be made in the following chapter), and the other the work of a school of exegetes known as the Tossaphists. Without the brilliant work of Rashi, the understanding of the Talmud would be almost impossible. The assiduity with which it is studied by modern students of Judaism is sufficient testimony to the importance it occupies in the development of the religion.

Rabbinic Judaism is the Judaism of the Talmud. It covers religion and life, on the one hand, laying down guidance for man in his relations with God; and on the other, reflections for his dealings with his fellow man. It centres round the idea of "making a fence round the Law." It is an amplified commentary on the Bible, attempting to get to the root of every Biblical Law and so examine it, as to show forth its application in every circumstance of life. To modern ideas many of the Rabbinic Laws are obsolete. The terms casuistic, hair-splitting, and such-like, have often been applied to the Rabbinic arguments, and volumes have been written mocking at the minute care given to questions of apparently trivial importance. Though the retort that the Rabbis have not the monopoly of such casuistry might be adduced, the real answer is, that only those who understand the worth of the Rabbis and the importance

of their teaching, can justly appraise the value of the Talmud. Loose criticism generally emanates from ignorance or slipshod knowledge. In a literature so vast as the Talmud, we are bound to come across much that is useless, but the same may be said of every literature. Just as in a discussion the arguments of every speaker are not of the same worth, so too in the Talmud. And it must be borne in mind that we have there reported discussions, with every view stated, and that the tutored mind can separate the wheat from the chaff.

Nor is Talmudic Judaism narrow, as is frequently alleged. To the Jew, religious Law comprised all the circumstances of life. Rabbinic Judaism takes note of the various branches of human knowledge—astronomy and medicine, mathematics and law, anatomy and botany—thus affording valuable scientific knowledge. It is not insular in any sense. It recognises that the best way to understand the workings of God is through the intellect. Faith, valuable as it is, is more valuable when supported by knowledge. The Bible is the basis of all knowledge, but Judaism demands more than a knowledge of the Bible. Human experiences often run contrary to religious laws. Problems present themselves which seem to contradict accepted ideas of the goodness of God and the justice of the world. Judaism takes note of these and seeks to reconcile apparent discrepancies in life with the scheme of a divinely-governed universe. But the great principle lies in the factors that men contribute to the sum total of the world's progress. It is through a life ordained by law and governed by religious principles that the reconciliation takes place.

Thus Rabbinic Judaism may be said to represent

religion as law. But the statement must be taken tentatively. Ordinary life is regulated by law, else society would not endure. No one will maintain that life is harder and more exacting because society ordains that honesty, morality, chastity, and respect for human life are necessary for the preservation of national life. Religion is law in the same sense as these characteristics of a people are law. It is a common occurrence to meet with such a statement as that of the "burden of the Jewish Law." The whole conception is erroneous. Law is only a burden when it is unnecessary and when it entails hardship on those whom it dominates. Rabbinic Judaism was not irksome or burdensome. The service of God was regarded as a privilege and a pleasure. What grander idea could there be than that every action of life should be consecrated to Divine service? Divine service includes service of man. As has been pointed out in the first chapter, the two ideas are interdependent. Only one who understood how to carry himself fearlessly in the sight of man could be pure in the sight of God. The Law, far from being a burden, was a precious treasure to be carefully guarded.

Another feature of Rabbinic Judaism is its universality. In the later books of the Bible the idea that all nations have a share in God's goodness marks a stage of development. The Book of Jonah exhibits the readiness with which the heathen men of Nineveh listened to the call to repentance. The latter half of the Book of Isaiah looks forward to the time when the truths of religion will be grasped by all mankind. And the last of the prophets, Malachi, spoke of God as the One Father, the Creator of all. Rabbinic Judaism

carries on this grand conception. It holds to the view that all religions, if carried out properly, are doing a serviceable work in the world. It maintains that the righteous of all nations have a share in the world to come. Though not a proselytising faith, Rabbinic Judaism did not deprecate the admission of converts. It was only when the admission was threatened by the onward progress of Christianity, that proselytism was regarded as a step to be avoided. Converts have been few, comparatively speaking, for Judaism regards its mission more in the light of a people, by virtue of its very separateness as a holy nation, influencing the rest of the world. Its goal is the day when all mankind will arrive at the perception of the truth that God is One and His Name One. For that reason the stringency of Talmudic laws demanded a people separated and consecrated, as a permanent witness to the truths of Judaism. Judaism, however, recognises that the time is not yet; the consummation must be delayed till such time as the world is ready to listen. The question will be referred to in the last chapter when the modern problem of Zionism and its relation to the Messianic hope is discussed.

The future life is often referred to in Rabbinic Judaism. The subject of the future state, of the resurrection of the body, of reward and punishment, is too large to admit of treatment in so brief a space. Yet it may be asserted that such ideas as the resurrection of the body, the existence of a hell, and torments for the sinner are alien to the spirit of Judaism. The problem of pain and suffering on the part of the righteous was perplexing. On the one hand men apparently good and just suffered, and others, wicked and unjust, prospered.

No religion has ever succeeded in affording a solution. Judaism has attempted it, but the only solution must lie in the belief in a future world when men will receive the reward of their earthly labours from God—the righteous will be rewarded and the wicked will be punished. But there is no idea of eternal punishment and damnation. Even in the Bible, there is no reference to such a place as hell. The word employed, *sheol*, is not meant to convey anything more than a place where the dead await translation to a happier life. At the root of Judaism lies the idea that man is a free agent. The nature of man is prone to error, and it would be impossible for him to avoid the many temptations that beset his path. Thus, if he falls into sin, he must extricate himself. Punishment will follow for commission of sin, but it will be a punishment designed to heal and not to avenge. Punishment will be spiritual and reward will be spiritual. Heaven is not a place, but a state, and its joys are spiritual, not physical. Rabbinic Judaism was content to keep the future in the secret of God. Only God knows what is in the world to come. Its secrets are reserved for those who make themselves worthy to penetrate to the presence of God, by a religious observance of duty during their life on earth.

Rabbinic Judaism is a term which we have employed in its narrower sense. We have taken it to mean the Judaism of the Rabbis of the Talmud, and we have limited its application to the period of the Talmudic teachers. It is not complete Judaism. Just as the Talmud represents a development of what had gone before, so later ages developed and elaborated the teaching of the Rabbis. But it is safe to say that

modern Judaism, as practised by its rigid adherents, is the Judaism of the Talmud in essence. The subsequent codes are the logical outcome of the Talmud. In the midst of much that has no application to modern times, there is still more that dominates the religious life of the Jew and lives in the Jewish heart.

CHAPTER IV

MEDIAEVAL JUDAISM

THE story of the Judaism of the Middle Ages derives its chapters from the various lands of the diaspora—Africa, Italy, Spain, France, Germany—to mention some of the countries in which the Wandering Jew for a time found a resting-place. The completion of the Talmud marked a new stage in Israel's religion. It seemed as though the well of inspiration was dried up: but Judaism is a living spring, that yields its waters to continue to fertilise life. The redaction of the Talmud only meant that now there was a definite manifestation of the spirit of Judaism which was henceforth to be the intellectual equipment of the Jewish mind. So the Jew set himself to study its contents, to saturate his mind with its secrets, to stimulate his religious nature with its spiritual lessons, and to live for it as the one priceless possession of existence. The study of the Talmud spread rapidly through all countries of the diaspora. If Rabbinic Judaism is creative, Mediaeval Judaism is preservative. The latter period, of course, had its creative geniuses, but the Talmud was the source of their study, and from its pages they learned to think and understand, and begin the process of investigation. Mediaeval Judaism meets with teachers, codifiers, commentators, polemic writers, and philosophers. There is a common starting-point to all their speculations—

the Talmud. From its pages they could glean everything.

The first serious menace to the supremacy of the Talmud came about the middle of the eighth century, with the rise of a sect known as the Karaites. The name is new, though the idea is old. In a sense the Karaites were akin to the old Sadducees, but the disrepute into which the name had fallen necessitated the creation of a new. It should be noted that almost every age gave birth to a new name. Thus the generation of the Mishna witnessed the Tannaim or teachers; that of the Gemara, the Amoraim or speakers; afterwards came the Saboraim or givers of opinion, then followed the Gaonim or heads of the schools and academies. "The Karaites" was the name given to the followers of Anan, the founder of the sect. Their plea was for rejection of tradition and a closer allegiance to the written letter of Scripture. They were not in any sense a reform movement as later Judaism witnessed; that is, they were not influenced by the results of science and, in consequence, advocates of progressive or liberal thought. Karaism, in fact, upheld much of Rabbinic Judaism, though it borrowed from Mohammedan and other sources. But it was a retrogressive movement attaching importance to ideas long since dead, and seeking to revive an antiquated conception of a narrow Judaism. The rejection of tradition could not be complete. Just as to-day certain reform sections which take their stand on Biblical Judaism cannot divorce themselves altogether from traditional interpretation, so the Karaites. One instance is provided by the Talmudical laws regulating the slaughter of animals which are not laid down in the Bible. These

they observed in detail. The laws of clean and unclean were scrupulously carried out, and in many cases the Karaites went beyond even the Rabbinical exposition of the Biblical injunction. Details of their agreement and disagreement with tradition cannot be cited here. It is enough to say that though the movement gained many adherents and rapidly extended through Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Babylonia, and Persia, and though Karaites are alive in Russia to-day, the very essence of their creed being to stand still, made it a theology devoid of life and little likely to attain to a permanent position among the Jews. It would stop up the very life-stream of progress, striking at the theory that revelation does not stand still, by insisting that the Bible is the complete record of God's intercourse with Israel. At this Judaism would rebel. Revelation took its rise in the Bible, but it is a never-ending stream that flows on, gathering strength in its course, and one that will continue to flow till it empties its lessons into the great river of eternity.

Yet Karaism was not devoid of purpose. One useful result was the impetus it gave to Biblical study. If they attached so great weight to the Scriptures, the Karaites opened the minds of the nation to the necessity of re-examining the Bible. Curiously enough, the Karaites themselves contributed little of any value to this study. The best came from Rabbinite sources where the forces of spiritual development were at work. From the time of the rise of Islam, Jews began to take their part as grammarians, translators, and scientific workers in every field of learning. The Arabians had fixed their grammar and had endeavoured to establish a system of vowel punctuation, in order that the reading

of the Koran should be clear and unmistakable. Hebrew is a language with consonants only. The vowels are supplied by means of signs written above or under the consonant. Till this time the Bible had been written with the consonants, the pronunciation being left to oral tradition. Now the Jews, following in the wake of the Arabs, began to formulate a vowel system. So carefully did they set to work that of the two systems which they evolved, the Babylonian and the Palestinian, the latter is still in use. Work of this nature proves that a spirit of industry must have prevailed. In many other ways, too, the beginning and progress of Mohammedanism stimulated Jewish literature.

One of the greatest figures was Saadia, the Gaon, born in Egypt in 892. As a young man he composed an argument against the Karaites, which unfortunately has not come down to us. His work consisted in reconciling Scripture, tradition, and reason. A man of broad culture and acquainted with Arabic philosophy, he wrote in that language. Scripture, although at times miraculous, is not repugnant to reason. This he proves by examination of the miracles in the Bible. The same reconciliation he attempted to bring about between tradition and reason. Here lay his important work in view of the standpoint adopted by the Karaites. When the latter denied the right of the Talmud to formulate laws, against, as they thought, the letter of Scripture, Saadia attempted to bring all the traditionally developed laws into line with Scripture. Thus he created, in a sense, a philosophical basis for the Talmudical conception of religion. The fact that he wrote in Arabic was significant, for it paved the way for a

union of the consciousness of the time with religious custom. His translation of the Bible was another sign of the times. Curiously enough, whenever Judaism came into conflict with an alien culture the call for a translation of the Bible was felt. Saadia's translation may not be scientifically all that is perfect, but it took its origin from the rise of a new culture and a devoted attachment to Judaism. Another work was *Beliefs and Dogmas* (*Emunoth Vedeoth*), which presented Talmudical Judaism from a scientific point of view. Saadia's life lasted but fifty years, but it was a full life which gave a great stimulus to Jewish learning and marked the commencement of a new epoch. In Cairo there was a galaxy of Jewish intellect, and in Spain Jewish scholars arose, the like of whom had not been seen for many a day.

The brilliant epoch dawned in Spain, where Jewish culture was to reach a height it had never previously attained. Jews took the lead in all branches of science, in philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine. The phenomenon is all the more remarkable, when it is remembered that they were comparatively few in number, and continually the target of persecutors, despised often, even by those who availed themselves of their learning and medical skill. For all that, they surpassed every other nation in Europe. It speaks much for the influence of Judaism that its adherents could achieve so much. It is unnecessary to detail the various historical events that led to the sojourn of the Jews in Spain. Judaism in the Middle Ages finds many a home. Now it is in North Africa, now in Spain, now in Germany, now in Holland and France. Wherever they went the Jews took their learning with them.

There is a wonderful power innate in Judaism. It can rise to any occasion. In times of stress and sorrow, the study of his religion could comfort the Jew. In times of gladness and joy, the finger of God seemed to have pointed the way. Yet it is true that the Jew has given the best defence of his creed in times of oppression. When prosperity is his lot and the barriers that separate him from his neighbour have been removed, the resultant of these forces is often seen in the throwing aside of the study of Jewish literature. If this be a fair contention, then the Middle Ages must have been very productive in the domain of such literature. From one place to another, exiled hither and thither, tossed to and fro on the unfriendly sea of an unfriendly world, their story is one of continuous oppression and long drawn-out misery. From time to time a respite was granted. For a brief space there would be peace and quiet: but the fury was only to break out with renewed force. The "holy" wars of the Crusades brought misery to the Jew. The fanatics on both sides made him a target. The fires of the Inquisition and the tortures of the rack degraded him still further. No record of all the Jewish miseries could be set down. The marvel is that he survived them all, and could turn his heart to the words of his religion and live and glory in the elucidation of that faith.

In face of these considerations, are we not justified in believing that a certain providential reason has refused to allow the Jew to be submerged? The Jew also must have felt that his time was not yet. His faith told him that God had brought forth his fathers from slavery to freedom. The same miracle would be enacted again. What though the present was dull and

the sky overclouded, the future held out the bright promise of a new deliverance. So, sweet singers like Gabirol who had magnified the beauties of Judaism in poetry, could be appealed to. The Messianic hope, too, kept them alive. Pseudo-Messiahs arose in every age and contrived to win over the people till as late as 1665, when Sabbathai Zevi claimed to be the promised deliverer. A people situated in such circumstances produced a literature which has astonished the world. It was the mediaeval Jew who carried about philosophy and acted as the intermediary between the Arabic masters and the rest of the world. As Lecky has said in his *History of Rationalism:* "While the intellect of Christendom, enthralled by countless superstitions, had sunk into a deadly torpor, in which all love of inquiry and all search for truth were abandoned, the Jews were still pursuing the path of knowledge, amassing learning and stimulating progress with the same unflinching constancy that they manifested in their faith. They were the most skilful physicians, the ablest financiers, and among the most profound philosophers."

Who were the men who have left their mark on the history of Judaism? It is impossible to enumerate them all, but a few must be mentioned to exhibit the various fields which their researches covered. Jehuda Halevi (1080–1140), a poet of the most fervid depth of heart, poured forth his passionate longing for Palestine in words of matchless sublimity. The sacredness of Palestine for the Jew even in its devastation is ever his theme. To him, the ruins of Jerusalem are sacred, shedding their light over the world. More important than his poems is his philosophical treatise known as the *Kusari*. One of the most notable events of mediaeval

Judaism had been the conversion of a Tartar race—the Chazars—to Judaism. The idea of this work of Halevi starts with the King of the Chazars. He is perplexed in his mind. In a dream an angel had appeared to the King telling him : "Thine intentions are good, but thy works are not good." He therefore sends for the priests and advocates of the different religions. Judaism is the mother religion, and the Jewish teacher, in a dialogue with the King, has, put into his mouth by Jehuda Halevi, the conception of Judaism which that philosopher had evolved. Jewish apologetics against the claims of opposing religions were common in those days. Readers of early Church history will remember that as far back as the second century, Justin Martyr is said to have debated with a Jew on the relative merits of his religion and Judaism in the famous Dialogue with Trypho. The *Kusari* is one of the most fascinating works of this nature. Written in Arabic, it was afterwards translated into Hebrew, and now there is a fine rendering in English.[1] Jehuda Halevi was not, strictly speaking, representative of his countrymen. His views deprecate the argument from intelligence, for he seems to lay greater stress on the importance of accepting the Law, than on the attempt to reason it out. His passion for Palestine runs through his philosophy, and it is not surprising that he hastened to the promised land and spent the remaining years of his life in that consecrated spot towards which his eyes had always turned.

A century earlier Bachya ibn Pakuda had published his famous work on the *Duties of the Heart*, one of the most important ethical treatises on Judaism that we

[1] By Dr. H. Hirschfeld (Routledge).

have. But the most important contribution to Judaism came from Moses Maimonides (1135–1205), the greatest intellect in Jewry in the Middle Ages. As a second Moses he was regarded. He was born in Cordova, where his father held a high position in the community. Maimonides was a great Talmudist and a scholar in secular branches of learning. His profession was that of a physician, and the wide ramifications of his knowledge were a source of marvel to his contemporaries. His great work—the *Mishne Torah*, or *Yad Chazakah*—brought the whole mass of traditional law into systematic order and remained an accepted authority for subsequent generations. It was a sort of new "Oral Law" which could dispense with all books except the Torah. The work is wonderful, but Maimonides aimed too high. As has been said:[1] "It did not look like a collection of laws that existed before, but like a book of laws made by one man. No source was given, no authority mentioned: verification was therefore not easy. Maimonides even deviated at times from the Talmudic decision and did not say why. It did not encourage study and free research, and the Jew loves study and independent investigation. After suffering many attacks from a great number of scholars, it became an authority of the first importance on ritual decisions. But it did not become the people's code, *the* code."

A more practical work was the *More Nebuchim*, or *Guide to the Perplexed*, a philosophical treatise on Judaism, designed to reconcile Judaism with philosophy and science. The Bible and Aristotle are the two sources of his investigation. They both teach the same

[1] Dr. S. Daiches in his article "Codes and Codifiers."

in different ways. Whatever his critics said regarding his object in writing the *Mishne Torah*, all are agreed that in this work Maimonides showed what a deep master he was of philosophy; and this work gained the respect of subsequent ages, its influence not being confined to Jewish circles. His great book on ethics, called *The Eight Chapters*, revealed another phase of his fertile mind.

Mention must be made of the influence of Maimonides on the Jewish creed. The thirteen articles of faith, still a part of the Prayer Book, and embodied in one of the hymns, are to be found in the introduction to one of the chapters of his commentary already referred to. The articles of faith are: (1) the existence of God, (2) God's unity, (3) God's spirituality, (4) God's eternity, (5) God alone the object of worship, (6) the truth of the revelation through the prophets, (7) the pre-eminence of Moses among the prophets, (8) the Law was given on Mount Sinai, (9) the immutability of the Law, (10) God's foreknowledge of the actions of men, (11) the belief in retribution, (12) the belief in the coming of the Messiah, (13) the belief in the resurrection of the dead. This creed did not meet with general acceptance. Subsequent scholars reduced the articles to three: (1) Existence of God, (2) Revelation, (3) Retribution. The latter creed has been held by Jews of all sections. The fact that the articles as drawn up by Maimonides are found in the Prayer Book is due to their conciseness and comprehensiveness. They are still learned by Jewish children among the first religious lessons, while the hymn to which reference has been made forms part of the daily service of the synagogue. Maimonides was the teacher of the Middle Ages, and every great mind

that came after him gladly acknowledged the debt owed to the genius and stimulus of his writings.

Another giant of the time was Gershom, who flourished at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century. A great Talmudical scholar, his influence on Judaism is due to the edict under his name forbidding polygamy. Judaism understands the dignity of woman. It therefore demands marriage of one man to one wife. It does not favour polygamy. Even in Biblical times the idea of marital faithfulness and monogamy seems to be tacitly implied. Such a chapter as Proverbs xxxi. 10–31 could only have been written on the supposition of a monogamous household. Or again, the last chapter of Malachi clearly defines the relation of one man and one wife. The same may be said of the Talmud. Even under Islam, Judaism remained constant to this idea. How many of the poems of Jehuda Halevi and other singers celebrate the beauties of a marriage, and the joyous union of man and his wife! The custom was prevalent, though it had not been codified into law. Gershom and his learned brethren met together and transformed the custom into law, putting the ban on polygamy. Other important regulations dealt with divorce, the law ordaining that divorce could not take place without the consent of the wife. The Jewish divorce laws are often misrepresented in quarters where they are not understood. Their object was to make for purity and goodness, not to promote or foster immorality. Judaism has always recognised that a happy marriage is the perfect state for man and woman. If reasons for divorce are more numerous in Jewish Law than in modern Church Law, it must be remembered that a legalised freedom from irksome bonds is more

likely to produce desirable results than the wilful contempt of marriage vows and its concomitant unchastity.

Greater than Gershom was Solomon ben Isaac, commonly known as Rashi (1040–1105), the prince of commentators. Rashi, who lived in Troyes, wrote a commentary on the entire Talmud, and another on the Bible. What the reading of the Talmud would be without the enlightenment which Rashi has shed upon it, it would be difficult to say. He adheres closely to the text, points out difficulties that may arise, and in simple words removes the stumbling-block from the student. Rashi is a true commentator; he adheres to the subject, and resists the temptation to digress. His work on the Bible is interspersed with legend, the result, probably, of his Talmudical training. It is, however, lit up with many a bright ray of grammatical speculation, and to this day it serves as a valuable aid to the student. Rashi's work as a commentator was imitated by others. The works of David Kimchi included commentaries on the books of the Bible as well as grammatical treatises. So important is Kimchi's aid to the elucidation of Scripture that his influence is apparent in the Authorised Version of 1611. Other commentators were Abraham ibn Esra and Moses ibn Esra, both able expositors. Nachmanides, besides being a keen controversialist and philosopher, was a Bible commentator, and Rabbenu Jacob Tam founded the school of the Tossaphists who existed in France and Germany for over two hundred years, and who, in a dialectical way, wrote glosses to the Talmud and created new norms. They stimulated a new interest in the Talmud, and by their zeal and devotion collected material from partly remote works bearing on passages in the Bible.

After the work of the Tossaphists, in the thirteenth century, Nachmanides in his writings combined the influence of the Spanish and French methods. His pupil, Meir of Rothenburg, was the greatest authority of his age. Commentators and codifiers there were in great numbers, and many works have come down to us. But it was not till the sixteenth century that Joseph Caro collected all the existing material, and making use of all former codes gave to the world the book called the *Shulchan Aruch*, which remained the standard guide in Jewish life. Thus, nearly 1000 years after the completion of the Talmud, the final code-form was presented. Since that code there has been no other. Scholars have written their criticism, but the work remains. It is the object of Jews to preserve the code, study it, pore over its contents till such time as another shall arise to supersede it. The trend of thought in these days is pointing in this direction. Many of the regulations laid down in the *Shulchan Aruch* have little or no application to modern times. The changed conditions under which Jews live, tend to emphasise the difficulty of a complete allegiance to its laws. If Judaism, as we believe, is a progressive religion, the era of revelation and inspiration is not over. God speaks to His servants in every age, and the time may come when one with authority may arise to codify once again the regulations that, summed up, go to the making of Judaism.

These are some of the results of mediaeval writers on Judaism. Only a few names have been singled out, from the midst of numbers. The workers in the vineyard were many, and the harvest is abundant. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, their lot was

terrible. The era of persecution was long and furious, and the establishment of the Ghetto came as a relief. Not that the Ghetto prevented the onslaught of the tormentor. But there, the Jew could live his own life among his own people, buried in the memories of the past. In his *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, Mr. Israel Abrahams, the Reader in Rabbinic Literature at Cambridge, has given us a brilliant exposition of what life meant to the Jew in those days. Amid sorrows that were at times overwhelming, there were seasons of joy and thanksgiving. The family were drawn closely together. Oppression and hatred from without fostered harmony and love within. The nature of the Jewish calendar, with its alternation of joy and sorrow as exemplified by the various Festivals and Fasts, typified the life of the Jew. Weeping might endure for the night, but joy would come in the morning. The home became a temple, with respect, love, and chastity as its pillars. If the world were inhospitable and cruel, the little world of his own compensated. In the literature of his people the Jew read the meaning of God's dealings with Israel. The people that walked in darkness would, one day, behold a great light. With this comforting assurance they were content to bear the present, happy in the knowledge that the future would dawn. The dawn was long in coming, but when it did break, it brought the beginning of a new era fraught with important consequences to the Jew and his religion.

CHAPTER V

MODERN JUDAISM

THE seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed a complete decay in Central Europe. The Holy Roman Empire was nothing more than a name. Germany was divided into a number of small Principalities with no central authority. In the conflicts between one Principality and another, the Jews came in for their share of persecution and could make little headway. In Poland, where there were already large numbers of Jews, the intellectual atmosphere was not favourable enough to allow them to advance. In consequence, they had to concentrate on Rabbinic literature, the Talmud forming the beginning and end of their mental equipment. By this, it is not meant that they were intellectually reduced, but they had come to a standstill, and their state of development at the end of the eighteenth century was no further advanced than it had been at the end of the sixteenth. Thus the Jews of the eighteenth were like those of the sixteenth century. Literature had no impetus. To the Jew, those who were the representatives of Christian civilisation were his persecutors, and, as such, their learning was looked upon as taboo. This explains the apparent Jewish shrinking from Christian intercourse. It was only friendship and sympathy that could induce the Jew to accept Christian learning. The first signal for change

was given in two countries and came about in two ways, each characteristic and distinct. Literary emancipation came from Germany, and political emancipation from France.

The literary emancipation started with Moses Mendelssohn. This great philosopher was born at Dessau in 1728, and after a youth of struggle and poverty, handicapped by physical deformity, he attained to the position of being regarded as one of the greatest thinkers of his time. The German Socrates, as he was called, in addition to his acquaintance with classical literature, was well versed in the literature of Germany. At that time the intellectual circles of Berlin were permeated with liberal ideas, and the presence of a cultured Jew in the society of the learned did much to remove the impression that the Jews were a nation of renegades, and a people wholly wrapped up in the accumulation of wealth. Mendelssohn has been immortalised by Lessing as the Jew in *Nathan the Wise*. To him it became apparent that it was necessary to bring German culture to the rest of his co-religionists. With this object in view, he translated the Bible into pure German, which he wrote with Hebrew characters. The Jews had many translations in the vernacular, but the language which they spoke was the old German dialect of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Their Bible read like the pre-Lutheran. The new translation by Mendelssohn had almost the same effect as that by Luther; not that it produced a reformation, but it contributed to a break with the past. The speaking of new German broke down a barrier that separated the Jew from German culture, and soon books poured forth on all subjects, written in pure German. The spirit of

modern civilisation penetrated the masses. In some quarters it was welcomed, to others it gave a shock, and stirred up opposition. The learned and the pious realised that they were face to face with a new spirit antagonistic to their own old ideas. Henceforth the fight would be between the old and the new, and this continues to this very day.

The literary change would not have produced such tremendous effects were it not that in another place political events were tending in a similar direction. The French Revolution had not only proclaimed liberty and equality but had acted upon these principles. Though in England in 1747 a Bill had been passed for the removal of Jewish disabilities, the storm that had been aroused had caused the Bill to be withdrawn. It was left to the French Revolution to apply the principle, and to give the Jews complete liberty. Public opinion had been stirred up, and when the question of emancipating the Jews was discussed, there was no opposition. One can imagine the delight with which such privileges were hailed. No sacrifice on the part of the Jew would have been too great, for the sake of true devotion to France. Napoleon fanned their enthusiasm still more by his endeavour to establish a real and lasting relationship between the Jews and their fellow-Frenchmen. Thus he convoked the Sanhedrin in 1806. This was an idea that worked like magic. For the first time, the Jews were invited to send delegates to Parliament, to discuss Jewish affairs. Prominent Rabbis took part in the deliberations. Delegates came from France, Italy, and Alsace, and in 1807 there was an imposing assembly. Questions were put to the Sanhedrin intended to define the relation

between Jew and non-Jew. Thus it was asked: Could a Jew be a good Frenchman? The answer was in the affirmative: "The Israelite is bound to consider the land of his birth or adoption as his fatherland, and shall love and defend it when called upon." Some twelve questions in all were put before them, and the decisions were formulated in nine articles, which clearly showed that there was no discrepancy in the Jew regarding himself as a loyal citizen of France while remaining faithful to his religion. Later on, the victorious French armies broke down the barriers of the Ghetto, in Rome, Frankfurt, and other places, and wherever they went they took with them the new ideas of political life.

Thus both these forces worked a great transformation on the Jews. While the Jew had formerly pored over his books, now the whole world was open to him. With the widening of the area came new problems. There came the struggle between the old and the new. How was the Jew to reconcile his new patriotism—his devotion to the country which had given him citizenship—with the old aspiration for a return to Palestine? How could he retain his love for the old Hebrew language and consider it as holy, to the exclusion of any other? Which was he to sacrifice, and what would that sacrifice entail? Very often force of circumstances put the questions. The situation was perplexing, and the dilemma was rendered more serious when it is remembered that the only weapon the Jew had was his intellectual equipment. Many of them felt that their old traditions were a burden. The only thing to do seemed to be, to reform the old. All the forces of assimilation were tending in that direction. Now they were to be French and German. They had to find a

definition for Judaism. Did Judaism signify a nationality or a faith? What was it? To answer the question, an examination of Judaism was begun, and a difference was drawn between what was binding, ancient, and immutable, and what was transitory and the result of Rabbinic legislation. The revolt against Rabbinic authority came from progress. The Karaite revolt in the eighth century had been the result of a desire to stand still. The onward march of progress has always created this problem for the Jew. These forces, reconciliation of the old with the new, and recasting the old in the light of the new, have been at work ever since, and a clear understanding will help to explain the modern situation.

The first step in the direction of assimilation was taken by Israel Jacobsohn of Sessen, who introduced the German language into the service of his synagogue and started the elimination of all the allusions to Zion and the restoration to Palestine, which are found in the Prayer Book. The Jews in Germany had been deeply affected by the outcome of Mendelssohn's activity in his own immediate family. In Mendelssohn's time, it must be remembered, though literary culture was spreading, the idea of a complete Jewish political emancipation was as far removed from the people as the moon. The result of the new awakening was, that many members of Mendelssohn's inner circle became so completely identified with German culture as to become estranged from their fellow Jews into whose minds that new development had not yet penetrated. Their Christian friends on the other hand still considered them as Jews, and they, in their turn, in order to efface all traces of distinctiveness, embraced Christianity.

But they created a gulf between themselves and their former co-religionists. The mass of the Jews refused to follow, but clung to their Judaism. Still, they wished to be German patriots, and to this end they adapted the religion to their needs by instituting changes which had a far-reaching effect on the subsequent development of the Judaism of that time. A number of prominent Rabbis followed the example of Jacobsohn, and soon, tradition and ceremonial were considered as antiquated in face of the modern tendencies that separated Jews from their fellow men, and had therefore to be eliminated from Judaism. Changes came about in the Synagogue service, an organ was introduced (an innovation still rigidly condemned in orthodox circles), sermons were preached in the vernacular, and the Prayer Book underwent so thorough an expurgation at their hands, that at last very little was left. Even the Sabbath was to be transferred to Sunday, and in fact every difference was to be obliterated except the Cross.

It was not till about the year 1842 that a synod of Rabbis was held at Brunswick, attended by Holdheim and Phillipsohn among others, to introduce some system into the anarchy where each Rabbi was a law unto himself, and to lay down the fundamental principles of the Reform Movement. The original draft was found to be so drastic, and went so deeply to the root of Judaism, that it had to be modified. The strongest opposition was manifested in other quarters against these tendencies, which, if carried out to their logical conclusion, would have proved disastrous.

Other currents, too, political and literary, had come to the surface and reacted on these tendencies which

had already gone too far. After the fall of Napoleon, the liberties granted to the Jews, especially in Germany, were speedily withdrawn by the Prussian and other governments. As far as possible they attempted to re-establish the Ghetto, but men like Duhm and others led the opposition. Rühs, too, took up the challenge and opposed the withdrawal of political rights, though his object was to win over the Jews to Christianity. Jews had given Heine to the German nation, and in all branches of life they had taken advantage of the spell of freedom granted to them, to identify themselves with every movement. A large number of them had fought as soldiers in the so-called war of liberation, and these felt it bitterly when, after peace had been declared, their claims to recognition were ignored. While they had been fighting, their liberties had been taken away, and all their services to the State were recompensed in much the same way as Russia recompenses those of her Jewish subjects who take their share in fighting her battles. This, on the one hand, contributed to check the headlong rush to submersion and assimilation.

But another counter move came from the influence of Jewish science, which took its rise from the great schools and universities, where there were many Jewish students. Jewish science was developed, and tended to elucidate the past and to answer some of the problems which circumstances had evolved. Now there was an attempt to solve the new problems, but on different lines from those adopted by the lovers of assimilation, who had tried to eliminate everything which seemed to stand in their way. The question was put: What was old, and what was new? Secondly, the problem was pro-

pounded: How had they come to all that which they possessed? Could any historical development be traced? Could anything be shown to be old by irrefutable documents? Who were the authors of these documents? What claim, if any, did they have for obedience and respect? To answer questions such as these, was to show that Judaism still had the living power to regenerate man. Thus a new stimulus was given to the study of Jewish history, Jewish literature, Jewish philology, Jewish theology, or rather Jewish philosophy, which were pursued with keen investigation, and fortunate were the Jews, that at that time a band of men arose the like of whom had not been seen in Jewry for many a century. Nachman Krochmal, a merchant of Brody in Galicia, had laid the foundation with his *Guide to the Perplexed of the Time*, a work which revealed a comprehensive knowledge of the development of Israel's religion, and which served as a guide to Jewish science in the nineteenth century. Greatest of all the scholars of the time was Leopold Zunz. Krochmal tried to investigate; Rappaport laid the foundations of historical biography; Zunz unravelled and brought order and system into the history of the homiletic interpretations of the Bible, a book not to be surpassed, and for the first time he laid bare the secrets and intricacies of the hymns and poems of the Hebrew liturgy, extending over a period of close upon 1800 years. Zunz was a pioneer of unrivalled depth, of remarkable strength of character, and of almost unlimited scholarship. Moritz Steinschneider, the "Nestor" of Jewish scholarship, discovered the Jewish bibliography, and among other men who contributed to the awakening of Jewish learning were Michael

Sachs, who revised the liturgy in classical German, and Munk, who unearthed Arabic philosophers. But two men stand out prominently not only in letters, but in the part they took in moulding the future development of the religion—Zecharias Frankel and Hirsch Graetz. Frankel in 1845 had protested, in a powerful letter, against the vagaries of the Reform Rabbis sitting in conference in Frankfurt, and he could not join a body which recommended the substitution of the vernacular for Hebrew as the language of the synagogue. For years he continued to enunciate his views of moderate conservatism in his periodical known as the *Zeitschrift für die Religiösen Interessen des Judenthums*. He was Rabbi of Dresden and had already written a book removing the existing impression that Jewish Law prevented a Jew being trusted in his evidence before a Civil Court. He had also written on the Septuagint with the object of showing how the Alexandrian Jews were dominated by Rabbinic exegesis. The changed times had brought about a demand for Jewish Rabbis, who by a combination of academic secular education and Rabbinical knowledge, would be able to reconcile the new conditions with the teaching of the Rabbis and their development of Jewish law. The work of these great giants was to dissipate the fictions of the Reform School, and to place on a sound basis the historical development of the Jewish literature and the Jewish law. The real history of the Jews was practically unknown. Jost was the first to write a compendious history, but this was eclipsed by Graetz, whose monumental *History of the Jews* remains the most reliable and beautiful survey of the various phases through which Jewish history and learning have passed

from the time of the second Temple till the middle of the nineteenth century.

A new school had to be established in which account was to be taken of these modern tendencies, and to provide Rabbis to cope with them. The first seminary of this kind was established at Breslau in 1854 through the munificence of Jonas Frankel. The first President was Zecharias Frankel, and among the first professors were Graetz and Joel. Frankel's standpoint being that of a moderate, he was opposed by representatives of the two camps of extreme liberalism and extreme orthodoxy. But the seminary rapidly attracted students, and it is a significant fact that the greatest Jewish scholars in Europe are mostly products of Breslau. Thus a new element was introduced. There were scientifically equipped Rabbis taught to keep the middle path. With the establishment of the Breslau seminary the waves of reform began to be rolled back. And during all the time that the literary development had gone on, the political had grown apace. The cry for emancipation grew fainter till it died out in 1870 when, nominally, the Jews obtained freedom in Germany.

The Reform Movement, however, had not spent its entire force in Germany. Several Rabbis favouring the tendencies of assimilation had emigrated to America, where they found a large number of their German co-religionists. These had followed in the wake of the Spanish and Portuguese settlers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and preceded the rush of Russian and Polish immigrants at the end of the nineteenth. The soil was thus ready for sowing the seed. The German Rabbis spread all over America and introduced

reforms. So rapidly has the movement developed in that country that America has contributed to a very large extent to disintegrate the religious life of the Jews and to lead them away from Judaism to Unitarianism and apostasy. There was no force to check the development, and therefore reform had assumed a wide scope before the influx of the new elements brought about a change. In America the example of Germany was followed, and a seminary was established in Cincinnati, more, however, for propagating their views than for upholding traditional Judaism.

To England, too, came the Reform Movement, and the Reform Synagogue was established in 1841. But the contributing causes were not quite on a par with those in Germany. In England the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue established in the middle of the seventeenth century had adhered rigidly to the old tenets and would not sanction the slightest alteration even of outward forms. A few members seceded, and what was originally intended merely as a protest, and had as its object slight changes in the ritual, became a centre of much more extended movement. Taking its lessons from Germany the Reform Synagogue endeavoured to introduce some of the fundamental alterations of German Reform, by eliminating allusions to the return to Palestine and references to sacrifices, and by calling in question the binding character of Rabbinic law. The original idea of the movement was to substitute the law made by laymen in accordance with their own predilections and knowledge, for the traditional law as handed down through the ages and represented by the Rabbi as the only authority. Here in England the community on the whole was very conservative and this

movement was kept within narrow limits. The seventy years of the history of the Reform Synagogue are comparatively uneventful, though one or two branch synagogues were established in Bradford, Manchester, and other towns.

It was not till a few years ago that a more advanced Reform body came into being. This new movement, known as the Liberal Synagogue, conducts its services mostly in the vernacular and recognises little of traditional law as binding. It was formed primarily to win back many of those who had drifted away altogether from Judaism. Though its existence has been of short duration it has achieved its object in this direction, and many have joined its ranks. It owes much of its success to the efforts of Mr. Claude Montefiore, a great scholar and a great philanthropist, and a man of an intensely religious nature.

To return to Germany. There, the Reform school having eliminated legalism had to find some new idea to take its place. Wherein was the necessity for the continued existence of Judaism? Thus Judaism became, to them, almost nothing more than an ethical creed, and the preservation of the Jew was necessary only to further what they called "a mission to the Gentile." The Jew was to propagate the ethical teachings of his religion and each Jew was to become a missionary for his faith—a faith sublimated without a definite binding character. This led to a counter movement. Some of the conservative Rabbis and scholars sought to counteract the tendency, but it produced another extreme. A new school of thought arose, which though adopting a modern form clung to every minute detail of ceremonial, paying at times more

attention to the detail than to the spirit. The degrees in the binding character of the laws were obliterated. Roughly speaking, almost everything in the traditional law, whatever its historical origin may have been, and whether of a local or a general character, was placed in the same category of reverence and holiness. The slightest deviation from a code much more rigid than the official code was not to be tolerated. Its attitude towards historical investigation was almost negative. It claimed obedience to the letter more even than to the spirit. With it was combined a high degree of sincerity and devotion, kindled by genuine enthusiasm and love, and it is this that has given to this extreme movement some of the strength and some of the charm by which it has been able, within its narrow limits, to achieve the amount of good it has effected. The great protagonist was a man whose name is still revered in Frankfurt, where he founded his congregation. Samson Raphael Hirsch combined with great erudition an overpowering eloquence, and he was able to rally round him a number of Rabbis and communities which did not see eye to eye with the more temperate attitude of the leaders of the seminary in Breslau. Thus a new factor arose in Germany almost simultaneously with the synod of Reform Rabbis of Brunswick, which marks the parting of the ways.

As an outcome of this movement a seminary was established in Berlin which was to serve as a place for educating Rabbis, under Dr. Hildesheimer, more in harmony and sympathy with the more extreme views of stricter orthodoxy. It must, however, be made clear that in Judaism there is no dogmatic separation, nor is there any definite standard by which the theology of

any Jew could be measured. Men, who in the west of Europe might be considered as Jews of extreme orthodoxy, would perhaps be looked at askance by Rabbis in Hungary; while on the other hand representatives of the conservative view would be more in complete agreement with some of the enlightened Rabbis in Russia. It is all a matter of degree, and no rigid standard can be set up nor can any line of demarcation be drawn between orthodox and unorthodox. England is regarded as a centre of conservative Judaism, though many are ready to deny English Jews the right to such a claim.

The example set by Breslau was soon followed in many centres of Jewish life. Not only was a seminary established in Cincinnati, but in London a Jews' College was opened in 1856 as an institution for the training of preachers, teachers, and Rabbis, of the Jewish religion, remotely resembling the real seminaries of the Continent. It was intended to serve local purposes and was adapted to different needs. For many years it was presided over by a man of saintly character and great learning, the late Dr. Michael Friedlander, under whom most of the men now occupying positions as ministers in English-speaking communities here and abroad, received their training. His successor, the present principal, Dr. A. Büchler, an encyclopædic scholar, during the few years he has held the office has done much to raise the College in the esteem of the general community, and to rekindle the embers of Jewish learning which have somehow never burned very brightly in this country. It is safe to assume that, given proper support and encouragement, the only Jewish seminary in England will one day rank with any on the Continent.

Other seminaries have been established in Vienna, Buda-Pest, and Florence, and in many other places, most of the teachers being pupils of Breslau. In this way a certain levelling of Jewish life has been produced which has deeply influenced the modern position of the Jew, and may be the means of solving the many problems which are facing Jewry in all parts of the world.

CHAPTER VI

JUDAISM OF TO-DAY AND ITS PROBLEMS

THE tendencies which affected Judaism in the nineteenth century, as we saw in the last chapter, are now the dominant forces in Jewry. On the one hand, there is the desire to be faithful to the ancient traditions of the religion, and at the same time to assimilate as much as is best in modern civilisation, but not at too great a cost. This desire demands great sacrifices, and as the claims of modern life are so great, education has to run on parallel lines for the Jew, *i.e.* Jewish education combined with secular study. The whole system of education in recent years has undergone a change, and is still being changed. Instead of being fed on purely Hebrew literature, as in the past, the Jew of to-day finds most of his time absorbed by the literature of the various countries in which he lives. This tendency has been going on for years. The result has been, that a gradual dwindling of a knowledge of Hebrew amongst Jews has been noticed. The partial elimination of Hebrew from the Divine Service has brought with it a growing ignorance of the great poetical, historical, legal, and spiritual treasures of that literature. Thus the bonds which kept the Jew to the past are gradually being sundered, and his strength to resist the inroads of modern life grows weaker and weaker. Such has been, and is the case, even amongst those who adhere

strictly to ancient tradition, and who, in consequence, find themselves hemmed in on all sides in the attempt to harmonise the past with the occurrences of every-day life. Thus, the keeping of the Sabbath entails a heavy burden. The modern pressure of business and the growth of competition make it almost impossible for a strictly Sabbath-observant Jew to compete with his Gentile neighbours. Recent Sunday-observance legislation has intensified this difficulty in many quarters. Again, the dietary laws are felt by many to be what they really are intended to be, a means of separation of the Jew from his neighbour, and they are not understood any longer to be a means of preservation. The Jew, therefore, is confronted everywhere with the difficulty of living in strict accord with these regulations. The weakening of these two commands in itself, creates an intolerable strain on the allegiance of the Jew to the faith and to the strict observance of Jewish ceremonial.

Such is the state of mind in one section. It is, however, still more acute in the other, which deliberately sets to work to cast overboard the binding character of these ceremonies, eliminates Hebrew from prayer, and being unwilling to bring too many sacrifices to a conflict in which it feels it is worsted, makes of moral weakness a moral strength and proceeds apace on the road of unchecked assimilation. Yet even these cannot entirely free themselves, nor are they willing to free themselves from the ties of Nationality. They cling to Judaism, even if it is only a name. Some are even proud to be Jews, but Jews who enjoy the pleasures of the world without taking upon themselves the obligations imposed by Judaism. They do not like to sever

their connection entirely, and they remain Jews, though at times they are Jews in name only. It must not, however, be imagined that only apathy and indifference produce this type of Jew. Other causes have contributed to weaken the force of Jewish observance. There is the educated type, who believes that Science and the criticism of the Bible, even when he himself has never taken the trouble to investigate the results either of the one or the other, have shattered the foundations of Judaism. Cloaking himself under the opinion of others, he straightway throws off the yoke of his religion and joins the ranks of the unobservant.

Hence there is a conflict continuing all along the line, giving to Jewry a chequered appearance; and to those who cannot see beneath the surface, it presents the appearance of being rent in many pieces, and divided into many factions. The communal organisation of the Jews in modern times differs very little from that which has prevailed in the past. The absence of dogmatic teaching has fostered a tendency of Home Rule all round. The boundaries of Judaism are drawn very wide, and it is extremely difficult to say when a Jew is not a Jew. A Jew remains a Jew so long as he has not publicly renounced his faith. Hence, in spite of profound differences amongst sections, there is still a real unity, and in spite of the various independent communal organisations, there is still a spiritual centralisation which goes back to very ancient times. The real leader of the community is the Rabbi, who is the spiritual guide, although he is only, strictly speaking, a layman, his scholarship alone giving him the position, not any outward ordination. He has no priestly functions to perform, there being no distinct priestly caste in modern

Judaism. The Rabbi is the teacher and judge, and stands on a plane of absolute equality with every fellow-Rabbi. Superiority is readily granted to the scholar, independent of the place where he resides or of the size of the community over which he holds sway. Hence, he becomes in time the real guide, the final authority—of course, only of a moral kind—in all matters of religion. Centralisation has been attempted in France through Napoleon, who used the clergy for political purposes, and made all the priests, of whatever faith, ministers of the State. The effect has been a deadening one. This system has prevented scholarship from flourishing, and when such is the case in a community, the standard of its religious life is correspondingly low. All throughout Jewry, however, the old system of independent communal government has been maintained, and thus, a free and elastic expression has been secured everywhere.

But even this state of things has undergone a change under the stress of circumstances. The demands of modern life have turned the mind of the Jew from the study of his religion, and in consequence, ignorance and indifference have become rife, breeding a want of respect for the authority wielded by the Rabbi. The effect of this has been to divert authority from the Rabbi to the ordinary Lay-leaders of the community, who, basing their claim on considerations other than those of Jewish scholarship, for the most part shape and mould the development of the religion in accordance with their own views. It is easy, therefore, to understand how modern Judaism presents such a peculiar aspect; for the unified force of faith, tradition, and scholarship, has a hard battle to fight with ignorance, indifference, and assimilation.

Such was the state of affairs a few years ago. The living forces in Judaism, however, had not spent their vitality and strength in fighting the onslaught of reform and in attempting to blend modern knowledge with ancient faith. They reasserted themselves when matters seemed to have reached their lowest ebb. The ideals which had been banished from the temple of Judaism during the last century came to life again with a new movement in which the national unity of Jewry was proclaimed, and attempt was made to replant the Jewish people in their ancient home in Palestine. It was first an attempt at colonisation in Palestine, but later on it expanded into a wider movement, aiming at the re-establishment of an autonomous state in that country. The proclamation of such views produced a great stir, especially amongst those Jews who had been weaned from their allegiance to Zion, and a new current stirred the depths of troubled Jewry. Parties were formed and are formed, but whatever the ultimate success of Zionism may be, it has no doubt focussed the attention of the Jews on some of the essential features of Judaism. It has brought home to the conscience of Jewry the fact that Judaism is neither nationality nor religion, but both together, indissolubly united; and the problem which is now facing the Jews has been made more concrete since the birth of Zionism than it ever was at any previous time. The causes which have contributed towards the rise of the Zionist movement are not only the internal changes which have affected the spiritual rights of the Jews, but just as, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, political tendencies from without have been active. With the political emancipation of the Jews in 1870 in Germany, the barriers were

supposed to have been removed, but this was a fallacy. Rights conferred upon the Jews by constitutional methods often turned out to be only paper rights. A society which had accustomed itself to the segregation of Jews for centuries, could not easily acquiesce in a complete change; especially as the causes which had led to that segregation were not removed by legal decree. Hence, in lieu of the legal barriers, social barriers began to be erected, and what could no longer be done by law was done by custom and practice. Thus, the antagonism existing against the Jews assumed a different shape, and became known as anti-Semitism. It was a great disillusionment to those Jews who had thrown themselves heart and soul into reform and assimilation, to find that only baptism admitted them to the full rights of citizenship—and often insufficiently; and that all the sacrifices they were ready to bring, and had brought, far too lavishly, went for nothing. This had a sobering effect in one direction, whilst in another it fostered apostasy to a larger degree than had formerly been the case, when all the forces of the State were directed towards weaning the Jew away from his faith. It was the revolt against the social oppression, together with a deepening of consciousness, combined with religious problems, which helped in evolving Zionism with all the consequences that followed from that new movement. Zionism drew the Jews of East and West together; it removed some of the barriers which had been created by differences of language and by various standards of civilisation adopted by the Jews in the countries where they lived. It taught them to strip off the accidental forms and to recognise the essential unity of the Jewish people. It had also, as a

sequel, the revival of the Hebrew language, for it is recognised that a nation without a language is like a body without a soul. Revival of Hebrew has gone on at a great pace in recent years ; books in great numbers, dealing with all subjects, have been poured forth, and the new method of learning Hebrew as a living language has entered some of the Jewish schools and religious classes of this country, usually with very satisfactory results. Zionism, in addition, brought about a renewed activity in settling Jews in Palestine and establishing industries there, and in many other similar ways it sought to establish in Palestine a legally safeguarded home for the Jew. It must not be forgotten, that there are still countries in Europe and elsewhere, such as Russia, Roumania, and the East, where Jews are subject to severe persecution and live under great disabilities. The continued recurrence of pogroms in Russia has been the cause of the great Jewish exodus from that country in recent years, and the growing numbers of immigrants to England and America has served to create what is known as a Jewish problem. Here, in England, the Jew, since the removal of civic disabilities, has lived on an equal footing with his fellow-men, engaging in all pursuits and enjoying all the rights and privileges of Englishmen ; while, at the same time, he has ever been willing to take his share in bearing the burdens of the country. The eminence to which Jews have attained in all departments of State and civic life, is sufficient testimony to their complete identification with England. Thus, the passing of an Aliens Bill some few years ago darkened the serene horizon of political liberty and disturbed the calm tenor of Jewish life in England.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Jews to-day are confronted with many serious problems, religious, political, economic, and social, and Judaism presents an appearance of being in a kind of melting-pot. It would be difficult to gauge as yet the form which this process will take, and the result of the conflicting tendencies which are working in every direction; but a more systematic and comprehensive view is now being taken by Jews themselves of their own position, and of the responsibility which rests upon them, as well as of the gravity of the problems with which they are face to face. No less keen is the determination to solve these problems in a manner more in harmony with the past, and with a better outlook for the future. What the Jew wants to-day is rest, peace, calmness of mind, freedom from agitation, and the opportunity of working out his own destiny for his own spiritual freedom, and in accordance with his own inspiration and his own hopes. The Jew by maintaining his own distinctiveness is not a menace to Western civilisation. Even those who refuse to admit that Zionism has any part to play in the life of the Jew, are ready to affirm that the Bible prophecies and promises point to a time when his continued existence shall be justified by the events of history. Thus Jews of whatever section, national or otherwise, feel that there is still a mission to the rest of the world which they are to be instrumental in carrying. But that mission can only be carried out by the Jew taking his rightful place in the van of religious progress and standing before the world as a model of virtue, of integrity, of chastity, and morality. No one will affirm that the world is near the realisation of all these ideals. Till these virtues prevail, the work of

the Jew must remain unfulfilled. The Jews gladly join with their fellow-men of all religions in promoting the welfare of humanity, but they believe that there is something distinct in Judaism which the world has not yet grasped. When the consummation will be, no one can foretell; but till the day arrives, when God's Spirit will be poured out over all flesh, the children of Israel will continue to carry on the work which began on Sinai, and which will only be completed when the unity of God is recognised by all His creatures.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS on the Bible are innumerable; special mention should be made of the writings of Robertson-Smith, *The Dictionary of the Bible* (T. & T. Clark), *The Century Bible* (Jack), *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, *The International Critical Commentaries* (Clark).

JUDAISM, HELLENISM, AND CHRISTIANITY.—Important books are: *Pharisaism*, by Travers Herford (Williams and Norgate); *The Synoptic Gospels*, by C. G. Montefiore (Macmillan); Rev. G. Friedlander's works—*Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount* (Routledge); and *Hellenism and Christianity* (Vallentine). *The Parting of the Roads* (Arnold, 1912), with special reference to the essays by W. O. E. Oesterley and E. Levine. *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, by Box and Oesterley (Pitman).

Specific books on Judaism are: *The Jewish Religion*, by M. Friedlander; *Judaism as Creed and Life*, by Rev. Morris Joseph—a moderate conservative book, the most brilliant work on the subject. *Liberal Judaism*, by C. G. Montefiore (Macmillan); *Judaism*, by I. Abrahams (Constable); S. Schechter's *Studies in Judaism*, in two volumes; and *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (A. & C. Black).

The Jewish Encyclopædia should be consulted on most of the subjects that arise from a study of Judaism. Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (Clark), contains many articles of great value by Dr. Gaster,

I. Abrahams, H. M. Loewe, Rev. Morris Joseph, and other Jewish writers.

General books are: *The History of the Jews*, by H. Graetz (English edition in five volumes); Lazarus' *Ethics of Judaism* (Macmillan), and G. F. Abbott's *Israel in Europe* (Macmillan).

Of modern works *The Jewish Review* (Routledge), published every two months, contains discussions of current Jewish topics, while the twenty volumes (1888–1908) of *The Jewish Quarterly Review* are a mine of information.

The Prayer Book is the Authorised Prayer Book edited by the late Rev. S. Singer (Eyre & Spottiswoode).

The Prayer Book according to the rite of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, in five volumes. Edited by Dr. Gaster, with English translation, 1901–7 (Clarendon Press, Oxford).

INDEX

Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
Edinburgh & London

3/13

THE PEOPLE'S BOOKS

THE FIRST HUNDRED VOLUMES

The volumes issued (Spring 1913) are marked with an asterisk

SCIENCE

*1.	The Foundations of Science	By W. C. D. Whetham, F.R.S.
*2.	Embryology—The Beginnings of Life	By Prof. Gerald Leighton, M.D.
3.	Biology—The Science of Life	By Prof. W. D. Henderson, M.A.
*4.	Zoology: The Study of Animal Life	By Prof. E. W. MacBride, F.R.S.
*5.	Botany; The Modern Study of Plants	By M. C. Stopes, D.Sc., Ph.D.
6.	Bacteriology	By W. E. Carnegie Dickson, M.D.
*7.	The Structure of the Earth	By the Rev. T. G. Bonney, F.R.S.
*8.	Evolution	By E. S. Goodrich, M.A., F.R.S.
9.	Darwin	By Prof. W. Garstang, M.A., D.Sc.
*10.	Heredity	By J. A. S. Watson, B.Sc.
*11.	Inorganic Chemistry	By Prof. E. C. C. Baly, F.R.S.
*12.	Organic Chemistry	By Prof. J. B. Cohen, B.Sc., F.R.S.
*13.	The Principles of Electricity	By Norman R. Campbell, M.A.
*14.	Radiation	By P. Phillips, D.Sc.
*15.	The Science of the Stars	By E. W. Maunder, F.R.A.S.
*16.	The Science of Light	By P. Phillips, D.Sc.
*17.	Weather-Science	By R. G. K. Lempfert, M.A.
*18.	Hypnotism	By Alice Hutchison, M.D.
*19.	The Baby: A Mother's Book	By a University Woman.
*20.	Youth and Sex—Dangers and Safeguards for Boys and Girls	By Mary Scharlieb, M.D., M.S., and G. E. C. Pritchard, M.A., M.D.
*21.	Motherhood—A Wife's Handbook	By H. S. Davidson, F.R.C.S.E.
*22.	Lord Kelvin	By A. Russell, M.A., D.Sc.
*23.	Huxley	By Professor G. Leighton, M.D.
24.	Sir W. Huggins and Spectroscopic Astronomy	By E. W. Maunder, F.R.A.S., of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich.
*62.	Practical Astronomy	By H. Macpherson, Jr., F.R.A.S.
*63.	Aviation	By Sydney F. Walker, R.N., M.I.E.E.
*64.	Navigation	By W. Hall, R.N., B.A.
*65.	Pond Life	By E. C. Ash, M.R.A.C.
*66.	Dietetics	By Alex. Bryce, M.D., D.P.H.
*94.	The Nature of Mathematics	By P. G. B. Jourdain, M.A.
95.	Applications of Electricity	By Alex. Ogilvie, B.Sc.
*96.	Gardening	By A. Cecil Bartlett.
97.	The Care of the Teeth	By J. A. Young, L.D.S.
*98.	Atlas of the World	By J. Bartholomew, F.R.G.S.
*110.	British Birds	By F. B. Kirkman, B.A.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

25.	The Meaning of Philosophy	By Prof. A. E. Taylor, M.A., F.B.A.
*26.	Henri Bergson	By H. Wildon Carr.
*27.	Psychology	By H. J. Watt, M.A., Ph.D.
*28.	Ethics	By Canon Rashdall, D.Litt., F.B.A.
29.	Kant's Philosophy	By A. D. Lindsay, M.A.
30.	The Teaching of Plato	By A. D. Lindsay, M.A.
*67.	Aristotle	By Prof. A. E. Taylor, M.A., F.B.A.
*68.	Nietzsche	By M. A. Mügge, Ph.D.
*69.	Eucken	By A. J. Jones, M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D
70.	The Experimental Psychology of Beauty	By C. W. Valentine, B.A.
*71.	The Problem of Truth	By H. Wildon Carr.
99.	George Berkeley: the Philosophy of Idealism	By G. Dawes Hicks, Litt.D.
31.	Buddhism	By Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, F.B.A.
*32.	Roman Catholicism	By H. B. Coxon.
*33.	The Oxford Movement	By Wilfrid P. Ward.
*34.	The Bible in the Light of the Higher Criticism	By Rev. W. F. Adeney, M.A., and Rev. Prof. W. H. Bennett, Litt.D
35.	Cardinal Newman	By Wilfrid Meynell.
*72.	The Church of England	By Rev. Canon Masterman

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION—(*continued*)

73. Anglo-Catholicism . . . . By A. E. Manning Foster.
*74. The Free Churches . . . . By Rev. Edward Shillito, M.A.
*75. Judaism . . . . . By Ephraim Levine, B.A.
*76. Theosophy . . . . . By Annie Besant.

HISTORY

*36. The Growth of Freedom . . . By H. W. Nevinson.
37. Bismarck . . . . . By Prof. F. M. Powicke, M.A.
*38. Oliver Cromwell . . . . By Hilda Johnstone, M.A.
*39. Mary Queen of Scots . . . By E. O'Neill, M.A.
*40. Cecil Rhodes . . . . . By Ian Colvin.
*41. Julius Cæsar . . . . . By Hilary Hardinge.
History of England—
42. England in the Making . . . By Prof. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, LL.D.
*43. England in the Middle Ages . . By E. O'Neill, M.A.
44. The Monarchy and the People . By W. T. Waugh, M.A.
45. The Industrial Revolution . . By A. Jones, M.A.
46. Empire and Democracy . . . By G. S. Veitch, M.A.
*61. Home Rule . . . . . By L. G. Redmond Howard.
77. Nelson . . . . . By H. W. Wilson.
*78. Wellington and Waterloo . . . By Major G. W. Redway.
100. A History of Greece . . . By E. Fearenside, B.A.
101. Luther and the Reformation . . By L. D. Agate, M.A.
102. The Discovery of the New World . By F. B. Kirkman, B.A.
*103. Turkey and the Eastern Question . By John Macdonald.
104. A History of Architecture . . . By Mrs. Arthur Bell.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

*47. Women's Suffrage . . . . By M. G. Fawcett, LL.D.
48. The Working of the British System of Government to-day . . . } By Prof. Ramsay Muir, M.A.
49. An Introduction to Economic Science By Prof. H. O. Meredith, M.A.
50. Socialism . . . . . By F. B. Kirkman, B.A.
*79. Mediaeval Socialism . . . . By Rev. B. Jarrett, O.P., M.A.
*80. Syndicalism . . . . . By J. H. Harley, M.A.
81. Labour and Wages . . . . By H. M. Hallsworth, M.A., B.Sc.
*82. Co-operation . . . . . By Joseph Clayton.
*83. Insurance as Investment . . . By W. A. Robertson, F.F.A.
*92. The Training of the Child . . . By G. Spiller.
*105. Trade Unions . . . . . By Joseph Clayton.
*106. Everyday Law . . . . . By J. J. Adams.

LETTERS

*51. Shakespeare . . . . . By Prof. C. H. Herford, Litt.D.
*52. Wordsworth . . . . . By Rosaline Masson.
*53. Pure Gold—A Choice of Lyrics and Sonnets . . . . . } By H. C. O'Neill.
*54. Francis Bacon . . . . . By Prof. A. R. Skemp, M.A.
*55. The Brontës . . . . . By Flora Masson.
*56. Carlyle . . . . . By the Rev. L. MacLean Watt.
*57. Dante . . . . . By A. G. Ferrers Howell.
58. Ruskin . . . . . By A. Blyth Webster, M.A.
59. Common Faults in Writing English By Prof. A. R. Skemp, M.A.
*60. A Dictionary of Synonyms . . . By Austin K. Gray, B.A.
84. Classical Dictionary . . . . By A. E. Stirling.
*85. History of English Literature . . By A. Compton-Rickett.
86. Browning . . . . . By Prof. A. R. Skemp, M.A.
*87. Charles Lamb . . . . . By Flora Masson.
88. Goethe . . . . . By Prof. C. H. Herford, Litt.D.
89. Balzac . . . . . By Frank Harris.
90. Rousseau . . . . . By H. Sacher.
91. Ibsen . . . . . By Hilary Hardinge.
*93. Tennyson . . . . . By Aaron Watson.
107. R. L. Stevenson . . . . By Rosaline Masson.
*108. Shelley . . . . . By Sydney Waterlow, M.A.
109. William Morris . . . . . By A. Blyth Webster, M.A.

LONDON AND EDINBURGH: T. C. & E. C. JACK
NEW YORK: DODGE PUBLISHING CO.