

Jair Chayim Bacharach (Concluded)

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## JAIR CHAYIM BACHARACH.

(Concluded.)

MEANWHILE, Bacharach's friend, R. Meir b. Judah Selke Grotwohl, of Frankfurt, had taken his place in Coblenz. This friendship ended in becoming a source of great comfort to Bacharach when his son Samuel Sanvel<sup>1</sup> wedded the daughter of Grotwohl. The wound that had been inflicted upon the heart of R. Jair was still fresh when this marriage was solemnised. Sad and full of grief, surrounded, or imagining himself surrounded by foes, and apparently forsaken by all, he eagerly grasped at the hand of friendship extended lovingly and reverently to him by his successor Grotwohl.<sup>2</sup> As in the days when they had promised in Frankfurt to interchange letters at least once a week,<sup>3</sup> and R. Meir had always heard news of Bacharach through R. Meir b. R. Moses Sofer<sup>4</sup> and R. Meir Stern,<sup>5</sup> so now a lively correspondence was kept up between the two friends drawn closer to each other by family ties. The intimacy with so great a scholar in the Talmud, the Cabbala and other branches of learning as R. Meir

<sup>1</sup> חות יאיר, No. 31. Cp. the inscription in the old Jewish cemetery in Vienna, No. 339, where his son, Samuel Sanvel, who died in Vienna, 1721, is mentioned. According to this source he also received the name of Meir, after his grandfather, מצד אם נכד הרב מהר"ר מאיר גרוטווייל [printed wrongly וינכד]. This son of R. Jair is called after his maternal uncle, Saul Samuel Sanvel Brilin; *v.*, the *Memorbuch of Worms*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> חות יאיר, in the introduction to *Resp.* 31. <sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, No. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, No. 25, where Grotwohl calls him לְהַרְרֵי מִשֵּׁה סַפְרֵי רַבָּנָא *V.* also the beginning and end of No. 66. R. Moses died in 1687, and is the great-grandfather of R. Moses Sofer of Pressburg; *v.* Horovitz, *Frankf.-Rabb.*, iii. 91.

<sup>5</sup> *Resp.* 27, and end of 75.

Stern, who took deep interest in his misfortunes, could also only tend to encourage R. Jair.<sup>1</sup>

But the true balm for his wounds was the unremitting study in which he persevered, learning and teaching at the same time with undiminished zeal. The post of teacher in Israel, that had been denied him in a congregation, was now to be granted to him by his writings: as he was prevented from bringing into play his activity in the sphere to which he thought he was born, he felt himself led to labour in another field for the benefit of the general public; he was, in short, impelled by the desire to become known by his literary labours.<sup>2</sup> Study became his consolation and his revenge, his weapons and his passion. Engaged in research and writing, he spent his time at Worms as an ordinary private person, being only connected with the external world by his pupils and his Responsa, which were asked of him both by friends and strangers.<sup>3</sup> His house was a house of learning—a retreat whither men<sup>4</sup> of the community eager for knowledge resorted, and pupils<sup>5</sup> crowded round to drink in deep draughts from the well of his full scholarship. There was formed a society of the members of the community to whom

<sup>1</sup> *Resp.* 66 belongs to this period, therefore R. Meir uses these words in the opening of his letter to R. Jair: על אויביו יתגבר יאיר אף יזריח • על אויביו יתגבר • יריע אף יצריח • כל צורריו בהם יפיה. The words on pp. 70, 71b refer to his work that was put an end to by his expulsion from Fulda.

<sup>2</sup> *V.* p. 230b. <sup>3</sup> *e.g.*, Nos. 103-104 of the years 1677-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Resp.* 61 and 102.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 234a, where R. David Oppenheim eulogises his industry and his ability as a teacher:—ולא פסק פומי מנירסא גם בלילה לא נתן תנומה—לעיניו כי נ"ר תלוי למעלה ממיטתו שלימה ונאספו אליו עדריו תלמידים וחברים המקשיבים לקולו קול הוד והדר. So also R. Aaron Teomim speaks of him, p. 232b:—שינה ותנומתו בחורי חמד—[הם] לקולו ושתילי זית לשלחנו ה[י]([ה]) סביב • ולא מש מתוך האוהל אהלי שם ועבר.



he held a confirmed opinion that it would savour too much of egotism to allow his literary productions to appear in his own name, whilst nothing that had been written by his grandfather or father had ever been published. He, therefore, set to work collecting the *Responsa* of R. Samuel and R. Samson Bacharach, which he resolved to issue, together with his own, as a *Threefold Cord*. But even this placing of his own works, as signified in the title, upon a par with the others, seemed to him improper, so that he determined to remain silent about himself, and name the *Responsa* of his grandfather and father, the *Twofold Cord* (1679), letting his own contributions pass unnamed and unnoticed. To the initiated, however, his part in the book was so evident,<sup>1</sup> that it caused his erudition to appear in the brightest light. As soon as the book was published, an invitation to go to Poland, where ample scope for spreading his fame could easily be afforded, was held out to Bacharach by Moses b. Shalom Friedmann, a brother-in-law of Tobias Moschides, the half-brother of R. Jair, who in his youth had been a pupil of R. Samson Bacharach in Worms,<sup>2</sup> and, on returning to Poland, the home of his father,<sup>3</sup> was appointed director of the schools by the nine communities in the district of Chelm. But Bacharach was not willing to leave Worms upon empty promises. He knew well that if anyone wanted him, they would find him easily enough. The community of Lissa, in Poland, had invited (1677) R. Aaron Teomim,<sup>4</sup> who, in this respect too, was more fortunate than he, to transfer his Rabbinate to their midst, but in vain. For many years Bacharach had buoyed himself up with the hope that some day the choice of some community would fall upon him, and often must his courage have risen

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המה הגבורים אשר מעולם ראשי ישיבות ועמודי גולה ולא יצא טבעם בארץ בהדפסת שום ספר :

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the testimony of approval of R. Süsskind Rothenburg to the מקור חיים in חיות יאיר, p. 233b. <sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, No. 92, p. 89b.

<sup>3</sup> R. Jeremiah Shalom b. Judah of Lemberg died in Worms; v. קבץ על יד, iii. 20. <sup>4</sup> בכורים i. 22.

when in his heart he compared himself with his spiritual chief; but now he saw how he had deceived himself, and on whose side fortune fought. Full of quiet resignation, he listened to R. Aaron, and although the tendency of his sermons was almost unbearable to him, yet he had to endure them, and to look on as fame spread his name upon her wings. But now Teomim became desirous of making an attempt at authorship. In 1675, when, immediately after the celebration of the first eve of Passover, he was stricken with an almost fatal illness, he had vowed, if he recovered, to write an exhaustive commentary to the Seder-hagada for his children, which should clear up all difficult points, and should bear the title of the *Rod of Aaron*.<sup>1</sup> In 1678 the book really appeared. All the methods that so much displeased Bacharach in the sermons of the author, an ingenuity that betrayed its own weakness, and in which general allusions took the place of truth, frivolous questions untenable premises, distorted quotations, vague references to the most unknown and undiscoverable passages from ancient literature, in fact, all the strange devices which disfigured his labours in the pulpit, found a place in this work. The simplicity of the text that was being explained contrasted sharply with the extraordinary style of the explanations: the art of rendering simple words inexplicable was carried to perfection in this book. But the untenable theories and the unnaturalness of the whole method, nay, even the introduction of the Pilpul into the region of sermons and explanations, were not the chief causes of

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<sup>1</sup> מטת אהרן, Preface. R. Aaron there also mentions his volume of sermons that was still in MS. וה"ביה יזכירי להרפים חיבורי הגדול על כל התורה ועל חמש מגילות הנקרא בגני אהרן. Bacharach, therefore, also knew this title, which fact has escaped J. M. Zunz, *עיר הצדק*, p. 145. S. Hosmann, in his *Das schwer zu bekehrende Juden-Hertz*, 1701, appendix, p. 45, only knows to quote חר גריא from the *Mattet Aaron*, "a book written by a Rabbi at Worms, named Aaron (who, after having been about six years in Cracow, died in prison, into which he was cast for some debts, as the Jews tell)."

annoyance to Bacharach. His keenest indignation was directed against R. Aaron's manner of supporting his statements by references to passages from other authors that he either misunderstood or wilfully perverted, and by quotations that were often utterly incorrect. This would have made him unhesitatingly throw down the gauntlet of challenge to R. Aaron, relying upon the example of the most noted men, who, out of their love for truth, did not shun a conflict. But again the thought of the position of the chief of the community restrained him. He<sup>1</sup> would certainly not have feared the excommunication which R. Aaron could have fulminated against his assailant; he was man enough to oppose it, and to reply with a counter-ban; but then R. Aaron was the Rabbi of Worms, and Bacharach a humble private person, who had to be cautious in his behaviour. The possible suggestion that it was all through jealousy of the successful head of the Rabbinate, and that the assertion of his incapacity as a preacher, was a case of "sour grapes," like the fox in the fable,<sup>2</sup> Bacharach could have afforded to disregard, being justly confident in the truth of his cause and his well-recognised and assured ability as a preacher; but the fear of personal motives being considered the source of his opposition withheld the brave man from taking public steps. He therefore determined to give vent to his anger in secret, but to hold his lance in readiness to defend the truth. Suppose it were again his fortune to leave Worms and be appointed to a Rabbinate! But even if this was not to be, still the time when truth would conquer must come, and then the seal that kept this book closed would be removed, and his testimony against

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<sup>1</sup> A misunderstanding of Bacharach's words (בכורים, I. 19), in which he discusses the probability of an excommunication which he might draw down upon himself by his conduct, has misled J. M. Zunz (*ib.* 145) to invent the fable, that Bacharach had already before been excommunicated by R. Aaron, and had been stirred up to take revenge.

<sup>2</sup> In בכורים, I. 23, Bacharach uses the parable of the Cat and the Meat.

falsehood prove no idle word.<sup>1</sup> Scarcely a year had passed after the publication<sup>2</sup> of the *Rod of Aaron*, when the work of Bacharach attacking it was written. It was to bear the same name, but rather as a rod for the back of the perverse Rabbi, and to serve as a work in which the true meaning of tradition was to be set forth. The coincidence that the numerical value of this Hebrew title, and of his name, Chayim Bacharach, amounted to the same, was only a further reason for copying this title.<sup>3</sup> In the first part of his reply,<sup>4</sup> Bacharach collects the passages in Teomim's book, which he attacks, quoting them accurately, but concisely, and in addition stating his real objections; whilst in the second part he undertakes the correction of the misunderstood references, and the proof that many of the citations adduced are either nowhere to be found or attributed to wrong sources. Only a man so marvellously well versed in ancient literature could have ventured to assert that a certain quotation was not to be found in the whole of the Midrash or the Zohar. The *Rod of Aaron* blossomed in secret. The object of its criticism was probably unaware of its existence.<sup>5</sup> It remained hidden in the possession of its author, who continually polished and improved it, and also made its tone gentler, and less severe. For, if he found nothing in the actual remarks of his attack that required alteration, he

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 15, אף כי מיום יצא לאור עדיין כעת לא יצא שנה ובללותיה.

<sup>3</sup> *V.* the appendix. The text has been omitted by Jellinek (בכורים, I. 20). חיים בכרך = 310 = מטה אהרן.

<sup>4</sup> It consists of 30 pp., and lies in MS. in the Beth Hamidrash of Vienna. Pp. 2-6 form the Introduction; pp. 6-17, the first part; p. 17, the conclusion of this part; and pp. 18-31, the second part. A page at the end seems to be missing.

<sup>5</sup> Owing to a gross misconception of Bacharach's words in בכורים, I. 23, note 2, Carmoly (הלבנון, VIII., 24) has concocted a story of a ban that B. issued against R. Aaron and his works. The continuer of the צמח דוד, David Reindorf, learnt the news of Teomim's murder too late to be able to mention it in his work; he would not have mentioned a banned man.

was displeased by the vigour and violence of his own language, especially when the terrible fate of his opponent was made known to him. Ten years after he had composed his reply, Bacharach was informed that Teomim, who had advanced step by step, and had ultimately succeeded in being elected preacher to the great community of Cracow, had fallen a victim to a murderous assault. When he wrote an account of this sad event upon the margin of his book<sup>1</sup> he may at the same moment have struck out the bitter observations that he had been led to make in the zeal for his cause, and have thus tacitly adjured posterity to leave all his violent expressions unpublished.<sup>2</sup> Thus the relations between the two men never changed. If it was only a hollow peace that existed between them, at least it never broke out into open acts of hostility. R. Jair did not pass over his spiritual chief when, according to the custom of the time, he was seeking from the authorities in Germany letters of approbation for his book, *Mekor Chayim*,<sup>3</sup> that he intended to issue after his work of *Responsa*; and the approval of R. Aaron, though given in somewhat measured terms, yet contained sufficiently genuine and hearty praise and recognition of the author's merits. Nor did R. Jair lack appreciation and encouragement from other quarters. He had the pleasure

<sup>1</sup> In Jellinek's edition, the marginal note of the ten years was afterwards admitted into the text, בכורים, I. 22. The printer's error of תמ"ז has led to the blunder in J. M. Zunz, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> בכורים, I. 23. In the MS., p. 18<sup>a</sup>, Bacharach repeats this caution in a note on the margin:—הריני גוזר בחרם המור כל מי להעתיק כ"ש להדפיס—דבריי הן פה בחלק השני או בראשון או בהשמטות יסיר ממנו כל דברי קנטורי ודברים קשים • וקצתם עשיתי רושם עיגולי סביב אבל לא על כלם מפני שקשה מאד לעשות בן כי ע"י זה תשחת המליצה ומ"מ לא סגי בלאו הכי ומוטל על המעתיק והמדפיס לשנות הלשון שכתבתי וישים לו תמונה אחרת עד כי יהיה השגה ותימה וגילוי מה שביסה או הוסיף או שינה בלי קנטור. The most violent passages have really been noted in this way as here advised.

<sup>3</sup> חרות יאיר, p. 232b; the beginning of *Resp.* 155 mentions a criticism that was written of this work.

of receiving the most honoured rabbis of Germany and other countries, in his house at Worms. Thus, in 1679, he was visited by the most distinguished Talmudical scholar of his age, R. Gershon Ashkenazi, Rabbi of Metz.<sup>1</sup> The aged Rabbi of Bingen, Joseph Josel b. Abraham and R. Mordecai Susskind Rothenburg, Rabbi of Witzzenhausen, in Hessen, were his guests in 1681, when he was thinking of publishing his book.<sup>2</sup> In connection with this work, he also appears to have left Worms at that time, and on his journey to have shown specimens of it to various friends, as, for instance, R. Enoch Fränkel, Rabbi of Hanau, and R. Jeremiah b. Judah, the District-Rabbi of Ansbach, in Gunzenhausen.<sup>3</sup> He was so determined to wait no longer before printing this work, that, in spite of a death in his family, he resolved, directly after the time of mourning was concluded, to journey to Amsterdam, and there superintend the printing.<sup>4</sup> In the collection of testimonials of approval that he possessed we have a full description of the way he was appreciated by the highest authorities, as well as of his connections with learned men.

It is no wonder, then, that his whole heart was intent upon the publication of this book. He had no other hope of greatness than the fame that this work would found for him; it was his consolation, this confident expectancy for the future. When the trials and disillusions that he had experienced in life threatened to overwhelm him, when he was filled with grief at the thought that he was isolated among all his children,<sup>5</sup> having no one to continue his life's

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, No. 158, p. 145*b*; v. Kaufmann, *Die letzte Vertreibung*, p. 224 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> חו"ת יאיר, p. 235*a*, and R. Mordecai Susskind Rothenburg, *Responsa*, No. 13, p. 34*a*.

<sup>3</sup> חו"ת יאיר, p. 236*b* and 236*a*. About Fränkel, v. Kaufman, *ib.*, p. 196, *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> M. S. Rothenburg, *Responsa*, p. 34*b*:—כ"י עם לבבי בהסכמה מוחלטת—ליסע תיכף אחר עבור זמן איבלותי לק"ק אמשטרדם האל יגמור בעדי האלוף כהרמ"ם, whom he names there, may have been his friend Moses Sofer, of Frankfurt.

<sup>5</sup> He thus expresses himself in the preface to this book, v. חו"ת יאיר, p.

work—the study of the law, then the longing to see his intellectual heritage saved from destruction, and to come forward with what he hoped would be a great and enduring work, naturally grew all the fiercer within him. He might well be pleased with the choice of his subject. With his accurate powers of observation, he had discovered a public literary want,<sup>1</sup> inasmuch as he aimed at expounding and exhaustively dealing with the ritual code of

בראותו כי הציבו הזמן כמטרה להצני היגונות בתלאות שונות וכל—: 231a  
 היום ישבע ריש ויפגעו בו ממכות הארץ ותחלואיה ולא נתנו הזמן הבוגד  
 לאכול ממגד מיטב הארץ ולהתענג בנופת פננ תענוגי הזמן אף כי  
 בראותו ילדיו מעשה ידיו אינם מושלמים די ספקס מספיקי למלא ארת  
 מקומו ולתת כבוד לשמו. Similarly he also observes in the preface to  
 the בואשר בעזרה גם בזה חסרוני ומומי כי אין לי בן ממלא—: חות יאיר  
 מקומי. J. Kanreuther (in the *Israelit*, 1862; *Isr. Anzeigebblatt*, p. 181,  
 note 1) has already pointed out Lewysohn's misunderstanding of this  
 passage. The epitaph of Samuel Sanvel, which as published in the *Israelit*  
 is mysterious, because it is undoubtedly given incorrectly, shows at any  
 rate that this son did not follow in the footsteps of his father, and had  
 much to repent of. Cp. *ib.*, p. 190; and 1863, p. 505. We learn about a second  
 son of Bacharach, Samson, from a Scroll of the Law and its mantle in the  
 Synagogue at Bucharest for the Asylum for the Aged (בית מחסה לזקנים),  
 which mantle, tradition relates, was given by R. Jair. Rev. Dr. Beck, to  
 whom I owe this information, describe the writing as being of rare  
 beauty, the letters are of an unusually large size, and the parchment is  
 about eight handbreadths wide. Upon the front of the mantle is the  
 following inscription, that is rather difficult to read:— ז"נ האלוף  
 מהר"ר שמשון בן הגאון המפורסם מוהר"ר יאיר חיים זצ"ל בכד"ו וזונתו  
 הצנועה מרת חיילה בת האלוף הר"ר יצחק ברין זצ"ל תס"ו לפ"ק  
 כתר תורה לזכרון עולם יהי הס"ת עם התיק שלו, On the  
 back are the words, מהגאון המפורסם המחבר חוות יאיר י קנה הר עוריאאל נרו יאיר בהמנוח  
 מוהר"ר אשר באט זצ"ל בשנת ת"איר מעשה ידי בתו מי שרה תחי' בת  
 הצנועה מ' רבקה הנצב"ה. Asriel Bot, a clothier, who immigrated from  
 Tismenitz, in Galicia, into Roumania, and who adorned this Scroll of the  
 Law for this Synagogue, that has been abandoned now for some six years,  
 obtained the mantle in Freiburg, in Moravia, from some country-people.  
 According to this, the remarks in the preface to the שו"ת כה שור (Kolo-  
 mea, 1888), to which Rabbi Ch. N. Dembitzer called my attention, are to be  
 corrected. The letters בכד"ו, which Rev. Dr. Beck explains to mean בכל  
 בדרך, ought, perhaps, to be read בדרך ודור.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Dembitzer, *ע"ג—ס"ד*, כלילת יופי, pp.

Jacob ben Asher, which had hitherto been rather neglected and cast aside. It may have suggested itself to him as an ideal in which his more fortunate rival in the same field, R. Abraham Abele Gumbinner, afterwards succeeded so well, namely, to put into the hands of his co-religionists a book, by means of which his name would be continually connected with their daily ritual life. But he seemed fated never to succeed. Was it, perhaps, the tidings that in 1681 Samuel b. Joseph had anticipated him with a commentary to the same book that appeared in Amsterdam,<sup>1</sup> or was there another reason that stopped his journey and the giving of his book to the Press? At any rate he was again the poorer for a hope, and the richer for a book that remained unprinted. How many things would he have said better than those who wrote after him; how many errors and misunderstandings others would have been able to avoid if his book had seen the light of day! But it was, at the best, a doubtful satisfaction that the consciousness of this thought awoke to him, a source of ever fresh displeasure, a continually repeated outbreaking of the wound of his ill success. He had not, however, altogether given up the idea of publication. For more than ten years he continued to hope in silence that his book would after all be printed. The number of letters of approval in his possession meantime went on increasing, and among them was that of the youngest of his friends, his compatriot and relative, R. David Oppenheim.<sup>2</sup>

Like a joyous promise, the gentle light of this rising star fell upon Bacharach's clouded life. The high esteem in which Oppenheim, when still at home, had always held the famous and revered scholar only increased during the years he spent as a student in Metz, in the Talmudic school of R. Gershon Ashkenazi, who was bound to Bacharach in indissoluble bonds of friendship. There thus arose between

<sup>1</sup> In the preface to the *חוקת יאיר*, he indeed only mentions the commentaries of Gumbinner and R. David Halevi, that appeared for the first time in 1692.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 234a.

these two men, who were separated from each other in age by the space of a generation, an intimacy that was maintained and strengthened by a learned correspondence. Oppenheim's questions and opinions were a source of interest and deep enjoyment to Bacharach,<sup>1</sup> as well as an opportunity for developing his own powers and exercising his intellect. It must have afforded him no little satisfaction to be able to instil rich seed into the mind of his younger friend, and to find him able, owing to his unlimited means, to make a reality of that to which he himself could only aspire with ardent zeal and all-embracing intellect—the foundation of a collection of manuscripts and books of Jewish writings in every branch of knowledge.

Besides this correspondence, that already in 1683 had become a very active one,<sup>2</sup> the numerous Rabbinical questions that he was incessantly receiving occupied the time of Bacharach, and showed him that, even in his position as a private person, he had risen to the rank of a Rabbinical authority in Germany. In this way he had the opportunity of engaging in a frequent interchange of opinions with such diligent students of the Talmud as R. Gershon Ashkenazi,<sup>3</sup> in Metz, and R. Isaiah Hurwitz,<sup>4</sup> in Frankfurt-on-the-Maine. He even held communications of this sort with the Rabbi of his community, R. Aaron Teomim, as they both often had occasion to express their opinions about the same matter, even as late as the year 1687.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, p. 212b. תורתו של הגאון נר"ו שעשועי ושמחת לבי ואגב חביבות ונטילת יתירתו ונענועיו שיש לדו"די לי ואני לו לכן מטיבות וענותותי ונטילת רשות והרמא אמינא מה שיש להגדו קצת בדבריו לא כמשיב רק כמתענג ומשתעשע במתק צוף אמריו כי נעמו.

<sup>2</sup> No. 23, as we learn from the manuscript *Responsa* (IV. 3) of R. David Oppenheim, from the words *לנצבורג לפק פה* was sent by him to B. as early as 1683. The heading in it runs as follows:—  
אל אח בלבנון הריף ושנון אף בפתחי נידה וקינון ותלמודו מסודר ושגור בפיו כמונה על תמחוי וקבון אחריתו מגון בצל שדי יתלונן עד ביאות שמו ינון ה"ה הגאון המופלא ע"ה פ"ה נ"י כ"ש מוהר"ר יאיר חיים נר"ו.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* Nos. 86-7.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 115, 117.

<sup>5</sup> No. 125.

Thus, year after year of Bacharach's life was spent in useless waiting and deceptive hopes, until a change in the state of public affairs, which had hitherto brought him but little advantage, now threatened to destroy the little home of the hermit, who had seemed forgotten by the world. The French had forced their way into the Palatinate; every day brought the dreadful tidings of new conquests and struggles. All the cities in turn opened their gates to the invaders; all resistance was futile; and when so many stronger fortresses had been compelled to surrender, no choice remained for Worms but to do the same. On the 1st of October, 1688, the enemy appeared before the city; the terms of capitulation were signed,<sup>1</sup> and Worms became a French town. For the Jewish community this conquest brought special dangers, besides the distress that was felt by all alike. Every dealing of the Jews with the enemy was looked upon as treachery, which seemed to be completely proved by the more humane treatment that they received from them.<sup>2</sup>

In this storm-charged atmosphere it was more a deliverance than a promotion for R. Aaron Teomim, the Rabbi of a congregation now in such a precarious condition, when one of the largest Jewish communities, that of Cracow, just at this time invited him to become their Rabbi.<sup>3</sup> He had witnessed enough misery in his rabbinate, but he was spared the worst part. A general depreciation in the value of goods set in, and those who could obtain purchasers for half the usual price<sup>4</sup> might consider themselves fortunate. The consternation that was caused by the sudden predatory

<sup>1</sup> F. Soldau, *Die Zerstörung der Stadt Worms im Jahre 1689*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 9, 10, 13, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Owing to a misprint in בכורים, I., 22, of תמ"ט for תמ"ז, J. M. Zunz, in עיר הצדק, p. 131, causes R. Aaron to remain in Germany three years before entering upon the Rabbinate of Cracow. On Sunday, the 5th of June, 1689, י"ז סיון [read א' יום ב' א'] R. Aaron, then in Hamburg, had only heard of the dangers that were impending in Worms, but not yet of the final catastrophe, v. אבן השוהם, *Resp.* 65.

<sup>4</sup> According to חוות יאיר, No. 44.

inroad of the enemy produced a wild state of confusion. Everyone began to try to rescue and hide all the movable property he could snatch from the plunderers; panic seized the inhabitants of the villages, who hurried into the towns, whither they had often conveyed their goods, with bundles on their backs, without having even received the customary permission to enter.<sup>1</sup> But loss of property and panic were only the forerunners of complete destruction. And in all this no one was more unfortunate than Bacharach, whose last hope was now frustrated. If after the departure of R. Aaron he might have indulged for a moment in a vision of hope, seeing that in the absence of a Rabbi all rabbinical questions upon communal matters were submitted to him,<sup>2</sup> his expectations of the fulfilment of his desire that now seemed so close at hand were utterly shattered when annihilation began to threaten his congregation. Louvois had issued the command, that all towns that could not be held by troops should be converted into a heap of ruins. The Palatinate became a scene of desolation; so many blossoming lives, so many famous reminiscences, so much human fortune and industry, culture and art—all found a grave in the flames that rose to heaven. Whit Tuesday, the 31st of May, 1689, was the fateful day for Worms.<sup>3</sup> In the afternoon, when the hour of four had struck, the signal for the destruction of the town was given, and it was set fire to from all sides. In the general ruin the Judengasse,<sup>4</sup> with its historical memorials, the jewels

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, No. 165.

<sup>2</sup> I infer this from the end of No. 213.

<sup>3</sup> R. David Oppenheim (in *אבן השהם*, *Resp.* 66) mentions distinctly Tuesday; [read *שם המקום תבערה*] *שם המקומות בערה* [שם המקום תבערה] *יום ג' לסדר ויקרא שם המקומות בערה*, described in words taken from Numb. xi. 3, as the day of the conflagration. If Bacharach (*חיות יאיר*, p. 125*a*) names Wednesday (*ביום ד' י"ג סיון תמ"ט*) as this day, he must have had in his mind the day when the burning of the town was finished; *v. Soldau*, *ib.*, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> We have distinct evidence against the assertion of Lewysohn (Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, 17, 361) that he regards as historical that only "the Judengasse remained undestroyed." Thus R. David Oppenheim (*ib.*) ob-



members of this ancient body regard themselves as bound to carry out its rules, if the bond that had united them was broken, and no hope of their re-union seemed remotely possible? There was only one man who clung to the belief in the reorganisation of the community, who spoke, indeed, of exile, but would not believe in the destruction of their ancient union. This man was R. Chayim Bacharach. He looked upon the preservation of the synagogue valuables and the communal books as a pledge of its re-establishment. The symbols of the existence of the old synagogue, that formed its historic centre, were still secure; it was only a question of "When?" not that all hope of restoration was to be abandoned. With the bold though sure glance of the seer he made public this conviction, and declared the traditions of the old congregation binding<sup>1</sup> upon their children, thus preserving its separate existence through and beyond the period of dispersion. On the 1st of January, 1691, we find him in Heidelberg, where soon after the time of destruction life began to move and thrive afresh at the house of the wealthy warden, Moses Oppenheim, sen., whose son Solomon had married Bacharach's daughter, Dobrush.<sup>2</sup> He most probably did not care to continue in exile in Metz, where his family still remained; the necessity of procuring a permanent livelihood had caused him to wander about. In the summer of 1690, we meet him in Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, in the house of Hirz Wahl, the uncle of R. David Oppenheim, where he perhaps for the last time enjoyed the society of his friend and beloved pupil,<sup>3</sup> before the latter went to Nicolsburg to act as Chief Rabbi of Moravia. Without feeling the slightest envy against the fortunate young man,

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, No. 126, ומה גם עיר ואם בישראל וק"ק ישן גושן בזו והרי עדיין ס"ת וכלי קודש ובל פנקסי קהל סגורים ומוברחים.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 125a, Moses Senior Oppenheim, as he is called on the tombstone of his son Solomon (*v. Lewysohn*, No. 43), died at midnight, Sunday, 11 Ab, 1701, at Heidelberg, but was interred at Worms, *v. קבץ על יד*, III. 22.

<sup>3</sup> No. 166, בריה תמוז שנת ת"ל [ת"ן ק"ק] בימי עוניי ומרודי ונודי ק"ק, ורקפורט.

but full of bitter comparisons with his own unhappy lot he makes a note<sup>1</sup> of the fact that his friend was scarcely thirty years old when called to this important post. Perhaps it was on this occasion that he formed the resolve to betake himself to Heidelberg, where the most prominent members of the family of Oppenheim had already settled, or had sought refuge after the destruction of Worms. Samuel, the imperial chief court-agent of Vienna, had been denoted by the name of Heidelberg,<sup>2</sup> his previous residence, even in later years, long after he had already settled in Austria. His brother, Moses Senior, who was related by marriage to Bacharach, had settled permanently in Heidelberg as district warden of the Jews of the Palatinate. His brother, Abraham, the father of R. David Oppenheim, had just fled hither from Worms. This was the Abraham Zur Kandten,<sup>3</sup> *v.e.*, the owner of the house that had a sign-board with a pot painted thereon, whose duty it had been, as warden in Worms, to receive the French general d'Huxelles on the 2nd of December, 1689, in the name of his congregation, and who now in his exile watched over the interests of his dispersed community, that was even yet in danger, with no less zeal than before.<sup>4</sup> Bacharach, therefore, met with many friends when in the spring of 1691 he arrived at Heidelberg. It almost seems as if for a brief period he fulfilled the functions of the Rabbinate here; at least, R. Hirsch Fränkel, when he afterwards became Rabbi of Heidelberg, and in 1705 had a dispute with R. David Oppenheim about a bill of divorce, appealed to the decisions that R. Chayim Bacharach had pronounced whilst staying there.<sup>5</sup> But even if Heidelberg

<sup>1</sup> In vol. III. of his MSS., p. 120, he writes: שאלה מה"ה מהרר דוד אשר נתקבל לאב"ד בק"ק נ"ש והמדינה לפני היותו בן שלשים. בדפין גדולים

<sup>2</sup> Kaufmann, *Samson Wertheimer*, 3, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Soldau, *ib.*, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Lewysohn, in *Frankel's Monatschrift*, vii. 363, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> In the MS. *Responsa* of R. David Oppenheim, III. 34; וגם הרב המופל"י מוהר"ח ז"ל בעל חות יאיר סידור גט כאן בהיידלבערג ג"כ כנ"ל

had again begun to be well populated, it had not yet lost all traces of the terrible ravages committed in it. People were still afraid to display openly their property that had been saved from the pillage; if Bacharach wanted a reference-work upon Rabbinical literature, he could not procure a copy from any of the community; all his decisions had to be arrived at from the fulness of his knowledge without the assistance of books.<sup>1</sup> He, therefore, could not remain long in his friendly place of refuge. Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, that had already become the natural asylum for every fugitive from Worms, seeing that it had afforded shelter to the magistrate of that town,<sup>2</sup> he resolved, should also be his permanent home,<sup>3</sup> where he could wait hopefully for the fulfilment of his great desire, the re-establishment of his congregation and their old dwelling-place. He sent for his family and his property from Metz to come to him, so that, surrounded by his books and manuscripts, he could resume the thread of his researches and labour at the point where he had been compelled to break it off, owing to the invasion of Worms. The most intimate friend<sup>4</sup> of Bacharach in this town was R. Samuel Schotten,<sup>5</sup> formerly Rabbi in Darmstadt, and at this time head director of the Manes-Darmstadt Klause college. He was distinguished, not only for his extra-

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ואין פה בידי לא ש"ם ולא פוסקי' כי גם הב"ב פה, p. 125a, הות יאיר <sup>1</sup>  
הבריהו את אשר להם מפני חמת המצידי. Cp. also No. 213.

<sup>2</sup> Soldau, *ib.*, 33 sqq., 38.

<sup>3</sup> The play upon his name (at the end of :*Resp.* 15) in the sentence, ל' לא האמנתי לראות בטוב ה" בארץ החיים ושם יא"ר נרי נר המזיד, may be taken to allude to the date Iyar, 1694.

<sup>4</sup> In the summer of 1699, B. gave him, perhaps as a token of remembrance, a whole volume of manuscript Cabbalistic notes, as a present, as he remarks in the list of contents to vol. XXIII. of his MSS., כרך גדול קבלה מעשיות י נתתי במתנה לה"ה אב"ד ראש ישיבה קלויז מהרר שמואל שאמטי בהיותי שם ורנקוורט קיץ תב"ט.

<sup>5</sup> About him, cf. Horowitz, *Frankfurter Rabbinen*, II., 57, 60, 73, 77, sqq., 4 , sq., and Brüll, *Jahrbücher*, vii. 160, sq.

ordinarily profound Rabbinical erudition, but also for his general culture, most astounding for a Rabbi of this time, and he was even, thanks to his knowledge of Latin, well read in Christian theological literature.<sup>1</sup> It was probably through him that R. Chayim made the acquaintance of the Christian scholar, Rudolf Martin Meelführer, who, notwithstanding his youth, was already deeply versed in Rabbinical literature, and who knew how to value the manuscript treasures in Bacharach's costly library.<sup>2</sup> But on the whole, the exile from Worms led a rather retired life here. Prematurely aged, inwardly broken by his misfortunes and mental troubles, deprived almost entirely of the sense of hearing, and so having to rely completely upon his own resources, he was cut off from intercourse with the outer world, even before bodily suffering kept him to his house. Overcome by grief and melancholy, he describes himself to us<sup>3</sup> as one isolated and a stranger with difficulty crawling about with the aid of a stick, and even compelled to omit his attendance at synagogue owing to his weakness. In this situation R. Hirsch,<sup>4</sup> the son of his friend R. Enoch Fränkel of

<sup>1</sup> This remarkable fact in the history of culture, we learn from Rudolf Martin Meelführer, *Causas Synagogæ errantis sive impedimenta conversionis Judæorum*, p. 21n: "Præest Synagogæ Francofurtensi ad Mœnū Vir modestus ac pereruditus R. Samuel vulgo Rabbīnus der Clausen cœtis literarii qui ibidem colligitur, vocatur, hunc sæpe accessi et cum eo contulj de variis capitibus doctrinæ Christianæ, aliquando scriptis Germ. Dn. D. Speneri cura singulari invigilantem in Museo deprehendi, ubi illico mihi quæ in vastis voluminibus legerat reddebat promptissime et fere totum diem dicendo de theologorum nostrorum controversiis exprimebat."

<sup>2</sup> Bacharach had the supercommentary of Joseph b. Elazar (צפנת פענח) to Ibn Ezra's commentary to the Pentateuch, in MS., v. R. M. Meelführer, *Ex historia Hebræorum literaria sive de meritis Hebræorum in rem literariam* (Wittenberg, 1699), § 3: "Hic MStus Francofurti ad Mœnum in Bibl. celebri Rabbini, R. Chajim Bacharacensis extat."

<sup>3</sup> See the commencement of the Preface to חות יאיר, and beginning and end of Resp. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 229a, מהר"ר ולמדן מפלוג פה על הטוב יזכר שמו בהר"ר, וסופר מהר"ר וצלהה שהיה אב"ר ור"מ בק"ק הענא לפנים הירש בן הגאון כמוהרר חנוך וצלהה שהיה אב"ר ור"מ בק"ק הענא לפנים Cp. Kaufmann, *Die letzte Vertreibung der Juden aus Wien*, p. 199, n. 5.

Hanau became his faithful assistant. The one thought that sustained him in all his distress was to render his works accessible to posterity, and he found tranquillity and comfort in directing the work of Hirsch Fränkel, as he arranged and copied his manuscripts to prepare them for the press. In this town, where an excellent firm of Hebrew printers was established, during his enforced leisure his long-delayed plans for publishing his works must have been revived with renewed vigour. It seemed as if he had only to stretch out his hand to bring forth the fruits of his industrious and richly productive life from the storehouses where he had placed them, but in reality he needed the powers that had been his in his youth to revise and set in order this over-plentiful material. Even his book, *Mekor Chayim*, that had been ready for the press some twenty years ago, had become so disarranged and in want of revision, owing to the notes which he had been obliged to add to it after the appearance of the commentaries of R. Abraham Gumbinner and R. David Halevi to the ritual Code of Joseph Karo, that he was compelled to forego all hope of publishing it in his present condition, when, to think out again all the material he had collected, and to re-write the whole work was an impossible task for him.<sup>1</sup>

Owing to the remarkable accident that, while depriving us of the writings of the man, has yet preserved to us the catalogue of them, we are enabled to obtain so perfect an idea of the method of his work that we can see that this scholar, who was always investigating and writing, in spite of all his productions, could scarcely ever lay his hands directly upon anything that he might show as the result of his labour, even when the harvest-time of his life had been reached. Just as the fruits of his all-embracing industry, that occupied itself with equal diligence with all kinds of learning, were stocked together

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Preface to קנות יאיר.

in his brain, so his papers bore the evidences of his many-sided labours, which, to himself appeared clear and connected, but in reality carried the distinct signs of his activity as a thinker and a collector in their inextricable and variegated confusion. Filled with the earnestness of the inquirer who takes equal interest in all matters, nothing being disregarded, he considered everything that engaged his thoughts and came under his observation as worthy of being commented upon; certainly none of his contemporaries was so careful in "making notes" as he was. Whether it was the explanation of some obscure passage, the solution of some Talmudical difficulty, the application of some Agadic remark, the answering of some legal point that was either submitted to him or raised by himself, the treatment of some ethical problem, the development of some philosophical thought, the proof of some article of belief, the astonishing revelation of the equality in numerical value of two words or groups of words, the clearing up of some cabbalistic mystery, the discussion of some custom or superstition, or some phase of Jewish life, or of an historical memorial, or of a curiosity, the commenting upon some grammatical, scientific, or mathematical question, the copying of an old poem, or of a letter or opinion of whatsoever kind, making extracts from a rare book or from a manuscript, something he had himself experienced or that was brought under his notice, a tradition or the result of his own reflections—all these numerous things were carefully rescued from oblivion in absolutely unsystematic succession, just as they presented themselves to him, and were safely secured by his ever active pen. It is principally in seven volumes of his manuscripts that all this immediate outcome of his own personal work was contained. The number of manuscript volumes in which, so to speak, the intellectual family hoard heaped together by the labours of a large circle of relatives and friends was preserved, and which R. Jair's activity as a collector brought together, must have amounted to nearly

fifty; but in these seven volumes was to be found the greater part of his own work—the diary of his genius—although they by no means exhausted the full quantity of his own productions. But they remained a worthless treasure, an unused harvest as long as the dense mass of these notes could not be revised and sorted, and, therefore, Bacharach resolved to cut a path through the thicket, and, under the name of *Jair Nathib*<sup>1</sup> (the Illuminator of the Path), which title Isaac Nathan had also given to his *Concordance to the Bible*, to compile an index to these volumes, in which a general reference to the matter contained in each, and to the page on which it was to be found should be given. If, owing to the preservation of this work, we are led to a full consciousness of the irreparable loss literature has suffered in the destruction of these collections, on the other hand the knowledge of the subjects on which this richly endowed intellect dwelt upon with such eager interest, in addition to the numerous topics to which allusion is merely made in the midst of the vast quantity of the material treated of by him, allows us to take the desired glance over the fields of learning through which he walked gathering the fruits, and, moreover, to obtain an unexpected insight into the history of his inner life. From this point of view the publication of this work, which affords an adequate idea of his intellectual activity, becomes an absolute duty demanded by science. How important this book had been to him is best shown by the fact that he had provided it with an introduction,<sup>2</sup> which serves as a testimony to his brilliant power of thought and true scientific spirit. Whatever entered his mind during sleepless nights, which undermined his already delicate health, during lonely walks, during the hour of leisure at twilight, at

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<sup>1</sup> The property of the Beth Ha-midrash in Vienna. In the "Beth Ha-midrash" of J. H. Weiss, Jellinek has given extracts from this MS. I have to express my indebtedness to my respected friend J. H. Weiss, in Vienna, who many years ago studied this treasure, for being enabled to obtain a thorough acquaintance with this MS. <sup>2</sup> V. Appendix.

public lectures, or during silent research, all was here to be found written down as a help to his own memory, entirely for his own use. Now that he was examining this intellectual store from the standpoint of a strange reader, it must have seemed necessary to him to explain, and as it were to excuse, these notes, that might seem incomprehensible to his contemporaries, especially in the case of such apparently trifling or even useless things as special customs or superstitious notions. But the large space that he had devoted to the playing with numbers and curious comparisons of words according to the spirit of the age, also seemed to him to require some word of explanation; they were only to be regarded as the children of his enforced leisure, which he had never allowed to grow in size at the expense of his own serious studies.

The merest glance at the extent of this collection gives some idea of its richness; a thorough examination of the multiplicity and scientific tone of its contents changes our wonder to admiration.

Thus the first volume consisted of 237 leaves, the table of contents of which occupies twenty-four closely written folio pages of the index. The headings that succeed each other in miscellaneous order are somewhat as follows:—Talmud, Agada, Legalism, Ritual, Bible, Homiletics, Ethics, Philosophy, Cabbala, History, and general Criticism. The variety of the contents, and the rays of light that break through the mental darkness of the period may be illustrated by a few examples from this work. Thus in one passage he asserts that even ethical writings in German are of more value than the greatest and most ingenious Talmudical works that are not based upon truth.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere he excuses the Polish Talmudists for their deficient knowledge of the Bible.<sup>2</sup> The story of two women who agreed

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חסידות דל"ט ע"ב • שבה ספרי מוסר אפילו בלשון אשכנז יותר מחיבורי גדולי החריפ"י ופקפולי של שקר

ד"ת דף קמ"ד ע"א • התנצלות על גדולי פולין שאינם בקיאים במקרא ע'<sup>2</sup>  
כרך ג' דף מ"ב ע"א ודף ע"ט ע"א

that the one who died first should relate to the survivor her experiences after death,<sup>1</sup> seems to him to be as well worth noting down as the impressive rebuke he administered to his co-religionists for certain defects (and their causes) that had crept into divine service.<sup>2</sup> At one time he inveighs against the misunderstanding of Christian commentators of the Talmudical saying, "Keep back your children from reading," as well as against the reproaches levelled against the Jews for their ignorance of the interpretation of Holy Writ,<sup>3</sup> and then his philosophical reflections cause him to soar aloft to a height whence he recognises how the Biblical verse (Ps. civ. 31) has this profound meaning, that God will only rejoice in the future, for at the present time each day reveals some new imperfection in the world.<sup>4</sup>

The exhaustive description of the second volume with its 204 leaves extends from page 24*a* to page 40*b* of the Index, and shows a still more versatile aspect of his learning. Here we have the pious customs of the community of Worms copied out from an old parchment prayer-book.<sup>5</sup> The sufferings at the destruction of Worms,<sup>6</sup> the persecutions at Nordhausen,<sup>7</sup> here find their faithful chronicler. Now we behold him dealing with the problem, how the

1 חדושים דף קמ"ה ע"א • מעשה נפלא שתי נשים שת"כ יחד איזה 1  
: שתמות תחילה תניד לחברתה מה אירע לה

2 חסידו דף קע"ט ע"ב : תוכחה נמרצה על קלות ראש ומיעט אימה 2  
: בבה"כ וכמה דברים מקולקלי שבנו והסיבה

3 אגדה דף ק"ץ ע"א • פי' מנעו בניכם מן הגיון ומה שחכמי א"ה מליזין 3  
: עלינו מזה ותוכחה על סכלותינו בביאור תניך : ע' כרך ג' דף ע"ט ע"א :

4 ד"ת דף ר"ך ע"ב • ישמח ה' במעשיו אבל לא שמח כי כל מעשה יום 4  
: יום יש בו פגם

5 מנהג דף ד' ע"א • הועתק קצת מנהגי ק"ק ווירמיישא מתפילה ישנה 5  
: על הקלף

6 חידושי דף פ"ב ע"ב • מ"ש בנחמיה אשר העיר קברות אבותי הרובה • 6  
: ומספר מה שאירע לו בחרבן ק"ק וירמיישא תוב"ב :

7 חידושי דף קל"ו ע"א • מאורע רעה גזירו נורטהויזין : 7

numbering of the twenty-four books of the Scripture<sup>1</sup> originated, and then reproducing the list of books named in the *Kneseth Hagedola* of Benveniste.<sup>2</sup> In one place he decides the question whether it is permitted to skate on Sabbath,<sup>3</sup> whilst in another the discussion touches upon what it is that decides the fate of books and the acceptance and circulation of synagogal poems.<sup>4</sup> The enumeration of the verses of the Bible that have been misunderstood in a Christological sense<sup>5</sup> interests him no less than the solution of the question whether R. Asher of Lunel or R. Asher of Toledo lived earlier,<sup>6</sup> or who was the Greek Rabbi whom R. Abraham b. David of Posquières mentions.<sup>7</sup> Why the number of ten adults that is required for public worship is simply called "the number" (Minyan),<sup>8</sup> is a point of no less importance for him than the striking incident that R. Gershon, the Light of the Diaspora, kept fourteen days of mourning for his apostate son.<sup>9</sup> He enumerates the notes of the melody to the prayer, Baruch Sheamar, verse by verse,<sup>10</sup> as carefully as he states his approval of the custom of applying the benedictory formula, apparently intended only for the dead, to the living as well.<sup>11</sup>

תורה דף ל' ע"א • מה הם עשרים וארבע ספרים הקדושי' ע' כרך ג' : דינ ע"ב וכרך ה' דר"ל ע"ב וכרך א' דצ"א :

<sup>2</sup> דברי תורה דף ל"ח ע"ב • רשימת ספרים הנזכרים בספר כנסת הגדולה :

<sup>3</sup> ג"ז [= גם זו, דיני' .sc.] א"ח של"ז דף ע' ע"ב • לעבור על הגליד בל"א : שלייפין בשבת :

<sup>4</sup> ספרי' דף נ"ז ע"א • בדבר חיבורי' ופיוטי' יש זוכים שיתפשטו ויקובלון : ויש לא :

<sup>5</sup> ד"ת דף קי"ד ע"א • רשימת פסוקי אנ"ך שפקרו המיני' • בדפין גדולים :

<sup>6</sup> ד"ת דף קס"ט ע"א • הרא"ש מטלוטלא מביא להרא"ש מלוניל וגם [f. 64b] ; V. Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*, p. 48.

<sup>7</sup> ד"ת דף קצ"ד ע"ב • צ"ע הרב היוני שדבר הראב"ד מי הוא :

<sup>8</sup> ד"ת דף ק"ט ע"ב • למה נקרא אסיפת עשרה לרבר קדושה מנין :

<sup>9</sup> ד"ת דף קנ"ג ע"א • מה שצ"ע על רנמ"ה שישב אבלות על בנו י"ד ימים : כהשמיר • י"ד שמו"ה :

<sup>10</sup> מנהגי' דף ק"ה ע"א • סדר נגינות ברוך שאמר חרוזה אחר חרוזה :

<sup>11</sup> ד"ת דף קס"ט ע"א • נכון לומר זצ"ל ולכתוב כך גם על אדם חי שכ"ב :

The third volume contains 191 leaves, which are described in the Index from page 41a to page 48b. Here we have Talmudical questions that were put to him, for instance, by the Talmudist of Worms, Moses Oettingen,<sup>1</sup> by R. Joseph Drescher,<sup>2</sup> and R. David Oppenheim,<sup>3</sup> as well as the penitential hymn that his grandfather, R. Samuel, had composed for the congregation of Worms.<sup>4</sup> Here, too, he enters into the question whether it is more meritorious to spend one's time in study or in teaching one's own son,<sup>5</sup> and, also, whether it is lawful to whitewash a synagogue a second time—an act that the Jews of Worms had always been averse to doing, but which they were compelled to do ten years after the catastrophe of 1689.<sup>6</sup> His critical talents are displayed here in collecting and grouping together the liturgical poetry composed by Eleazar Kalir and Simon the Great for the second days of the holidays,<sup>7</sup> as well as in his endeavours to make clear to

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[ח'ת יא'ר', *Resp.*, 71=] ע' דפוס ע"א ; Cp., for a similar custom in Yemen, אבן ספיר, I., 56b.

תורה דף ע"ח • קושיא ממהר"מ מלמד בוירמיישא בתו' דב"מ ד"ד ד"ה <sup>1</sup> א"ן נשבעין ותשובתי בצדו • נקרא ר' משה עטינגין קבץ על יד. Oettingen, the widow of Isaac Blin, died in Worms, 1705; *v.* יד. III. 22.

ג"ז [תורה] דף פ' • ממהרר יוסף דרעשיר • בגמ' דר"ה ביום נקנור <sup>2</sup> וטוריינום :

דינ' דף ק"ב • שאלה מה"ה מהרר דוד אשר נתקבל לאב"ד בק"ק <sup>3</sup> נ"ש והמדינה לפני היותו בן שלשים • בדפין גדולים :

תפילה דף כ"ג ע"א • סליחה שיסוד א"ז הנאון וצ"ל לאומרה בקק"ו <sup>4</sup> לפני הגירוש שהיה שע"ה • והיא שלישיה :

חסידו' דף ה' ע"א • איזה עדיף אם להתמיד בלימודו או לבלות זמנו <sup>5</sup> בלימוד בנו :

דינ' א"ח קכ"א • דף כף ע"ב • מותר לסיך בה"כ ישנה בלי חשש רק <sup>6</sup> ונם פה ק"ק ווירמיש אחר שנחרבה—[Later the following words were added by Bacharach, though they are now half obliterated:—מעם צרפת שנת תמ"ט ונחורה ונתישבה שנת תנ"ט וסדוה מבפנים יפה בלי חשש :] :

תפילה דף ל"ד ע"ב • בענין פיוטי ר"א הקליר ור"ש הגדול בשני ימים <sup>7</sup> : ח'ת יא'ר' p. 222a. Cp. P. F. Frankel in *Zunz-Jubelschrift*, p. 162, and די"ט :

himself the meaning of the observation by which, according to Abraham Ibn Daud's account, Moses b. Chanoch was said to have first directed the attention of the modest Nathan to his Talmudic erudition.<sup>1</sup> He investigates the reason why Jesus, contrary to the Jewish law, has been crucified alive, and ascribes it to a Roman custom.<sup>2</sup> If the Talmud praises acuteness of thought, this praise certainly cannot justify the Polish degeneracy into the Pilpul.<sup>3</sup> His historical instincts are not appeased until he has placed all the heroes of Talmudical literature in their proper historical order. Thus he tries to fix exactly the position in time of R. Jonathan Hacoen, the commentator to Alfâsi upon Erubin.<sup>4</sup>

Volume IV., with its manifold contents, is treated of in the index from p. 49a to 56a. It includes 236 leaves. Here we read the opinions to which he gave utterance on the 17th of Tebeth, 1668,<sup>5</sup> in his effort to quell the violent dispute that raged at Trier, and also the narrative of the ravages committed by the French in Worms that he had sent to his son Samson.<sup>6</sup> The curious species of lizard, to which the attention of R. Liepman Heller was first drawn,<sup>7</sup> calls for a remark from him as well as the dictum of his

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ספרי דף מ' ע"ב • מ"ש בעלי ספרי ד"ה שאמר ר"מ האורח לר"ג דכ"י  
פשו להו טבילות • שאין לו מובן • ומקומו איה :

חקירה דף קל"ב ע"ב • טעם שנתלה א"א חי שכך המלכו' עושה בימיהם<sup>2</sup>  
כבגמ' ע' כרך א' ד"ג ע"ב ובכה"ג תלוה וזבין :

תוכחה דף קל"ה ע"א • חריף ומקשי אין פירושו פלפול של הבל וחילוקי<sup>3</sup>  
פולין ח"י :

ד"ת דף קנ"ג ע"א • מי הוא ר' יהונתן הכהן המפרש לר"ף במס' עירובין :<sup>4</sup>  
ג"ו ג"ז [דיני' ח"מ] דף קלאבג"ד • תשובה על מחלוקת גדול ודברי<sup>5</sup>

בוזונ' שאירעו בק"ק טריר • ג"ו ד"ג נדפס ס"ה [חות יאיר] :  
ד"ה דף קס"ו ע"ב • מה שכתבתי לבני שמשון במצוק קק"ו מצרפתי<sup>6</sup>

בחרוזים מהשערוריה :

ד"ת דף נ"ו ע"ב • מ"ש ספר אוצר חיים בדג פאסטינאקה מורינא •<sup>7</sup>  
ומ"ש בו בס' לחם חמודות ע' כרך ג' דק"ל ע"א וכרך ב' דכ"ו ע"ב ;  
Cp. Kaufmann, *Die letzte* V., p. 16 n. 3. The medicinal remedy, called *stineus marinus*, by Heller, is still used and popular for aphrodisia in Lower Austria ; cf. *Wiener medicinische Wochenschrift*, 1889.

great-great-grandfather, the tall R. Löw, that the peacock belonged to the clean birds, *i.e.*, those that are lawful for food.<sup>1</sup> At one time he is defending Abraham Ibn Ezra against the imputation that in his exegesis he disregarded Rabbinical tradition,<sup>2</sup> and at another he traces the development of the system of hospitality among the ancients, and the origin of the so-called Pletten,<sup>3</sup> *i.e.*, the bills for the payment of the expenses of poor students and travellers to whom hospitality was shown. In one passage he seeks reasons for declaring the drawing and hanging up of one's own portrait, and that of one's relatives to be perfectly allowable;<sup>4</sup> in another he puzzles himself about the phenomenon that in a mirror the human face does not seem to turn from right to left.<sup>5</sup> He is as anxious to settle the question whether Maimuni possessed a knowledge of Hebrew grammar, poetry and metre,<sup>6</sup> as whether the Joseph Hacoen mentioned in the Mishna may not be the author of *Josippon*.<sup>7</sup>

The 272 leaves of Vol. V. have their various contents detailed in p. 57a to p. 83b in the index. In this part he is engaged in questions of natural science, as, *e.g.*, about objects that are visible and yet cannot be perceived by the sense of touch, and *vice versa*,<sup>8</sup> or about the query, why

ג"ז ג"ז [דיני' י"ד] ק"א ע"ב • מ"ש זקיני הגאון מוהרל"פ שטווס עוף<sup>1</sup>  
: טהור הוא

אמונה דף ר"ו • התנצלות בעד הראב"ע ממה שחשבוהו כאינו הושש<sup>2</sup>  
: לקבלה • ושברדוש אפשר לדרוש נגד דרו"ל יע"ש

חסידו' דף רי"א ע"א • ענין הכנסת אורחים איך היה בימי הקדמוני' ואיך<sup>3</sup>  
: נתפשטו הפליטין • וכמה דברים בעניניה

חסידו' י"ד קמ"א דף רי"ג ע"ב • אין איסור לצייר צורת עצמו וצורת<sup>4</sup>  
: אביו ולתלותם בהדרו • ע"ש Cf. Schudt, *Jud. Merkw.* IV, 173.

הקירה דף רכ"ב ע"א • ענין דבר פלא שתמונת אדם במראה שכנגדו<sup>5</sup>  
: לא יתהפך מימין לשמאל

ג"ז [חכמה] דף רכ"ד ע"א • אם ידע הרמב"ם בדקדוק ובשיר ובמשקל<sup>6</sup>

ג"ז [ד"ת] דף רכ"ו ע"א • יוסף הכהן הנזכר במשנה ובבריית' יכול<sup>7</sup>  
: להיות שהוא היוסופון

הקירה דף י"ג ע"א • קצת פלאות טבעיים דברים מורגשים ואינם נראים<sup>8</sup>  
: וההפך v. the explanation in יאיר, *Resp.*, 233.

drunken men often have thoughts or presentiments that are more correct than those of other men.<sup>1</sup> He further speaks of the superstitious notions about hobgoblins, elves, and little fairies, as he had read of them in the popular literature of his time.<sup>2</sup> As regards the productions of members of his family, we have copies of the marginal notes of his grandfather, R. Samuel, and his learned wife Eve, to the liturgical poems of the Machzor,<sup>3</sup> the account of a conversation he held in a dream with his father about a Hebrew begging-letter,<sup>4</sup> a poem that was written on the occasion of his appointment as preacher at Prague,<sup>5</sup> and a catalogue of all the writings of the tall R. Löw, of which only a very insignificant portion had appeared in print.<sup>6</sup> He makes observations upon the

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חקירה דף ט"ז ע"ב • חקירה מה שבראה שרעתו של אדם נכונה יותר : בהיותו שכור מבהיותו זולת זה : In the XIth vol. of his MS., *Collectanea* (p. 132a), he makes this remark, מה שנראה לי כי דעתו של אדם בהיותו : שתוי קרובה אל הנכון בענין הדאגה :

ג"ו [דיני] י"ד קע"ט דף ק' ע"ב • ענין בן תמליון • ושאיין חטא על מי <sup>2</sup> שמגדלו בביתו ודברים רבים ראיתי בספרי א"ה וקוראים לו קאָאָלד ובכנוי פאלדר נייסטער והם דמות ילדים קטנים בלבוש יפה רואים ואינם נראים וכל משרתי הבית משימי' להם בזמן קבוע בקערה תבשיל לאכול • הוא עושה להם כל עבודת הבית ובפרט לנקו' הרפת ושאר עבודו' הבהמות ובלבד שלא ילעיגו עליו או ידברו עליו דבר ביוון ושאר פרטי עניניו ומעשי' בן תמליון Cp. about the *Révue des Études Juives*, pp. 10, 66, and about Jewish superstition, Güdemann, *Geschichte...der Cultur der Juden in...Deutschland*, p. 199 sq. ; see also, for a description of the "mannikins," Witekind, in Janssen's *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, vi., 484.

תפילה דף ק"ב ע"ב • מ"ש זקיני וזקינתי זלה"ה בגליון פיוטי' במחזור : בפ"י הדברים :

ג"ו [דיני] א"ח תקמ"ה דף ק"ג ע"ב • חלום שראיתי א"ה הגז'ל ודברתי : עמו בפירוש אגרת מזון שהוא קיבוץ של עני :

פרפראו' דף ק"ד ע"ב • מ"ש א"ה הגד'ל בחרווי על חומש קטן <sup>5</sup> : כשנת קבל לדרשן בקק"פ :

דף קפ"ה ע"א : ספרים שנדפסו שחיבר א"ה הגז'ל מוהרל"פ הם כפסולת <sup>6</sup> : מן האוכל שנתבזבז :

ritual as contained in certain old parchment-scrolls,<sup>1</sup> collects details respecting the communal customs of Hamburg and its environs,<sup>2</sup> and passes judgment upon practices that had crept in, such as the so-called "Spinnholz-Sabbath,"<sup>3</sup> and the error that had spread of arbitrarily applying the formula used in the case of martyrs to persons killed in any manner.<sup>4</sup> He is no less deeply interested in strange identifications of different words and ideas according to their equal numerical value,<sup>5</sup> than in questions upon literary history, such as, Who was the author of the *Maggid Mishna*?<sup>6</sup> or, Why does Abraham Ibn Daud mention R. Jacob Tam in his *Chronicle*, but neither Rashi nor Maimuni,<sup>7</sup> or in making extracts from a parchment copy of R. Chayim's *Or Sarua*.<sup>8</sup>

The sixth volume, whose 111 leaves are indexed from page 84a to page 89a, contributed in a great measure to his collection of *Responsa*, including also the mathematical problem of No. 172.<sup>9</sup> But, in addition to various important expressions of opinion and Talmudical discussions,

1 תפילה דף קע"ח ע"ב • נוסח שפוך חמתך בלילי פסח על קלף ישן נושן 1

2 מנהגי דף מ"ב ע"ב • חידושי מנהגים המבורג ואותן גלילות 2

3 מנהגי דף קל"ט ע"א • מנהג שפינהולץ • ושאונה מנהג חסידו ובכה"ג 3

; כעת ב"ה של סעודת חתונה ; cf. Loeb, *Annuaire de la Société des Études Juives*, I., p. 89 n. 1.

4 ד"ת י"ד רמ"א דף ק"נ ע"ב • חתימת אדם בן הקדוש דווקא בידי מלכות 4

ע"י עליה או בשעת הגזירה • ואימתי יכתוב הי"ד ע"ד קפ"א ע"א :

פרפראו דף קצ"ב ע"ב • עמ"י עש"ו רגילי לכתוב על הכתב גי' מלכות 5

[496 =] ; ג"ז פרפר' דף קצ"ו ע"ב : שנה מעוברת שלימה ימיה גי' שכינה [385 =].

6 חקירה דף מ"א ע"א • מה שמו של המחבר מגיד משנה : 6

7 חקירות דף רנ"ג ע"ב • תמה על שזכר הראב"ד בספר קבלתו לר"ת ולא 7

לרש"י ולרמ"בם :

8 ספרים דף ל"ז ע"ב • ליקוטים יפים מספר קלף שו"ת מהר"ר חיים בן 8

ר' יצחק בעל א"ז :

9 חקירה וחכמה [דף כיג] ע"ב ודף כ"ד • חקירות נפלאות ושאלות עמוקו' 9

• ברבוע יתר הענולה שהוכיחו התו' על חוטים כרוכות בשטח עיגול טפח :

נדפס קע"ב :

there are also researches upon literary matters. Thus he deals with the corrupt and highly-misleading state of the text of our *Tosefta*,<sup>1</sup> and with the proof that Zerachia of Gerona could only have been nineteen years of age when he began his *Maor*, and not when he finished it.<sup>2</sup> He records with precision the fact that his father had been wont to fast regularly on the anniversary of the death of his uncle, R. Chayim Cohen, who had also been his teacher,<sup>3</sup> as well as the curious coincidences of equality in value of various words,<sup>4</sup> and he carefully notes the explanation of some obscure proverbs.<sup>5</sup>

Especially rich in material was Vol. VII., that contained 282 leaves, and is described in the index from p. 89a—104a. Here he had written out his father's commentary to the tractate of the Mishna, called *Kinnim*,<sup>6</sup> with his own criticisms and the replies thereto of the author. Natural science, history, and literature were here gathered together pell-mell. The pigmies (*Alräunchen*)<sup>7</sup> are as much a point of interest to him as the query whether the human race has really deteriorated in stature, strength, and longevity.<sup>8</sup>

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- ד"ת דף ב' ע"ב • שהתוספתות שבידינו משובשים ומומעים מאד מאד <sup>1</sup>  
 ד"ת דף ע"ו ע"ב • הוכיח שא"א לומר בשום פנים שהיה הר"ה רק בן <sup>2</sup>  
 : י"ט בגמר חיבורו ספר המאור רק בהתחלתו  
 חסידו דף ס"ז ע"א • א"א הגז"ל היה מתענה ביום פטירת רבו המובהק <sup>3</sup>  
 : הגאון דודו מוהר"ר כ"ץ  
 פרפראות דף ס"ב ע"א • שדי גי' דין עד דיון [= 314] וכה"ג מלאת"י <sup>4</sup>  
 : משפט גי' ב' עדים ב' בעלי דינים בעלי דינים ג' דיינים [= 481]  
 ד"ה דף ס"א ע"א • הא דמרנלא בפומייהו דאינשא חזור חזור ואל <sup>5</sup>  
 : תצטרך לבלו"י מהו ; cf. Dukes, in *Ozar Nechmad*, II., 113.  
 מרף ל"ט עד דף ע' למד דפין ביאורי משניות מסכת קינן מא"א הגז"ל <sup>6</sup>  
 ומה שהשגתי עליהן ומה שהשיב בקצתן דחה וקצתן הודה על הגליון כלם  
 : הועתקו מר"הה [מרי הירש הענא, *i.e.*]  
 ד"ה דף פ"ז ע"א • מענין בריה דמות אדם קורין אלריינכין • ויש ג"ב <sup>7</sup>  
 : ; שורש עשב בדמות זה ; cp. Janssen, *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, VI.  
 460, No. 1, and Hermann Peters, *Aus pharmaceutischer Vorzeit*, N. T.  
 חקירה דף צ' ע"א צ"ע במ"ש שנשתנו בני אדם מדורו' הראשוני' <sup>8</sup>  
 : ; בקומה בגבורה בזמן תולדה בחכמה מקראי :

The enumeration of the Messianic movements in Jewish history,<sup>1</sup> is as important an object of solicitude as the fixing the date of the composition of the legal code of Joseph Karo,<sup>2</sup> at the years 1522-1542. He makes a note of the supposed introduction of Hebrew words into other languages, such as the word "baar"<sup>3</sup> into German, or the word "null,"<sup>4</sup> into Latin, and, like a harbinger of the study of folk-lore, he comments upon the appearance of Talmudical tales in other literatures.<sup>5</sup> Like the Christian theologians, he raises the question, how America was peopled after the flood,<sup>6</sup> and makes use of an opinion of Philo to help him to disprove that Cain married his sister.<sup>7</sup> He holds in pious respect every Jewish custom,<sup>8</sup> but nevertheless reads polemical writings against Judaism, and adduces remarks collected from Wagenseil's works.<sup>9</sup> He

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is controverted by Oersted, compare an old opinion given in *Révue des Etudes Juives*, IX., 58.

חקירו' דף צ"ז ע"ב • מענין כמה זמני קצים ומשיחים שעברו ועשו פלאות<sup>1</sup> : דף כ"ב ע"א : ע' כרך ב' דקצ"ט ע"ב וכרך א' דף כ"ב ע"א : cf. Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III., 224.

ספרים דף קי"ז ע"א • הב"י התחיל לחבר חיבורו שנת רפ"ב והשלימו<sup>2</sup> : שנת ש"ב :

ד"ה דף ע"א ע"א • בכל הלשונו' נתערב לשון הקודש • ומלת ב"ר בל"א<sup>3</sup> : בר געלט כמו לויטר געלט • ע' כרך א' דפ"ד ע"א :

ד"ה דרכ"א ע"א • פ"י מלת נו"ל שהוא בלטיין מלשון כתוב גול' יתעבד<sup>4</sup> : בעזרא ו' [11] :

ספרי' דף צ"ח ע"א • מה שהעתיקו חכמי א"ה בספריהם קניא דרבא<sup>5</sup> : ומעשה דרבי בנאה חבוטי קברא דאבוכו' בשינוי קצת :

ג"ז [חקירה] דף פ"ז ע"ב • שאלת חכמיהם עולם החדש שנמצאו בה<sup>6</sup> : רבבות בני אדם ובעלי חיים איך באו לשם אחר המבול :

ג"ז [חידושי'] דף צ"ח ע"א • מ"ש פילא היהודי שאדה"ר הוליד עוד י"ב<sup>7</sup> : בנים ומ' בנות ולפי זה אינו מוכרח שקין נשא אחותו :

מנהגי' דף ק"ו ע"ב • אין להלעיג על שום מנהג אף שאין לו טעם כגון<sup>8</sup> : נר י"צ ; פרפראו' דף קכ"ג ע"ב • ר"ת שבכותלי בה"כ • סמו"ט דמש"ק אט"לים : שםליד"ר ; cp. Schudt, *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten*, III.

ספרי' דר"ה קונטריסי' ויכוהים ודברי ניצוח והעתקות מספר מלומד<sup>9</sup> : וגי זליר • מ"ש באלה ע' כרך ה' דס"א וס"ב [ספרים דף ס"א וס"ב • לקוטסי מספרי ניצחון וסכר חכם מחכמיהם כינויו נואגי זאל • נצרכים לוכוח ע' :

is as much interested in the personal individuality of Bachya b. Joseph,<sup>1</sup> as he is eager to defend Maimuni against the suspicions of Abravanel.<sup>2</sup>

But even if originally Bacharach intended to make an index only to seven volumes of his *Collectanea*, he, nevertheless, soon began to do the same to other volumes, which were all duly numbered, and the valuable contents of which were as deserving of an exhaustive description as the others. By these means we obtain a still deeper insight into his earnest mind that was so deeply attached to every written memorial of the past and so careful in preserving every literary tradition. We see how his example stirred up his younger friend R. David Oppenheim, who, unlike himself, was favoured by opportunity and unlimited wealth, to carry out on a large scale the scheme that had been to R. Jair only a longed-for and unattainable ideal, viz., the foundation of a collection of every work both in print and in MS. that was connected with Jewish literature.

An eighth volume, brimful of rich material, was not yet ready for indexing when he was busy describing in detail the others, owing to the additions that it received every day.<sup>3</sup>

He thought that Vol. IX. fully deserved and required an exact description. Besides Talmudical treatises, it contained the discourses he delivered on the occasion of the conclusion of his lectures upon the single tractates of the

: [?]. In חות יאיר, p. 5b, he attacks the remarks of Wagenseil, in his *Tela Ignea Satanæ*, p. 121, where he also calls him המלומד הגדול וואני זאליר

חכמות ק"נ ע"א • מי היה המחבר ספר חובות הלבבות ומ"ש בהקדמה  
: תוכחה על הלומדי דיני גירושין ולא ידעו עיני מצות  
: ספרי דף ק"ב ע"ב • תלונה רבה על הרי"א בכמה דברים ובפרט שחשד  
: להרמב"ם שהכחיש ששת ימי המעשה

כרך ח' עוד יש בידי, P. 114a of the Index contains this one remark,  
כרך ח' המתרבה בע"ה יום יום ורשום בראשי דפין רק עדיין לא נרמשו  
הדבורים בסימנים כז' כרכים האחרים • כי לרשום בכרך הזה אין מקום

Mishna and the Talmud, the Masoretic explanations of his father, and important funeral orations.<sup>1</sup> Here we find reference to the funeral orations delivered by R. Samson Bacharach upon his father, upon R. Samuel Edels (died 1632), upon R. David, Rabbi of Dresdnitz in Moravia (died 1639), upon the preacher, R. Loeb, of Mayence (1644), and upon R. Jonah Teomim, of Metz (died 1669),<sup>2</sup> as well as to memorial addresses by R. Jair himself upon R. Jonah Teomim, R. Jerucham, R. Isaac, of Mannheim, who was his brother-in-law, upon another brother-in-law, R. Moses Brilin, upon a relative named R. Nathan b. Jechiel, upon the warden, Baruch, upon the pious R. Sussmann, and R. Gershon Ashkenazi.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Index, p. 114*a*, thus describes it:—**כרך ט' סיומי משניות • וסיומי • מסכתות • מסורות • והספרות • וחידושי הרא"ש על איזה מסכתות וחידושי מסכתות ועוד איזה הלכות :** In pp. 114*a*-115*a*, 48 leaves of the MS., which must have had four kinds of pagination, are described ; in p. 116*a*, 19 leaves which were especially numbered, are described, and they contain the discourses upon the Talmud : p. 116*b*, deals with the Masoretic notes ; p. 117*a* with the comments to Asheri, and Talmudical discussions in which both he and his father were engaged ; and p. 117*b* enumerates the funeral orations that took up thirty-nine leaves that were especially numbered.

**דף אבג"ד • דרוש הספד מא"א הגז"ל על קבר אביו זקני מוהר"ש זצ"ל • דף ה"ו • דרוש הספד מא"א הגז"ל • שצ"ב על הגאון מהר"ש אדילש :**  
**דף ז"ח • עוד ממנו על הגאון מהר"ד אב"ד מדרעזניץ ומהר"ל דרשן :**  
 [v. Zunz, *Litg.*, 432].

**דף ט"ו ר"א • עוד הספד סתם :**  
**דף י"ג • עוד הספד על הגאון מהרר יונה אב"ד ממיץ :**  
**דף י"ט • דרוש על ר' ירוהם ז"ל • ממני :**  
<sup>3</sup>  
**דף כ' וכא' • הספד על הגאון מהרר יונה הנ"ל ממני באריכו' וביאור כמה מאמרי' על שאול ועל בית הדמים : גמ' הנעלבים [Gittin, 36*b*] סוף פ' שירת דבורה ואוהביו כצאת שמש :**  
**דף כ"ב • הספד על גיס" הרב ממנהי"י כמוהרר איצק זצ"ל • מזמור מי יגור באהל"ך :**  
**דף כ"ג • פשט ערום יצאתי על מחותני ר' נתן בן ר' יחיאל • גם גמ' כל הקובע מקום וכו' [Ber. 6*b*] :**  
**דף כ"ד ב"ה • דרוש על פ"ו ר' ברוך ז"ל :**  
**דף כ"ו ז'ח' • על גיסי החסיד מהרר משה ז"ל גמ' דהו' בכי דבמס' מ"ק :**

In Vol. XI. he had gathered together the fruits of his reading, the account<sup>1</sup> of which gives us an insight into the extent and variety of his general studies. Grammarians and exegetes, philosophers and historians, preachers and books of *Responsa*—all had been equally the objects of his attention. He also gives excerpts from manuscripts<sup>2</sup> that were only temporarily in his possession. As it was his habit to introduce everywhere some remarks of his own, he frequently intermingled independent observations with his *Collectanea*, and when he did so he noted down in the Index the sources of his information.<sup>3</sup> This list of extracts from the books of others he completes by a *résumé* of the excerpts scattered throughout the seven chief volumes.<sup>4</sup>

In Vol. XVI. we are informed of the existence of a MS. which contained, in addition to notes by his father and grandfather, also portions from the pens of other authorities, such as R. Moses Cohen Narol, whose writings came into the possession of the family of Bacharach through his

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ע"ד ל"א על איש צדיק ר' זוסמן ז"ל :  
 דף ל"ט · על הגאון מוה"ר"ג מ"ה אב"ד ממיץ זצ"ל :

<sup>1</sup> P. 108a of the Index is thus headed : ליקוטים יפים מספרים הרשומים : ודברים תורניי' וחידושים שחדשתי והשנתי לפעמים עליהם This description of the works he read occupies 209 leaves : p. 108b concludes this retrospect.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g., דף מ"ג עד ג"א, ספר פרחן דקדק, that is, the grammatical portion of the *Machbereth* of Ibn Parchon, דף ל' פ' מחזור קלף, דף נ"א ; דף ל' פ' מחזור קלף, דף קצ"ז · ספר כתוב · ע"ב · גמטריאיו' מתוקים על ספר קלף ישן דף כ"ר, in which I recognise the *Memories of Joselmann von Rosheim* ; v. *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XVI. 85, sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 106a-107a has the heading : דברים תורניי' שאינם נוגעים לספרים : הרש[ו]מים בדה ק"ה ע"א רק לפי שעה כתבתי אותם אצלם בכרך י"א · ורשמתי אותם פה בכרך י"א ע' רשימה סוף ספר זה ולקמן דק"ה ע"א This index at the end of the volume, to which he often alludes, is missing in the MS. ; perhaps it was also only intended to be drawn up, but was never done.

<sup>4</sup> P. 108b has this heading : רשימת ליקוטי קצת ספרי' זולתי ספרים : מע"ל הנוכחים והמה נפוצים ונמצאים בכרכים [i.e., p. 108a], i.e., in the seven volumes to which he exclusively refers in these remarks.

widow; R. David Blum, Rabbi of Sulzburg in Baden; and R. Elijah Loans, of Worms.<sup>1</sup>

A detailed index was also wanted for Vol: XVII., which originally comprised 117 pages.<sup>2</sup> Having been begun when he was a youth, its contents had been partly passed over and partly transferred to other volumes. Thus afterwards whole pages of it were thrown into the fire, and others struck out. But what remained was of sufficient value as to merit a minute description. In addition to remarks upon his nightly dreams, in which he continued his studies<sup>3</sup> and speculations upon the form of the shield of David,<sup>4</sup> we also find here the reflection that the learned students of the Law, who apparently were maintained by the working classes, really were the supports of the latter.<sup>5</sup> Already there reveals itself in his youthful mind that many-sidedness and interest in all kinds of knowledge that afterwards so characterised him when in maturer years. In the midst of Talmudical studies there

<sup>1</sup> P. 123*b* of the Index contains the distinct note, כרך ט"ז • לבני ר"ש. Among others, the following are enumerated:—

ביאורי חלק א"ח מוקיני הגאון כמוהרא"ש :  
הגה' על הרא"ש על כמה מסכתות • מא"א הגו"ל :  
הגה' על המרדכי מא"א הגו"ל הג"ל :  
קונטרס פרפראות נפלאות מהגאון מוהרר"מ נהראל :  
קונטרסים ממהר דוד בלומא מזולצבורג :  
ב' קונטרסים כ"י הגאון מוהרר אלי' בעל שם על הזוהר מספרו מדות אלי' והדרמתו • ולפי הנשמע כל הספר ביד יוצאי חלצין והיה בנו ר' ייזלין במענין :

<sup>2</sup> The description of it in the Index extends from p. 109*a*-112*a*, and bears the following heading : כרך י"ז אשר כתבתי בימי חורפי מן הבא ברעיוני ק"ב דפין רק מפני שרובא דרובא כבר נעתקו בכרכים אחרים ומקצתם לא ישרו בעיני לכן שרפתי מהם כמה דפין ומהנשארי העברתי קולמס על אותן שכתב הועתקו או דחוינא בהו תיוהא ומעוטים הנשארים שרירים וקיימים מפורים אנה ואנה וחפצתי להעתיק פה סמנים מהם וראשי פרקים [ע' רשימה סוף ספר זה sc.]

<sup>3</sup> ד"ת דף ט"ו • נראה לי בחלום קושיא ותירץ על אין מקיפין בחילול השם :

<sup>4</sup> פרפראו' דף ט"ז • סוד צורת מגן דוד :

<sup>5</sup> ד"ת דף ל"ה • מה שבמורגש ת"ח נידוני מע"ה • ובמושכל להיפך :

appear notices upon the ritual at Metz,<sup>1</sup> and critical glosses to the editions of Jewish chronicles.<sup>2</sup>

In Vol. XVIII. three collections were combined, viz., his own decisions when a Rabbi, and forms of documents, such as bills of divorce and of chaliza; secondly, items from the official actions of his father concerning the same subjects, and, finally, the opinions of older authorities upon similar questions.<sup>3</sup>

Vol. XIX., according to its description, contained a large and elaborate work of his father upon the 613 commandments, a Will of R. Samson Bacharach, that is full of testimony to his profound piety, and an ethical letter of admonition to his children.<sup>4</sup>

In Vol. XX. he had collected his marginal notes upon certain well-known works, such as the *Two Tables of the Covenant*, of R. Isaiah Hurwitz, and the famous book of

<sup>1</sup> מנהגי דף ט' · מנהגים דק"ק מיין :  
 ספרי דף פ"ח ע"א · השגה על היוסחין בשני דורות ר"ת והראב"ן :  
 ספרי דף ק"י ע"א · חשנות על בעל שה"ק בשני דורות :

<sup>2</sup> On p. 112a, at the end of the Index to vol. XVII., appears the remark :  
 אחר כרך י"ז הנ"ל הנחתי כרך רשום י"ח והוא מה שאירע לי בניטין  
 שסדרתי ובהם כמה חדושים דינים הלכה למעשה והם קבוצי דפין רבים  
 ומקראיהם וזמניהם גם סדר נט וחליצה בקצרה וקלפי גיטין עצמן אבל  
 דפין קטנים מאד כ"י א"א הגז"ל בניטין שסידר הוא עם כרך גדול של  
 הגיטין עצמן הוא בכרך אחר מלבד כרך סידורי גיטין וחליצות על דפין  
 גדולים כמלא ספר גדול מגדולי הקדמונים והוא בכרך רושם ומ"מ שייך  
 לרושם י"ה הזה :

<sup>3</sup> On p. 113a of the Index are the following words :  
 כרך י"ט כרך גדול :  
 מאד כ"י א"א גז"ל במנין תרי"ג מצות והנהגי בכל יום ומה שנכשלין  
 בהם ותוכחה :

כרך גדול יותר מאד ממני ומה שנחלקו גדולי הקדמוני במנין קצת מ"ע  
 ומל"ת ומה שנלע"ד · גם מה יאמר לפני עשיית כמה וכמה מ"ע אשר לא  
 יסרו הז"ל לברך עליהם והשגות על ספר מגלות אסתר :  
 כרך צוואת א"א הגז"ל בכתב ידו ובו יראה גודל חסידתו ע' כרך ל"ט ·  
 עוד צוואת מוסר ליוצאי חלציו כלללים וקצת דברים פרטים שמוהיר  
 ומצוה לבניו וי"ח · קצתם הנחת[ים] אצל צוואה שלי :  
 קונטרס גדול בענין רל"א שערים פנים ואחור ונפלאות במספר צירופי  
 המלות מקטן ועד גדול :



One of the pearls of the collection is Vol. XXIV., which is mainly devoted to historical notes, and to original, contemporary, and ancient poems, many by men who were altogether unknown as poets. Here, too, we find the memoirs of R. Moses Cohen Narol, which R. Jair's stepmother had brought from Metz, and which consist of penitential prayers and accounts of the persecutions of 1648 and 1656, as well as of events occurring in Metz.<sup>1</sup> A special value is attached to this volume from its dealing with family matters. It contains the genealogical tree of his father and mother, the memoirs of the unhappy year (1666) of the plague in Worms, the account of the invitation of the tall R. Löw to appear before the Emperor Rudolf II., and the text of the amulets that he prepared for that monarch. At the end of this volume were also the letters from relatives and friends that Bacharach deemed worthy of special description.<sup>2</sup>

Memorials of inestimable historical value were gathered together in Vol. XXXV. Although many of these documents had been burnt and lost, yet the remnant of

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as a reference to the *Responsa* upon the so-called "Pin-maker's" question; cp. S. Hock, in *Gal-Ed*, p. 16, note 18,—

איזה פשטים נפרדים מא"א הג"ז קצתם נזכרו בספרו שמן המאור  
פתקים קטנים נפרדים מא"א הג"ז שייכי לט"ז וש"כ לחלק י"ד  
כרך גדול קבלה מעשיות · נתתי במתנה לה"ה אב"ד ראש ישיבה קלו"ז  
מהרר שמואל שאטי בהיותי שם ורנקוורט קיין תנ"ט :

This volume also contained the introduction of the *Mekor Chayim*, part of the letters of approval of the same, and the plan of the *Ez Chayim*; thus Bacharach describes it: כרך הסכמות גדולי הדור רבני אשכנז על ספרי נדפס בספר ח"י (all this is struck out); further we read, הקדמה שייכה לספרי מ"ח וענינו וכל השייך לחיבור כל הכרכים · נכתב כ"י ר' הירש הענא אצל שו"ת שהעתיק ק' ביגין ונדפסה בשו"ת ח"י. By the aid of this quotation, we can now understand the words in *Biart*, p. 230b, הו"ת יאיר וּבכרך כ"ג ביארתי.

<sup>1</sup> Among these, I include the documents about the dispute between R. Meir Lublin and R. Joseph Ashkenas, of Metz; cp. Kaufmann, *Revue des Études Juives*, XXII.

<sup>2</sup> P. 119a, b, and p. 126a contain the Index of this volume.

them contained such important fragments that a detailed description of them seemed fully justified.<sup>1</sup> The records of the Sabbatian agitation of the year 1666, and the correspondence that both he and his father carried on during this exciting time, had an especially personal interest for Bacharach. In this volume were also carefully collected historical notes of apparently slight importance, such as the affair of the confiscation of books in Frankfurt-on-the-Maine<sup>2</sup> in 1509-10, a proof of the enlightened historical tendencies of the collector's mind.

Vol. XXXVII. contained a special work of his grandfather upon the Talmudic tractate Baba Mezia.<sup>3</sup>

In Vol. XLVI. of this collection were included the poems of his father, the majority of which were taken from Vol. XXII., besides other poems and imperfect fragments of his own composition, and poems of an historical and religious purport of other authorities. This section Bacharach has furnished with a special table of contents.<sup>4</sup> Testimony to his historical bent of mind, which despised no source of historical information, and also extended to the examination of tombstones, is afforded here by his remarks upon the inscriptions upon the graves of R. Meir, of Rothenburg, and his noble benefactor, Alexander, which were in the cemetery at Worms.<sup>5</sup> We have also here the family-tree that R. Jair drew up, making important additions to the statements imparted to him by his father. In this part he also wrote out<sup>6</sup> an historical work of his, in

<sup>1</sup> According to p. 113*a* of the Index.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the description of the MS. No. 7 of the *Rosenthaliana*, in the Catalogue of M. Roest, p. 1170, and Kracauer, in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, I. 160 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned by the way in the Index to vol. xxxv.

<sup>4</sup> According to p. 125*a* of the Index.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lewysohn, Nos. 21 and 22.

<sup>6</sup> At the end of the description of vol. xxxv. are the words, קונטרס ממשלשלת נדול"ה חכמי צרפת וספרד ופוסקי" שאחריהם עד היום · מהנאונים הוא בכרך, ואילך. All this is crossed out and replaced by the words, מ"ו על"ק [= עיין לקטן] דקב"ה ע"ב.

which he tried to establish a continuous chain of students of the Talmud from father to son, from teacher to pupil, from the time of the Gaonim down to almost his own time.

This commencement of a catalogue to his collection of MSS. continued by Bacharach, after he had left Worms, in his exile at Frankfurt,<sup>1</sup> proves to us most distinctly that in spite of his life-long habit of constantly taking notes, in spite of a superabundance of productions of all kinds, in spite of systematic and extensive diligence in collecting—by which labour he might have been able to publish something—in spite of all this, he never had anything ready to hand that need only have been shown in order to be printed at once. Stimulated by a sort of hunger for fresh knowledge, always engaged in collecting and writing down scientific facts and discoveries, restless in his gathering together notes like a student, and like a busy bee searching through all fields of learning, he may have almost felt that the honey was in his possession, when the bitter experience was brought home to him that he no longer had the power of extracting it.

The most striking example of this torment of Tantalus, to die of thirst in sight of flowing water, is offered by the work that has come down to us bodily, and not as a mere bibliographical shadow, viz., the manuscript of Mar Keshisha,<sup>2</sup> which is a dictionary of the terminology and

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<sup>1</sup> This follows from what is said in preface to the *Jair Nathib*, which towards the end, describes his work as a lecturer at Worms.

<sup>2</sup> Which is preserved in the Beth-Hamidrash at Vienna. It is evident that this was only afterwards bound at the end of the volume containing the work written against R. Aaron Teomim, that originally had a special pagination. From the 201 leaves that (with the exception of the Preface to the *Jair Nathib*) are numbered on the lower left margin with Arabic numerals, 126b-201b, belong to the Mar Keshisha's work. In the middle of the top of the page next to the title, Bacharach wrote the numbers in the current Hebrew alphabet, and as he begins with p. 4, and leaves off with the page before the last, he only counts 150 sides (מר קששא קנ). Till p. 177, where the additions begin, on the left-hand corner of the upper margin of the right side of the page, the

methodology of the Talmud, in the widest sense of the words. It can be boldly averred that seldom has a collection of material for any branch of knowledge been attempted in such magnitude, and with such comprehensive observation of all facts connected therewith as in this one.

Whatever his deep research in the oft-repeated journey over the sea that was called the Talmud, had brought to the surface, was here collected. Every letter, every word, every formula, every rule that was in any way connected with the terminology and methods of the Talmud, was here dwelt upon, and elucidated with the most extensive reference to the large body of literature belonging thereto. Only a personal examination of this<sup>1</sup> material can give any idea of the richness of it. Seventy-six quarto leaves are covered with his delicate and well-formed handwriting, that looks at first as if it were hopelessly confused, but in reality is wonderfully clear, and reveals to us the fact that the writer was shortsighted. In the history of the study of the Talmud, this work ought to have made an epoch by its truthfulness and simplicity, its acquaintance with scientific methods, and its merciless severity against all useless ingenuity and Pilpulistic disputations.<sup>2</sup> But this treasury with its almost immeasur-

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Hebrew letter, with which each article begins, is always given. Three full octavo leaves with notices upon the work are in sheets in the book.

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Weiss was engaged with the plan of an edition of it; *v.*, Kochbe Jizchak, 86, 85, *sqq.*, and Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, VIII., 222 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> As an example, I quote an article from p. 135a:—

לא מצא ידיו ורגליו בבה"מ • יבמות ע"ו ע"ב • כתובו דמ"ח ע"א •  
 גיטין ספ"ד • ג"ל שיחת ת"ח אף כי מורגל בפי כל צריך לימוד כי מ"ש  
 ידיו הוא כענין מ"ש רז"ל בסוטה [f. 7b] דלא הוי ידע יהודה למישקיל  
 ימטרה בשמעתת' עד שאמר מר"עה ידיו רב לו מפני שכל דבר טורח  
 ייוחס לידים בדרך השאלה מפני שע"י היר של אדם פועל הכל יהי  
 נודע כחו וכמ"ש היר ה' תקצר • ולאפוקי מפ' בעל זיקוקין דנורא דכ"ז  
 שעינינו פלפול הנעשה ע"י סיפוק ידים כי לדעתך אותה הנהגה משובשת  
 וכל המרבה בה הרי זה משוגע והארכנו בזה בסוף הקדמתינו לספר

able wealth was scarcely a useful possession even for its owner ; it was quite impossible for him to make it accessible to others. His eye hardly retained the power to penetrate this forest that had grown round the text in the course of years in the form of glosses ; he was too weak and infirm to enter once again upon the researches, the results of which were here hinted at with extreme brevity rather than fully described, and to re-tread the path which he had traversed long ago. As the ominous title foreboded, he had become "the old man" who no longer had the strength to lift up the treasures that a life of unceasing industry and self-denial had accumulated.

Whilst in this condition, the only evidences of any healthy interruption in the progress of his activity in constantly acquiring new knowledge, were the public decisions, now the sole memorials of his productive labour, that were evoked from him by numerous questions from all sides. Through this channel he had an opportunity of displaying his rich store, which, thanks to the clearness of his index, he was easily able to extract from his *Collectanea*.

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מטה אהרן בי רבי חנא ירושלמי הוא מקל נועם ואפילו ת"ה שבבבל לא נקרא חובלי' ע"י הידים הלילה רק ע"י סתירת כל א' את דבר חברו ע"י כח גדול ויד חזקה בפלפול . ומ"ש רגליו הוא אסוקי שמעתת' אליבי' דהלכתא שאחר שקלא וטריא שעליו אמר מר"ע ויעור מצריו והוא לשון קיום ועמידת הדבר ג"כ לשון מושאל וכמ"ש אמת יש לו רגלים ובמשנה שרגלים לדבר בבתרא דנזיר . עמ"ש תי"ט סוף משנה ראשונה דאבות על והעמידו תלמידי' אף דשם לפענ"ד א"צ לפנים כי הוא לשון חז"ל בפרט בדבר חשוב ומסוים כבפ"ב דסוכה העמיד מלכים העמיד שופטי' והוא לשון השיבו' כמ"ש ויקם מלך חדש וכפי' רשי על ויקם שדה עפרון עמ"ש ערך עמידה He also attacks Heida, e.g., in the article ג"ש לא גמיר : p. 133b : [p. 25] ובכאלה בכמה מקומות ומפני כי איש הסיד היה הלילה לי לפנוע בכבודו ולנגוע בקציהו . עמ"ש סוף הקדמת ספרי מטה אהרן Throughout the whole work Bacharach displays his thorough acquaintance with the Commentary to the Mishna of R. Lipman Heller, whom he calls (in חוט השני הרב אוצר בלום ההוא בעל תייט, p. 110a), השני

In innumerable discussions, *pro* and *con*, he had at hand, in his seven principal volumes that were fully indexed, the familiar materials for his work, that were like a favourite garden through which he was never too tired to walk. With these excellent aids, it was not difficult to indicate to Hirsch Fränkel<sup>1</sup> and other copyists and amanuenses, among whom we are informed of a R. Elisha<sup>2</sup> and R. Samuel,<sup>3</sup> the passages from his *Collectanea* that were to be embodied in his miscellaneous *Responsa*.

This collection was to comprise 635 *Responsa*, the title of which, *Chavoth Jair*, was to equal that number in the numerical value of its letters, and was to have the further advantage of combining within itself other noteworthy plays upon words.<sup>4</sup> Thus, in contrast to the old works of *Responsa* that were like fortified cities, his modest expressions of opinion were only to be "the villages of Jair," and besides alluding to his name Chayim, were to preserve the memory of the learned grand-daughter of the tall R. Löw, the female founder of his house, by denoting the author as "the Jair of Eve (Chava)." But when only a third part of his *Responsa* had been printed, and he saw that they already formed a goodly volume, he resolved, in consequence of some deep-meaning allusions,<sup>5</sup> to issue in the first volume only 238, the numerical value of his family name (though on closer inspection, it really amounted to 242), to which, at the last moment, he added some especially important newly-received *Responsa* of his friend, R. David Oppenheim.<sup>6</sup> The inclusion of the prefaces to his original

<sup>1</sup> The first note in the *Jair Nathib* observes: כל מקום שנכתב אצלו בד"ג ור"ל בדפין גדולים הועתק מכ"י ר' הירש הענא על דפי קווארט.

<sup>2</sup> In the beginning of the *Jair Nathib*, Bacharach says: "Three short perpendicular lines at the side of any headline in the Index, denotes that this piece was copied by R. Elisha"; ||| רושם ג' קווים קטני' בסופו \* סימן ; שהועתק בכ"י ר' אלישע.

<sup>3</sup> In the same way four dots show the work of R. Samuel:—::: רושם הועתק ע"י ר' שמואל.

<sup>4</sup> V. the Preface.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 229a: 4 + טוב + יאיר = 4 + יהיה אור = 242.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, p. 239a-p. 250a.

larger works, as well as of the letters of approbation to the *Mekor Chayim*, and of several references to his *Collectanea*,<sup>1</sup> and to the *Mar Keshisha*,<sup>2</sup> was to furnish some idea of the sum total of his life's work, even though he was prevented from making public the whole of it.

But it did not require this external indication to enable every clear-sighted person to see that with this work a scholar had come forward who was thoroughly conversant with every possible branch of learning, and every page of whose book bristled with proofs of the fulness of knowledge that was at the disposal of the author. What now appeared was something quite new and original, a collection of opinions that struck out a line for itself, that was independent and exhaustive in the solution of questions, highly suggestive in its manner of propounding problems, possessed of a thorough mastery over the sources of information, and supported by a remarkable knowledge of general literature. A series of auxiliary sciences had here been pressed into the service of the study of the Talmud: the spirit of R. Lipman Heller was now resuscitated. The general tendency of the whole was no longer a display of quibbling ingenuity, but a dignified erudition, that drew its origin from the most hidden sources. Emulating the example of Estori Parchi in his knowledge of the historical sciences, he again discussed the coins and weights and measures of the Talmud;<sup>3</sup> following Joseph del Medigo<sup>4</sup> he treated of mathematics and astro-

<sup>1</sup> V., in the Preface: וזה הוא המעם בעינו מ"ש באיזה מקומו עיין בסמ"ק והוא ספרי מר קשישא או בקונטרס" כרך פלוני דף פלוני; and further (p. 2a, line 5 from the bottom), ואיזה דברים מהם כתבתי בכרכים, "ע"כ כל בקונטרסי", and p. 230b, כ"ג, ובכרך כ"ג.

<sup>2</sup> סמ"ק = ספרי מר קשישא, he also reckons among the abbreviations on p. 276b. At the end of No. 152 occur the words, יש עוד בכה"ג לשונו, קשות ביארנוה בג"ה בספרי מ"ק.

<sup>3</sup> Compare חות יאיר, *Resp.* 1.; v. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 536.

<sup>4</sup> The idea of the publication of a special work by Bacharach upon Joseph del Medigo, mentioned in Zunz's *Monatstage*, p. 1, rests upon the passage in חוט השני, p. 112a. He had seen Joseph, when a boy, in

nomy<sup>1</sup> with the acumen of the specialist, and through the thoroughness and richness of his observations<sup>2</sup> he started a new school in the study of the Talmud. In the midst of these Talmudic *Responsa*, he revealed a mind that was equally at home in problems of religious philosophy<sup>3</sup> as in the mysteries of the Cabbala,<sup>4</sup> and that had passed the school of secular culture<sup>5</sup> in general and the study of natural science in particular.<sup>6</sup> An implacable enemy to

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Prague, and also when he visited Worms, in 1652, as he himself states in חזון יאיר, p. 270b, כהויתו בהיותו בפראג ובבואו, חזון יאיר כ"ר ריש"ר בימי היה והכרתיו בהיותו בפראג ובבואו; compare Horovitz, *Jüdische Aerzte*, p. 25, note 2.

<sup>1</sup> Compare, e.g., *Resp.*, 155, 172, and p. 266-67a, 219, where his numerous astronomical labours are mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> In חזון יאיר, No. 94, p. 91a, a friend there named had already remarked the incomparable character of the methodological writings of Bacharach. A careful comparison of this *Responsum*, as well as of the famous No. 192 with the text in the MS. of the *מור קשישא*, convinces me that the printed portion represents a revision and expansion of the rough materials here collected.

<sup>3</sup> From p. 198b, we learn that Bacharach has also written a work upon the *More* of Maimuni, *והארבנו בג"ה בחידושי מיני*.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Resp.* 210.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Resp.* 206. On f. 104b he also mentions a polyglot Bible of the New Testament, in sixteen languages, that he had seen. Compare his remarks upon the antiquity of printing, and how books used to be printed, in *Resp.* 185; he speaks of the German translation of the Bible, p. 206b, last line.

<sup>6</sup> In the remarkable *Resp.* 233, he reckons up the miracles and incomprehensible phenomena in Nature, that distinctly support the idea of transcendental mysteries, compare 234. The self-contradictions of the statements of scientists, especially among astronomers, that he mentions in the learned *Resp.* 219, has induced him (as we see on f. 204a) to throw into the fire with his own hand his researches in this abstruse subject: אף כי קמתי בשחר ושרפתי בחמתי ומר נפשי כמה גווילין וניירות חבלתי געשי ידי אשר טרחו בו זמן רב. His ardent longing for knowledge that is manifested in this *Responsum*, which altogether breathes a modern spirit, leads us to wish we might see a translation of, and scientific investigation into it. Thus, on f. 206b, he also speaks of how he refuted the argument of a Christian scholar who defended the alteration of the Sabbath to Sunday on the plea that one day had been lost when, in the time of Joshua, the sun stood still, by showing to him that in that case the Mohammedan were right in observing Friday as the day of rest.

Pilpul,<sup>1</sup> he disarmed all opposition by his profound knowledge of the sources of his statements, a knowledge that enabled him to point out, even to great scholars, what they had overlooked or said incorrectly.<sup>2</sup>

A glance through his volumes of *Collectanea* suggested all sorts of important additions, some of which he determined to subjoin to his first volume, but of which he decided to reserve the greater part for the second, that was to include the remainder of his *Responsa*, but which never appeared. The house of Oppenheim in Vienna, Samuel Oppenheim and his sons Emanuel and Wolf, in conjunction with Samson Wertheimer, defrayed the expenses of printing<sup>3</sup>; and in the spring of 1699 the work issued from the press of the Frankfurt printer Johannes Wust.

Owing to his feeble health and consequent need of rest Bacharach had not troubled to obtain testimonials from strangers, though he could readily have procured them from all sides. He limited himself to his friends in Frankfurt. R. Gabriel Eskeles, of Metz, who, as a descendant of the tall R. Löw, was his kinsman, and who was just then staying in Frankfurt (1698) whilst on a journey; R. David Oppenheim, in Nicolburg, and R. Samson Wertheimer, in Vienna, both of whom had heard of his work of *Responsa* from Worms<sup>4</sup>—these were the only strangers whose

<sup>1</sup> Compare the end of the pedagogic *Responsum*, No. 123, and the observations of R. Samson in Nos. 124 and 152; for the high esteem in which he held Hebrew grammar, see f. 206a, b.

<sup>2</sup> The extreme independence of Bacharach is shown, for instance, in *Resp.* 20, that is so replete with proofs of the extensive range of his reading, and that had already been published in *חוט השני*. In this, he points out from Rashi, Maimuni, Elijah Misrachi, and R. Isachar Bär Eulenburg, whom he esteemed so highly, how even the greatest authorities can err. By comparing p. 24b with p. 108b, it will be further seen that Bacharach had this sheet reprinted after the whole collection of *Responsa* had been already printed.

<sup>3</sup> Kaufmann, *Samson Wertheimer*, p. 57, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Bacharach's words at the end of the testimonials: *כי שני המאורות ראו בביתי ובגבולי בק"ק ווירמיישא רובא דמינכר הגדולים הרחוקים המה ראו בביתי ובגבולי בק"ק ווירמיישא רובא דמינכר מן התשובות בהיותם אתי עמי במחיצתי*.

warm expressions of approval he prefixed to his book. Joseph Samuel b. Zebi,<sup>1</sup> the Rabbi in Frankfurt, led the way, and R. Samuel Cohen Schotten and Naphtali Herz Gans ended the list of friends who signified their esteem for Bacharach by giving their letters of approbation to his work.

It was characteristic of the fate of this man, hardened in misfortunes, that the sun just began to rise in the heaven of his life when evening was drawing nigh. Now, when his renown was being spread abroad on the wings of his book, he had become a prematurely aged man, who had surrendered all his once fondly cherished hopes, and had learned that resignation<sup>2</sup> which is too often the only guerdon of conscientious toil. Had he been still young and strong, he would not have had to wait long for a summons from some important community, a realisation of his hopes, for which he had hitherto been fruitlessly longing. For we need not seek the causes of his isolation and ill-success in any traits in his character, which the all-effacing hand of time might have obliterated. It is at once obvious that this man, whom unknown circumstances had condemned to the obscurity of private life, after a too brief period of public activity, has been unable to rise again, in spite of the appreciation of the best of his contemporaries, without the support afforded him by literary fame. His distinguished descent and personal talents had not been sufficient to procure for the obscure German a post worthy of his merits, at a time when the most eminent Jewish communities chose for their Rabbis none but Polish scholars, whose studies began

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<sup>1</sup> V. Horovitz, *Frankfurter Rab.*, II. 56, note 2; the words in his testimonial *אשר היה ר"מ ואב"ד בילדותו, בק"ק ווירמישא* which Lewysohn p. 74, has only made worse by attempting to correct them by an impossible conjecture—probably contains a blunder instead of *מענין* or *מננצא*.

<sup>2</sup> In the Preface, p. 1*b*, he remarks: *כי כבר הגעתי ה"ל למדת הנשתווין*: which words have been thought worthy of being reproduced in Asulai's *שם הגדולים*, ed. Benjacob, I. 458.

and ended with the Talmud. But he had already become reconciled to his fate, and had humbly and quietly given up all expectations for the future. If there was anything that disturbed him, it was the thought that the continuance of learned tradition, the chain of the study of the Law, which had descended in his family from father to son, would cease with him, and his intellectual heritage would be wasted, and have nobody to accept it.<sup>1</sup> It was for this reason alone, and not with any desire for fame, that he rejoiced in the thought that the publication of the first volume of his *Responsa* had secured the safety of at least a part of his life's work.

But his day was not yet destined to draw to a close before he had scattered the seeds of his genius in the same furrows in which his father and grandfather had laboured. The belief in the re-establishment of the community at Worms, that he had foretold and continually nourished, did not prove an idle one; he was to be rewarded for the force of his faithful confidence. The Peace of Ryswick had been concluded, and the dispersed citizens and the Council that had been deliberating in exile now hurried together to re-constitute a new community from the ruins and desolation of the city.<sup>2</sup> In vain had the Lord Palatine and ruling chief justice, Johann Friedrich Seidenbender, attempted to keep out all who were not Lutherans from the new town, and in the thirty-nine articles of his memorial-letter had especially devised plans against the Jews, "how they should be allowed to die out quietly."<sup>3</sup> On the 13th of June, 1699, the treaty that sealed the admission of the Reformers

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<sup>1</sup> Compare p. 1*b* of the Preface to *הנות יאיר* and to the Index, *יאיר נתיב*.

<sup>2</sup> F. Soldau, *Die Zerstörung der Stadt Worms im Jahre 1689*, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Lewysohn has published the remarks of Seidenbender—not Seidenbrenner—taken from his memorial-letter, that concerns the Jews, in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, VII., 363-7: "If we read what his opinions were," says Soldau, p. 49, "it will be evident why, during the time Worms was in the hands of the French, the Jews kept friendly with the enemy and bore so little love to their own governors."

was concluded. Nor could this permission be withheld from the Jews, who, thanks to the energetic and influential support they received from Samuel Oppenheimer, the Imperial Chief Court-Agent at Vienna, were moreover confirmed in all their privileges.<sup>1</sup> With revived courage and warm zeal the Jewish community accordingly set about re-establishing themselves. The old Synagogue, that had become a stable for the horses of the brutal soldiery who had burnt the town, and afterwards a granary for the provisions of the populace who had taken refuge therein,<sup>2</sup> had first to be attended to, and it was even white-washed inside—an act that their pious scruples had prevented them from performing at any other time.<sup>3</sup> The selection of a Rabbi for the new community, which was their foremost care, could scarcely have caused any serious doubt, or have been open to dispute. They might well consider themselves fortunate in having a shepherd close at hand who would take charge of the once more assembled flock, and to whom an old debt was still owing. With what feelings must Bacharach have accepted the post to which a generation before he had been dedicated by the blessing of his dying father, towards which he had in vain brought forward his highest aspirations and fullest strength, and which was now bestowed upon him when a mere shadow, a wreck of his former self! Certainly he must have recognised the hand of Providence in all this, that allowed him, though late in the day, yet with his own eyes to behold the chair of authority that had been sanctified for him by the legacy of his father.

Thus, he had the satisfaction of knowing that not in vain had he dreamed of the re-consolidation of the revered and

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<sup>1</sup> V. Seidenbender, quoted by Lewysohn, *ib.*, 363; G. Wolf, *Geschichte der Juden in Worms*.

<sup>2</sup> Schudt, I., 411; Lewysohn, *ib.*, 362.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, note 74, and Schudt, *ib.*, "After the peace of Ryswick had been concluded, the Jews forthwith renovated their Synagogue and erected a roof of slate over the vault, in order to make it look very pretty."

ancient congregation of Worms, and of being a witness of its vigorous resurrection, thanks to the resolute guidance of its leaders. The spirit of intolerance that was breathed forth, both from the council-chamber and the pulpit, against the Jews, could not check the process of their re-settlement in the town; the wardens of the synagogue had even the courage in the year 1700 to lodge a complaint with the magistrates against the inflammatory sermons of the parish priest, Johann Heinrich Mehl, and thus to preserve at least the appearance of justice, though so far from obtaining the reality, they were compelled by the Government to apologise to the clergyman in question.<sup>1</sup>

But it was to be sufficient for Bacharach to have passed the borders of his promised land, and to see only the beginning of the realisation of that which he had so earnestly longed for. After a short period of activity, on the 1st of January, 1702, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, death withdrew him from his congregation. Enfeebled by illness from his childhood, his strength consumed by grief, having been almost compelled to still his biting sorrow by incessant and exhausting mental labour, he had grown aged, before he had reached advanced years, and had spent all his powers by the time he had begun to require them for prosperous activity. True it is that both his epitaph,<sup>2</sup> and the "memorial for his soul"<sup>3</sup> that was set up for him in Worms, prove that people began, after his death, to recognise what they had lost in him, though they had not known how to keep possession of him, but the ill-fated star that had shed such a gloomy light over his whole life pursued him even beyond the grave. The distressing anxiety about the writings he would leave behind him, that had disturbed his last years, has proved itself to be well founded, for the

<sup>1</sup> Schudt, *ib.*, 421 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> The first words of the epitaph (Lewysohn, No. 38), before the word *הגאון מהוררר"ח שמעון*, form the acrostic *הגאון מהוררר"ח שמעון*.

<sup>3</sup> קבץ על יד, III. 22.

rich intellectual treasures that all his life long he had accumulated and guarded with so much affection, have been scattered to the four winds, and become a prey to the destructive elements.<sup>1</sup> But even if he has not come down to posterity with all the ripe produce of his life's work, nevertheless he has become so deeply impressed upon their memory as to have his name preserved as one of the most prominent men of genius, one of the most important phenomena among the German Jews of the seventeenth century, who, though having his nature deeply rooted in the past was still in advance of his time, and who will always be regarded as the forerunner of the study of Judaism in a historical and scientific spirit.

DAVID KAUFMANN.

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<sup>1</sup> Even the necessary instructions about how his MSS. should be divided into parts, which seem to have been written upon the covers of the Index, have disappeared, perhaps through careless binding. One passage has however been preserved, which M. Friedmann has already transcribed for Dr. Berliner, it runs as follows :—

ישאר ביד האפטרופסים כרך ה'  
 כרך שמרות וקנינים • יותן לבני כהר"ר זנוויל •  
 כתבי רבנות וצוואת וככה"ג יותן לבני ר"ש •  
 כרך כתבתי עליו שאין בהם צורך יותן לבני כהר"ג :

The Preface to *חזקת יאיר* also promises to give testamentary instructions about his works.