

RABBI JACOB EMDEN: LIFE AND MAJOR WORKS

A thesis presented

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ABSTRACT

Jewish life in eighteenth-century Europe was characterized by a number of significant features. Rabbinic scholarship flourished on a high level in many parts of the continent. In addition, the Jewish community was caught up in the aftershock of the mass messianic movement of Shabbetai Zevi which had captured the imagination of most of world Jewry in 1665-1666. Those who continued to maintain their belief in him even after his conversion and death were constantly being harassed by the Jewish establishment which considered them heretics. Finally, the end of the century brought with it the Haskalah movement which challenged the prevailing Jewish communal, social, religious and intellectual norms.

One of the most dominant figures at that time was Rabbi Jacob Emden (1698-1776). Emden was intimately involved with each of these major elements in the Jewish world of his day. Reared in a learned home, he was a preeminent scholar whose achievement in the field of rabbinic literature was substantive and significant. He also played a major role in the eighteenth-century battle against Sabbatianism and, in the last two and a half decades of his life, became obsessed with exposing and hounding any vestige of the movement. Finally, he lived long enough to witness the emergence of the Haskalah. Unlike some of his more traditional colleagues, Emden was sensitive to the shifting nuances of thought represented by that movement and was aware of the changes in Jewish life that it potentially represented.

This work treats Emden from all of these perspectives. In addition

to presenting the story of his life for the first time, it also describes some of his rabbinic works as well as his attitude towards non-Jews, philosophy and Maimonides. It suggests some factors which should be considered in attempting to understand the virulence of Emden's anti-Sabbatianism. Finally, it assesses the level of his knowledge of a wide range of extra-Talmudic disciplines and his attitude towards the emerging Haskalah movement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	
Introduction	1
I. The Early Years	20
II. The Rabbinate in Emden	91
III. Life in Altona, 1733-1751	159
IV. The <u>Siddur</u>	256
V. The Controversy	370
VI. Confronting the Modern World	499
VII. The Emden-Mendelssohn Correspondence	661
VIII. The Final Years	748
Abbreviations	757
Bibliography	

PREFACE

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In his commentary to Rabbi Jacob b. Asher's fourteenth-century code, the Arba'ah Turim, Rabbi Jacob Emden ruled that when one completes a work of Torah he is obligated to make the blessing, "ha-tov ve-hametiv." He probably would not have included a work such as this in that category, but I feel that it is appropriate for me to conclude with a different blessing to God, expressing my gratitude to Him, "she-heheyanu ve-kiyimanu ve-higi'anu lazman ha-zeh."

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

Jewish life in eighteenth-century Europe was characterized by a number of significant features. Rabbinic scholarship flourished in many parts of the continent and represented a level of Torah learning and creativity that had not been seen, particularly in Western Europe, in the previous four or five hundred years. In addition, the Jewish community was still caught up in the aftershock of the mass messianic movement of Shabbetai Zevi which had captured the imagination of most of world Jewry in 1665 - 1666. Although Shabbetai's conversion to Islam in September, 1666 effectively ended the movement as it had developed by that time, there were those who continued to maintain their faith in him and who persisted in their Sabbatian beliefs, expressed in a variety of ways, for over a hundred years afterwards. These Sabbatians were constantly at odds with the Jewish establishment which considered them heretics and the formidable tension between these groups persisted for many decades. Finally, the end of the century brought with it the Haskalah or Enlightenment movement which challenged the prevailing Jewish communal, social,

religious and intellectual norms. It led to a reorientation of Jewish religious practice and intellectual concerns and was to dictate much of the agenda of Jewish life well into the nineteenth century and beyond.

One of the most dominant Jewish figures of eighteenth-century Europe was Rabbi Jacob Emden who lived, primarily in Germany, from 1698-1776. Emden was intimately involved with each of these major elements in the Jewish world of his day. Reared in a learned home as the first son of Hakham Zevi Ashkenazi, a noted rabbi and respected Torah authority, he was a preeminent scholar whose achievement in the field of rabbinic literature was substantive and significant. Emden was a highly prolific author and his literary oeuvre contains works on all the genres of rabbinic creativity: a commentary on the Bible, an extensive commentary on the six orders of the Mishnah and a separate volume on Pirkei 'Avot, a multi-volume commentary on the entire Talmud, a two-volume Siddur with text and commentary and another work devoted primarily to grammatical observations on the liturgy, a two-volume commentary on the first section of the fourteenth century 'Arba'ah Turim of R. Jacob b. Asher, a commentary on part of Maimonides' twelfth century Mishneh Torah and on some of his more extensive letters, hundreds of responsa, a code of Jewish law, a major ethical tract, a number of sermons and eulogies, and several other works on a variety of subjects.¹

Emden also played a major role in the eighteenth-century battle against Sabbatianism. In the last two and a half decades of his life, he became obsessed with exposing and hounding any vestige of the movement

and, in 1751, accused Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschütz, the highly respected Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community of Altona, Hamburg and Wandsbeck (AHW) in Germany, of being a secret Sabbatian. This charge of heresy against an individual who was universally regarded as perhaps the leading rabbinic scholar of the generation precipitated a major controversy which was to involve rabbis, lay leaders and common folk throughout Europe and beyond. In the course of this controversy, Emden wrote about a dozen works dealing with seventeenth and eighteenth-century Sabbatianism and they continue to serve as one of the most important extant sources of information about that movement.²

There is no doubt that his struggle against Sabbatianism was a major feature of Emden's life but it is an exaggeration to claim that, "the key to his life is to be found in his consuming hatred of the Sabbatian heresy" or "the chief purpose of Emden's existence was the destruction of the belief in Sabbatai Zevi."³ While this involvement was clearly important to him, one should not overstate the case and thereby overlook or minimize the significance of a full life devoted to traditional Torah study and a prodigious literary output that had nothing to do with Sabbatianism. Furthermore, while Emden began his lifelong involvement in Torah study at a very young age, his intense opposition to the Sabbatian movement only began in the last third of his life. Clearly, to characterize Emden solely in terms of his anti-Sabbatian activity is to distort his own personal concerns as well as his historical significance.

Finally, Emden lived long enough to witness the changing currents of thought represented by the Haskalah that were beginning to be expressed specifically in the German Jewish community. In the last ten years of

his life, he engaged in a very important correspondence with Moses Mendelssohn, the leading figure of the Haskalah movement, about a number of different issues of contemporary significance. Unlike some of his colleagues in the traditional community, Emden was sensitive to the shifting nuances represented by the Haskalah and aware of the changes in Jewish life that it potentially represented. Nevertheless, he did not share its orientation and remained firmly rooted in the classical pre-modern tradition. He lived only on the threshold of "modernity," never entering into "modernity" itself.

Jewish scholarship has long recognized Rabbi Jacob Emden as a figure of special importance. He was treated extensively by Heinrich Graetz and, to a lesser extent, by other authors of nineteenth and twentieth-century histories of the Jews⁴ and in other works dealing with some of the themes described above.⁵ Attempts were made to present his biography in several essays⁶ as well as in a book-length study by Mortimer J. Cohen.⁷ Another book by Avraham Bick (Shauli) as well as several important articles have been devoted to various aspects of his thought.⁸

However, while on the whole significant and useful, this body of literature on Emden left major areas of his life and works untouched. A complete biographical study remains to be written. The one work that came closest to this, that by Mortimer J. Cohen, deals primarily with Emden's controversy with Eybeschütz and suffers not only from an over-emphasis on psychohistory but also from a lack of comprehensiveness and simple factual precision. That two highly respected scholars, Salo Baron

and Gershom Scholem, chose to review Cohen's work indicates the significance of his attempt;⁹ that they both strongly disagreed with his conclusions indicates the pitfalls of psychohistory in general and the errors of Cohen's presentation in particular. Furthermore, no worthwhile discussions about Emden's substantial rabbinic works have been undertaken to date. No attempts have yet been made to evaluate, characterize, or even describe his manifold contributions to rabbinic literature in the fields of Biblical exegesis, Talmudic methodology, Mishnah commentary, liturgy or grammar. Also, with the exceptions of Yehudah Liebes' intriguing but far-fetched theory,¹⁰ no one has attempted to explain the intensity of Emden's anti-Sabbatianism. Finally, leaving aside the incomplete and incorrect analysis of Azriel Shochat,¹¹ there has been no assessment of how Emden reacted to the changing Jewish world around him and of where he should be placed along the continuum between medieval and modern Jewish history.

Studies of Emden's works to date also suffer from a fundamental methodological flaw. In an almost consistent pattern, all students of Emden have selectively limited their focus to only a part of his extraordinarily multi-faceted literary creativity. Those scholars whose interest in Emden revolved exclusively around his highly significant career as an anti-Sabbatian, and this represents the bulk of Emden scholarship to date, have virtually overlooked the vast body of halakhic, grammatical, ethical and certainly Kabbalistic works which he authored. Conversely, those who know Emden for his She'elat Yavez (collection of responsa),

Lehem Shamayim (commentary on the Mishnah), Mor u-Keziyah (commentary on Tur, Orah Hayyim) or who use his Siddur for prayer, have consciously and deliberately ignored his vast anti-Sabbatian activity. They could not explain the extreme and sometimes bizarre behavior of someone whom they continued to revere as a great rabbinic scholar and therefore simply refused to acknowledge anything even remotely related to that part of his life.

This common bifurcated or schizophrenic perception of Emden from either perspective is clearly wrong. This is so not only for the obvious reason that this remarkable personality was indeed both a major halakhic scholar as well as a rabid anti-Sabbatian and therefore only a careful, integrated analysis of both of these facets of his life will yield an accurate and comprehensive portrait of Emden. In addition, any approach that treats only a partial Emden is mistaken because even if one were to be interested solely in one of these aspects of his life and creativity, no full understanding of it could be possible without knowledge of the other. Indeed, each facet of his interests and literary output sheds light on the other. For example, important information about Emden's anti-Sabbatianism is found in his so-called rabbinic works and, more significantly, an accurate intellectual portrait of Emden can only be developed by carefully mining his substantial Sabbatian-related works for important formulations, perspectives and nuances about his attitude towards philosophy, Maimonides' Guide of the Perplexed, aspects of Kabbalah, messianism, Christianity, his knowledge of history and his method of dealing with predecessors, among other issues. Not only must an honest biography of Emden incorporate the totality of his interests but no

understanding of any part of Emden's corpus is possible without an understanding of it all.¹²

The task of writing such a biography is made easier and certainly more interesting by the unusually high degree of self-revelation present in all of Emden's works and especially by the existence of his autobiography, entitled Megillat Sefer. Written in sections over the course of some fourteen years, from 1752-1766, the first quarter of the work is a biography of his father, Hakham Zevi Ashkenazi, and the rest is devoted to describing Emden's experiences throughout his life. Emden never published it, presumably because he intended to continue adding to it with the passage of time.¹³ Indeed, it ends abruptly in the middle of describing an exchange between Emden and the Rechniz community about a proclamation he had made in his synagogue in September of 1765 against Eybeschütz' son Wolf and some of his cohorts. The complete work was published twice, by David Kahana in 1896 (reprinted in New York, 1955) and by Avraham Bick (Shauli) in 1979, but neither edition is an accurate reproduction of the sole surviving manuscript.¹⁴

There are obviously great dangers in allowing autobiography alone to determine biography. One must be very wary of drawing definitive conclusions about events which occurred in a person's life solely on the basis of his or her own testimony. Clearly, there are many factors other than objective truth which determine how a person chooses to be remembered for posterity. At best, one's memory is selective, suppressing some experiences and highlighting others; at worst, the past can be con-

sciously distorted and falsified. If the use of autobiography for history is generally fraught with complications, it becomes more so when dealing with the experiences of childhood. At the beginning of his own autobiography, Goethe correctly noted only one of the many relevant considerations: "If we try to recollect what happened to us in the earliest years of childhood, it often occurs that we confuse what we have heard from others with what is really our own from actual visual experience."¹⁵ Before relying upon autobiography for history, it is crucial to determine what, if anything, the author is hiding from his readers or what, for that matter, his memory is hiding from him.¹⁶

My impression from a careful reading of Megillat Sefer is that although Emden's memory was sometimes blurred by the passage of time, even when it came to remembering the year of his birth, he did not deliberately distort the truth in order to present himself in a more favorable light. On the contrary, he was very honest, often brutally so, graphically describing his various illnesses, failures and manifold personal embarrassments. With unusual frankness and candor and with a remarkable lack of self-consciousness he described a rash on his private parts as a child, his frustration at not being allowed by his father to marry the girl he wanted, the impotence of his wedding night, his sexual needs, repeated marital conflicts and mental depressions. Under no circumstances was this an individual who was generally prone to consciously distorting the past in order to leave a more positive impression for the future.

There are other grounds, however, upon which to question the fullness of Emden's retrospective objectivity. After presenting the bio-

graphy of his father and before beginning the description of his own life, Emden outlined three reasons why he composed this work. The third and, to my mind, the truest reason was:

"in order that the sun of my righteousness should shine forth¹⁷ and a cloud not dwell upon it (Job 3:4) because of the wicked that oppress me, my deadly enemies that encompass me about (Ps. 17:9). They have slandered me, making me odious among the inhabitants of the land (Gen. 34:30), to destroy me with insults in their hands, with their lies and recklessness. Their shame has spread to every side and corner of the entire land. Many of their libelous writings will certainly remain extant for some time. Therefore, necessity has compelled me to clarify my case before God and man. My righteousness will go forth as the light;¹⁸ may God save the pure. Truth is my witness, behold it (will serve as) a justification¹⁹ for me, my children and my descendants, may God protect them."²⁰

Emden explicitly stated that he wrote Megillat Sefer with the conscious intention of vindicating himself in his controversy against Eybeschütz. The fact that he commenced work on it in 1752, the year after that controversy began, is not simply a pure coincidence and the fact that fully the first quarter is devoted to a biography of his father is no mere sign of pious filial deference. Emden began writing his autobiography when he did because it was then that he began to feel the pressure from the var-

ious accusations levelled against him by the Eybeschütz forces. He first focused extensively on the life of his father because of his repeated assertion that Ḥakham Zevi's struggle against the cursed Sabbatians of his generation served as the paradigm for his own anti-Sabbatian agitation later on. Indeed, members of the Eybeschütz camp had accused Emden of always being a misfit and troublemaker who had never been respected by any of his contemporaries. It was clearly in Emden's best self-interest to claim that, on the contrary, he was highly respected and beloved by all who knew him and was repeatedly sought after by individuals as well as communities for his wisdom and advice. This is a major theme throughout Megillat Sefer as well as the other self-revelatory passages in his controversy-related works and, in this respect, one may wonder whether this concern for self-vindication may have colored the objectivity of his presentation.

There is one other consideration which may also throw some doubt on the veracity of Emden's presentation in Megillat Sefer, this time for an opposite reason. There were two other explanations which Emden gave for writing the work. He first claimed that he did so in order to prove from his own personal experience the great kindness of God who steadfastly stood by him in spite of all the terrible difficulties that he encountered. Secondly, he wrote with the intention of strengthening the faith of others similarly afflicted, exhorting them to continue to maintain their trust in God in spite of all their tribulations and struggles. Both of these explanations related directly and exclusively to all of the pain and hardships Emden experienced during his lifetime. Given this focus, the more personal difficulties he could describe, the greater and more

apparent would become the "kindness of God" which helped him persevere in spite of them and the stronger would therefore be the point he was trying to make. Indeed, Megillat Sefer subtly presents Emden's life from what seems to be an excessively dark and lachrymose perspective and one repeatedly wonders whether his childhood or, for that matter, his entire personal life was indeed as negative and as fraught with frustration as he made it out to be.

Given these two possible tendencies -- deliberate self-vindication or overly emphasized negativism -- one must be especially careful in accepting statements in Megillat Sefer relating to them as unimpeachable historical evidence. In each of these cases, one must weigh his remarks very carefully and always compare them with whatever other evidence may be available. Sometimes his reconstruction can nevertheless be accepted as accurate and, on other occasions, it must be qualified as being an exaggeration. When neither of these considerations were operative, however, it is safe to say that Emden can be taken at his word.

The complex personality that emerges from a careful study of the totality of his work is a very interesting and remarkable one. Emden was clearly exceptionally gifted intellectually and achieved an enormous amount in the field of rabbinic scholarship in spite of the fact that he was engaged in a bitter lifelong struggle against a relentless succession of mental and physical illnesses. His eminent accomplishments as a rabbinic scholar, which were made possible by a consuming lifelong passion for Torah study, presuppose a certain order and discipline in his life.

He was able to maintain this in spite of the many personal problems he faced, the most difficult of which was having to bury sixteen of his twenty children born to him by three wives. He held an official position in the community for only three and a half of his seventy-eight years and engaged in a series of professions -- primarily import-export and money-lending -- in order to earn a livelihood. He was a lifelong loner who developed no close personal relationships with anyone, including his parents and three wives, and yet, at the same time, had no compunctions about sharing even the most intimate details of his personal life with his reading public. His obsession with Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschütz and Sabbatianism in general towards the end of his life only served to further isolate him from friends and neighbors. He had great trouble submitting to authority, whether that of older rabbinic colleagues or lay leaders in the communities which he served or within which he lived.

Emden's intellectual profile also reflected this combination of factors. As an autodidact who never spent a day in a yeshiva and who had no real teacher other than his father for only a brief period of time, Emden was an intellectual "loner" and his works represent a greater level of independence of thought than that found among his contemporaries. For example, he relied much less heavily than did even his father on the rabbinic scholarship of the previous two or three centuries, preferring to trust his own interpretation of a Talmudic text (peshat) even when it had implications for normative religious practice (pesak).

Unlike, also, many of his contemporaries, Emden developed a consuming interest in all facets of the human experience and the natural world. He was intensely curious about all forms of general knowledge including

history, geography, science, astronomy, nature, medicine, other religions and foreign languages. His works contain references to surgery, alchemy, shooting stars, clocks, crocodiles, opium, the game of chess, a microscope, volcano, magnet, solar eclipse, canon and hot water bottle. He had some familiarity with Greek and Latin and quoted Aristotle, Avicenna, Jesus and even Confucius. In his halakhic works he discussed such diverse topics as: the nature of sound, the importance of sleep and exercise, the process of making vinegar, how to pull a tooth, the width of the Jordan River, the pleasures and physical as well as psychological benefits of sex (he claimed that it can be a cure for insanity), why it is the head of a baby which emerges first from the womb, the importance of perspiration, why fire rises, the relative merits of various laxatives, how wine is prepared along the Rhine River, different types of tools and soaps, the direction in which goldenrod grow, and more. Unfettered by the discipline of a formal yeshiva background, his intellectual curiosity knew no bounds.

It is also interesting to note that, in addition to authoring some forty books, Emden was always writing, even while simply studying. The pages of all the books in his library are filled with punctuation marks, textual corrections and little notes in the margins, and it seems that he never read anything without a pen in his hand. This tendency of his was so pervasive that I even wonder how he was able to manage on Shabbat when writing is prohibited by Jewish law!

What distinguishes Emden as a subject for a biography, then, is not only the fact that he combined some of the major elements of his time--e.g. rabbinic scholarship, anti-Sabbatianism and awareness of Haskalah--

but that he was endowed with a unique, challenging and highly unusual character and personality.

This work attempts to treat Emden from all of these perspectives. In addition to presenting the story of his life for the first time, it also describes some of his rabbinic achievements, particularly focusing on his derashot, his commentaries on the Mishnah and the Siddur as well as on his attitude towards non-Jews, philosophy and Maimonides. In addition, it attempts an explanation of the factors which should be considered in attempting to understand the virulence of Emden's anti-Sabbatianism as well as that of his father. Finally, it assesses the level of his knowledge of a wide range of extra-Talmudic disciplines and his attitude towards the emerging Haskalah movement.

Much of Emden's intellectual portrait still remains to be sketched -- the methodology he used in his responsa, commentaries and marginalia; his attitude towards his predecessors as well as towards aggadah, piyut, pilpul and minhag; an assessment of Emden's formidable kabbalistic interests, his attitude towards the Zohar and his position on areas of conflict between Kabbalah and halakhah; his contributions as a grammarian; his ethical theory and system of education and his role as a contemporary social critic.

This work is just a beginning, a glimpse into the life and works of a remarkable personality; for the rest, "zil gemor."

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION*

1. For a full bibliography of Emden's works, both published and unpublished, see Y. Rafael, "Kitvei Rabi Ya'akov Emden," 'Areshet III (1961), 231-76.

It is important to mention at the outset, however, that one must be very careful to use only the first editions of Emden's works because, in some cases, subsequent editions either contain new material added by others or lack passages found in the original. For example, all subsequent editions of Emden's Siddur, renamed Siddur Bet Ya'akov, contain a great deal of material interpolated by later publishers. For example, see below, p. 341, n. 152; p. 368, n. 290. In addition, a sharply worded diatribe against what Emden considered to be Sabbatian spawned Hasidism found in the first edition of his "Hali Ketem," Derush Tefillat Yesharim (Altona, 1775), 23b is simply omitted in a later edition of the work (Cracow, 1911), 25b. Also, at the end of his reprint of the first and only authentic edition of Emden's Siddur (Tel Aviv, 1966), M. Bick appended Emden's previously unpublished notes on the Siddur from a manuscript in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam (see below, p. 366, n. 286). However, he was selective in his choice of what to include and simply ignored passages he considered problematic. Finally and most interesting is the fact that Emden's celebrated statement quoting the

* For a list of the abbreviations used in the notes, see below, p. 757.

testimony of a Gentile woman that a circumcised penis provides her with greater sexual pleasure than an uncircumcised one is found only in some editions of his Migdal 'Oz (Altona, 1748), 2b. In this case, however, it seems that Emden himself was responsible for the removal of this passage because it is lacking already in other copies also printed that very year. An entire page is removed and is replaced simply with an "etc." (Compare p. 2b, line 2 in the various editions of this work.) This censored passage was reprinted in full in J. Glassberg, Sefer Zikhron Brit la-Rishonim (Berlin, 1892), 321-33. It is referred to by G. Scholem, KS XVI (1940), 322 and n. 1 and by Y. Rafael, ibid., 268-69, n. 65.

2. See Y. Rafael, ibid.

3. M. J. Cohen, Jacob Emden: Man of Controversy (Philadelphia, 1937),

23. See also ibid., 263: "The motif of Emden's life centered in his struggle against the Sabbatian movement and Eibeschuetz whom he considered its living symbol."

4. See H. Graetz, Geschichte der Juden X (Leipzig, 1897), 357f. (pro-Emden); Graetz-Shefer, Divrei Yemei Yisrael (Warsaw, 1893), 470f. (anti-Emden). See also J. M. Jost, Geschichte der Israeliten IX (Berlin, 1828), 51-57; idem., Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten III (Leipzig, 1859), 194, 252-56; S. Dubnow, Divrei Yemei 'Am 'Olam VII (Tel Aviv, 1965), 191-93; Z. Yavez, Sefer Toledot Yisrael XIII (Tel Aviv, 1937), 127-35; I. Zinberg, Toledot Sifrut Yisrael (Tel Aviv, 1958), 275-88.

5. See, for example, D. Kahana, Toledot ha-Mekubbalim, ha-Shabbeta'im ve-ha-Hasidim (Odessa, 1913); B. Z. Katz, Rabbanut Hasidut Haskalah II (Tel Aviv, 1956), 146-90, 213-16; A. Shochat, 'Im Hilufei Tekufot (Jerusalem, 1960), esp. pp. 198-241.

See also M. Grunwald, Hamburgs deutsche Juden (Hamburg, 1904), 74-124.

6. The most useful is A. H. Wagenaar, Toledot Yavez (Amsterdam, 1868; reprinted Lublin, 1880). See also B. Z. Katz, "Rabi Ya'akov Emden u-Tekhunato," ha-Shiloah IV (1898), 247-54, 342-48, 451-57, 546-52, but this article suffers from presenting more interpretation than facts. D. Kahana responded to Katz's article in his "'Emet le-Ya'akov," ha-Shiloah V (1899), 256-61, 327-32, 524-29; VI (1899), 137-43, 337-43; VIII (1901), 332-42. See also E. Duckesz, Hakhmei AHW (Hamburg, 1908), 49-74.

7. See above, n. 3.

Emden was also the subject of an unpublished rabbinical thesis. See A. D. Shaw, The Life of Jacob Emden, as Revealed in His "Megillat Sefer" (Hebrew Union College, 1936). It is simply a paraphrase of Megillat Sefer without any historical perspective or comparative material.

8. Bick's book, Rabi Ya'akov Emden (Jerusalem, 1974) is uncritical, incomplete and simply sloppy. It is barely more useful than an earlier historical novel in Yiddish about Emden by the same author with the same title published in New York, 1946. In general, all of Bick's work is shoddy and irresponsible and cannot be taken seriously. For examples of

this, see E. Kupfer, "le Ma'amoro shel Avraham Bik, 'Nizhonah shel Sanigoriyah'," KS XLIX (1974), 449-50; Y. Liebes, "Sefer 'Zadik Yesod 'Olam'-Mitus Shabbeta'i," Da'at I (1978), 115-19; idem., "Meshihyuto shel R. Ya'akov Emden ve-Yahas le-Shabbeta'ut," Tarbiz XLIX (1979-80), 123, n. 6; 162-63.

For the articles, see S. Dotan, "Rabi Ya'akov Emden ve-Doro," HUCA XLVII (1976), 105-24; Y. Liebes, "Meshihyuto shel R. Ya'akov Emden," ibid., 122-65; S. Biderman and A. Kasher, "Yahadut u-Fundamentalizm: 'al Haguto shel R. Ya'akov Emden," Da'at V (1980), 25-38.

9. See S. Baron, JSS I (1939), 483-87; II (1940), 117-23 and G. Scholem, KS XVI (1940), 320-38.

10. See Y. Liebes, "Meshihyuto shel R. Ya'akov Emden," op. cit.

11. See above, n. 5. The book was critically reviewed by B. Mevorah, KS XXXVII (1962), 150-55.

12. For a previous limited formulation of this point, see my "Rabbi Jacob Emden's 'Iggeret Purim,'" Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature II, ed. by I. Twersky (Cambridge, 1984), 441-46.

13. That Emden intended it to be a public document is clear from the fact that cross-references to it appear in a number of his published works. See, for example, Mor u-Keziyah I:103b (postscript); II:2a (introduction).

14. See the review of D. Kahana's edition by D. Kaufmann, MGWJ XLI (1897), 333-36; idem., "Zu R. Jakob Emdens Selbstbiographie," ibid., 362-69, 426-29; reprinted in idem., Gesammelte Schriften III (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1915), 138-49.

For only some of the drawbacks of Bick's much worse edition, see the review by D. Tamar, "R. Ya'akov Emden - ha-Yezer ve-ha-Yezirah," Ha-'arez (October 5, 1979), 18-19; A. S. Halevi, "Parshat 'Eleh Mas'ei shel ha-Gaon R. Ephraim ha-Kohen zt'l, Ba'al Mehaber 'Sha'ar Ephraim' me-Vilna le-Budun," Moriah XIII:1-2 (1984), 103-14.

The manuscript is in the Bodleian Library. See A. Neubauer, Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1886), 590, #1723. Note that Neubauer refers to the manuscript as being "in a confused state." See also A. Freimann, Union Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts and their Location II (New York, 1964), #4935; M. Steinschneider, Ozrot Hayyim (Hamburg, 1848), 36, #407; D. Kaufmann, MGWJ XLI, 333-36.

I am preparing a new critical edition of Megillat Sefer to be published by Mosad Bialik and an English translation of that work, including references and analysis, to be published by Yale University Press.

15. J. W. Goethe, Truth and Poetry From My Own Life (London, 1891).

For various examples of earliest memories recorded in autobiographies, see A. Burr, The Autobiography (Boston, 1909), 212f. and E. N. Plank, "Memories of Early Childhood in Autobiographies," The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child VIII (1953), 381-93.

16. J. Guehenno, Jean Jacques Rousseau (London and New York, 1966), 7 noted that, like in the case of Emden, Rousseau's autobiography "is, in fact, almost the only evidence we possess. Scholarly research has yielded little." However, his conclusion is wrong, in Rousseau's case as well as in Emden's: "We have no choice, as regards his early years, but to accept his own account . . . we must take him at his word."

In addition to Rousseau, St. Augustine is another example of a historical figure who personally provided most of the information available about his life. For a good example of the judicious use of autobiography for history in his case, see P. Brown, Augustine of Hippo (Berkeley, 1967).

17. Cf. Mal. 3:20.

18. Cf. Ps. 37:6.

19. Cf. Gen. 20:16; lit., "a covering of the eyes."

20. D. Kahana, ed., Megillat Sefer (Warsaw, 1896), 55.

I

THE EARLY YEARS

The earliest problem one encounters in studying the biography of Rabbi Jacob Emden is the difficulty in ascertaining the precise date of his birth. On several occasions Emden informed his readers that he was born on the fifteenth of the Hebrew month of Sivan in the city of Altona, Germany,¹ but it is ironic that a man who was otherwise very concerned with leaving accurate historical records for posterity was most unclear as to the year of his birth.² Indeed, much of his own testimony is self-contradictory. Various statements in his autobiography as well as in one of his responsa lead one to infer that he was born in 1697.³ Emden's most explicit statement about the date of his birth indicates, however, that he was born in 1698, and it is that date which is most plausible. In the introduction to his edition of Rabbi Jacob Sasportas' Zizat Novel Zevi, a chronicle of the latter's opposition to the Sabbatian movement, Emden wrote that he was born shortly after Sasportas' death which took place on April 15, 1698.⁴ In that case, Emden was born on the fifteenth of Sivan, 5458, or May 25, 1698, a conclusion which is borne out by the

author of the only eulogy of Emden printed shortly after his death in 1776 who stated that Emden lived for seventy-eight years.⁵

Fortuitously, this early link with Sasportas is significant not only for helping identify Emden's year of birth but also because it may serve as a symbol portending one of the major concerns that was to occupy him in the latter part of his life. The younger Jacob (Emden), virulent opponent of Sabbatianism that he was, was well aware of the common historical role that he shared with the elder Jacob (Sasportas) and was proud to link his birth to his anti-Sabbatian predecessor. The classic symbolism of generational continuity is thus operative; no sooner did the work of one cease than the other began.⁶

The Altona into which Emden was born was part of what was known as The Triple Community consisting of the three geographically contiguous Jewish communities of Altona, Hamburg and Wandsbeck (AHW) which had been united into one communal entity since the middle of the seventeenth century. During this period, Altona contained one of the largest Jewish communities in Europe and boasted of a series of distinguished rabbis whose fame extended, both chronologically and geographically, far beyond its own immediate boundaries.⁷

One of the most significant features of the community in which young Emden was raised was that it contained a very significant Sephardi population. The Sephardi Diaspora, greatly augmented by the masses of Jews who left the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the fifteenth century, extended to areas beyond those immediately surrounding the Mediterranean Sea and reached well into the European continent. As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, large numbers of Sephardim settled in

what was to become The Triple Community and gravestones of Sephardim are the earliest to be found even today in Altona's Jewish cemetery.⁸ The presence of a large Sephardi population in the city in which Emden was born, raised and spent most of his life helps explain some of the major positions and attitudes which were held by Emden and described by him in his subsequent literary oeuvre.⁹

In addition, Altona was the city where members of Emden's own immediate family had served with great distinction as rabbinic leaders, a fact which was to figure very prominently in his later life. Emden's maternal grandfather, R. Meshullam Zalman Neumark (1624-1706) of the famous Viennese Mireles family, was Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community for over two and a half decades, from 1680 to 1706.¹⁰ In 1687-88, his daughter Sarah married Emden's father, Zevi Ashkenazi (known as Hakham Zevi), who also played a leading role in Altona's communal affairs for the two decades that he spent in that city. While officially head of the Klaus, a rabbinical school established for him by local maecenae, his influence extended far beyond the walls of the yeshiva and encompassed the entire community. Due to the infirmities of old age suffered by his father-in-law, the Chief Rabbi, for many years prior to his death, the practical day-to-day responsibilities of that position devolved totally upon Hakham Zevi. Communal decisions were found recorded in his handwriting, members of the Sephardi community sought his advice and Emden later recorded that his father was responsible for a series of important communal ordinances which affected many areas of local religious and social life.¹¹ There was even talk of formally recognizing Hakham Zevi as Acting Chief Rabbi and granting him a salary for the services he had

already been performing for no formal remuneration.¹² This was not to be until after R. Meshullam Zalman's death in 1706 when Hakhham Zevi was officially elected to fill the position which he had in fact occupied for many years. Due to a factional dispute within the community, however, Hakhham Zevi was appointed undisputed Chief Rabbi only over Hamburg and Wandsbeck but was required to share the Altona rabbinate with R. Moses b. Mordecai Zusskind Rothenberg, each serving in that position for only six months at a time.¹³ This arrangement lasted for about two years when, for a reason not completely clear, Hakhham Zevi resigned from his rabbinic position and returned to the Klaus.¹⁴ One half year later, in the winter of 1710, he accepted the invitation of the Ashkenazi community in Amsterdam to become its Chief Rabbi and left Germany.¹⁵

It is important to recognize the high level of rabbinic leadership exercised in Altona by these members of Emden's immediate family. Emden's earliest memories of his father were of him as the religious authority of his home town. Almost a half century later, he repeatedly referred to this fact after having been overlooked for the position of Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community in favor of the individual who was to become his arch rival, Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschütz.¹⁶

Jacob was the first son born to R. Zevi and Sarah. Shortly before his birth, his father had been severely depressed because of a major business reversal in which he lost a substantial amount of money. His situation was serious and the doctors whom he consulted suggested the healing powers of the hot springs. Thus, Emden's birth found his father away from home in Emsirbad on the Rhine. In addition, Hakhham Zevi had

not expected a son after having previously sired three daughters and, on the slight chance that the baby might be male, he had already engaged the services of a mohel to perform the circumcision. However, upon being informed that his new child was indeed a son, he hurried home, cured from his "melancholia," in time to personally circumcize him. In Emden's words: "He entered me into the covenant with great double joy -- that he returned to his previous health and that he merited a son."¹⁷

While this information was simply recorded without comment in his autobiography, Emden elsewhere went a step further and attributed many of the misfortunes which filled his own life to his father's depressed state of mind prior to his birth. In discussing the name he chose for his collection of responsa, She'elat Yavez, Emden wrote:

"I therefore called the name of this, my book, The Questions (Addressed to) Yavez because of the verse in Chronicles (which relates) that the mother of Athniel son of Kenaz called him Yavez to convey that she gave birth in pain.¹⁸ So too was I, tormented and grieved, born to my father and mother in great travail (according to what I was told).¹⁹ For my revered father was then stricken with melancholia and fell into a deep depression almost to the point that the human physicians had despaired of his recovery. Only the mercies of heaven restored him to his strength and health. However, it seems to me that this made somewhat of an impression on my development. For from my youth I was weak from worry and

grief, my heart was dizzy (and) my strength left me
because of my sins, my head was weak and I was prone
to melancholia . . . "20

Indeed, as we shall see, Emden's life was haunted by sickness. He constantly suffered from various physical illnesses as well as states of mental depression, a condition which was also to affect his own son as well.²¹

Emden had a few memories of his early childhood which later he recorded in his autobiography:

"My parents were worriers and fretted over me a great deal. I was reared on their knees as a pampered child, with happiness, great softness and yearning. With it all, my father hastened to bring me to school when I was three years old so that, by the fifth year after my birth, I had already completed studying the tractate Bezaḥ.²² I was so diligent in my studies that my friends (and) peers followed behind me²³ and, by that time, had not (even) reached the ability to read the prayers. Afterwards, however, he (i.e. my father) refrained from bringing my brothers who were born to him after me to the melamed's house while they were at such a tender age because, he said, that he had weakened me thereby.

If I had said: I will speak thus (Ps. 73:15),
everything that occurred to me in my childhood years,

the story would be exceedingly long, aside from what is hidden and forgotten from me. I will only mention several tidbits -- three frightful things that happened to me in the days of my tender childhood. The first was a rash that appeared on the flesh of my face which covered it from side to side in a manner that put me in great jeopardy, almost beyond despair. God sent His word and healed me²⁴ without it leaving any trace of damage on my face and no scars at all. Secondly, a leprous boil appeared on my penis which blocked the urinary tract for some time in a manner that caused my parents worry, sorrow and great sighing²⁵ because of me. Thirdly, onerous boils covered all of my legs, similar to the boils of Job,²⁶ with ugly pain. God delivered me from all these, aside from other evil and serious maladies²⁷ found in all children, like pimples, pox, measles and teething. I was especially prone to swollen tonsils, colds, coughing and burning urine; sometimes also small pimples and red speckles. (All this was) aside from the blows with which I was wounded in the house of my 'friends' (Zech. 13:6), the teachers into whose hands I was placed to study, who were usually cruel and who mercilessly hit me.

(All this) aside from other aches and pains which have affected me from the days of my childhood. Much

have they afflicted me from my youth, but they have not
prevailed against me (Ps. 129:2) . . ."28

Nothing that Emden mentioned here was particularly unique. Undoubtedly similar to many other children his age, he was spoiled, precocious, studious and sickly although, perhaps, he suffered from more illnesses than most. What is striking in this passage -- that each one of the three childhood occurrences he chose to relate was a sickness and that one of them was a boil on his penis which resulted in a urinating difficulty -- is more significant for what it reveals about Rabbi Jacob the adult who wrote these words than what it tells us about little Jacob the child who experienced what he described. Nevertheless, the depressing tone of his remarks should not obscure what must have been a positive and productive childhood. Memories of being pampered by his parents must have been pleasant ones for him. Also, in what can only be seen as a remarkable achievement, Emden was clearly motivated to spend an enormous amount of time involved in his studies, in spite of whatever difficulties he may have been forced to face. Even if one were to make allowances for the precise age he finished studying Tractate Bezah, the achievement is still impressive.

After these brief remarks about his early childhood, the next recollection Emden recorded in his autobiography concerned his father's suffering at the hands of his enemies in Altona:

"After I achieved some level of maturity, I sensed
Father's pain, his aforementioned suffering and shame
because of those who rose up against him to deprive him

of his livelihood and degrade him from his honor.²⁹

After this, my revered father was stricken with a serious illness . . . which developed as a result of the conflict in Altona. The doctors had already given up hope and my sisters and I fasted on a Monday and Thursday of one week."³⁰

That eleven-year-old Jacob undertook to fast on behalf of his critically ill father must have made quite an impression on the young adolescent. Note, parenthetically, that Emden assumed that his father's sickness was caused by a strong challenge to his authority as a rabbi. The issue of rabbinic authority was clearly a most important one in the household of Hakham Zevi and was to play a very significant role in the life of his eldest son as well.

The family's move from Altona to Amsterdam at the end of the winter of 1710 was a difficult one for young Jacob who was almost twelve at the time.³¹ He described the dangerous journey and the many adjustments that had to be made -- to the different climate, the heavier diet and, in general, to the different mores of his new home.³² But the most serious issue the young teenager had to confront during the family's stay in Amsterdam was the various bitter controversies in which his father was engaged from the day of his arrival in that city. Emden spent the next four formative years of his young life in a household permeated by tension and stress -- a state of affairs which made a lasting impression on him. In his later reconstruction of these events, Emden mentioned two disputes in particular -- the Cantor's Controversy of 1711 and the sig-

nificantly more well known Hayon Controversy which followed, in 1713-14.

Even before assuming his rabbinic position in Amsterdam, Hakham Zevi became involved in a dispute that had already split the community for quite some time. A rivalry between two cantors in that city had grown so intense that on Shabbat Shuvah, 1708, well over a year before Hakham Zevi's arrival, supporters of both had actually come to blows in the synagogue and each group had appealed to the secular authorities for support.³³ As the new Chief Rabbi of the community, Hakham Zevi was forced to take a stand on this matter and, supported by the local Sephardi community which wielded great influence with the local authorities, his faction prevailed. But the victory was not without its price and young Emden suffered:

"It was a time of trouble and confusion for Jacob³⁴ because of Father's pain. In addition, this controversy greatly interrupted Torah (study). At that time I became a Bar Mizvah; the twilight that I longed for on the eve of my fourteenth year hath been turned for me into trembling (Isa. 21:4), the gloom of anguish (Ibid. 8:22) and darkness, a time of worry, distress and confusion. The time was not conducive for diligent study nor to achieve perfection because of the lack of a teacher or companion, mentor or guide, to bring me blessing. The absence of our tranquility knew no bounds."³⁵

The second controversy was far more significant, intense and reper-

cussive. It transcended the borders of the Amsterdam community and ultimately was directly responsible for Ḥakham Zevi's premature departure from that city. What follows is a brief recapitulation of the events only in so far as they affected Ḥakham Zevi and through him, young Jacob.

On July 3, 1713, Nehemya Hiyya Ḥayon arrived in Amsterdam. R. Moses Hagiz, a Palestinian rabbi then in that city, immediately identified him as the Sabbatian about whom he had been previously warned and initiated a campaign against him. After reading some of Ḥayon's works, Ḥakham Zevi also began to strongly oppose him as a dangerous Sabbatian heretic and, on July 23, joined Hagiz in excommunicating Ḥayon. He insisted that Ḥayon's writings be burned and repeated this demand in a second ban of excommunication he issued about two weeks later. Shortly thereafter, the Sephardi community, which had initially sought and accepted the opinion of Ḥakham Zevi about their visitor, publicly decided in favor of Ḥayon and stated that they found nothing even remotely objectionable in his entire literary corpus. The battle lines were thus clearly drawn and the controversy became very heated. Ḥakham Zevi refused to meet with Ḥayon to hear his explanation, ignored a summons to appear before the Sephardi court and about three months later both he and Hagiz were excommunicated by the Sephardi community. After Ḥakham Zevi's rejection of an offer to recant, the excommunication was repeated some two weeks later. But the controversy, which had involved leading rabbis of many major cities, soon came to an end. Having been publicly insulted, lacking the support of his colleagues and of his own Ashkenazi community, without the help of Hagiz and facing the pressure of the local authorities, Ḥakham Zevi found his future residence in Amsterdam intolerable and on January 3, 1714, six

months after Hayon's arrival, he left the city.³⁶

Having just turned fifteen when Hayon arrived in Amsterdam,³⁷ Emden was very much aware of what was happening and remained affected by the impact of these intense six months for the rest of his life. Several decades later, while discussing the controversy in his autobiography, Emden wrote:

"It has already been heard and is known among those still alive who remember well the matters of that difficult event which has not grown old (and been forgotten) these fifty years."³⁸

Not only did he clearly remember the events which occurred close to a half century earlier but he assumed that others did as well. In addition, Emden always invoked his father's behavior in the Hayon Controversy as the model which he emulated in his own later struggle with Eybeschütz. The vision of a heroic figure waging a lonely battle against the cursed Sabbatian heresy at a great personal price was indelibly imprinted in young Jacob's mind and, many years later, served as the paradigm after which he modelled his own behavior.³⁹

After leaving Amsterdam in the middle of the winter of 1714 with the intention of going to Poland, Hakham Zevi spent several weeks in London at the invitation of its Sephardi community and the rest of the family travelled by boat to the German city of Emden.⁴⁰ This was young Jacob's first visit to the community which he was to serve as rabbi and by whose name he was to be known for posterity. His short stay of a few months was highlighted by one event which he strikingly described in his auto-

biography many years later:

"The learned communal leader, R. L(eib) Emden, wanted to give his daughter to me as a wife. She was a virgin, learned and intelligent; verily without equal in all the land of Germany. He wished to present to me a large sum of money as a dowry because he was an extremely rich and learned man. His daughter too yearned to become attached to (a family of) Torah and distinguished lineage. However, for a reason known in the family, my revered father refrained from agreeing with him and from consenting to the match.⁴¹ For me too this was a great test for I was already mature and capable of weighing matters on the scale of intelligent discernment. It did not escape me that this was a very appropriate match. In all respects no parallel could be found in the land -- whether in terms of person, wealth or family -- so that it was apparent to all that (this) was the most logical path for me. I could thus have easily achieved the ultimate of perfection. I knew well that my revered father was unable to give me anything, especially (in view of the fact) that it was (difficult) enough for him to provide for himself and his family while he kept wandering without an awareness of any destination. The aforementioned communal leader and his family were very fond of me and were literally begging me to fulfill their wish⁴² and to achieve their

desire of me. In spite of all this, I did not wish, Heaven forbid, to pain Father although my thought leaned toward it by not rejecting this appropriate proposition. Even the family blemish ('ha-pegam shel mishpahah') was not significant enough to reject them because it was not an intrinsic defect, God forbid.⁴³ Furthermore, all the prominent communal leaders of Germany were already related to this family which had reached high levels of kindness and prominence. Surely such a match does not occur every day. Even so I did not reveal that which was in my heart and I humbled myself to accept with love the decision of my revered father."⁴⁴

One can only imagine how strongly the young fifteen-year-old must have felt about the appropriateness of this match if, in his middle fifties, he could still write with such feeling about it. His disappointment at not being able to marry this anonymous girl is obvious and must have deeply grieved him at the time.

Together with the rest of his family, young Jacob left Emden after Passover, 1714 and, after spending several weeks in Hannover, travelled to Halberstadt. Emden remembered his few weeks' visit there very well because it was in that city that he embarked on his very first literary effort. His father had been asked by a community in Turkey to rule in a case in which a woman had given her brother a large sum of money to discourage him from converting to Christianity and now sought reimbursement

from her younger siblings on the grounds that her action saved them from grave embarrassment. In his written responsum, Hakhm Zevi decided against the woman and held that she had no right to exact payment from them. While in Halberstadt, he received a critique of this ruling from R. Yehiel Mikhel of Glogau.⁴⁵ Being en route, Hakhm Zevi did not have the opportunity to respond and young Jacob took it upon himself to study the issue. Upon arriving in Berlin at the home of his maternal uncle, the well-known printer, R. Wolf Mireles, Emden formulated in writing several points in defense of his father. It was only when they stopped in Breslau several weeks later, at the end of the summer, that Emden showed his father the results of his labors. His happiness is clearly evident from his description of his father's reaction:

"I brought him great pleasure, he kissed me on my forehead and declared about me the following verse: He kisseth the lips that giveth a right answer (Prov. 24:26)."⁴⁶

The first fruit of what was to become Emden's extraordinarily prolific pen was written at the age of sixteen and forms the core of the first responsum of his printed collection of responsa, She'elat Yavez.⁴⁷

Emden's few months' stay in Breslau was also very significant for yet another reason. While there, his father arranged for him to marry Rachel, daughter of R. Mordecai Katz, then Chief Rabbi of Bruda, and granddaughter of the renowned halakhic scholar and Kabbalist, R. Naphtali Katz (1645-1719).⁴⁸ The elder Katz had already known Hakhm Zevi for some time and, in 1709, wrote a responsum defending Hakhm Zevi's opinion in the celebrated case of a chicken which apparently had no heart.⁴⁹

Also, just a little over a year before, he strongly supported Ḥakham Zevi in his battle against Ḥayon.⁵⁰ The two rabbinic families decided to join in matrimony and, after coming to terms, arranged to celebrate the wedding the following year.⁵¹

At the beginning of the winter of 1714-15, sixteen-year-old Jacob and his family arrived in Opta, Poland. Unfortunately, a fire had ravaged the Jewish quarter of that city and, unable to establish a permanent residence, the family was forced to wander among the neighboring villages. In the meantime, Ḥakham Zevi was called to Hamburg to help adjudicate a litigation and went there in the middle of the winter together with his eldest son.⁵² This was a difficult time for the young adolescent and he suffered from physical illness as well as mental depression:

"En route, I was stricken by a cold and could not breathe several times. My strength is spent on account of my groaning (Job 23:2); fear and trembling came upon me (ibid., 4:14).⁵³ My revered father also endured great pain and much worry because of me."⁵⁴

Many cures were attempted for me en route in Berlin and in other places. Nothing helped. Apparently even the doctors did not understand the nature of my illness . . . Then I was overcome with⁵⁵ resulting from melancholia. In this pain I travelled to Hamburg."⁵⁶

Elsewhere Emden dated the onset of this melancholia during his stay in Hamburg itself and briefly, but very significantly, placed it within the context of his forthcoming marriage: "While we were in Hamburg, the

feeling of melancholy overpowered me; it was before the holiday of Shavuot, near the time of my wedding."⁵⁷

Soon thereafter, Emden returned with his father to Breslau where he was married, immediately prior to that festival, just short of his seventeenth birthday.⁵⁸ It is with remarkable candor that Emden described the experience of his impotence on his wedding night:

"My wedding took place . . . However, it was not a day of my heartfelt joy. For during the cohabitation of religious obligation (following the wedding) I lacked virility and I agonized over this for several days. Although I was seventeen years old, I had not experienced the sensation of intercourse.⁵⁹ I did not experience the feeling of joy for I was filled with grief and sorrow due to the raging⁶⁰ melancholia. I experienced neither the sensation of a virgin nor that of a non-virgin. I was (thus) deprived of happiness and joy."⁶¹

After a few weeks at the home of R. Naphtali Katz in Breslau, Emden travelled with his new wife and her parents to their hometown of Bruda, in Moravia. Seventeen-year-old Emden parted from his father, never to see him again.⁶²

Having reached these two significant turning points in the early life of Emden, his first marriage and his final separation from his father, we are now in a position to pause in the narrative and elaborate upon various aspects of his early experience.

Emden often referred to his childhood and, on many different occasions, noted matters that he had heard, read, told others or wrote as a youth.⁶³ It is, however, difficult to determine even Emden's approximate age when any of these experiences occurred because in many of those texts he referred to his childhood/youth in many different ways without seeming to chronologically differentiate between them. He used words such as "in my childhood" ("be-katnuti"); "when I was a child" ("ke-she-hayiti tinok"); "in my youth" ("be-yalduti"); "from my youth" ("me-ne'uray") and their Aramaic equivalents like "be-yankuti," "kad havina talya," and "be-yemei horpi" seemingly interchangeably and sometimes even simultaneously, e.g. "be-yemei horpi be-yalduti."⁶⁴ This ambiguity is typical of eighteenth century Europe where the terminology used in referring to the "ages of life" was vague and imprecise. The Latin puer (child) and adolescens were used interchangeably until this time and the German knabe referred to boys as young as six and as old as forty.⁶⁵ What can be stated with certainty is that Emden's childhood experiences affected him greatly. We have repeatedly seen that sickness and depression, which were to plague him until his death, were already very much a part of Emden's early years.

In addition, during this time the groundwork was laid for the two major issues which were to play most significant roles in his later life -- Talmudic scholarship and anti-Sabbatianism.

We have already seen Emden describe himself as a precocious child, beginning school at the age of three and completing the Talmudic tractate of Bezaḥ less than two years later.⁶⁶ He continued his studies first in

Altona and later in Amsterdam, but as he grew older lacked the benefit of a teacher.⁶⁷ Although he did study Talmud and the 'Arba'ah Turim written by R. Jacob b. Asher with his father,⁶⁸ Emden informed his readers that the latter was too preoccupied with controversies to personally instruct him and that Ḥakham Zevi's financial difficulties in Amsterdam made it impossible for him to afford a tutor for any of his children.⁶⁹ Emden often drew attention to his lack of formal training⁷⁰ and it is remarkable that the young autodidact was able to achieve the extremely high level of halakhic sophistication which he did.

Indeed, the maturity of Emden's Talmudic knowledge is already evident from his aforementioned first responsum written at the age of sixteen to R. Yehiel Mikhel of Glogau, the only piece of halakhic writing of his extant from this period. He informed us on a number of occasions that all he committed to writing at that time were the major points of his argument and that the responsum was completed only some twenty-five years later while preparing the first volume of his collected responsa for publication.⁷¹ As a result, the printed responsum contains both his original comments as well as elaborations added by a more halakhically mature Emden many years later. The composite nature of the responsum is transparently reflected by the manner in which he referred to his father. As he prepared to publish this text, Emden was clearly unconcerned with consistency and, as a result, in some cases references to Ḥakham Zevi were followed by "may God guard and redeem him" indicating that he was still alive while in other instances they were followed by "may his memory be for a blessing," clearly written after he had already died. Although it is virtually impossible to determine with certainty when var-

ious parts of the responsum were written, it is fair to conclude on the basis of this criterion alone that roughly the first third belongs to its first stage.

In any case, Emden's advanced halakhic sophistication, even at this young age, was apparent. At the very least, he was thoroughly familiar with the intricacies of the legal issues which formed the crux of Ḥakham Ze'vi's responsum and R. Yeḥiel Mikhel's critique thereof. These include a discussion of the status of a person who repays a friend's debt without his knowledge, the legal responsibility of orphans, the obligation of a father to his daughter who is a maid-servant, the penalties imposed upon a person guilty of embarrassing another, the extent of interfamilial responsibility and the financial status of a married woman. References abound to Talmudic passages in the tractates of Kiddushin, Baba Kamma, Gittin, Ketubot and Bekhorot and the level of discussion reflects far more than just a few weeks' familiarity with these subjects. Furthermore, obviously unable to anticipate that he would have the opportunity to deal with these issues in particular, Emden could not possibly have limited his studies only to those areas and one can safely assume that he had a similarly advanced knowledge of other parts of the Talmud as well. Finally, throughout even the first stage of this responsum, young Jacob used the standard rabbinic poetic style of writing ("melizah") and, after an initial standard self-deprecatory introduction, wrote with a great deal of assurance and confidence. In short, Emden's expertise as a proficient halakhic scholar was already well established by the middle of the second decade of his life.

In these early years the groundwork was also laid for the second major concern which was to occupy Emden especially towards the end of his life -- his bitter struggle against Sabbatianism. Already as a young boy, Jacob began to strongly identify with his father's very deeply felt anti-Sabbatian animus. Hakham Zevi told him about his own personal contacts with the hated Sabbatians, he heard stories from others and read reports about the movement.⁷² But what clearly made the greatest impact on young Emden was his profound awareness of the bitter struggle his father waged against Hayon. Some four decades later, Emden repeatedly noted the parallel between his father's controversy with Hayon and the dispute in which he was then engaged against Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschütz. Over and over again he stated: "that which occurred to the father occurred to the son"⁷³ and often referred to himself as "a zealot, the son of a zealot ('kana'i ben kana'i')." ⁷⁴ While yet a young teenager, Emden learned from his father to fight any manifestation of Sabbatianism with all the means at his disposal -- even at the cost of great personal anguish, isolation from the community and expulsion from one's home.

We have seen that in the first major area of interest for Emden, that of Talmudic scholarship, he was an autodidact. In this second area of concern, that of the anti-Sabbatian struggle, however, he had an excellent teacher and, as we shall see, he was an excellent student.

One final matter which must be further clarified at this point is the nature of the relationship between Emden and the one person who, by far, had the greatest impact on him -- his father. As a young man, Emden was very conscious of how his own life's experiences affected his father. We

have seen how it was important for him to mention the joy he brought his father both by his birth as well as by his defense of his father's opinion. The converse was also true. In discussing his own sicknesses, the texts cited above indicate how he often added that they were responsible for causing his father a great deal of pain and suffering.⁷⁵

In all of his writings, Emden repeatedly referred to his father with the greatest filial reverence and, while not always agreeing with his point of view, treated his opinions very seriously and consistently tried to defend them. It is by no means coincidental that the very first responsum printed in his She'elat Yavez is the one authored by his father in the case of the near apostate from Turkey and that the first halakhic essay he ever wrote was a defense of his father's opinion there. Yet, while Emden learned a great deal from his father and often referred to statements of his that he heard⁷⁶ or actions that he witnessed,⁷⁷ he repeatedly bemoaned the fact that he never took full advantage of his father's learning:

"I grieved within⁷⁸ over the fact that I was not privileged to properly serve my revered father. In my youth and childhood I thought that there is yet time and therefore neither have I hearkened to the voice of my teachers, nor inclined mine ear to them that instructed me (Prov. 5:13). In addition, when I did truly want to learn, I could not find for myself a mentor, teacher and guide. My revered father was largely preoccupied with the aforementioned difficult battle (against Hayon). He was also unable to maintain separate tutors

for his young children at home. Dwelling in big cities like Amsterdam was especially difficult. He did not accept gifts and presents and, therefore, for this reason he was without means."⁷⁹

While Emden often praised his father for his practice of refusing gifts,⁸⁰ it may also be possible to sense here Emden's frustration at being victimized by his father's self-imposed poverty.

Their relationship could not have been totally positive for even more significant reasons as well. One cannot help but assume that young Jacob was bitterly hurt by his father's refusal to allow him to marry the girl of his choice who would have provided him with financial security, especially when he repeatedly stated many years later that his father's reason for opposing the match had no basis whatsoever. While Emden would never have dared to openly challenge his father and suppressed whatever anger he may have felt, it is safe to assume that he experienced some resentment. Indeed, he later wrote that his "thought did lean towards" disobeying his father's wishes in this matter.⁸¹ It may also be of some significance that he was not even comfortable discussing the matter with his father, although this reticence may be more a reflection of the times than a function of the particular relationship between father and son.⁸²

There is one last very subtle matter which remains to be explored in this context. In describing how his father expressed opposition to certain practices or points of view, Emden repeatedly used a certain type of expression: "I remember when I was a child how my revered father laughed ('hiyekh') at a person who pronounced the blessing over the wine as 'ha-

gafen' (instead of 'ha-gefen');" "I remember from my childhood that my revered father would poke fun ('mal'ig') at those who were of the opinion that the lighting (of the Chanukah candles) should precede the recital of havdalah;" "I saw my revered father mock ('la'ag') those who placed small pieces of bread (throughout the house on the night before Passover) to be found by the one who searched (for Chometz);" "and so I heard from my revered father when I was a child for he ridiculed with great mockery ('sahak be-la'ag harbeh') those who pronounced (the word 'nihiyeh') with a segol (as opposed to 'nihiyah');" "I remember as a child reading the gemara in the presence of my revered father and when I came across verses and pronounced the Ineffible Name with a pseudonym ('kinuy') as I heard from my teacher, he would get angry ('go'er')."⁸³ These words -- "hiyekh," "mal'ig," "sahak" and "ga'ar" -- are more than just simple expressions of disapproval. Their use indicates that as a child young Jacob perceived of his father as a harsh person who had no tolerance for any opinion with which he disagreed. One wonders whether the young boy was afraid of being humiliated by his father in the event that he too made a mistake. In fact, such a sentiment is reflected in a letter written by Emden to his brother-in-law in 1717, at the age of nineteen! "I was ashamed and embarrassed⁸⁴ to enter into any Torah discussion in the close presence of my revered father, the gaon, for I fear to speak before him concerning any halakhic matter."⁸⁵ Considering Emden's perception of his father as outlined above, this statement can be understood as reflecting more than mere conventional filial deference. While young Jacob did sit on his father's lap,⁸⁶ he may very well indeed have been afraid of him.

Emden's marriage in the Spring of 1715 did nothing to improve his fortunes or frame of mind. The sexual impotence of his wedding night which we have seen him describe with remarkable candor was only the first of many frustrations that he experienced while married to Rachel Katz. Tension in the family began to rise immediately. Emden later wrote how he was victimized by his father-in-law who appropriated some of the young couple's wedding gifts for himself very shortly after their marriage and began to renege on his dowry commitment.⁸⁷ The situation was not ameliorated when the entire family, including Emden, returned to their home in Bruda a few weeks later. Ill will and friction continued to characterize Emden's relationship with Rachel's family and the anger which he had at first expressed towards his father-in-law became vented against his wife.⁸⁸

Alone in a foreign land, separated from his parents and estranged from his family, the next three years of Emden's life were not pleasant. His only sources of consolation were his studies and his students:

"With it all, the precepts of the Lord are right, rejoicing the broken and depressed heart (Ps. 19:9). They were unto me a rejoicing of the heart⁸⁹ and a restorer of life.⁹⁰ Unless Thy law had been my delight, I should have perished in my affliction (Ps. 119:92) . . . I then had only the volume of the Four Turim that I brought with me, which my uncle gave me as a wedding gift.⁹¹ I occupied myself with it, to the degree that God enabled me, as best I could . . .

Fine, young scholars, both married and single, immediately turned their eyes to me and wanted to study with me. I greatly preferred to learn rather than to teach but I was unable to reject their request and to withhold from them their desire. I also realized that 'from my students I could learn most of all'⁹² (and that) they would maintain my learning for me. Thus, I bowed my shoulder and became a servant under taskwork (Gen. 49:15), in the service of God with colleagues who hearkened to my voice. There gathered around me chosen young men and esteemed scholars. I taught them the Talmud, Rashi's commentary and Tosafot, Tur Orah Hayyim with the Bet Yosef, Bible, Halakhah and Aggadah. My words were sweet to those who heard them. Their companionship was comfortable and pleasant to me . . .

I was comfortably at ease⁹³ in my domain diligently studying with my students . . . I did not permit those (who studied) before me to be satisfied with hearing (the lecture) from me only once but they (had to) review their studies in my presence, especially when studying the lessons of the rabbinic decisors, the Tur with the Bet Yosef. They did not leave me until what they heard and received daily⁹⁴ was fluent in their mouths. At times I worked so hard with them that I strained myself in reading (and) my throat was parched. I needed to tie my head with a shawl (to alleviate

the headache I acquired) because of my efforts to explain to them and to organize their study for them so that it be arranged in the heart and guarded on the tongue (of the student) without error or mistake in understanding."⁹⁵

The 'Arba'ah Turim was a code of Jewish law written by Rabbi Jacob b. Asher in the fourteenth century. The most important of its many commentaries was the Bet Yosef, written by Rabbi Joseph Karo two centuries later.⁹⁶ Emden's ongoing study of that work and its commentaries bore significant fruit. He recorded his thoughts in the margins of his personal copy of the 'Arba'ah Turim and these notations formed the nucleus of his more elaborate commentary on that book as well as its Bet Yosef commentary. In 1716, shortly after his arrival in Bruda, he began to compose what was to emerge as a major halakhic work entitled Mor u-Keziyah.⁹⁷ The first section, on Orah Hayyim, was not published until forty-five years later, in 1761.

But Emden's halakhic interests went beyond the 'Arba'ah Turim. Besides starting work on his Mor u-Keziyah during this time, young Emden, still in his teens, also was involved in the study of the Mishnah and began composing his commentary on that work, entitled Lehem Shamayim.⁹⁸ In addition, there are four responsa which can definitely be placed during this period. The first, dated 5476 (=1715-16), simply explained a statement made by R. Asher in his commentary on Baba Kamma and contains no information about Emden's personal life. The same is true for the next two responsa written the following year. In the first, Emden briefly interpreted part of R. Shabbetai Kohen's commentary on Yoreh De'ah

while the second discussed a Talmudic statement in Tractate Sanhedrin. However, in an editorial note to this responsum interpolated later while preparing this text for publication, Emden confirmed the inaccessibility of books under which he labored during this early period.⁹⁹

The most personally revealing of the Bruda responsa is the one Emden wrote to his brother-in-law, R. Aryeh Leib, in December of 1717. The subject is standard rabbinic material: the status of oil left in the Chanukah menorah after the flame was extinguished. But both the beginning and end of this long letter contain important information about Emden's situation at the time. After apologizing for not coming to meet his brother-in-law who had stopped in nearby Vienna for a brief visit, Emden wrote:

"As you know, I do not study with leisure. I have no privacy, the space of four ells (wherein to study) halakhah, and there is no need to say (that I have) no books. For I do not have with me in my possession at my disposal even a set of Talmud and not one of (the books of) all the commentaries and later scholars. Only the volumes of the Tur and Bet Yosef that I have are my delight. When I review them with constant regularity, various novellae occur to me (in spite of) my meager wisdom, restricted knowledge and limited perception. (Anyway,) I have no one to my liking before whom I could present them."¹⁰⁰

These three years passed in a way which, as we shall see, was to become typical of Emden's entire life -- full of personal unhappiness,

frustration and bitterness while, at the same time, greatly fulfilled from an intense involvement in the study of Torah. In addition, Emden's first child, Meir, was born during this time, in 1717.¹⁰¹

This phase of Emden's life ended unexpectedly in the Spring of 1718. On May 2, his father died in Lvov/Lemberg, where he had just recently been appointed as Chief Rabbi.¹⁰² Shortly after hearing the news, Emden travelled there and arrived towards the end of the summer.¹⁰³ He spent the holidays in Lemberg together with his mother and seven younger siblings who were there and later in the Fall delivered a major discourse at his father's gravesite on the occasion of the placement of his tombstone. This was the first major public address that Emden delivered and, years later, he described it in detail, albeit with some embellishments:

"I opened my mouth to eulogize him anew and preached on the grave of my revered father before a large gathering. All the distinguished notables of the community came to hear my words and with them a large crowd, for the glory of the deceased. They heard my words that they are sweet (Ps. 141:6). I acquired a very good name because the words were very pleasant to the ears of the listeners . . . The establishment of a monument was the subject of the discourse which included verses from the weekly (Torah) portion (interpreted) with great ingenuity, profundity and sweetness.¹⁰⁴ These cogent words were well formulated¹⁰⁵ in a manner that all recognized the originality of the discourse (as

being) new interpretations of Torah which no ear had heard. The subject was related to the weekly (Torah) portion with remarkable precision."¹⁰⁶

In addition to the eulogy, Emden also composed an introduction to it as well as an elegy and a supplication. Although he did not publish these texts until 1740,¹⁰⁷ Emden assured his readers then that the printed text did not differ from that which was composed twenty-two years before.¹⁰⁸ One may utilize this work to assess the level of intellectual sophistication achieved by young Emden, then a mere twenty years of age, bearing in mind that it is impossible to be entirely certain that his assurance, in fact, reflected the truth.

Indeed, the level was a high one. The introduction and the elegy contain poetic mosaics of various Biblical and Talmudic phrases while the supplication is suffused with assorted Kabbalistic allusions. The eulogy itself, which occupies the bulk of the work, is impressive and contains a wide range of sources: A dozen or so Talmudic references as well as Midrashic, medieval and later material. In addition, although Emden disclaimed an interest in Kabbalah by stating: "I am not involved here in esoteric matters,"¹⁰⁹ the eulogy is replete with Kabbalistic ideas and is liberally sprinkled with statements from the Zohar and Rabbi Isaac Luria. It also reflects issues and concerns as well as a tone which appeared often throughout Emden's literary oeuvre: self-assurance, an interest in exegesis and philology, and a desire to establish complete harmony between differing points of view, particularly between the esoteric ("nistar") and exoteric ("nigleh") teachings.

Although this discourse is characteristic of Emden in all the ways enumerated above, its exegetical methodology was quite different from that which he employed in his subsequent works. In this work, Emden utilized the type of forced and pilpulistic constructions for which he later often expressed disdain. It is odd to read the following from a man who was to be repeatedly critical of the homiletical methodology current in his day:

"Everything returns to the one place where it originally began. We have explained and bound together the words of Rashi in a lasting bond in accordance with the method of the Ashkenazi homiletics in our times whereby (everything) rests on one foundation. It is beautiful, even pleasant to sharpen one's intellect in general, to stimulate the minds of the students."¹¹⁰

One may suggest that Emden tailored his remarks here to the tastes of an audience -- the Polish community of Lemberg -- accustomed to Talmudic casuistry which he knew would appreciate this type of style. If so, his repeated references to the fact that this discourse was very well received¹¹¹ do not simply reflect retrospective pride but should be understood also as an attempt to justify what he clearly considered to be his methodological compromise.

Emden spent another six months in Lemberg, away from his wife who had remained in Bruda. He studied with his younger siblings and, according to his report years later, enjoyed the respect of the community which was prepared to offer him a leadership position on the local court.¹¹²

His stay was also marked with difficulties. Shortly after his father's death, his mother who had been terribly shaken by the loss of her husband, became seriously ill and died.¹¹³ It is, parenthetically, interesting to note that while Emden repeatedly mentioned his father and acknowledged the great impact he had on his life, his mother's presence is virtually not felt at all in his works. The first and only substantive reference to her occurs here, at the time of her death. In addition, the entire family, including the oldest son, suffered serious illnesses following their mother's death and a three-year-old sister died. Emden was also victimized by his brother-in-law, R. Aryeh Leib, who dissolved a match he arranged for his younger brother David, leaving Emden personally responsible for meeting the financial obligations set forth in the engagement document.¹¹⁴

Nevertheless, Emden wanted to settle permanently in Lemberg. He felt that the community was desirable for a number of reasons: his family was respected, an honorable livelihood was easily available, matches for his younger siblings could be arranged with ease and, finally, the level of Torah scholarship there was high.¹¹⁵ But this was not to be. His young wife, who refused to leave her parents, denied what Emden considered "this reasonable request" and, as a result, he left Lemberg in the beginning of the summer of 1719 and returned home.¹¹⁶

Emden did not stay in Bruda for long. He soon began a decade-long series of travels throughout Europe which took him to Frankfurt-am-Main, Berlin, Hamburg, Hannover, back to Frankfurt, London, Amsterdam, Fuerth, Eiger, Prague, Brünn, Breslau, Pressburg, Dresden, back to Hannover and Amsterdam and finally to Emden, with only occasional stops back home.

While the description in Emden's autobiography, which serves as the major source of information about this decade, was blurred by the passage of time,¹¹⁷ one does gain a very clear picture of the bitterness and frustrations which marked those years. Emden presented a litany of failures which haunted him repeatedly during those ten years. This period of Emden's life was also significant for it was during the course of these travels that he had his first encounter with the person who was to become his mortal enemy, Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschütz.

After a brief stay in Bruda, during which time he fell ill once again, Emden set out to collect debts owed his father and to sell his father's collection of responsa which had been published some seven years earlier.¹¹⁸ But he consistently encountered misfortune, rejection, disappointment and frustration. In Hamburg, the community which Hakham Zevi had served with distinction, Emden repeatedly failed to collect the monies due his father by some local inhabitants. A very substantial sum of money was lost, some cash was stolen and, in one case, a debtor claimed that a loan had been repaid although Emden was convinced that he was not telling the truth. Emden left this city in utter defeat and without success.¹¹⁹

His next stop was Hannover where his misfortune continued. His hosts there, who ran afoul of the law, were forced to flee town in the middle of the night and their property was confiscated by the civil authorities. Emden too was adversely affected by their situation and barely escaped without losing his own possessions.¹²⁰

Upon arriving in Frankfurt-am-Main, Emden found a community still ravaged by a fire which began in the house of his wife's grandfather, R.

Naphtali Katz, and which had destroyed almost the entire Jewish quarter. As a result, no one there was in any position to help him.¹²¹

Having thus met with repeated failures at both of his major objectives, Emden was ready to return home empty-handed but, before doing so, decided to travel to London to recover a debt he had unsuccessfully sought in Hamburg. Emden assumed that he would benefit there from the kindness of a person whom his father had helped some years before. But once again his expectations were unfulfilled and his efforts yielded no results. As a further blow, Emden took ill on the boat to London, recovered only slowly and then became sick once again.¹²²

After spending the Winter of 1721-22 in London, Emden left for Amsterdam after Passover and stayed there through the summer. Once again he took ill and years later described one aspect of his sickness in graphic detail:

"Then I fell into a second feverish illness, may God spare me, which plagued me for several months . . . As the days of my sickness extended, a worm, several amot long,¹²³ which had been constantly piercing my intestines, emerged from me through the anus. This is how I felt for about the past year. It appeared to me (as though) a living object was piercing my body on the right side, opposite the loins near my kidneys. I did not know what it was. The fever, however, turned out to be beneficial because of the constant cleansing which the doctor did for me. His intention was to

eliminate the cause of the fever by purging the turbid substance in the blood. The presence of the very long worm, which apparently was the cause of the fever, did not occur to him. (Yet), it was eliminated with the excrement. I had to extract it with my hand because it could not emerge all at once. It remained suspended from my posterior and extended like a rope causing me trembling and anguish. I felt as though my intestines were being pulled out, God forbid. It never initially occurred to me that it would be possible for such a long worm to grow in the stomach of a person."¹²⁴

Emden left Amsterdam in the late summer of 1722 determined this time to return home without delay. His journey was a most eventful one and he described his experiences in his autobiography in great detail. After passing through Fuerth, he arrived in Prague.

"A miracle also occurred to me, especially relevant to matters spiritual. (It was) a miracle similar to that of Joseph the righteous and (even) slightly more so. I was a young man, tender in years, in the full strength of my passion. I had been separated from my wife for a long time and greatly desired a woman. A very pretty unmarried young girl who was my cousin happened to meet me there and was alone with me. She brazenly demonstrated great love to me, came close to me and almost kissed me. Even when I was lying in my bed, she came to cover me well on the couch, in a close loving man-

ner. Truthfully, had I hearkened to the advice of my instinct she would not have denied my desire at all. Several times it (indeed) almost happened, as a fire (consumes) the chaff.

Frequently there was no one in the house with me but her. They (i.e. the members of her family) were also not accustomed to come for they stayed in the store on the marketplace, occupied with their livelihood all day. Had God not given me great strength, the excellency of dignity and the excellency of power (Gen. 49:3), to overcome my fiery instinct which once almost forced me to do its bidding, (and) were it not for the grace of God which was great upon me, (I would have been unable) to withstand this very powerful temptation, greater than all temptations. I was a man at the prime of my strength and passion. There was a very pleasant beautiful woman before me who demonstrated for me all manner of love and closeness many times. She was related to me, unmarried, a tender child and recently widowed. She may have been ritually pure or would have ritually purified herself had I requested it. If I had wanted to fulfill my passionate desire for her, I was absolutely certain that she would not reveal my secret. I controlled my instinct, conquered my passion and determined to kill it. My heart was hollow¹²⁵ and I did not¹²⁶ Blessed be the

Lord who gives strength to the weary for I was saved
from this flaming fire."¹²⁷

Some details of this remarkable incident may be distorted or colored by the passage of time, but surely if Emden could describe it in such lingering detail and with such vibrancy and emotion some thirty years later, one can safely assume that the experience was not only real but that it had a strong and powerful impact on him.

The major significance of Emden's visit to Prague was the opportunity it afforded him to see his future arch-enemy, Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschütz, for the first time. Close to thirty years later, in the winter of 1751, Emden was to accuse Rabbi Eybeschütz, who was then serving in the highly prestigious position of Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community, of being a secret follower of Shabbetai Zevi and therefore, in effect, guilty of heresy. This serious charge escalated into a full scale controversy and became one of the sharpest and most bitter communal conflicts in the eighteenth century.¹²⁸ In 1722 Emden had no reason to harbor any resentment against Eybeschütz but yet described his encounter with him in the following manner:

"They showed me, through the window of my uncle's house where I lodged, how he ran like a deer ('raz ki-zevi') through the streets and markets. I refused to look at him. He also sent (a messenger) to inform me that if I would agree to honor him by coming to his house, he would make an effort on my behalf to save the aforementioned books that were taken from me and return them to me for no payment.¹²⁹ I did not want to see his coun-

tenance. I would rather have lost the books than greet his insolent face."¹³⁰

Emden's description of this incident, written some three decades after it occurred while actively engaged in his heated controversy with Eybeschütz, clearly reflected the jaundiced eye of a bitter opponent whose present bias distorted his perception of the past. Not only is there no evidence of any animosity between these two men prior to the controversy, but Emden even noted on many occasions that when Eybeschütz first arrived in Hamburg to assume the position of Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community in September 1750 they enjoyed a cordial and mutually respectful relationship.¹³¹ The subjectivity of this later reconstruction by Emden is obvious. Also significant is Emden's choice of the phrase "raz ki-zevi" to describe Eybeschütz in this passage. The allusion to his association with Shabbetai Zevi is subtle but telling.

Emden left Prague and travelled by coach to Brünn and from there rode by sled to Bruda. Because it was overcrowded, he was forced to travel with one leg over the side and was seriously hurt. He remained injured for several weeks after finally arriving home in the middle of the winter. He had been away from his wife and family for at least three years.¹³²

Having returned home with nothing to show for all his years of travel, Emden began a series of business ventures designed to provide himself with a livelihood. At first, an attempt at an import-export business was successful but a series of reversals soon destroyed its viabil-

ity. Emden was also cheated by some Hungarian merchants and almost lost his entire operation to a German dealer who settled in Bruda and purchased a monopoly on the type of goods with which he dealt. He was also cheated by merchants in Breslau which he visited briefly on business.¹³³

Emden's next business trip took him to Hungary. He was detained near the border by a customs officer who threatened to confiscate a large percentage of his merchandise. He was forced to travel to Pressburg to plead his case before the local court and arrived there in the Spring of 1725.¹³⁴ This trip to Pressburg was extremely significant for it was during Emden's month-long stay in that city that he was first exposed to Va-'Avo Hayom 'el ha-'Ayin, a book which he was convinced was written by Eybeschütz and which was suffused with Sabbatianism. The significance of this important visit to Pressburg for Emden's anti-Sabbatianism in general and attitude towards Eybeschütz in particular will be discussed below in great detail.¹³⁵

Emden returned to Bruda but was not destined to remain there for long. A series of repressive anti-Jewish decrees had been recently promulgated in Bohemia and Moravia which motivated Emden to leave that city and return to Altona, the place of his birth.¹³⁶

On his way to Altona, he passed through Dresden and Hannover where he refused any assistance offered him by the local Jews, and stopped in Amsterdam. His stay there was characterized by further illness and mental depression which were aggravated by severe business reversals.¹³⁷ To counteract his melancholia, Emden took to drinking alot of tea which had only recently become popular in Europe but, as he wrote, it caused more problems than it solved:

"Were I to consider committing to writing the new pains and difficult circumstances which struck me during those days which I spent in Amsterdam for the second time¹³⁸ as a result of the intensification of the melancholia, may God save me, the reader would be overwhelmed and would not believe that it is possible. It is inconceivable that a man courageous among the mighty (Amos 2:16) could tolerate them, certainly (not) a person like myself who is weak and feeble by nature, stricken, smitten by God and afflicted (Isa. 53:4) (even) without all of these. The reason (was) because of the great loss that I sustained in the aforementioned business venture which deeply affected me. Therefore, my pain is great and I could not gladden my heart by drinking wine and liquor. However, all the relaxation out of which I sought to find rest came from the imbibing of boiled tea to which I had already become accustomed from my first trip. This was in accordance with what I read in a book by a Dutch doctor who greatly praised it.¹³⁹ From then I became accustomed to it. This was all I drank to quench my thirst. From then on, with the exception of one cup of wine during the meal, I became like a Nazarite¹⁴⁰ (abstaining) totally from wine and beer. I found in this practice a great benefit to my bodily health for several years.

However, this time I drank excessively the waters

of the cooked tea from which I sought respite from my sorrow and turmoil, to overcome the thoughts of my spirit and to find rest. But it turned into something which broke and shattered me, for all my blood turned to water and the source of (my) urine opened, flowing like a well. I would not stand for a moment without urinating. This caused me great, bitter and harsh pain at the tip of my penis. Often it was just one step between me, etc.¹⁴¹ Frequently I fainted, my spirit almost departed, were it not for the great mercies of heaven."¹⁴²

At the end of the winter of 1729, Emden left Amsterdam to travel to Altona.¹⁴³ En route, he stopped to spend the Passover festival in the city of Emden with the intention of leaving shortly thereafter. However, his stay was prolonged far beyond his expectations for, shortly after his arrival, Emden accepted the community's invitation to be their rabbi and spent the next three and a half years there in that capacity. This decision by Emden to serve in the only official position he was ever to hold in the Jewish community marked a major turning point in his life.

This decade had been most difficult and painful for Emden. He suffered from various severe illnesses and mental depression and was repeatedly victimized because of his lack of business acumen. Nevertheless, in spite of his bitter personal disappointments and terrible frustrations, he found the time to continue his Talmudic studies. This period of his life saw the completion of his first book-length work, Luah Eresh. The

work was intended as a point by point correction of the many errors Emden found in Siddur Sha'arei Tefillah which featured grammatical annotations published by the well-known grammarian, R. Shlomo Zalman of Hanau.¹⁴⁴ Its significance for the fields of liturgy and grammar will be explored below.¹⁴⁵ There are also fourteen responsa which can definitely be dated during this period which deal with a variety of halakhic issues and reflect Emden's high level of Talmudic knowledge.¹⁴⁶ However, while important for helping paint Emden's intellectual portrait, they contain no information about Emden's personal life other than a few references to his sicknesses¹⁴⁷ and the difficulties he experienced from living in a foreign environment.¹⁴⁸

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that Emden found time not only for his religious studies but also managed to develop and maintain a remarkable interest in secular studies. A long passage in his autobiography, translated and carefully analyzed below,¹⁴⁹ reflects an unusually high level of involvement in various extra-Talmudic disciplines, e.g. foreign languages, cultures and religions, history, geography, the natural world and medicine.¹⁵⁰ Already in his twenties, Emden was endowed with an extraordinarily wideranging intellectual curiosity which he continued to cultivate for the rest of his life.

Having been raised in a rabbinic home, having reached a high level of halakhic maturity and sophistication, having achieved some level of prominence in the Jewish community, thirty-one-year-old Rabbi Jacob was ready to assume the position of rabbi in the German city of Emden from which he drew his name for posterity.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Emden referred to his date of birth in Megillat Sefer (henceforth MS), ed. by D. Kahana (Warsaw, 1896), 18, 56; Sefer Shimush, 89a, where he identified his "mazal" as "te'omim" (i.e. the month of Sivan); Sefer Hit'avkut (Lvov, 1877), 85a: "signed by he who was 'cast down from heaven to earth' (cf. Lam. 1:2) in the middle of the month in which the Torah was given to Israel."

For references to Altona as Emden's birthplace, see, among other sources, MS, 59, 99, 104, 107, 112; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13b, 14a, 29a, 46b, 61b, 86b; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 41b; Luah 'Eresh I, 74a; Torat ha-Kena'ot, 72b.

2. For Emden's sense of the importance of accuracy in history, see below, pp. 524-29.

3. See MS, 208: "This event occurred at the conclusion of the aforementioned year of 'dinin' (=5524, = 1763-64) and I entered into the year of 'hayyim' (=68)." Even if Emden turned sixty-eight after the "year of dinin," his birthdate would be 1697. Also, in a responsum (She'elat Yavez [henceforth SY] I:115) dated 7 Iyyar 5497 (= May 8, 1737), Emden mentioned in passing that, "I have entered, thanks to God, into yemei bina," a rabbinic term for the age of forty (see Mishnah, 'Avot V:21). In this case as well, even if he turned forty one month later, in Sivan of 1737, he would have been born in 1697. Finally, the single surviving manuscript of MS (A. D. Neubauer, Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in

the Bodleian Library [Oxford, 1886], 590, #1723:2) explicitly states (p. 142a) that Emden was born "on the fifteenth of Sivan, 457 (=1697)" and this date is found in the two printed editions of the work (D. Kahana, op. cit., 56 and A. Bick, ed., MS [Jerusalem, 1979], 83).

Those who date Emden's birth in 1697 include: E. Duckesz, Hakhmei AHW (Hamburg, 1908), 14; J. D. Eisenstein, Ozar Yisrael VIII (New York, 1912), 86; H. M. Graupe, Die Entstehung des Modernen Judentums (Hamburg, 1969), 81; trans. into English by J. Robinson as The Rise of Modern Judaism (New York, 1978), 61; M. Grunwald, Hamburgs deutsche Juden (Hamburg, 1904), 74; EJ VI, 721; Jewish Encyclopedia V (1903), 149; Graetz-Shefer, Divrei Yemei Yisrael VIII (1899), 470.

However, the manuscript of MS is only a copy of Emden's original text and is, itself, inconsistent. A note in the margin of an earlier passage of the manuscript (p. 123a) states that Emden was born in 1696. This notation was incorporated into the text of MS itself the first time it appeared in print (ha-Me'asef [1810], 94) and is also found in all subsequent texts based on that version. Indeed, many dated Emden's birth in 1696. See, for example, Z. Stern, Bikkurim I (1864), xxxi; S. J. Fuenn, Knesset Yisrael (Warsaw, 1886), 559; M. Barif, "Hagahot Menahem Zion" on H. Y. D. Azulai, Shem ha-Gedolim ha-Shalem I (New York, 1958), 100, n. 161; 101, n. 164. Furthermore, there were those who claimed, without any evidence, that Emden lived for a full eighty years. Given that he died in 1776 (see below, p. 751), his date of birth would have been 1696. For this opinion, see D. Kahana at the end of his edition of MS (p. 215) and H. N. Dembitzer, Kelilat Yofi I (Cracow, 1888), 100a. E. Duckecz, Hakhmei AHW, ibid., 49 cites this point of view but does not

agree with it.

4. See the title page of Sasportas' collection of responsa, Sefer 'Ohel Ya'akov (Amsterdam, 1737). For Emden's comment, see his Kizur Zizat Novel Zevi, 1a.

All correspondence between Hebrew and secular dates are based on A. Akavia, Luah le-Shehset 'Alafim Shanah (Jerusalem, 1976).

5. Solomon Dubno, "'Evel Yahid," Shir Misped (Berlin, 1777). See also Literaturblatt des Orient VII (1846), 442. In Sefer Hit'avkut, 85a, (cited above, n. 1), Emden continued that his birth took place on the eighth, the night after the seventh in a northern land (i.e. Germany) in the city of Altona." Assuming that the underlined phrase refers to the day of the week, i.e. Saturday night - Sunday, as has already been suggested (A. H. Wagenaar, Toledot Yavez [Lublin, 1880], 4, n. 2; E. Duckesz, op. cit., 49), the year of his birth would have to be 1698 for it was only then and neither in 1696 or 1697 that the fifteenth of Sivan fell on a Sunday.

Those who maintained that Emden was born in 1698 include A. H. Wagenaar, op. cit., 4, n. 1; E. Duckecz, ibid., 49-50; H. Y. D. Azulai, Shem ha-Gedolim I, letter "yod," #254; I. M. Jost, Geschichte des Judenthums III (Leipzig, 1859), 256; D. E. Sluijs and J. Hoofien, Handboek voor de Geschiedenis der Joden (Amsterdam, 1873), 478.

For still others, the matter was in doubt. See Encyclopedia Judaica VI (Berlin, 1930), 586: "1696 oder 1698" and M. J. Cohen, Jacob Emden: Man of Controversy (Philadelphia, 1937), 285, n. 1: "It would,

perhaps, be best to leave the date unresolved as 1696 (1698)." Subsequent editions of H. Graetz's Geschichte der Juden have different dates. In the Leipzig, 1868, edition (p. 396) Graetz wrote that Emden was born in 1696. Cf. the Leipzig, 1898, edition (p. 357) where he dated Emden's birth in 1698.

Other dates found in the secondary literature which lack any basis whatsoever are 1695 (Y. Kamelhar, Sefer Dor De'ah II [New York, 1953], 48 and I. Eisenstadt, Da'at Kedoshim [St. Petersburg, 1897-98], 53) and 1691 (Y. Z. Klein, brief biography of Emden printed at the beginning of his edition of Emden's Lehem Shamayim [Jerusalem, 1978], 13 and B. Brillling, "Zur Geschichte der Hebraischen Buchdruckereien in Altona," Studies in Bibliography and Booklore XI [1975-76], 41).

Emden's assertion (MS, 54) that his father (Ḥakham Zevi Ashkenazi) was close to forty when he was born and over fifty at the time of his Bar Mitzvah is useless in this context because, ironically, Ḥakham Zevi's own birthdate is also a matter of dispute. For a small sense of the extent of the disagreement regarding Ḥakham Zevi, see Graetz-Shefer, op. cit., 370 who dated his birth in 1655 while D. Kahana, Toledot ha-Mekubalim, ha-Shabbeta'im ve-ha-Hassidim I (Odessa, 1913), 130, dated it in 1661.

See also, below n. 31, 58.

6. Bereshit Rabbah 58:2.

It is interesting that this is based on the verse (Ecless. 1:5), "The sun rises and the sun sets." Here Emden claimed that his birth (i.e. the rising of the sun) took place after Sasportas' death (i.e. the

setting of the sun), inverting the order of the verse and thereby giving further credence to this information.

7. For general information about "The Triple Community," see I. Wolfsberg, "AHW," 'Arim ve-'Immahot bi-Yisrael II, ed. by J. L. Fishman (Jerusalem, 1948), 5-57 and bibliography, 56-7; translated into German by J. Klausner as Geschichte der Drei-Gemeinde (München, 1960); H. M. Graupe, Die Statuten der drei Gemeinden Altona, Hamburg und Wandsbeck (Hamburg, 1973), 2 vols. and bibliography, I: 329-33; G. Marwedel, Die Privilegien der Juden in Altona (Hamburg, 1976).

8. See H. Kellenbenz, Sephardim an der unteren Elbe (Wiesbaden, 1958), index, s. v. Altona and the material cited there. For Sephardim in Altona's cemetery, see M. Grunwald, Portugiesengraber auf deutscher Erde (Hamburg, 1902).

9. See, for example, some of his opinions regarding the liturgy (e.g. textual variants, pronunciation and vocalization) described below, Chapter V.

10. After the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna by Leopold I in 1670, R. Meshullam left for Berlin and was elected Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community ten years later, succeeding R. Hillel Herz, author of the Bet Hillel commentary on the Shulhan 'Arukh (see EJ VIII, 487-88). He served in that capacity until his death on 22 Kislev, 5467 (= Winter, 1706).

For references to R. Meshullam in Emden's works, see MS, 10 (he was

Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community and a scion of "the prominent Mireles family"); 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13a (he "led the members of The Triple Community for the sake of Heaven many years"); J. Emden, Divrei 'Emet u-Mishpat Shalom, 11a-28b (in passing). See also She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, introduction; R. Eliakim Getz, Sefer 'Even ha-Shoham u-Me'irat Einayim, #55 and Jacob b. Ezekiel, Sefer Shem Ya'akov (1716), 30a-b, cited in I. M. Kagan, Mishnah Brurah, Orah Hayyim XC:29 regarding the importance of communal prayer even at the expense of missing out on a profit in a business transaction.

Secondary literature about him includes E. Duckesz, 'Ivah le-Moshav (Cracow, 1903), 8-11; H. N. Dembitzer, Kelilat Yofi I, op. cit., 91b-92a; I. Eisenstadt, Da'at Kedoshim (St. Petersburg, 1897-98), 48-49; S. J Fuenn, Knesset Yisrael (Warsaw, 1886), 328; A. H. Wagenaar, op. cit., 6-7.

For the text of his epitaph, see E. Duckesz, ibid., 11 and J. Wittkower, Agudat Perahim (Altona, 1880), 284, #1.

11. See MS, 10-16, 19, 23, 25; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13a-b; She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, introduction, #119, #161; R. Eliakim Getz, ibid.; E. Duckesz, 'Ivah le-Moshav, op. cit., 14. The ordinances dealt with procuring kosher wine for ritual purposes, preparing food for the Sabbath, arranging for Passover mazot and marror and hadasim for the Sukkot lulav, eliminating usury and establishing procedures for monitoring charities collected for the Holy Land. For an additional ordinance regarding family purity, see She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, #8 and SY II:15, end.

12. MS, 19.

13. Ibid., 22. For information about R. Moses, see E. Duckesz, 'Ivah le-Moshav, op. cit., 18-21; H. Dembitzer, Kelilat Yofi, I, op. cit., 92b.

R. Moses died on January 12, 1712. For the text of his epitaph, see J. Wittkower, op. cit., 284, #2.

14. See MS, 22-25, where Emden claimed that his father refused to share the rabbinic position with R. Moses after the latter had become involved in some kind of financial impropriety.

Others have suggested, however, that Hakham Zevi resigned as a result of a dispute he had with R. Moses in 1709 regarding whether a chicken which apparently had no heart was ritually fit for Jewish consumption. After Hakham Zevi decided that it was to be considered kosher (She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, #74), R. Moses publicly opposed him and maintained that the chicken was not to be eaten (She'elot u-Teshuvot Maharam Zusskind, #33). This developed into a major dispute at the time and, according to some, could very well have accounted for the resignation of Hakham Zevi who could not countenance this public challenge to his authority. For more on the significance of this, see below, pp. 403-04.

In light of later developments it is most interesting to note that R. Naphtali Katz, a future supporter of Hakham Zevi in his controversy with Hayon and grandfather of Emden's first wife, agreed with him on this matter (She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, #76; below, n. 48) while R. Jonathan Eybeschütz, Emden's future mortal enemy, took the opposite position (see R. Eybeschütz's Kreti u-Pleti, Yore De'ah [1736], XL:4). In

fact, one point of view even goes so far as to attribute the entire Emden-Eybeschütz controversy to Eybeschütz's anti-Hakham Zevi position in this dispute. See R. Margoliyot, Sibat Hitnagduto shel Rabbenu Ya'akov me-'Emden le-Rabbenu Yehonatan Eybeschütz (Tel Aviv, 1941); idem., Sinai XXIX (1951), 379-88. This matter is discussed below, pp. 403-04, in great detail.

15. MS, 25.

16. For a full discussion of this, see below, pp. 425-31.

17. Ibid., 56. See also ibid., 18, 55-56.

18. See I Chron. 4:9, 13. There is, however, nothing mentioned there to support Emden's assertion that Yavez and Athniel were the same person.

19. This parenthesis is in the original text.

20. SY I, introduction. For some reason, in the second edition of SY (Lemberg, 1884), this introduction is printed before the second volume of SY.

For the last phrase, see Avot 3:16.

21. Emden's son, Meshullam Zalman, was institutionalized in his old age. See E. Duckesz, 'Ivah le-Moshav, op. cit., 31-2 (Hebrew), 91 (German).

22. I follow the text of the manuscript, 142a.
23. Lit., "pursued me."
24. Cf. Ps. 107:20.
25. See Isa. 35:10, 51:11.
26. Job 2:7. "Satan . . . smote Job with some boils from the sole of his foot even unto his crown."
27. See Deut. 28:59.
28. MS, 56.
29. See MS, 22-25 and above, n. 14.
30. Ibid., 57.
31. In MS, 57, Emden stated that he was twelve years old when his father was accepted as the Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam. However, based on my conclusion as to the year of his birth (above, p. 21), he was only eleven in January, 1710, when his father received the invitation from that community (MS, 25, 28). Emden turned twelve shortly after the family's arrival in Amsterdam in the spring of that year (ibid., 57).

One year later, he celebrated his Bar Mitzvah (ibid., 57-8 and the introductions to Mor u-Keziah I and II) and at the age of fifteen was still in Amsterdam (MS, 60). See also below, n. 58.

32. MS, 57.

33. Ibid., 28.

34. Cf. Jer. 30:7.

35. MS, 57. For the last phrase, cf. Neh. 4:1.

Emden described this controversy in MS, 27-30 and 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 48b. His brief presentation is supplemented by important information available in the Jewish communal archives and in the Amsterdam city records of those years. See David M. Sluys, Beelden uit het leven der Hoogduitsch-Joodsche Gemeente te Amsterdam in het begin der 18e eeuw (Amsterdam, 1925), 11f.; idem., "Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Poolsch-Joodsche Gemeente te Amsterdam," Feestbundel ter gelegenheid van den zeventigsten verjaardag van L. Wagenaar (Amsterdam, 1925), 141; idem., De Oudste synagogen der Hoogduitsch-Joodsche Gemeente te Amsterdam, 1635-1671 (Amsterdam, 1921), 27; J. M. Hillesum, "Tsewie Hirsch Ashkenasie (Chacham Tsewie)," Central Blad veer Israeliten in Nederland (January 9, 1925), 11; S. I. Mulder, "Eene zeldzame medaille," Nederlandsch-Israeliitisch Jaarboekje (Gravenkage, 1859), 39f. My thanks to Dr. Judith Bleich for bringing these Dutch sources to my attention in her unpublished master's thesis, "Hakham Zevi as Chief Rabbi of the Ashkena-

zic Kehillah of Amsterdam (1710-1714)" (Yeshiva University, 1965), 69-73.
Dr. Bleich's thesis remains, to date, the best work on Hakham Zevi.

36. A most comprehensive treatment of the Hayon affair can be found in M. Friedman, "Iggerot bi-Parshat Polmos Neḥemya Ḥiyya Ḥayon," Sefunot X (1966), 485-619. In addition to the bibliography cited there (pp. 612-19), see Y. Nadav, "Rabi Shlomo Ayllon ve-Kuntreso bi-Kabbalah Shabbeta'it," Sefunot III-IV (1960), 303f and, most recently, Y. Liebes, "ha-Yesod ha-'Idi'ologi she-bi-Polmos Ḥayon," Divrei ha-Kongres ha-'Olami ha-Shemini le-Mada'ei ha-Yahadut III (Jerusalem, 1982), Heb. section, 129-34. See also Bleich, ibid., 105f.

37. Above, n. 31.

38. MS, 33. See too ibid., 30-4, 57-8.

39. See below, n. 73, 74. The Hayon Controversy figured prominently in many of Emden's works. See, for example, Torat ha-Kena'ot, 29a-33b and 34b-38b where Emden briefly reviewed the story and reprinted some of the primary texts relating to it; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, Sefer Shimush and Bet Yehonatan ha-Sofer, in passing, where he consistently referred to it as a precedent in connection with his then bitter controversy with Eybeschütz.

40. MS, 34-7, 58.

41. See Isa. 41:7.

42. Cf. Ps. 140:10.

43. It is unclear to what Emden is here referring. According to M. J. Cohen (op. cit., n. 5), 33, the girl suffered from "insufficient social prestige."

44. MS, 58. For the significance of the underlined passages, see pp. 42-43.

45. R. Yehiel Mikhel was the author of Nezer ha-Kodesh, a commentary on Midrash Rabbah, published in 1718-19. At this time he was studying in the school of R. Berman Segel in Halberstadt (SY 1:2, end). See also H. Y. D. Azulai, Shem ha-Gedolim, letter yod, #194.

46. MS, 39. See also Gittin 9a. This recognition by his father was very important to Emden and he referred to it in three other places as well. See ibid., 59 as well as his interpolations before SY I:2, 3.

47. SY I:3. SY I:1 is Hakhm Zevi's ruling on the matter, I:2 is R. Yehiel Mikhel's critique and I:3 is Emden's long and elaborate defense of his father. See also below, pp. 39-42.

48. R. Naphtali Katz is the subject of a biography by M. E. Rappaport-Hartstein, Shalshet Zahav (Muncacz, 1931). See also the bibliography cited in EJ X, 826. In addition, see L. Landshuth, 'Amudei ha-'Avodah

(Berlin, 1857), 282-83 and, most recently, G. Nig'al, "'al Rabi Naphtali Katz mi-Pozna," Sinai XCII (1983), 91-4.

For a critical reference in Emden's writings to R. Katz's Talmudic novellae on a passage in Tractate Berakhot (27b-28a) in his Sefer Semikhat Hakhamim (Frankfurt, 1704), 51b-55b, see Derush Tefillat Yesharim, 4b, 5a; for his mystical powers, see Shevirat Luhot ha-'Aven, 17a-b (he was an expert in kabbalah ma'asit and had an extensive manuscript collection of old amulets); Migdal 'Oz, Bet Midot, 'Aliyat ha-Teva (Jerusalem, 1969), 119a (he had a ring upon which were described Divine names which had a profound effect on a woman who wore it); J. Schacter, "Rabbi Jacob Emden's 'Iggeret Purim," Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature II, ed. by I. Twersky (Cambridge, 1984), 444 (he was an expert in kabbalah ma'asit and had an extensive library on the subject). See also Mor u-Keziyah I:56c (#135) for a note about the relationship between R. Katz and Hakham Zevi; Torah ha-Kena'ot, 16a where Emden asserted in the name of his father-in-law that the haskamah of the elder Rabbi Katz printed by R. Yehiel M. Epstein in his Siddur (see below, Chapter V), was forged; Yeziv Pitgam (Kolomea, 1886), 14b; below, n. 121. In SY I:33 Emden noted that R. Katz was a descendent of the Maharal of Prague.

After serving as Chief Rabbi of Bruda, R. Mordecai Katz assumed that position in Posen and wanted his son-in-law to succeed him there. See J. Emden, 'Iggeret Purim (A. D. Neubauer, Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, op. cit. [n. 3], 755, #2190: 1; Ms. Mich. 618), 4a and M. E. Rappaport-Hartstein, Shalsholet Zahav, op. cit., 79. See also H. N. Dembitzer, Kelilat Yofi, op. cit., 70; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14b.

On occasion, Emden made references to his father-in-law. See Migdal 'Oz, ibid. (he was an eye witness to an event which demonstrated the power of utilizing Divine Shemot); Torat ha-Kena'ot, 16a (see above), 34b-35a (he told Emden about Leibele Prostiz); Yeziv Pitgam, 15b (for an interpretation of a Biblical verse); J. Schacter, ibid. (he possessed his father's extensive library on Shemot and kabbalah ma'asit); SY I:68 (he asked Emden to rule on a halakhic question).

49. See above, n. 14. Hakham Zevi included R. Katz's responsum in his own collection of responsa, #76. See also M. E. Rappaport-Hartstein, ibid., 27-8.

50. After first favoring Hayon, R. Katz joined forces with Hakham Zevi. For his role in the Hayon affair and his involvement with Hakham Zevi, see Torat ha-Kena'ot, 33a; 35a; D. Kaufmann, "La Lutte de R. Naphtali Cohen Contre Hayyun," REJ XXXVI (1898), 256-86; XXXVII (1898), 274-83; idem., "R. Naftali Cohen in Kampfe gegen Chajjun," JJGL II (1899), 123-47; A. Freimann, 'Inyanei Shabbetai Zevi (Berlin, 1913), 122-26; M. E. Rappaport-Hartstein, ibid., 30-66; D. Kahana, Toledot ha-Mekubbalim ha-Shabbeta'im ve-ha-Hassidim, op. cit. (n. 5), 126f.

51. MS, 39. Emden also mentioned his engagement elsewhere in his autobiography. See MS (Oxford ms.), 143b-144a, a passage missing in both printed editions.

52. MS, 40-1, 59.

53. The words of the verse are reversed, probably due to Emden citing it from memory.
54. MS, 41. See too Oxford ms., 134b.
55. There is a small empty space here in the manuscript.
56. MS, 59-60.
57. Ibid., 42.
58. Later in his autobiography (MS, 62) Emden wrote that three years elapsed between the time he arrived in Bruda shortly after his wedding and the death of his father. Being that his father died in 1718 (ibid., 47), he was married in the spring of 1715 during which time he was just shy of his seventeenth birthday (see above, p. 21). Cf. MS, 60; Oxford ms. of MS, 135a and Mor u-Keziyah I, introduction where Emden wrote that he was married at the age of seventeen. Cf. also A. H. Wagenaar, Toledot Yavez, op. cit., 9 and A. Bick, Rabi Ya'akov Emden (Jerusalem, 1974), 14 who state that Emden was married in 1716.
59. MS, Oxford ms., 135a.
60. Read "za'af," as in Gen. 40:6.

61. MS, Oxford ms., 144a. As a further reflection of his depressed mood, Emden added that a severe rainstorm struck Breslau on his wedding day.

62. MS, 43, 60; Mor u-Keziyah I and II, introduction.

63. See, for example, SY I:36, 41, 47, 74, 138, 149, 151, 158; SY II:5, 7, 98, 135, 149; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 40a; Lehem Shamayim (Jerusalem, 1978), I:15a (Berakhot II:1, end); IV:19a (Bekhorot IV:6); 'Ez 'Avot, Avot IV:17; Luah Eresh II, introduction.

64. SY II:98.

65. On the basis of this type of linguistic evidence, P. Ariès has argued that pre-Industrial Europe did not distinguish between childhood and other pre-adult stages of life. See P. Ariès, Centuries of Childhood (New York, 1962), 25-30. See also J. R. Gillis, Youth and History (New York, 1974), 7f; M. McLaughlin, "Survivors and Surrogates: Children and Parents from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Centuries," The History of Childhood, ed. by L. de Mause (New York, 1974), 110.

66. See above, p. 26.

67. Emden did refer to a melamed who hit him (MS, 56; above, p. 27) and to whom he did not pay attention (MS, 60). It would also appear from Mor u-Keziyah I, introduction that he attended a school which specialized

in rabbinic codes and that his teacher's name was Joseph. The references to "mori" in MS, 60 and Siddur I:344b, 349b, 350b and to a teacher named Moses in SY I:132 are unclear. In Luah Eresh II:77a, Emden attributed an error to "my teacher in the days of my youth."

68. SY I:81 (#2); Mor u-Keziyah I, introduction. Wagenaar, op. cit., 8, n. 78 writes that Emden studied in his father's school.

69. MS, 57; 60, translated below, pp. 42-43.

70. Mor u-Keziyah I and II, Sefer Mishneh Lehem, introduction.

71. MS, 39, 59; his interpolations after SY I:1 and before SY I:3. The text and tone of the salutation at the beginning of SY I:3 indicate that he intended to send at least part of it directly to R. Yehiel Mikhel.

72. Torat ha-Kena'ot, 5a, 72b. See below, p. 372, pp. 527-29.

73. Sefat 'Emet (Jerusalem, 1971), 37; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 23a, 30b, 32b; MS, 33; Mor u-Keziyah II, intro. See too Torat ha-Kena'ot, 66a and SY I:75, end.

74. 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 4b, 62b; Petah Einayim, 3b; 'Akizat 'Akray, title page, 14b; Sefer Shimush, 21b; Sefer Hit'avkut, 76a; Sefat 'Emet, title page, 5. See also above, p. 32; below, p. 432.

For the origin of the phrase, see Sanhedrin 82b.

75. MS 39, 41 (above, p. 36), 56 (above, p. 27), 59.

76. For Talmudic matters, see, for example, SY I:20, 52, 67, 81 (#2), 94 (end), 135, 141; SY II:20 (end), 140 (end); Luah Eresh I, 22b (heard secondhand from his father), 25a, 67a; Mor u-Keziyah II:39a, 54b. For other matters, see 'Ez 'Avot, Avot VI:7, 9 (exegesis); Torat ha-Kena'ot, 5a (Sabbatian stories; above, n. 72); 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 25a (why the Chief Rabbinate of the Ottoman Empire was discontinued in sixteenth century after the tenure of R. Elijah Mizrahi); 'Ez 'Avot, Avot V:10, MS, 4 and SY II:82 (story about an ancestor "who created a man"); MS, 52; Iggeret Purim (Oxford ms.), 19b.

77. SY I:10 (studying secular subjects in the bathroom); 47 (tefillin on hol ha-mo'ed); 123 (end); II:114; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 48b (welcoming the Sabbath with dance); Mor u-Keziyah I:5b (spitting on toilet paper before using it); 56c.

Emden also mentioned various practices he did not see in the household of his youth. See SY I:156; Mor u-Keziyah II:8b; Siddur II:64a; Luah 'Eresh I, 10a.

78. Cf. Ps. 55:5.

79. MS, 60. For the last phrase, cf. I Sam. 9:7. See also SY I:24, 47; Mor u-Keziyah I and II, intro.; Yeziv Pitgam, 2b.

Sometimes Emden complained that he was only a child when he saw or

heard something from his father and therefore was unable to understand its significance. See, for example, SY I:94, 141, 156; SY II:140; Luah Eresh I, 65d.

80. See, for example, MS, 11, 12-13, 17, 19.

81. See MS, 58; cited above p. 34.

82. For parental involvement in the choice of a spouse in eighteenth century Europe, see the literature cited above, n. 65 and D. Hunt, Parents and Children in History (New York and London, 1970), 57f.

83. Luah 'Eresh I, 67a; SY I:52; Mor u-Keziyah II:39a (#432); SY I:94, 81 (#2).

84. See Jer. 31:19.

85. SY I:4.

86. Ibid., intro.; Luah Eresh I, 66b.

87. MS, 42-43. In a responsum (SY I:6) Emden discussed the proprietary feelings that a newly married couple have for the wedding gifts they receive. Because, he claimed, they would be loathe to part with any portion of their dowry, the custom developed that their parents be the ones who should assume responsibility for distributing the customary

tithe taken from it.

88. MS, 61. Emden's mention of her death (ibid., 151) gave him another opportunity to describe her unpleasant personality and cantankerous nature. For yet another reference, see Mishneh Lehem, introduction.

89. Cf. Jer. 15:16.

90. See Ruth 4:15.

91. See too SY I:4 (below, n. 100); Mor u-Keziyah II, introduction.

92. See Ta'anit 7a; Makkot 10a.

93. Cf. Jer. 48:11.

94. Cf. Ex. 5:13, 19.

95. MS, 61-2. See also 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13b where Emden described the impact he had on students in Bruda.

96. Mor u-Keziyah I and II, introductions; MS, 100; SY II:149. Emden's own copy of the 'Arba'ah Turim containing his notes in the margin is presently found in the Butler Library of Columbia University in New York City (MSS. B893 INL A53). One page is reproduced in the Jewish Encyclopedia V (1903), 151 and parts were published by A. Bick, Mor u-Keziyah

(New York, 1961). Together with Rabbi J. Bombach of Jerusalem, I am preparing a new complete edition of Mor u-Keziyah to be published by Machon Yerushalayim which will include all of this marginalia.

For the story of Columbia's acquisition of part of Emden's library, see R. Gottheil, The Life of Gustav Gottheil (Pennsylvania, 1936), 206f.

98. MS, 100; Lehem Shamayim (Jerusalem, 1978), intro. 9.

99. SY II:163, 16, 133.

See also below, n. 147.

100. SY I:4, beginning. At the end of the responsum Emden once again bemoaned the fact that he labored under the disadvantage of no books.

For information about R. Aryeh Leib, see MS, index (R. Leib); I. Eisenstadt, Da'at Kedoshim, op. cit., 105-06; EJ XI, 450-51 and the bibliography cited there. He later became the Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam and supported his brother-in-law in the latter's struggle against R. Eybeschütz. See below, Chapter V.

101. Surprisingly, Emden made no reference to his first son's birth at the appropriate chronological point in his autobiography. The first mention of his son is as a seven year old in 1724 (MS, 84, 98). He was twelve in 1729 (ibid., 100) and Bar Mitzvah one year later (ibid., 104). See E. Duckesz, Hakhmei AHW, op. cit., 65; below, n. 132; p. 180.

102. MS, 47, 62; Yeziv Pitgam 2a, 12a.

103. MS, 62. Cf. ibid., 47.
104. The Torah portion was "Lekh Lekha." See Yeziv Pitgam 2b, 3a.
105. See Keritut 6b; lit., "well pounded."
106. MS, 62-3. See also ibid., 51 where Emden made reference to this eulogy and Yeziv Pitgam, 1a where he also noted how his remarks were extraordinarily well received.
107. Altona, 1740. This work is divided as follows: 1a-b (introduction), 2a-b (elegy), 3a-10a (eulogy), 10a-b (interpolation added in 1740), 11a-b (supplication), 12a-b (assorted addenda).
108. Ibid., 10a-b; see too MS, 16.
109. Yeziv Pitgam, 5b.
110. Ibid., 8b. For the last phrase, see Nazir 59b.
111. See above, n. 106.
112. MS, 63; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13b.

113. MS, 64-5, 70; (Oxford ms.), 149b. In Yeziv Pitgam Emden printed a prayer he composed for her welfare before her death. She died on Monday, January 23, 1719. See MS, 70, n. 1.

114. Ibid., 64, 65, 67, 70.

115. Ibid., 63, 70.

116. Ibid., 70-1.

117. Emden associated the cities he visited with either the season of the year or the Jewish holiday he spent in them, e.g. Purim in Hamburg (MS, 75), winter in London (ibid., 79), summer in Amsterdam (ibid., 79-80), mid-winter back home in Bruda (ibid., 84), from before Passover until after Shavuot in Pressburg (ibid., 88) and fall in Hamburg (ibid., 96) but he consistently did not note a year. Even the one date he did mention (ibid., 98) may not be accurate (see below, n. 132).

Also, much of the secondary literature on Emden is not helpful here. Lacking access to MS which was as yet unpublished when he wrote his biography of Emden, Wagenaar, op. cit., does not discuss these travels at all. M. J. Cohen, op. cit., devotes an entire chapter to them (Chap. III, 41-55) but never mentions one date! A careful examination of MS together with other relevant passages from Emden's works fills in many of the gaps, as will be indicated below.

118. MS, 66-7, 70-1.

119. Ibid., 71-5. See too M. Grunwald, Hamburgs deutsche Juden, op. cit., 76.

120. MS., 76.

121. Ibid., 76-7. The fire began on Wednesday night, January 14, 1711 and quickly spread killing four people, destroying over five hundred homes, displacing some eight thousand people and burning many books and Torah scrolls. R. Katz was accused of being responsible for the fire, was imprisoned and forced to resign his position as rabbi in that community. See Shalsholet Zahav, op. cit., 28-9; L. Landshuth, op. cit., 282.

122. MS, 77-9. See D. Kaufmann, "Rabbi Zevi Ashkenazi and his Family in London," TJHSE III (1899), 118-120.

123. An 'amah is between one and a half and two feet long.

124. MS, 80. For the last phrase, see Lam. 3:39. See too M. Grunwald, op. cit., 77.

For other references to Emden's sicknesses and difficulties during this time, see SY II:142-43.

125. Cf. Ps. 109:22.

126. There is a small space here in the manuscript.
127. MS, 82-3.
128. This controversy is described below, Chapter V, in great detail.
129. Ex. 21:11.
130. MS, 82. See Megillah 28a: "One is prohibited from looking at the face of a wicked man."
131. See, for example, Sefer Hit'avkut, 10a: ". . . and behold I swear that I love the Rabbi;" 'Iggeret Purim, Oxford ms., 4b, 13a: "and I swear to you that I love him as you do and more;" Shevirat Luhav ha-Aven, 22b, 23b, 39b.
132. MS, 83-4. Emden wrote (ibid., 98) that he arrived home in 5484 (= 1723-24). Furthermore, he noted (ibid., 84) that his son was seven years old when he returned and twelve years old in the summer of 1729 (ibid., 100), also indicating that he returned in 1723-24. Cf. SY I:73 and 150, two responsa written in Bruda and dated one year earlier.
133. MS, 84-7.
134. Ibid., 87-88. While there is no date mentioned there, Emden wrote

in a letter dated during the Fall of 1725 (printed in Torat ha-Kena'ot, 43a) that he had been in Pressburg the previous Spring.

135. See pp. 414-21.

136. MS, 91-2; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13b; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 41a-b.

Emden's date of departure from Bruda is unclear. We do know that on Monday, November 13, 1725, he was still there (see Torat ha-Kena'ot, 42b).

137. MS, 93-6.

138. Emden first visited Amsterdam in 1722 (see above, pp. 54-55).

139. The writings of Dr. Cornelius Bontekoe, Dutch physician-in-ordinary to Frederick William, the Elector, on the great efficacy of tea were well known. For important information on the role of tea in eighteenth century Europe, see A. Franklin, Le Café, Le thé et le chocolat (Paris, 1893); W. H. Ukers, All About Tea (New York, 1935) and the material gathered by J. M. Biziere, "Hot Beverages and the Enterprising Spirit in 18th Century Europe," The Journal of Psychohistory VII (Fall, 1979), 135-40; H. E. Jacob, Coffee (New York, 1935), 63f.

140. See Numbers 6:1-21.

141. Cf. I Sam. 20:3: "but a step between me and death."

142. MS, 95-96. See also ibid., 98-99. In 'Iggeret Purim, 42b, Emden added one other detail: ". . . as a result of drinking alot of tea until I practically lost my masculine strength."

143. It is not clear how much time Emden spent in Amsterdam. In MS, 96 he wrote that he spent "about half a summer and an entire winter" there, in which case he arrived in the summer of 1728. However, a responsum of his (SY I:47) written in Amsterdam is dated the winter of 1727-28. Cf. Wagenaar, op. cit., 9, n. 94, 97.

144. Concluded in the late winter of 1729 (see Luah Eresh I [1769], 73b), it was not published until many years later. A short selection dealing with Pirkei 'Avot, which Emden called Luah Eresh Part II, was printed together with Emden's commentary on Avot, 'Ez 'Avot in Amsterdam, 1752 and Part I was not published as a separate volume until 1769. See Luah 'Eresh I, title page, 73b, 74b, 77a.

145. See pp. 265-66.

146. They are, in chronological order: SY I:73 and 150 (1722-23); 22 and 23 (Spring, 1724); 15 (1724-25); SY II:74-75 (1726-27); I:47 (1728); 48 and 38-40 (Fall, 1728); 74 and 81(a) (1728-29). Four were addressed to R. Mordecai Leipnick (SY I:22-23; II:74-75) who often visited Emden and posed questions to him (SY II:74, beg.).

147. SY I:23, 38, 40, 47, 48.

148. SY I:47, 74.

There are also three other responsa written in Bruda (SY II:100, 102, 140) which, however, are undated and contain no personal information. As a result, it is impossible to determine if they belong to this decade or to Emden's earlier stay (1715-18) in that city, described above.

149. See p. 507f.

150. MS, 96-89.

THE RABBINATE IN EMDEN

En route from Amsterdam to settle in Altona in the Spring of 1729, Rabbi Jacob stopped about halfway to his destination in the German city of Emden, where he spent the Passover holiday. He stayed at the home of Emden's powerful communal leader, R. Jonathan Levi, whose son was wedded to the woman Rabbi Jacob himself was anxious to marry some thirteen years earlier. This woman, who is known only as "the daughter of the communal leader, the scholar, R. L.," invited the visitor to stay with her and her family.¹

There was a small established Jewish community in Emden, containing both Ashkenazim and Sephardim, which dated back to at least the sixteenth century.² It had been served by a number of rabbis but, when Rabbi Jacob arrived there, the rabbinic post was vacant. In response to the efforts of his hostess who apparently had some influence on her father-in-law, the members of the community met during the Intermediate Days of Passover and elected their guest, then just shy of his thirty-first birthday, as their new rabbi.

Emden repeatedly made it clear that he never sought the position and

accepted it only reluctantly:

"Suddenly messengers from the community came to me and informed me of their decision. Many pleaded with me³ to grant their desire.⁴ I consented to their request⁵ in spite of the fact that it was contrary to the desire of my heart, as mentioned above.⁶ However, it was apparent to me that this was the will of God. Since it had not occurred to me at all, I did not cajole any one of them about this matter. It was God who motivated them by awakening in them a unanimous will and desire. They were also in need of a guide for they were like sheep without a shepherd."⁷

He sent for his wife and this time, unlike some ten years earlier when she was unprepared to leave her parental home in Bruda to join him in Lemberg,⁸ she responded favorably to his request. At the beginning of the summer, she arrived in Emden together with their three children--Meir, about twelve years old; Zalman, about six and a little girl.⁹

Rabbi Jacob served as rabbi of Emden for three and a half years, from after Passover 1729 until before Rosh Hashanah 1732.¹⁰ In his autobiography, written some two and a half decades later, Emden described these years he spent as a rabbi:

"I was diligent in my studies, the night shined as the day (Psalms 139:12)¹¹ for me, with the help of God, may He be blessed, in Bible, Mishnah, Talmud with the commentaries of Rashi and Tosafot, codes, decisors and other sacred exoteric and esoteric books

of the early sages. (I) studied regularly with young students from the city and with my sons, may they live . . .

I led the community for the sake of Heaven. Thank God, I established for them many excellent and important ordinances, to eliminate the obstacles over which they had formerly stumbled . . . With all my strength and ability I dispensed, gratis, justice and righteousness to the needy. I also studied with students who were children of the very wealthy and I refused to accept any compensation from them . . .

I did not show favoritism to the strong nor did I fear any man.¹² The modest as the mighty, the poor as the wealthy, were equal in my eyes. Briefly, in a short time my reputation spread as one of the great in the land and my fame went forth mightily throughout all the provinces (Esther 9:4). Needless to say, I was beloved by all the members of the community, from young to old. In their eyes I was as a messenger of God before them. No one (dared) challenge my word and no one opposed even my suggestion."¹³

Furthermore, he wrote how he enjoyed a great reputation among the non-Jews in Emden¹⁴ and how his presence there benefitted the entire city:

"For a while prior to my arrival in Emden there were no river fish to be found there at all . . . But in that summer when I settled there the blessing

immediately returned to the fish for the (waters) began to sweeten, the sweet river fish returned and were available in abundance to be bought at a cheap price. The community declared: 'The Rabbi brought us good fortune with fish . . .'¹⁵ There was also an abundance of business transactions during the time of my dwelling among them."¹⁶

Emden also personally supervised local business establishments¹⁷ and worked hard to raise money for an emissary seeking funds for the Jews in Hebron.¹⁸

According to his own account, Emden enjoyed a comfortable livelihood during the time he served as rabbi.¹⁹ He supplemented his income by importing goods from Amsterdam²⁰ and when he expressed a desire to leave the community, his salary was raised.²¹ He did, however, refuse to accept any of the extra rabbinic benefits which were standard at that time:

"I did not have enough income from the community to support my household especially since I was not overly concerned about money. I did not pursue even legitimate gain, did not become involved in any business with individuals or with matchmaking, as was the custom of rabbis at that time. I surely did not visit the homes of the wealthy in order to garner gifts for myself, which is what they would have desired.²² I also did not accept any compensation for learning with students and I returned to them whatever they sent me. I (also) did not accept anything for all my sermons during all the days I served

(there)."²³

Emden's responsa of this period reflect his involvement in matters beyond the borders of his own immediate community. In 1732, four Jews from the Italian city of Mantua became involved in a tax dispute with their community. They challenged a long established law obligating them to pay taxes on monies which they kept outside the city and they turned to the Gentile authorities for assistance in their litigation. The Mantuan rabbis, David Finzi and Aviad Sar Shalom Basilea ruled in favor of the community and appealed to their rabbinic colleagues for support. At the request of R. Moses Hagiz, Emden penned a long responsum in which he also defended the community's position.²⁴

The fact that Hagiz sought Emden as an ally demonstrates that he was already then known for his scholarship in the Jewish community and that his opinion was respected. Furthermore, his responsum elicited reactions from two different circles which are also very significant in assessing the extent of Emden's reputation at this time. Upon receiving his letter of support, the two Mantuan rabbis replied with an expression of thanks.²⁵ While much of their letters contain standard rabbinic hyperbole or "melizah," e.g. "the great and prominent Gaon," etc. and while some exaggeration could be attributed to their feelings of gratitude for his support, it is clear that Emden was well known to them. Granted that they did not write him directly to seek his support, it is nonetheless evident that they valued his judgment.

Parenthetically, a minor issue in this context affords us an opportunity to catch a glimpse of Emden's personality. While preparing his

She'elat Yavez for publication, Emden added an editorial note in which he stated that he was constrained to abridge this responsum "in order to avoid excessive expenditure."²⁶ Yet, he had no problem reprinting the entire text of the letter of thanks from the Mantuan rabbis, including all the words of praise for him . . .

Even more revealing is a second reaction to Emden's involvement in this case. One of the scholars to whom the Mantuan rabbis did directly appeal was R. Aryeh Leib Loewenstamm, Emden's brother-in-law, then rabbi in Lvov.²⁷ R. Aryeh Leib too supported the position taken by Rabbis Finzi and Basilea and requested that his colleague, R. David Meldola, do likewise. In his own responsum on the subject, Meldola began by noting that his involvement was superfluous since R. Aryeh Leib already addressed the matter most adequately.²⁸ He continued:

"In the course of my looking²⁹ I also saw that his brother-in-law, his excellence, the sage, love of my life, a blessing in which all is found, the wise man whose Torah wisdom silences everyone else,³⁰ descendant of the venerable ones, of distinguished lineage, the honorable master, our Rabbi, R. Jacob, may the Lord guard and protect him, son of that saint and sage, the honorable master, our Rabbi, R. Zevi Ashkenazi, may his memory live for eternity, the head of the rabbinical court and school of the holy community of Emden, also had a hand in this matter. He delved deeply and broadly to clarify it and the opinions of Rabbi Jacob are very clear."³¹

Towards the end of his remarks he made a second, very complimentary,

reference to Emden:

"Note what was written by the love of my life, the eminent sage, our honorable master, the Rabbi, R. J., may the Lord guard and protect him, the head of the rabbinical court of the holy community of Emden and you will see how he explained and expounded the matters mentioned above . . . You will find rest for your soul³² for the words befit the mouth that uttered them and the words of a wise man's mouth are gracious (Eccles. 10:12)."³³

Once again, although some of this terminology is accepted rabbinic "melizah," Meldola's respect for Emden is obvious and most significant. While Hagiz may have sought out Emden because of the high regard he had for his colleague, Emden's father, Hakham Zevi, and while Rabbis Finzi and Basilea's compliments may be attributed to gratitude, Meldola's comments cannot be understood other than as an expression of genuine esteem. Indeed, Emden was correct when he wrote that already at that time he enjoyed an international reputation.³⁴

In the same year, 1732, Rabbi Moses Hagiz involved Emden in yet another matter which went beyond the confines of his own community. Someone kidnapped a woman and took her to Spain where, it seems, they were both converted to Christianity. The loss of his wife, in addition to some personal possessions, so upset her husband that he died a broken man. After some time, the kidnapper wanted to rejoin the Jewish community and was told to follow a prescribed series of penitential activities

which included a public request for forgiveness, allowing his beard to grow for a certain period of time and that he sit on a level lower than the rest of the congregation in the synagogue which he was required to attend regularly. Although, in fact, he did not follow this regimen, he was allowed to become part of the community and enjoyed all its privileges.

After about seven years, one of the deceased's brothers arrived in the city and was outraged to find this "murderer" being treated so well. He insisted that the sinner be completely ostracized until he not only fulfilled all the demands placed upon him earlier, but also begged forgiveness at the grave of his deceased brother and financially remunerate his family. This case developed into a cause célèbre and different points of view on the matter were sought and expressed.

Although Hagiz's own written opinion is not extant, we know from other sources that he took a hard line against the defendant and demanded a far more intense level of penitence on his part before he be allowed to join the community as a regular member. He wrote to a number of rabbis throughout Europe for confirmation of his position and printed some of the letters he received in his collection of responsa. One of those whom he approached was R. Jacob, the young rabbi of Emden, and the position he took is of great significance for our assessment of him at this relatively early stage of his life.

R. Jacob fully agreed with Hagiz that under such circumstances this multiple sinner should not be entitled to the privileges of membership in the community.³⁵ Yet, a careful analysis of the half dozen responsa printed by Hagiz reveals that Emden's position was the most lenient of all. He was the only one who seriously felt that this person should not

be ostracized from the community but not for the reasons advanced by those who arrived at a similar conclusion. Fully disagreeing with them, Emden held that this sinner could by no means be considered a penitent ("ba'al teshuvah") but argued for tolerance on the grounds that the law held that even if a person deserved to be excommunicated, he could still enjoy communal privileges as long as the official excommunication had not yet taken place. In addition, unlike any of the other responsa published by Hagiz, Emden's was the only one which ended with a plea for tolerance, understanding and leniency in spite of his agreement in principle with Hagiz's opinion.

What was implicitly hinted in this responsum intended for public distribution by Hagiz was explicitly stated in the personal cover letter which Emden wrote him the same day.³⁶ In this private letter to which he appended his responsum, Emden made it clear that he thought that Hagiz was being too extreme in this matter and even went so far as to refer to Hagiz as a "rodef." While noting that in his responsum he agreed with the harsh position taken by Hagiz and expressed the view that one certainly should generally be firm with the wicked, here he pleaded with him to be more lenient:

"What will you gain if you will impose upon him the penalty of estrangement from the synagogue, thus depriving him of the fulfillment of the religious obligations of congregational prayer and Torah reading? Perhaps this can, God forbid, lead him into paths of foolishness which defile and contaminate him. (This could) turn his heart completely away from repentance, considering that he has already made

a partial commitment. Even if it is not complete, perhaps out of an ulterior motive will come (good) for its own sake.³⁷ Our rabbis taught us that while one should reject with the left hand, one should draw near with the right hand.³⁸ Everything depends upon the circumstances, the place and the person who is prepared to accept the desired benefit from the rebuke and the chastisement. For God desires the improvement of his creatures; He does not wish the dead man to die in his foolishness. He deviseth means that he that is banished be not an outcast from Him (II Sam. 14:14) . . . With force, nothing like this can be accomplished, if not with a soft answer (Prov. 15:1) . . ."³⁹

In this case it was Emden who argued for tolerance on behalf of the sinner and he was the one who chided his colleague for being too extreme.

However, as noted above, Emden publicly supported Hagiz in spite of his privately expressed reservations, and when Hagiz published his book of responsa in Wandsbeck just one year later, in 1733, he included Emden's response together with those of the rabbis of Mantua, Metz, Berlin, Krotoschen and Pintschov. Reflecting his esteem for Emden, he introduced his letter as follows: "the head of the Jewish rabbinical court, the luminary of Israel, the great rabbi, the splendor of Jacob, may God protect and redeem him."⁴⁰

The calm and conciliatory tone of this responsum stands in stark

contrast to the virulence, acerbity and utter intolerance of the positions Emden was to take in some of the future communal controversies in which he became involved, primarily his bitter conflict with Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschütz beginning in 1751. All sorts of conclusions about Emden's personality have been drawn from his utterly extreme and uncompromising behavior in that controversy for which he was most well known and which will be discussed below in detail.⁴¹ A careful analysis of Emden's activities prior to his major battle against Eybeschütz, however, yields an impression of an entirely different Emden from the one forthcoming in that context and tempers any generalizations made about Emden's personality based primarily on that event. As this analysis shows, by no means was Emden an inherently negative, bitter or contankerous individual but, on the contrary, during this phase of his life, he was eminently reasonable and represented only mildness, moderation and compromise.

There was one occasion when Emden took a very strong stand but his behavior then was also reasonable and entirely consistent with the kind of position any rabbi would have expressed in that situation. In one of his letters, Emden expressed deep concern about the sorry state of contemporary ritual slaughterers who were often unqualified to properly discharge their responsibility. He suggested a course of action to ensure their reliability and then concluded:

"If they will do so, no calamity will befall them and they will be pleasing before God. But if, God forbid, they will reject our words, which I don't hope (will happen), then we shall be ready armed (Num. 32:17) before God for battle on behalf of the perfect Law of the Lord (Ps. 19:8). We will publicly

declare (a ban) on their ritual slaughtering, their baked goods and other restrictions. We will make them known in public, in the large holy communities known to us, until they will submit to God, His holy Torah and His righteous commandments."⁴²

Clearly Emden did not tolerate what he considered to be improper behavior and was prepared to publicize the matter to force compliance with his point of view. Any other rabbi would have reacted the same way.

Indeed, a search through Emden's early career prior to 1751 yields no hints of the kind of behavior and personality he was to express after that point. We find no consistency in his development through the first five decades of his life which led up to and culminated in his bitter struggle against Eybeschütz. Nothing in his early career could possibly lead someone to anticipate the way he was to act at that time. 1751 marked a major turning point in Emden's life and the reason, or reasons, will be discussed below.

The two issues discussed above are but a small indication of the close relationship which existed during these years between Hagiz and Emden, some twenty-five years his junior. Emden referred to the,

"very strong sparks of love which existed between us while I was in Emden, for we exchanged correspondence with practically every postal delivery. He expressed his great affection for me in writing and in person . . . (Even) in my absence he also praised me very excessively before the members of The Triple Community. He was thus a genuine friend to me with all

his being. He fulfilled my every request to the extent of his ability in order to grant me pleasure even though I was a child compared to him and he was old, well stricken in age (Gen. 24:1)."⁴³

On one occasion Emden informed Hagiz about the negative response that one of Hagiz's opinions elicited among some circles⁴⁴ and, in turn, at one point Hagiz warned Emden that some of his opponents were slandering him outside the community.⁴⁵ Also, very soon after becoming a rabbi, Emden made a great effort to raise money for an emissary from Hebron who bore a letter of recommendation signed by Hagiz⁴⁶ and, towards the end of his tenure, Emden asked Hagiz to verify some signatures which he suspected as having been forged.⁴⁷ It appears that the elder Hagiz, who was a contemporary of Emden's father with whom he collaborated in their 1713 battle against Hayon,⁴⁸ took an interest in young Emden and made a conscious attempt to build his reputation in the community. Feeling a great debt to Hakham Zevi for his assistance in that latter conflict and himself without any children, Hagiz perhaps saw Emden as the son he never had and treated him in a paternal manner.⁴⁹ In turn, Emden respected Hagiz, whom he remembered from his teenage years in Amsterdam, for his zealousness against Hayon and for his love of truth.⁵⁰

This respect notwithstanding, Emden argued with Hagiz when he felt that it was necessary. The clearest example of such a disagreement comes from an exchange between the two of them which took place just a few weeks after Rabbi Jacob assumed the rabbinate of Emden. One year before, in 1728, R. Elijah Olianow published his Sefer Birkhat Eliyahu to which he appended an essay by Hagiz dealing primarily with various Jewish customs. In the course of his remarks, Hagiz attacked the author of a re-

cently published commentary on the Siddur who claimed, on the basis of a statement in Seder 'Olam, that Moses died on a Friday. Hagiz strongly disagreed with this and maintained that Moses' death took place on a Saturday.⁵¹ His comment, in turn, aroused the ire of many scholars who accused him of disregarding the traditionally accepted opinion on this matter.

Shortly after the book appeared, Olianow wrote two letters informing Hagiz of the furor generated by his comment which jeopardized the acceptance of his book in the community. Emden also heard about the storm of controversy created by Hagiz's statement and wrote him for clarification. The earliest extant letter on this affair is Hagiz's response to Emden's inquiry, in which he defended his position with a number of arguments. There is one, in particular, which is most significant and which reveals the high esteem in which Hagiz held Emden at that time:

"This is as far as I wrote to the author of the aforementioned book (i.e., R. Olianow). I withheld from him that which will follow because such matters ought to be transmitted only to a select few, to a wise man who himself understands, like my honorable master, may God multiply those like him in Israel."⁵²

Hagiz continued by suggesting that although Seder 'Olam is authoritative, its text was corrupted by comments originally written in its margins which found their way into the body of the work. While, once again, one may dismiss as melizah the many honorific titles and compliments showered by Hagiz upon Emden in his salutation, the special treatment which Emden was accorded here within the responsum itself is surely indicative of the respect which Hagiz had for him. Indeed, Hagiz's treatment of Emden here

reflects more than just a high regard for the level of his scholarship, a fact which is apparent throughout the entire responsum. It shows that Hagiz thought that Emden, unlike Olianow, had a certain degree of intellectual sophistication and maturity which would allow him to be prepared to entertain an argument based on textual criticism.

Exactly two months later, on July 8, 1729, Emden penned his response. He reciprocated with expressions of profound respect for Hagiz, recalling the closeness which Hakham Zevi felt towards him and even referred to him as "my father." Nevertheless, after an elaborate expression of deference to Hagiz, Emden went to great lengths to prove that Moses died on a Friday, in open disagreement with him. Using what was to become a standard argument for him, Emden here repeatedly averred that his "love for the truth" compelled him to be objective and required that, if necessary, he argue even with someone whom he held in high regard.⁵³

In contrast to later developments in Emden's life, there are two comments here which are especially significant. Expressing a position almost diametrically opposed to that which he presented later during his controversy with Eybeschütz, Emden was reluctant to antagonize Hagiz because the latter had a reputation of being harsh and merciless with his adversaries: "I said to myself," wrote Emden, "it is better to sit opposite, to be warmed by the light of the scholars, but I will be careful not to be burned by their glowing coals."⁵⁴ Secondly, in this case Emden was concerned with defending Hagiz from the ire of the "zealots" or "kana'im," a category into which he later placed himself:⁵⁵ "Verily, in absolute truth, my intention was only for his benefit and for his good for I am concerned about his honor. I feared lest your excellency⁵⁶ might be consumed by these zealots ('kana'im') whose encounter is evil."⁵⁷ Once

again Emden's tendency towards calmness and constraint is evident.

Although Emden strongly disagreed with Hagiz's position, their relationship did not suffer. On the contrary, Emden informed us that Hagiz recognized his mistake and, as a result, Emden's admiration for him grew even stronger.⁵⁸

In addition to his communal involvements, the young rabbi found time to write several books:

"I filled my hand with the writing materials of the scribe, for (the sake of) God, to open ears to the Torah through several works, some of which I began while still in Bruda. In Emden I completed the first volume of my book Lehem Shamayim on two orders of the Mishnah. While there I completed almost half of the book Mor u-Keziyah on the Tur, Orah Hayyim, which I also began in my youth. I was busy transcribing it and (preparing) a second edition. I also wrote there many (of the responsa) in my book, She'elat Yavez. (All this) aside from many various writings on the Talmud and other essential books which I corrected⁵⁹ and upon which I added novellae. There I also composed the Sefer ha-Kishurim consisting of (my) homilies and explanations."⁶⁰

There are twenty-eight printed responsa by Emden which can definitely be placed during this period.⁶¹ In addition to the communal matters discussed in those responsa analyzed above, they also yield information

which is particularly important in light of later developments in Emden's life. Shortly before leaving Emden for Altona, Rabbi Jacob corresponded with Rabbi Ezekiel Kazenellenbogen, then Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community. The issue concerned allegations that were raised about someone who was transporting material under Rabbi Jacob's supervision which may have contained a mixture of wool and linen forbidden by Jewish law ("shatness") from Emden to R. Kazenellenbogen's community. While Kazenellenbogen began his letter by stating that surely no one would question Emden's competence, he proceeded to do exactly that by expressing some reservations about the reliability of this merchant and asked Rabbi Jacob to investigate.

In his response, Emden showed only great respect for his correspondent. He wrote to him that as soon as he arrived in Emden he thoroughly examined this arrangement before granting it his approval and did so once again after having learned of the older rabbi's concern. Although Emden made it very clear that both of Kazenellenbogen's objections were invalid and maintained that this exporter was being unjustly maligned by zealots ("kana'im"), he nevertheless concluded his letter by respectfully deferring to his senior rabbinic colleague:

"Since his honor has raised this issue, he undoubtedly has good and valid cause, for whatever reason, to be strict and concerned. Therefore please do not depend upon us in this matter but let him (i.e. Kazenellenbogen) follow his own dictates to look carefully into this matter in his city . . .

May he please inform me of his doubts and concerns with greater clarity for I do need to learn.⁶²

Far be it for me to rule in his presence. I expressed my opinion only that he should know upon what we depended until this day. However, with stricken conscience⁶³ (I acknowledge that) I will learn from my elders.⁶⁴ I will render my ear as a funnel⁶⁵ to hear the words of my master and their reason. Therefore I will not lift my hand to testify any more about the canvas that comes from here until I learn whither his exalted thought is directed."⁶⁶

This posture of respectful deference to the Chief Rabbi was to turn to open derision and scorn after Emden had spent some time in Kazenellenbogen's community of Altona where he moved less than one year later.⁶⁷

The final literary legacy of this period was the sermons Emden delivered, part of a group collectively entitled ha-Kishurim le-Ya'akov. He noted in his autobiography that he preached twice yearly, on Shabbat Shuvah and Shabbat ha-Gadol.⁶⁸ Three of his six sermons⁶⁹ are extant--Derush Pesah Gadol, delivered on Shabbat ha-Gadol, 1730; Derush Tefillat Yesharim, delivered on Shabbat Shuvah, 1730 and Derush Sha'arei 'Azarah, delivered on Shabbat ha-Gadol of either 1731 or 1732.⁷⁰

Before analyzing each one independently, it is worthwhile to note how Emden remembered his sermonic efforts in general many years later. In terms reminiscent of those used in describing the response to his first homilectical attempt already described, Yeziv Pitgam,⁷¹ Emden was very proud of the reaction these sermons elicited:

"They thoroughly enjoyed my homilies which I prolonged each time for many hours. Every sermon was

like a separate little work. My words were very pleasant to them. The enlightened among them, (72even though73 at the Prague yeshiva) swore that their ear never heard such wonderful and delightful sermons like those they heard from me. They praised me exceedingly to those afar (and) said that in all the world there is no preacher like me."74

Emden also provided us with his own general characterization of these sermons. In addition to referring to them as "homilies and explanations,"75 he wrote:

"I have no doubt that God, may He be blessed, enabled me to clothe in beautiful garments and jewels more precious than gold76 several esoteric aggadot which, at first glance, seem to be exceedingly strange. I will sing unto the Lord because He hath dealt bountifully with me (Ps. 13:6) and I will thank the Lord, may He be blessed, for my lot."77

Derush Pesah Gadol was delivered on March 25, 1730.78 The sermon consisted of a long analysis of the Talmudic passage in Tractate Pesahim (66a) dealing with the issue which involved Hillel and the Bnei Beteira as to whether the Pascal lamb may be offered on the altar on the eve of Passover when it occurs on the Sabbath. Emden first posed close to fifty questions on this passage79 which he presented in thirteen groups, presumably for the sake of making it easier for his audience, which heard

them delivered orally, to follow his remarks.⁸⁰ He questioned the meaning and/or significance of virtually every word in the passage, as well as in Rashi's commentary. Emden proceeded to answer these questions by presenting a complex halakhic discussion of various aspects of sacrificial procedure, ritual impurity and Temple service.

While the subject matter Emden chose to discuss can be obviously understood since it was a year when the first day of Passover fell on a Sunday, he nevertheless apparently felt compelled to provide an additional justification for his choice of topic by relating it to the weekly Torah portion. Accordingly, he began his sermon with a Midrashic statement on a verse in the Torah selection read that morning. The artificiality of this device, however, is evident from the fact that after briefly introducing this Midrash, Emden never returned to it again. Indeed, the entire sermon stands as an independent unit without this Midrashic reference which seems merely grafted onto the beginning of it. It is highly significant and more than coincidental that in the first edition of this sermon, published by Emden himself, the Midrashic passage does not even appear until the very end. After completing the printing of the entire sermon, Emden added, "The copyist and editor omitted the beginning of the homily and (therefore) we will introduce it here" and then appended a four-line reference to the Midrash.⁸¹ Had he not done so, the reader would never have guessed that something was missing. Clearly, Emden felt that he had to satisfy some customary rabbinic practice, but once he did so by introducing the Biblical reference, he felt free to dispense with it.

On a number of occasions, Emden drew attention to the method he followed in this discourse. After he completed posing all his questions, he

wrote the following:

"May heaven help me to clarify every difficulty, only from within its own text, without any extraneous introduction. We will study, inquire and examine properly each matter within its own context out of which the passage will emerge honed, sharpened and elucidated with intelligence."⁸²

He returned to this theme once again at the very end of his discourse, after all the problems had been solved:

"(Even) if I cannot assume clear responsibility that whatever I wrote here was indeed intended by the author of the passage, it is enough for me that I made strange matters to become (as refreshing) as cold water to a faint soul (Prov. 25:25), pleasant to those that hear them and delightful to understand. All this (I accomplished) without any alien introduction, (relying) only upon its own context, from the passage itself as well as on what is said about it in the Gemara."⁸³

In fact, Emden's self-assessment was a correct one. His presentation rarely strayed from the Talmudic text which served as his point of departure, and he only briefly digressed to comment on a related statement in Maimonides' Mishneh Torah.

Emden's insistence upon this type of approach in his sermons may be seen in light of the strong feelings he had about contemporary homiletics which he had already expressed in a letter written about one year earlier. Shortly in advance of his arrival in Emden, Rabbi Jacob was asked

by a preacher to comment on a sermon of his which dealt with the Red Heifer. Before entering into a substantive discussion of the points raised in the sermon, Emden prefaced his remarks with some general observations on the contemporary state of preaching:

"I will not withhold the truth from you that I might make thee know the certainty of the words of truth (Prov. 22:21), 'this is not the only neither is this the way,'⁸⁴ to distort the words of the living God,⁸⁵ Heaven forbid. Due to our many sins, this scab has spread (Lev. 13:8) among many scholars of our time; the people went about and gathered it (Num. 11:8) from whatever reached their hand. They did not differentiate between truth and falsehood (and) they did not judge a true judgement . . .⁸⁶

Woe unto us for what has come upon us in our days for the restraints on preaching were destroyed and it became like a city broken down (Prov. 25:28) . . .⁸⁷

Given Emden's strong opposition to the accepted homilectical practice of integrating what he perceived to be extraneous and irrelevant material into the sermon, his insistence that his own presentation reflect a purely internal analysis of the text under discussion becomes very clear.

Rabbi Jacob's second sermon in Emden, Derush Tefillat Yesharim, was delivered six months later, on Shabbat Shuvah, 1730.⁸⁸ In a postscript to this sermon written when Emden prepared it for publication in 1775, he

explained that his choice of topic was determined by an event which occurred just a few days before its delivery:

"I preached this sermon in the holy community of Emden in the year, Truth springeth out of the earth (Ps. 85:12).⁸⁹ The subject of the homily revolves around the centrality of the beloved virtue of humility especially for men in positions of authority, as can be seen from the explanation of the juxtaposition of the Biblical portion(s) discussed above. I therefore also chose to explain the difficult passage relating the dispute between R. G(amliel) and R. J(oshua), as to whether the evening prayer is optional, which also deals with this matter (of humility), in order to establish a firm foundation for it in a proper place at the beginning of the year. (I emphasized this) since this matter (which) occurred on Rosh Hashanah, as I mentioned and alluded to in passing, concerns a communal leader who opposed me on a religious issue and he lorded over the congregation. However, subsequently he became a trusted friend of mine, fulfilling (the verse), When a man's ways please the Lord, He maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him (Prov. 16:7). From this let the leaders be chastised and learn a proper lesson in communal leadership for the sake of Heaven."⁹⁰

As was the case in Derush Pesah Gadol, Emden began this sermon by a reference to the Biblical portion of the week. However, after citing the

relevant passage in Deuteronomy, he continued, "In order to fulfill the obligation of explaining the juxtaposition of the Biblical portion(s) and the link between the ensuing verses, we will begin to analyze . . ."91 While here too it appears that he conformed to what he perceived as an accepted convention out of a sense of obligation, in this case unlike his previous sermonic effort, Emden took this obligation seriously. He devoted the first part of his presentation to understanding the context of the Biblical passage, posing and proceeding to answer thirteen questions through recourse to passages from the Talmud, Midrash and Zohar. In keeping with the aim of this sermon, Emden repeatedly demonstrated how the behavior of a leader determines the length of his tenure as well as the future role of his descendants in that position. That this exegetical section was an integral part of the sermon was further indicated by the fact that even after moving from the Biblical to the Talmudic texts, Emden constantly referred back to statements he had made earlier.⁹²

After explicating the Biblical section, Emden launched into a long discussion of a Talmudic passage (Berakhot 27b-28a) dealing with the same issue - the consequences of abuse of power. He began by referring to the Talmudic commentary of his wife's grandfather, R. Naphtali Katz, where no less than fifty questions on this text were posed.⁹³ After dismissing some of them as being "unimportant details" not worthy of comment, Emden added some of his own, bringing the total number of questions close to ninety.⁹⁴

Before presenting his list of questions, Emden wrote the following: "With the help of God, may He be blessed, who teaches man knowledge . . . ,⁹⁵ his secrets were revealed to us in a correct way, without any alien introductions, as is our custom, based upon the Talmud (and) a little

from the Zohar . . ."⁹⁶ The first part of this statement was found in Emden's previous sermon discussed above and is familiar to us. What is particularly significant here is the last phrase. Indeed, it is an understatement, for this sermon is full of references to Kabbalah in general and to the Zohar in particular. Emden introduced the Zohar at the very beginning of his presentation⁹⁷ as well as in his list of questions on the passage from Tractate Berakhot⁹⁸ and began his explanation of that text by a discussion of yet other statements from the Sefer Tikunim and Ra'ayah Mehemna of the Zohar.⁹⁹ After launching into a long explanation of these texts, Emden proceeded to incorporate this information into his subsequent interpretation of the Talmudic passage under discussion. The entire remaining half of the sermon is suffused with references to kabbalistic literature and to the kabbalistic concepts of nizozot,¹⁰⁰ gilgulim,¹⁰¹ tikun neshamot¹⁰² and klipot.¹⁰³

This extensive use of Kabbalah in discussing the Talmudic passage in Berakhot is all the more striking because neither of the two treatments of this text to which Emden referred (e.g., Sefer Semikhat Hakhamim by R. Naphtali Katz and Zehav Seivah by R. Solomon Nissim Algaze¹⁰⁴) even mention the Zohar, let alone use it as the point of departure and basis of their interpretation. Yet, although clearly involving overt kabbalistic material, Emden felt the need to issue a series of disclaimers for his extensive use of this literature in so public a forum. He tried to play it down by introducing it as "a little from the Zohar,"¹⁰⁵ and claimed that he will only be dealing with the "peshat" of the Zohar "because we have no concern with esoteric matters and great secrets."¹⁰⁶ That this, in fact, was not true is indicated by a remark in his autobiography, cited above, in which he noted that during his years in Emden he was

involved with "esoteric books."¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, he felt the need to play down his references to kabbalistic literature in this context. Most significantly, Emden concluded his entire sermon with an apology for its use: "May the good Lord forgive me if I revealed in it some hidden matters which are transmitted only to a select few."¹⁰⁸

Based on the description presented above, it is easy to see how Rabbi Jacob's first two sermons in Emden, delivered within a time span of six and one-half months, were very different from one another. The first, Derush Pesah Gadol, did not include a single reference to Kabbalah, hardly focused on a Biblical text and dealt with complex halakhic issues no longer practically relevant. Derush Tefillat Yesharim, on the other hand, made extensive use of Kabbalah, was highly exegetically oriented and focused on a generally more familiar and timely issue.

There are a number of ways to account for this difference. Perhaps Emden was approached after his first sermon by a group of communal leaders who requested that he be more relevant and gear his remarks to a more appropriate topic and level of knowledge of the sort to which they had already been accustomed. It may also be the case that Emden originally intended these two sermons to be different from one another, reflecting an intrinsic difference between a "Shabbat ha-Gadol Drashah" and a "Shabbat Shuvah Drashah" in style and content. Perhaps it was standard practice for the former to be more technical and halakhic and the latter more exegetical and homiletic. Such a determination requires more careful analysis of early eighteenth-century Jewish preaching in general, but it would seem to be justified from a description of the third and final sermon extant from this period, Derush Sha'arei 'Azarah.

This final extant homiletical effort of Emden's from this period was

delivered on Shabbat ha-Gadol either in 1731 or 1732.¹⁰⁹ This sermon dealt with Talmudic passages (Pesahim 57a-b and Keritut 28a) which Emden interpreted as relating to the Pascal sacrifice. Here too Emden began with some exegetical remarks, but, like in the case of Derush Pesah Gadol, they clearly were not central to the main thesis of the sermon. On the title page to this work, written when he prepared it for publication in 1775-1776, Emden wrote: "This time I refrained from also printing what I preached regarding the juxtaposition of the Biblical portion which is related to it. (I did this) in order to minimize the (difficulty of) editing that is incumbent upon me to do . . . for I have no (other) person to carry my burden." Indeed, the printed portion of the sermon stands independently as a complete unit. Also, unlike Derush Tefillat Yesharim, this sermon contained only the briefest mention of Kabbalah¹¹⁰ and dealt primarily with the technical details of the ancient sacrificial cult. By reverting back to the style and content of Derush Pesah Gadol, it would appear that Emden was being consistent in the type of Shabbat ha-Gadol derashot he delivered, essentially different from that which he preached on Shabbat Shuvah.¹¹¹

Although Emden's sermons were clearly important to him and in spite of the fact that he was very proud of his efforts, he nevertheless had a very negative attitude towards preaching in general. In a responsum authored around the time of his arrival in Emden, he wrote "my mind is not amenable to be burdened by this"¹¹² and elaborated upon this sentiment in his autobiography:

"As far as I am personally concerned, it hath been to

me a provocation of my anger and my fury (Jer. 32:31)
to waste time studying homiletics ('bi-limud drush')
in which I was never involved unless compelled (to do
so). I enjoyed only the study of the Talmud and
codes, to understand Scripture and Midrash, to gain
knowledge (and) erudition in the holy Torah, to
observe, to obey and to fulfill (it) not, God forbid,
for vanity's sake (and) surely not that people should
think highly of me as a result of it, for this was
repugnant to me. Only to better understand the Torah
in order to achieve the perfection of my soul alone
does my soul breaketh for the longing . . . at all
times (Ps. 119:20). With her love be thou ravished
always (Prov. 5:19).

However, with the help of God, may He be
blessed, I succeeded in my studies, even in the study
of homiletics and aggadic novellae. When I was in
need of them, God in his kindness prepared for me
appropriate and pleasant words which were attractive
and sweet to those who heard them . . . "113

The previous discussion has demonstrated that Rabbi Jacob's communal
involvements and literary achievements while rabbi in Emden were many.
Nevertheless, his years in that city were marked with great personal
difficulties. In a letter written to R. Moses Hagiz soon after his
arrival, Emden made reference to:

"the all consuming obligations which rest upon a person¹¹⁴ such as I am this day,¹¹⁵ frail and annointed for war¹¹⁶ - a religious war - and responsible for supervising public matters and communal concerns that devolve upon me, for they are many . . . The household needs are also numerous for we are come from a far country (Josh. 9:6), the members of my household and I, weary and tired from all the events and hardships which occurred to us en route. We have only recently arrived.¹¹⁷ Slowly we will acclimate ourselves to the customs of the land, in earning a livelihood and other essential matters as they become necessary. The children are tender; upon me are all things come (Gen. 42:36).¹¹⁸

In fact, almost every letter written while in Emden contained a complaint about how busy and harried he was.¹¹⁹

Sickness also stalked Emden as well as all the members of his household:

"Although the aforementioned urinary afflictions somewhat lessened, they nevertheless continuously afflicted me and disturbed my days and nights. My sleep fled from mine eyes (Gen. 31:40) and my soul also is some afflicted (Ps. 6:4). My wife also suffered greatly on my behalf because of this for there practically did not arise any spirit in me¹²⁰ as though my sexual desire had failed,¹²¹ God forbid. Hence I had no children from her during the entire

time that I lived in Emden. Perhaps (this infertility) was also caused by my wife's sickness and disease which afflicted her anew while there, as I will mention below.¹²² However, before I moved my dwelling from there, God granted her a pregnancy and she gave birth to a son in Altona."¹²³

"I found no rest in Emden. Behold for my peace I had great bitterness (Isa. 38:17), particularly because of the status of (my) physical health. For all the years we dwelt there, I, my wife, my sons and my daughter were all sick and weak because of the fever to which we were repeatedly susceptible, may God save us, all the time I was there. (This was) due to the air, the water and the food which did not agree with our temperament. Therefore, all our days there were bad¹²⁴ and were not considered living because of the suffering which overcame our bodies."¹²⁵

Emden's oldest son, Meir, was married in 1732, towards the end of his stay, but while his wife travelled to the wedding, it was too difficult for him to do so.¹²⁶

In addition, Emden's tenure as rabbi was marked by several disputes with prominent lay leaders in his community. In particular, he clashed repeatedly with the powerful R. Jonathan Levi in whose home he stayed when he first arrived in Emden as a visitor:¹²⁷

"Only one (person) became somewhat of an adversary¹²⁸ at the beginning of my stay and was a thorn (to me). For the communal leader, the honorable aforementioned

Jonathan the Elder, although he originally agreed to my appointment as the rabbi and head of the rabbinical court, he thought that I would be especially subservient to him because of his great enormous wealth. When he saw that I did not consider him above any one of the rest of the people . . ."129

Emden informed us about two specific disagreements he had with R.

Jonathan:

1. "It once occurred that a visitor who was a blind priest was the houseguest of the aforementioned communal leader. It came to pass on the Holy Sabbath that he (i.e. R. Jonathan) bought (the aliya for) kohen. With the apparent intention of antagonizing me, he sent (a messenger) to his private teacher¹³⁰ in my presence to ask him whether it is permissible to call a blind man as one of the seven requisite ones called to the Torah, and he permitted it. He did not ask my opinion which angered me very much. I became full of wrath and quarrel(ed) with him (but) subsequently we were reconciled."¹³¹

Emden devoted an entire responsum to this issue which contains a wide-ranging and well-documented justification of his ruling which claimed that such an act was a violation of Jewish law. In an extensive presentation, he insistently argued that he was correct and that any opposing point of view was ignorant and unsubstantiated.¹³²

2. "After three years, as the years of a hireling (Isa. 16:14) another conflict occurred between me and

the aforementioned elder. The matter arose on Rosh Hashanah (when) the elder wanted that his young cleanshaven son should sound (the shofar). I did not agree to allow such a foolish lad to enable us to fulfill our obligation on the Holy Day. Once again, the animosity grew between us. He attempted to take revenge and refused to pay me my salary. But I held my peace."¹³³

While they may have had many disagreements, Emden informed us that he reconciled with R. Jonathan after every dispute¹³⁴ and that the latter was particularly grateful to him after he helped extricate him from a potentially dangerous situation with the local secular authorities.¹³⁵ When Emden began to publicly express his desire to move out of the community, R. Jonathan personally provided him with more funds to encourage him to stay¹³⁶ and when he finally decided to leave, R. Jonathan tried to dissuade him.¹³⁷ Five years later, R. Jonathan helped Emden in a personal matter¹³⁸ and, as late as over thirty years after he left the community, Emden remembered his former antagonist with great respect. When called upon to settle a communal dispute involving R. Jonathan's children in 1765, Emden wrote: "I knew their father who revered and respected rabbis . . . In short, I never saw a simple man like him (to be) so very God fearing, loving scholars."¹³⁹

Rabbi Jacob became involved in one final communal dispute which took place in the summer of 1732, shortly before his departure from Emden.¹⁴⁰ Two emissaries arrived from the community of Minsk seeking to raise money

for their fellow Jews there who were allegedly in some danger. For a reason which is unclear, Emden was very quickly convinced that their story was false and suspected one of them of being a Sabbatian. Despite the fact that his suspicions were substantiated, Emden's warnings about these "swindlers and forgers" fell on deaf ears and he was ignored even by his friends in the community. Although he had been considering leaving for some time, Emden repeatedly informed us that up until this point he had bowed to the will of the community and remained as their rabbi.¹⁴¹ But this was the final straw. Frustrated, rejected and embittered, he made up his mind to leave. His decision was finalized after one last unpleasant experience:

"For that event too further strengthened my earlier resolve to leave that place since I saw that even my best friend was not loyal to me.¹⁴² In addition to this, I sensed in him a change of mind when he returned from Hamburg where he had travelled on business for several days. When he returned home he thought that I would come to him and inquire about his welfare. I did not do so for I did not¹⁴³ see my revered father behave that way. I considered it a desecration of the honor of the Torah. Then his anger kindled against me, as I was told, for he related that when he was a wayfaring man that turneth aside to tarry for a night (Jer. 14:8) in Hamburg, the elder rabbi, head of the rabbinical court of The Triple Community, came to greet him and I, compared to him, am like a little boy, the rabbi in a small

community (and yet) consider myself greater than an important and prominent rabbi like him. (This) especially because he (i.e. Emden's former friend) was the most distinguished one in the community. In this way, he turned into a different person and the fire of love between us cooled. When I heard this I made a firm decision to move my dwelling from Emden . .

. "144

This pejorative comparison with Chief Rabbi Kazenellenbogen may have particularly irked Rabbi Jacob and strengthened his resolve to quit his position. He arranged to rent a house in Altona, sent his possessions there by boat and, in the late summer of 1732, he and his family left Emden.¹⁴⁵

It is critically important to realize that Rabbi Jacob had a very definite vested interest in describing his rabbinic experience in Emden as well as the circumstances of his departure from that city in a most positive light. Virtually every source of information available about Rabbi Jacob's rabbinate in Emden was written by him during the height of his controversy with Eybeschütz,¹⁴⁶ a time when his enemies accused him of harboring an intense feeling of jealousy against Eybeschütz who was elected to the prestigious position of rabbinical head of The Triple Community, an office which they claimed Emden desperately craved for himself.¹⁴⁷ It would then obviously be in Emden's best interest to claim that he never wanted to be a rabbi and that even the one modest rabbinic post he did hold was "forced" upon him by the community.

In addition, his enemies were then describing him to the secular

authorities as a quarrelsome and cantankerous person who could not live anywhere in peace. In order to prove their point, they accused him of having been expelled from Emden rather than leaving on his own volition.¹⁴⁸ In order to dispute this, Rabbi Jacob went to great lengths, as we have repeatedly seen, to present a most positive picture of his rabbinate -- how he was sought out for the position which he never wanted, how he was so popular and well respected by Jews and Gentiles alike, how the entire population benefitted materially and spiritually from his presence and how the community constantly urged him to remain in their midst as their spiritual leader despite his long-expressed desire to leave.

It need hardly be added that if it was important for Rabbi Jacob to present his experience while rabbi in Emden in a positive light, how much more so was it crucial for him to explain the circumstances under which he left that position, the very matter about which he was under attack by his enemies. Over and over again Emden attributed his departure from Emden to one of two factors, either the sicknesses repeatedly suffered by him and the members of his family due to the disagreeable climate there¹⁴⁹ or his growing hatred of the rabbinate:

"I chose to become free, to dwell in the city of my birth (i.e., Altona) as a simple man and not as a servant unto this people (I Kings 12:7). For I desired to flee from prominence, to choose humility, (to fulfill) 'remain always obscure and live'¹⁵⁰ and not to bear the burden of human beings, particularly the arrogance of the Ashkenazi communal leaders. Especially (is this true) in the small towns where

they are considered to be false gods, something I never attempted to do (for) I never assumed the yoke of people. I said it is better to dwell on¹⁵¹ than (to experience) this servitude."¹⁵²

Furthermore, in direct refutation of his enemies' charge, Emden added that the community honored him when he left¹⁵³ and even went so far as to delay appointing his successor for a number of years, hoping that he would return. He went to great lengths to prove his point, as the following text indicates:

"It is well known to all from nearby Emden (I will not invoke testimony for me from afar)¹⁵⁴ that not only did they not drive me out, God forbid, but that I willingly moved from there for the sake of my health. I therefore returned to the city of my birth. Even so, the holy community of Emden waited some ten years for me and did not want to accept another rabbi for they always yearned only for me.¹⁵⁵ They sought to entice me and to enhance friendship for me so that I should return to them and dwell in a status of greatly increased income and honor. Every one of them volunteered to contribute a personal offering to add to my salary by 'submitting themselves with pieces of silver'¹⁵⁶ so that I should return to dwell with honor in their midst. I refused. I can verify all this through letters from the communal leader, R. A. Levi¹⁵⁷ and, also afterwards, through several letters that arrived from there.

They also commissioned the honorable David Leverden to placate me and to convince me (to return) for whatever sum of money I would determine for them.¹⁵⁸ All this (was done) with great relentless urging. The letters are still available in the possession of the heirs of the aforementioned honorable David. The communal leader, R. J. Drials who, thank God, is still alive, can also be asked about this and he will tell the truth, for it is he who wrote to that honorable David . . . with the urgent request that he accomplish this and that he would be profoundly grateful to him.¹⁵⁹ Your uncle R. Yuzpa would also have surely informed you if I had been driven out from there, God forbid . . ."¹⁶⁰

Emden's final proof is most interesting:

"The king, may he be exalted, is also in possession of a letter of approbation from the authorities in Emden which testifies about the goodness and integrity of my demeanor and behavior all the days of my stay in Emden. My righteousness spoke on my behalf¹⁶¹ among both the Jews and non-Jews."¹⁶²

Emden had already described this document earlier, in more detail:

"In the archives of the king, may he be exalted, there is found already for some time a letter of approbation and testimony from the (Jewish) community

of Emden verified by the (secular) authorities there
as a true and valid document. (It) is full of great
praise concerning my splendid and exemplary behavior
all the time that I was the rabbi and head of the
rabbinical court there. I already sent this letter
to Copenhagen several years ago as 'a covering for
the eyes'¹⁶³ (i.e., to prove my worthiness) when I
requested a letter of permission from the king to
(operate) a printing press."¹⁶⁴

Fortunately, Emden's entire correspondence with King Christian VI of Denmark in 1743 requesting the privilege of operating a printing press in Altona was published, including this letter to which Emden here referred.¹⁶⁵ A careful reading of that document indicates that Emden's second, more modest, description was much more precise. The letter, dated June 21, 1737, merely attests to the fact that Abraham Goldschmid, an elder of the Jewish community, and Jonas Salomons, a Schutzjude¹⁶⁶ appeared before the "mayor and council of this city of Emden" and testified that "Jacob Hertzfel,¹⁶⁷ former rabbi of the Jewish community in this area . . . conducted himself with honesty and sincerity," led an "exemplary life" and left no debts upon his departure from the city. There is no indication whatsoever that the Gentile community was independently aware of Emden's "splendid and exemplary behavior." As Emden indicated, the letter contained Jewish testimony which was merely notarized by the Gentile authorities.

Nevertheless, Emden's intention is clear. Deeply involved in his bitter battle with Eybeschütz and faced with the accusations of his enemies, Emden rallied to his own defense. While there is no evidence con-

trary to that which he presented here, it is important to recognize that his descriptions must be considered in light of the context in which they were written.

Although Rabbi Jacob's tenure in Emden was a relatively short one, and despite the fact that it was marked by personal and communal difficulties, he recalled his stay there many years later with fondness and nostalgia. In the winter of 1765, R. Abraham ha-Levi of Chelm, then rabbi of Emden, requested that Rabbi Jacob help him resolve a bitter communal dispute about what he considered to be incompetent ritual slaughterers and unscrupulous butchers. He justified his turning to Rabbi Jacob by stating that "since he (i.e. Emden) occupied the rabbinic post here for several years, the people here must accept his authority upon themselves," this over thirty years after Emden's departure!¹⁶⁸ At first Rabbi Jacob hesitated to express his opinion, but then he decided to become involved:

"However, because of the greatness of the mitzvah of bringing peace, especially for the sake of my friends and companions, I will speak peace.¹⁶⁹ On behalf of the congregation of God which I loved from the days of my youth, I myself established its pillars (Ps. 75:4); I laid the cornerstone thereof.¹⁷⁰ Their love for me was also like the love of a woman . . ."¹⁷¹

After responding to the rabbi, Emden appended a brief note addressed directly to the lay leaders of his former community. He reminded them how he was beloved and respected by all during his tenure as their rabbi,

how they delayed choosing his successor for many years in the hope that he would return and concluded:

"I therefore hope that these words of mine will enter into your ears; that you will harken unto my voice now just as you obeyed me then, without deviating to the right or left, all the days I was with you. For as you know, I acted before you with righteousness, with truth and with integrity."¹⁷²

Emden's brief rabbinic career left its mark on him for the rest of his life. As a result of his experiences, he developed a great disdain for lay leadership, and went so far as to write: "the majority of Ashkenazi communal leaders in this generation are fools."¹⁷³ In addition, having been exposed to the pressures of the rabbinate, he was to express on many occasions, in a play on the words of one of the morning blessings, his gratitude to God for not having made him an "'aved," i.e. a rabbi.¹⁷⁴

Most significant is the fact that these few years in Emden provided Rabbi Jacob with the name by which he was subsequently known, his own explicitly stated wish to the contrary notwithstanding. He signed this abovementioned responsum to R. Abraham ha-Levi of Emden as follows:

"The beleaguered Jacob Israel, called Yavez. I was never called Jacob Emden . . . It is known that I am not from Emden, I was not born there nor do I yearn to see it."¹⁷⁵

Even many years after he left this community, Rabbi Jacob continued to be

referred to as the "Rav" or "'av bet din" of Emden.¹⁷⁶ As a matter of fact, this description even appears on his tombstone!¹⁷⁷

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. MS, 99-100. See also ibid., 58-59.

M. Grunwald, Hamburgs deutsche Juden, op. cit., 79, refers to the city of Emden as "Wohnort seiner jugendleibe" and M. J. Cohen, op. cit., 56, speculates that "he may have been subconsciously drawn there by the memory of his adolescent love." While this may be so, it is important to realize that one must pass the city of Emden when travelling from Amsterdam to Altona.

For more information about R. Jonathan, see below, n. 127.

2. There is almost no literature on Emden's Jewish community. See only EJ VI, 721 (many of the references cited there are errors). The only helpful study is by M. Markreich, "Das Memorbuch der Judengemeinde in Emden," Jahrbuch für die Jüdischen Gemeinden Schlesweig-Holsteins und der Hansestädte V (1933-34), 24-36 but its scope is limited. For reference to Emden as a "small" community, see MS, 111, 112.

3. Cf. Job 11:19.

4. Cf. Esther 5:8.

5. Cf. Jer. 29:13-14.

6. MS, 99.

7. Cf. Num. 27:17 and I Kings 22:17. This text is found in MS, 100. See also, 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13b; Shevirat Luhah ha-'Aven, 41b; MS, 103: "I originally accepted this yoke upon myself against my will."
8. See above, p. 52.
9. MS, 100. For Emden's oldest son, see above, p. 62, n. 101. He became a Bar Mitzvah during the family's first year in Emden (MS, 104). See too ibid., 84, where Emden noted that his wife became pregnant when his oldest child was about seven years old.
10. Cf. 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13b and Shevirat Luhah ha-'Aven, 41b where Emden wrote that he was a rabbi in that community "for about four years." Wagenaar, op. cit., p. 10 claims, mistakenly, that Rabbi Jacob spent four full years in Emden. A letter of recommendation notarized by the Gentile authorities in Emden stated that Rabbi Jacob lived in their community for three years ("sich drey Jahre allhie aufgehalten"). See below, p. 128.
11. The original verse is in the present tense.
12. Cf. Deut. 1:17.
13. MS, 100-102. Elsewhere Emden repeated some of the assertions he stated here: he enjoyed the love of the entire community (MS, 103; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13b; SY II: 24); he was very popular in surrounding areas (MS, 112; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, ibid.). For other places where Emden refer-

red to the teaching he did at this time, see MS, 103, 104 (he personally taught his son, Meir), 112; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, ibid.

In discussing the communal ordinances (takkanot) which he instituted, Emden mentioned (MS, 101) that some were enumerated in a letter he wrote to R. Moses Hagiz with whom he was very involved while living in Emden (see below). In SY I:33, a letter from Emden to Hagiz, he referred to the fact that he made takkanot ("Thank God that we have already succeeded to fix several important matters in which they had failed heretofore") but he did not go into detail. For another reference to Emden's work on behalf of the community, see SY II:24: "I myself established its pillars (Ps. 75:4); I laid the cornerstone thereof (Cf. Job 38:6)."

This passage is also significant because, in addition to references to the rabbinic texts Emden studied, he also made mention of his interest in "sacred . . . esoteric books of the early sages." In his later works, Emden reflected a wide ranging knowledge of Kabbalah.

14. MS, 105; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 29a. Emden even reported (MS, 112-13) that when he left that city to return to Altona, the Gentiles ridiculed their Jewish neighbors for allowing him to get away.

15. The text reads "mazal dagim," a phrase which normally refers to Pisces, the zodiac sign for the month of Adar and the tribe of Naphtali. See EJ XVI, 1191-92. It was also the sign of fruitfulness for Israel, based on Gen. 48:16: "and may they be teeming multitudes upon the earth"

("ve-yidgu la-rov bi-kerev ha-'arez)."

16. MS, 103-04.

17. SY 1:32. See also SY II:137.

18. SY I:33.

19. MS, 113; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13b.

20. MS, 104.

21. 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14a. In SY II:24 Emden wrote that R. Jonathan ha-Levi himself gave him one hundred shok a year as an incentive for him to remain in the city as rabbi. See too below, p. 122.

22. Cf. Ex. 10:11.

23. Ibid., 112. Elsewhere Emden also indicated that he accepted no money for teaching. See ibid., 101 (cited above, p. 93); 103 (where he noted that this was also his practice in Bruda; see also ibid., 62); 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13b. With regard to the additional income for preaching, Emden mentioned (MS, 101) that the accepted custom prior to his arrival in town had been to pay the rabbi an additional sum of twenty-two Reichstaler per sermon, money which he refused to accept.

Emden's insistence here can only be understood in light of the fact

that already long before the eighteenth century it was a well accepted practice for rabbis to earn a substantial amount of money for teaching, preaching and matchmaking. For some examples, see S. Asaf, "le-Korot ha-Rabbanut," bi-'Oholei Ya'akov (Jerusalem, 1943), 43, 52, n. 184; S. Steiman, Custom and Survival (New York, 1963), 38-42; E. Zimmer, Harmony and Discord (New York, 1970), 114-18.

24. See SY I:78.

Some twenty-two years earlier Ḥagiz had also been approached by the rabbinate of Mantua to solve a communal problem there. See his collection of responsa, She'elot u-Teshuvot Shtei ha-Lehem, #5, #27 (where the question is almost the opposite of the one raised here, i.e. can a community tax those who come from elsewhere to do business within its borders on market day). See also ibid., #45.

25. SY I:78, end.

26. Ibid., middle.

27. On R. Aryeh Leib, see above, p. 83, n. 100.

28. R. David Meldola, She'eilot u-Teshuvot Divrei David, #53 (responsum of R. Aryeh Leib); #54 (responsum of Meldola himself).

29. Cf. Gen. 16:13.

30. Isa. 3:3 and the commentary of Rashi, ad. loc.

31. She'eilot u-Teshuvot Divrei David, op. cit., 139b.
32. Cf. Jer. 6:16.
33. Ibid., 143a. For other brief references to Emden's responsum, see ibid., 140a and 144a.
34. MS., 101-02. This episode is discussed in S. Simonsohn, Toledot ha-Yehudim bi-Dukhasut Mantua (Jerusalem, 1964) (translated as History of the Jews in the Duchy of Mantua [Jerusalem, 1977] 390-91). There is no basis for Simonsohn's assertion that "Emden also sent the question to his brother-in-law, Rabbi Aryeh Leib." On the contrary, at the very beginning of his responsum, Meldola wrote that R. Aryeh Leib was approached directly by the Mantuan community.

Emden later remembered this responsum very well. At the height of his controversy with Eybeschütz he referred to it no less than three times to indicate: (a) how even as a young man he was highly regarded by the great rabbis of Italy (Shevirat Luhav ha-'Aven, 24a); (b) how even then he became involved in the affairs of distant communities (Torat ha-Kena'ot, 55b); and (c) to motivate the Mantuan rabbis to reciprocate by helping him in his battle as he helped them in theirs twenty years before ('Edut bi-Ya'akov, 58b). Caught up in his struggle with Eybeschütz, he mistakenly asserted in this last text that he was approached by Rabbis Finzi and Basilea.

On R. David Meldola, see G. Nepi and M. S. Ghironi, Toledot Gedolei Yisrael (Trieste, 1858), 79. Meldola was also connected with Emden

in a different way. In 1737, he prepared the first edition of Kizur Zizat Novel Zevi of Rabbi Jacob Sasportas; twenty years later Emden prepared the second edition. See I. Tishby, Sefer Zizat Novel Zevi (Jerusalem, 1954), 41.

35. See R. Moses Hagiz, She'eilot u-Teshuvot Shtei ha-Lehem, #31. Hagiz printed the opinions of Rabbis David Finzi and Aviad Sar Shalom Basilea of Mantua; Rabbi Jacob Reicher, then in Metz; Rabbis Mordecai of Lissa and Samuel Zanvil of Halberstadt, both then in Berlin; Rabbi Jacob Emden; Rabbi Menachem Mendel Auerbach of Krotoshin and Rabbi Jacob of Pintshov.

Emden's letter also appeared, with slight changes, in his own collection of responsa (SY I:79).

36. SY I:80. Both were dated Tuesday, May 20, 1732.

37. See, for example, Pesahim 50b and Sotah 22b.

38. See Sotah 47a.

39. SY I:80.

40. She'eilot u-Teshuvot Shtei ha-Lehem, #31.

41. See Chapter V.

42. SY I:56.
43. MS, 117. In MS, 101, Emden referred to a correspondence with Ḥagiz which, however, is not extant.
44. MS, 117.
45. Ibid., 102.
46. SY I:33.
47. MS, 110.
48. See above, pp. 31-32; MS, 117, 118.
49. Dr. Elisheva Carlebach, who completed a doctoral dissertation on R. Moses Ḥagiz at Columbia University, informs me that while Ḥagiz began the struggle against Ḥayon, he never would have succeeded without the active collaboration of the more influential Ḥakham Ze'vi. Ḥagiz must, therefore, have felt a debt of gratitude to Ḥakham Ze'vi which, in turn, may explain his interest in Emden.
- Ḥagiz's concern also extended to Emden's wife and children. See the beginning and end of his letter printed in SY I:33.
50. MS, 117.
51. See E. Olianow, Sefer Birkhat Eliyahu (Wandsbeck, 1728), 56b.

52. SY I:33. This responsum informs us that Olianow wrote Hagiz twice (on December 20, 1728, and again on January 7, 1729) and that Hagiz answered him. Hagiz's response to Emden's first inquiry was written on May 10, 1729.

Eight years later, in the course of the controversy over the writings of R. Moses Hayyim Luzzatto (see below, pp. 421-22), Hagiz was still being attacked for his position on this matter. In a letter from R. Isaiah Bassan to R. Barukh Kahana Rappaport, dated December 22, 1735, Hagiz's behavior in the Olianow affair was held up as an example of his excessive overzealousness which, his enemies claimed, he was directing against Luzzatto as well. The letter was first published in Kerem Hemed II (1836), 62-66 and reprinted in S. Ginzburg, R. Moshe Hayyim Luzzatto u-vene'i Doro (Tel Aviv, 1937), II, 374; 444, n. 348a. My thanks to Dr. Carlebach for bringing this source to my attention.

53. See, in addition, SY I:58, also written during this period.

54. SY I:33. Cf. 'Avot II:15.

55. See above, p. 41; below, p. 432.

56. Lit. "the excellency of the honor of his Torah."

57. SY I:33. See also below, p. 424 and n. 224.

58. MS, 117.

59. Emden was referring to his tendency to emend the text as he read it. He filled all the books in his library with pen marks, representing punctuation, vocalization and textual emendation. For one example of this, from his private copy of the Tur, see Encyclopedia Judaica V (1903), 151; above, p. 13.

60. MS, 100-101.

For Lehem Shamayim I, see also Emden's introduction, (Altona, 1733), 2b: "While serving in the holy community of Emden, I completed with God's help, the second edition of this first volume." Emden referred to this work, then in manuscript, in a responsum he wrote during this time (SY I:54). It was published in 1733, shortly after Emden arrived in Altona. See Y. Rafael, "Kitvei Rabi Ya'akov Emden," 'Areshet III (1961), 242-43, n. 1; below, p. 160.

For Emden's early work on his Mor u-Keziyah, see above, pp. 46-47. The first volume was not published until 1761 (Rafael, ibid., 246). This work is also referred to in SY I:54 and 66. See too SY I:28 where Emden made reference to his novellae on 'Even ha-'Ezer, written "quite some time ago."

Emden wrote extensive notes in the margins of the books he owned. I have examined over sixty such volumes in the British Library in London and am preparing a listing of all the works known to have been in his personal library. His notes, however, are undated and it is therefore impossible to know which marginalia to attribute to any given period.

Emden never published his novellae on the Talmud, entitled Kolan shel Sofrim. Five full notebooks of commentaries by Emden in his hand-

writing are extant in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (See A. D. Neubauer, Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, op. cit., 86, #392:4; 104, #516:1, 517:1.). I am engaged in an effort to have them all published by Machon Yerushalayim under my overall editorship. The commentary on Tractate Kiddushin was recently been published by J. Bombach in the Sefer ha-Yovel le-Maran Ba'al 'Pahad Yizhak' z"l (Jerusalem, 1984), 480-88. In SY II:135 Emden wrote that he composed Talmudic commentaries in his youth. However, here too, the work is undated and it is therefore impossible to determine which commentaries Emden wrote at this time. Note however SY II:104, written while in Emden, where he referred to his commentary on Pesahim.

These novellae differ from Emden's Hagahot 'al ha-Shas printed in the back of the standard Vilna edition of the Talmud. Those comments represent a partial transcription of Emden's marginalia on his personal copy of the Talmud, presently found in the Jewish National and University Library of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (Heb. 4^o 181). See Y. Yoel, "'Osef Kitvei-Yad bi-Bet Dfus Rom," KS XIII (1937), 521-22. Even a cursory comparative study indicates that not everything written by Emden in the margins of his private books was included in the Vilna edition.

61. See SY I:33, 34, 74, 75 (1729); 6, 45, 53-56, 57-60 (1729-1730); 26-28, 49, 84, SY II:76, 104 (1730-1731); SY I:78, 79-80, 83 (1731-1732). See also SY I:65, 66 and SY II:137 which Rabbi Jacob identified as having been written in Emden but they have no date. SY I:81(a) is dated 5489 (=1728-1729) but it is unclear whether it was written before or after Rabbi Jacob's arrival in Emden.

62. See Berakhot 62a, Megillah 28a.
63. See Ps. 73:20.
64. Ibid., 119:100.
65. Cf. Hullin 89a.
66. SY I:83.
67. Emden's stormy relationship with Kazenellenbogen will be discussed in the next chapter.
68. MS, 101. See S. Asaf, "le-Korot ha-Rabbanut," op. cit. 52; J. Katz, Massoret u-Mashber (Jerusalem, 1963), 200.
69. Having spent only three full years in Emden (arriving after Passover in 1729 and departing prior to Rosh Hashana, 1732, above, p. 92,) Emden delivered at most six sermons.
70. Emden also considered Yeziv Pitgam, the eulogy he delivered for his father (see above, pp. 49-51), as part of his Kishurim. See Yeziv Pitgam, op. cit., 10b. The other parts of this collection, Derush Shemesh Zedakah and Sha'agat 'Aryeh will be mentioned below in the chronological sequence in which they were delivered.

At least two of Emden's sermons are no longer extant - Mikhtav

'Elohim dealing with 'Erev Yom Kippur (see Rafael, op. cit., 34; Emden referred to it in Torat ha-Kena'ot, 1a and in his Siddur, II:113b, 114a) and Mikhtav le-Yehzekiyahu (see Rafael and Wagenaar, ibid.; Emden mentioned it in his Siddur II:56b, 106b and in 'Ez 'Avot, 10b [Avot I:12])). There is no evidence as to when they were delivered.

For the Kishurim in manuscript, see A. D. Neubauer, Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, op. cit., 104, #516:2.

Some scholarly work of late has shed helpful light on the genre of the sermon in general. See C. Horowitz, A Literary-Historical Analysis of the Sermons of R. Joshua ibn Shu'eib (unpublished doctoral dissertation: Harvard University, 1979), especially Chapter II: "The Derasha," 36-53; M. Saperstein, "The Sermon as Art Form: Structure in Morteira's Giv'at Sha'ul," Prooftexts III (1983), 243-61; idem., "The Eighteenth Century Sermon," paper prepared for discussion at an international conference on Eighteenth Century Jewish Thought held at Harvard University in the Spring of 1984.

71. See MS, 62-3; above, p. 49-50 and n. 106.

72. This parenthesis appears in the Oxford ms., 164a.

73. There is a brief space in the manuscript, ibid., at this point.

74. MS, 101. In a later passage in his autobiography (ibid., 112), this sentiment is repeated and the reference to "the yeshiva in Prague" is clarified:

"All the days that I served I did not accept anything for all

my preachments, although they were very enjoyable to them and they swore that their ear never heard anything like them. Even those who studied in the Prague Yeshiva, in the presence of the Gaon, our master, R. A. Bruda, strengthened their words with an oath that even in Prague they did not hear (sermons) that could compare to them in sharpness, scope and pleasantness, even from the great of that land."

For a similar statement, see 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13b. In an earlier passage (MS, 51-53), Emden recalled the tension that existed between Rabbi Bruda and his father. See also SY I:52.

Emden might be referring here to Eybeschütz, who had a great reputation as an accomplished speaker and to whose yeshiva in Prague Emden earlier referred (MS, 88). However, if this were the case one would expect a derogatory comment in passing (see op. cit., 73, 81). See M. J. Cohen, op. cit., 57. See also the title page of Derush Pesah Gadol, for a general reference to those "who studied in the famous yeshivot in these lands."

75. MS, 101; cited above p. 106.

76. Cf. Lam. 4:2.

77. MS, ibid. See too Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 23b where Emden wrote about himself: "He composed excellent homilies to explain difficult aggadot."

78. I am assuming that when the day before Passover fell on a Saturday, as it did that year (see title page of Derush Pesah Gadol), Emden preached on the previous Saturday. In fact, Emden mentioned this custom in the course of this very sermon and then added: "as we do" (ibid., 9a).

Emden repeated this sermon in his private synagogue in Altona in 1774 and published it there one year later. It was reprinted in Cracow, 1900. See Y. Rafael, op. cit., 263-64. Unless otherwise indicated, all references will be to the later, more accessible edition.

79. Cf. the title page of this work where Emden wrote that "over one hundred problematic details were explicated." In fact, in the body of the work itself, Emden posed about half that amount of questions.

80. This is one issue raised in the secondary literature cited above, n. 70.

81. (Altona, 1775), 18b. The Midrash to which he referred can be found in Midrash Rabbah, Vayikra, I:5.

82. Ibid., 3a. For the last phrase, cf. Neh. 8:8.

83. Ibid., 16a. See also the title page of this work.

84. Cf. II Kings 6:19.

85. Cf. Jer. 23:36.

86. Cf. ibid., 5:28.

87. SY I:81(a). The heading of this responsum reads, "Norden, 5489" (=1728-1729).

88. As was the case with Derush Pesah Gadol, Emden also repeated this sermon in his private synagogue in Altona, this time in 1775, and published it that year, together with an addition entitled Hali Ketem. It was reprinted in Cracow, 1911. See Rafael, op. cit., 263. All references to this work will also be to the more recent edition.

89. The first letter of each of the three words in the verse was printed with a larger type ("'Emet Me'erez Tizmah"). They are numerically equivalent to the Hebrew year (5)491 or 1730.

90. Ibid., 24a. This theme is also spelled out at the beginning of the title page of the sermon.

While it is difficult to determine how much of this sermon was actually presented orally and how much of it was added only later (a problem common to homiletical literature; see the secondary literature cited above, n. 70), it is clear that Emden determined the subject of this sermon only three or four days prior to delivering it. The event which precipitated his choice of content for his talk occurred on the first day of Rosh Hashanah which, that year, fell on a Tuesday and the sermon was delivered the following Saturday. That he was able to compose such a learned discourse on such short notice indicates, once again, his

great familiarity with rabbinic literature and the ease with which he was able to adapt it to his needs.

In all likelihood, the incident which precipitated this sermon was Emden's dispute with R. Jonathan Levi over whether a person without a beard can blow the shofar on Rosh Hashanah (see MS, 105; below, p. 121-22).

91. Derush Tefillat Yesharim, 3a.

92. See ibid., 11b, 13a, 14a, 17a, 18a, 23b; especially 17b. Major themes (e.g. "no two kings can share the same crown") were also repeated.

93. R. Naphtali Katz, Sefer Semikhat Hakhamim (Frankfurt, 1704), 51b-55b. Katz first reproduced the nine questions posed on this passage by R. Solomon Nissim Algaze, Zehav Seivah (Constantinople, 1683), 21b-22b and then added forty-one of his own. On R. Naphtali Katz, see above, pp. 74-75, n. 48.

94. The text, Derush Tefillat Yesharim. 7a-9b, lists seventy questions but some include more than one.

95. Cf. Ps. 94:10.

96. Derush Tefillat Yesharim, 7a.

97. Ibid., 3b.

98. Ibid., 7a.
99. Ibid., 10a-11a.
100. Ibid., 16a, 17b, 24a.
101. Ibid., 14b, 15a, 21a, 23a. Emden also cited the Sefer ha-Gilgulim which is based on the kabbalistic teachings of R. Isaac Luria (ibid., 15a, 21a).
102. Ibid., 16a.
103. Ibid., 17b.
104. See above, n. 93. Emden made a direct reference to Zehav Seivah on p. 15b.
105. Ibid., 7a; cited above, pp. 114-15.
106. Ibid., 10a.
107. MS, 100; above, p. 92.
108. Ibid., 24a. This concern about dealing with esoteric material in a public forum has a long history - both in the areas of Kabbalah as well as philosophy. For an example of the opposition to the use of Kabbalah

in sermons, see S. Baron, The Jewish Community III (Philadelphia, 1942) 134, n. 48. For a discussion of the appropriateness of the issue of transmigration of souls in a sermon, see M. Saperstein, "The Eighteenth Century Sermon," op. cit., 5.

109. Emden published this work immediately prior to his death in 5536 (=1775-1776). On the title page he wrote that this sermon "is what I, Yavez, preached in the days of my youth, now some fifty years ago, on Shabbat ha-Gadol, Parshat Zav," which, I assume, is a reference to the time he served as rabbi in Emden. Being that he served there for only three Passovers (1730-1732) and that Derush Pesah Gadol was delivered in 1730 (see above, p. 109), Derush Sha'arei 'Azarah was preached in either 1731 or 1732, some forty-five years prior to its publication.

Emden also referred to this sermon as Kol ba-'Azarah. (See the headings on the tops of pp. 3b-8b and 8b, end).

110. See the single reference to it, Derush Sha'arei 'Azarah, 3a.

111. It is also interesting, in light of the increasing emphasis on criticism and rebuke in Jewish preaching at this time (see Saperstein, op. cit., 10f.), that none of these sermons contained any such references. All three were purely intellectual discourses, without any allusions to contemporary realia.

112. SY I:81(a), partly cited above, p. 112.

113. MS, 101.

114. Cf. Gen. 38:25.

115. Cf. Isa. 38:19.

116. Cf. II Sam. 3:39.

117. Cf. Ruth 2:7.

118. SY I:33.

119. See SY I:6, 28, 33, 34, 49, 57, 58, 59, 79, 80, 83, 84.

120. Cf. Josh. 2:11.

121. Cf. Eccles. 12:5.

122. See below, n. 125.

123. MS, 100.

124. Cf. Prov. 15:15.

125. MS., 103. See also ibid., 104 for more details about his wife's illness and the treatment she sought. From Emden's description it does not appear likely that she suffered from a "Brustleidens" (breast ailment) as assumed by M. Grunwald, Hamburgs deutsche Juden, op. cit., 79.

In a long discussion on impotence in his biography of Emden, Mortimer J. Cohen stated that Emden was living "in the city in which he experienced his first love" and was "surrounded again with associations that inevitably must have recalled the warmth and ardor of his thwarted and frustrated 'Jugendliebe.' When the 'secret love requisite' ('that most worthy woman') was part of his daily life, it may be surmised that all those inhibiting psychological conditions were present that caused him to be unable to consummate his marital relationship." (op. cit., 59-62.)

There is, however, no need to ascribe Emden's problem to psychological factors. Rabbi Jacob repeatedly stated (MS, ibid. and 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14a) that he was physically ill from fever and urinary ailments while in Emden and in 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, ibid., he explicitly attributed his lack of children there to this sickness. In addition, as we have seen, his wife was also sick. Finally, Emden stated explicitly (in the citation from MS quoted above as well as ibid., 100, and 114) that she did become pregnant while they were still living in that town.

Emden also repeatedly referred to his sicknesses in the responsa he wrote during this period. See SY I:57, 58, 74, 80.

126. MS, 104, 112.

Emden did travel to Amsterdam during this period. See below, pp. 267-68. Note also that the heading for SY I:84 written by Emden reads "Amsterdam, 491" (=1730-1731); in SY I:56, written in 1730, he referred to travelling from Amsterdam and in SY I:54 he complained how weak he was from a trip he just took.

127. See above, p. 91. For information on R. Jonathan, see M. Markreich, op. cit., 36. Non-Jewish archives also yield information about R. Jonathan. For one example, see below, p. 128, n. 166.

128. Cf. I Sam. 29:4.

129. MS, 102.

130. For more on him, see MS, ibid.

131. MS, ibid.

132. SY I:75.

133. MS, 105. For the last phrase, cf. I Sam. 10:27.

It is plausible to assume that this is a reference to the dispute with a powerful lay leader described by Emden elsewhere as having taken place on Rosh Hashanah which motivated the choice of topic for his sermon later published as Derush Tefillat Yesharim (see above, pp. 112-13). Although this sermon was preached in the Fall of 1730 and, hence, only one and a half years after his arrival, Emden may have confused the date in his autobiography written over twenty years later when he described the dispute as having occurred some three years after he came. For a discussion about the historical accuracy of Emden's Megillat Sefer, see above, pp. 7-11 and the introduction to my forthcoming translation and annotation of that work to be published by Yale University Press.

134. MS, 102, 103; Derush Tefillat Yesharim, ibid.
135. MS, 105-106.
136. SY II:24, end. See too 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14a; above, n. 21.
137. MS, 104, 112; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, ibid.
138. See below, p. 128.
139. SY II:24, end. See too SY II:25. These responsa will be discussed below, pp. 129-30.
140. MS, 107-111. Although Emden wrote that this event occurred a half-year before his departure (MS, 107), in fact it took place closer to that time because by the end of the summer of 1732 he had already left (ibid., 112, 115).
141. Ibid., 103, 107, 111; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13b.
- Compare Emden's treatment of these Minsk emissaries to the kindness he bestowed on the emissary from Hebron, mentioned above, p. 94.
142. Cf. I Kings 11:4; 15:3.
- Emden did not divulge the identity of this "best friend."
143. "When he returned . . . did not" is added from the text of the

Oxford ms. of MS, 170a-b.

144. MS, 111-12.

145. See MS, 112, 115. His wife had already left Emden several months earlier to attend the wedding of their son. See above, p. 120.

146. All have been incorporated into the discussion above - MS, Torat ha-Kena'ot, 'Edut bi-Ya'akov and Shevirat Luhath ha-'Aven.

147. See below, p. 425f.

148. Emden himself referred to this accusation in 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 10b, 29a.

149. See MS, 103, 104, 107; Shevirat Luhath ha-'Aven, 41b; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14a, 29a; SY II:24.

150. See Sanhedrin 14a.

151. There is a small space here in the manuscript. It should probably read "'al pinat gag," or "on a corner of the roof" as in Prov. 21:9; 25:24.

152. MS, 112. See too 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13b; Torat ha-Kena'ot, 55b: "I hated the rabbinate, for which reason I moved from the holy community of

Emden against the will of the entire community;" MS, 103, 107, 111, 113;
Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 41b.

153. MS, 113.

154. This paranthesis is in the text.

155. See too MS, 113. Cf. 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14a; SY II:24, end and MS,
113: they waited for "several years."

156. Cf. Ps. 68:31.

157. He was the son of R. Jonathan Levi who, together with his father,
attempted to dissuade Rabbi Jacob from leaving Emden. See MS, 112; above
p. 122. Over three decades later he corresponded with Rabbi Jacob re-
garding a dispute in which he was involved with the Emden community (SY
II:24-25, discussed below, pp. 129-30). See also M. Markreich, op. cit.

158. For more on Leverden's role, see MS, 113 and 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14a.

159. R. Y. Drials' involvement was also discussed in SY II:24.

160. 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 29a. See too, ibid., 14a-b. Rabbi Jacob also
informed us (MS, 113) that although he wrote to the Emden community on
behalf of someone to succeed him, they ignored his letter and wanted only
him.

161. See Gen. 30:33.
162. 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 29a. See also above, n. 14.
163. Cf. Gen. 20:16.
164. 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 10b.
165. See B. Brilling, "Zur Geschichte der Hebraischen Buchdruckereien in Altona," Studies in Bibliography and Booklore XI (1976), 41f; especially, 49. See also below, p. 178.
166. This is the R. Jonathan ha-Levi whose relationship with Emden was discussed above in detail (see pp. 120-22). See B. Brilling, ibid., 56, n. 61.
167. This is how Emden was referred to in German documents (Jacob son of Hertz = Hirsch = Zevi). For another example, see M. Mendelssohn, Gesammelte Schriften VII (1974), 11, n. d ("Rabbi Jacob Hirschel"); below, p. 697.
168. See SY II:24.
169. Cf. Ps. 122:8.
170. Cf. Job 38:6.

171. SY II:24. See also above, n. 13.

172. Ibid. Emden's advice was not followed and the dispute continued for at least another two months. See SY II:25.

Rabbi Jacob also made passing references to his rabbinic experience in Emden elsewhere in his writings. See Sefer Hit'avkut, 77a.

173. MS, 109.

174. See below, p. 431.

175. SY II:24.

M. J. Cohen, op. cit., 63 claims that Rabbi Jacob "did not want to bear the name of 'Emden' that had been given to him and by which he had become widely known because it aroused in him memories too bitter and unhappy to be recalled," a reference to his impotence. Cf. above, n. 125.

176. See MS, 163 (1743); 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 15a (1750); SY II:1 (1750); SY II:53, 54, 55 (1765); Sefer Hit'avkut, 75a (1767).

177. For the text of his epitaph, see below, p. 756, n. 25.

I I I

L I F E I N A L T O N A , 1 7 3 3 - 1 7 5 1

After having shipped his possessions by boat, Emden and some of the members of his household set off by land for Altona where they arrived before Rosh Hashanah, 1732.¹ Emden repeatedly claimed that he was enthusiastically welcomed by the local inhabitants who were magnanimous in their offer to help him however they could.² In response, Emden requested only the permission to establish a private prayer-room in his living quarters. He claimed that the sickness which was partially responsible for his having been forced to leave Emden continued to make it physically difficult for him to attend services in Altona's Great Synagogue. In fact, precedents for such private arrangement already existed in the community and, in a responsum by R. Ezekiel Kazenellenbogen written in the summer of 1719, the Chief Rabbi ruled that they were halakhically acceptable.³ Emden's old friend, R. Moses Hagiz, had been granted such a privilege and, in response to his request, Emden received it as well.⁴

Shortly after moving to Altona, Emden's future took a turn for the

better. After a number of years of being childless, his wife bore him a son within a few months of his arrival and, on the occasion of the brit, he made a large party to which he invited all the leaders of the community:

"At that time, at the beginning of my residence in that place (i.e. Altona), I was financially comfortable.⁵ I decided to also honor the leaders of the community and therefore prepared a large repast on the day of the circumcision to which I invited all the heads (and) princes of The Triple Community. R. Yehezkel, the Chief Rabbi, was the sandek and the guests were very happy. I also did not forget to invite several paupers whom I considered to be worthy . . ."⁶

He was in a financial position to personally support a Chevrah Mishnayot which met twice daily in his home⁷ and, in 1733, published his first work, a commentary on selected passages in the first two orders of the Mishna, entitled Lehem Shamayim.⁸ After having rented a dwelling place for some five years, Emden bought a house in Altona in 1738 and spent a great deal of money for renovations and upkeep.⁹ In remembering the financial security he experienced during this period of his life, Emden later wrote:

"In those days, money was very insignificant in my eyes and I did not worry what I will eat tomorrow. I said, 'Blessed is the Lord day by day' (Ps. 68:20). I freely spent money in every way that pleased me,

whether in gifts to the poor or for the education of my children, may they live, for whom I maintained a special teacher in my home. (I also expended money) for the publication of my first book (i.e. Lehem Shamayim) and for the purchase of my dwelling. I also acquired several silver vessels and ornaments with the help of God, may He be blessed, and (spent money) for a Sefer Torah and domestic help."¹⁰

Completed while Rabbi Jacob served as the rabbi in Emden,¹¹ Lehem Shamayim is particularly significant because it was his first published work.¹² It thus provided the first opportunity for the learned public to objectively assess the level of rabbinic learning demonstrated by this thirty-six year old scholar.

It is important to briefly summarize the state of Mishnaic commentary prior to Emden in order to provide a vertical perspective from which to examine his work. While commentaries on the Mishnah by the Geonim appeared already in the tenth century, it was only some two hundred years later that the Mishnah became fully accepted as a legitimate text for study, independent of the Talmud. The pioneering commentary in Arabic by Maimonides was joined by some half a dozen Hebrew works written by Franco-German, Italian and Provençal scholars (e.g. Shemaya, a student of Rashi's; R. Moses b. Abraham of Pontoise; R. Samson of Sens; R. Isaac b. Malkizedek of Siponto; Rabad of Posquières, and R. Zerahya ha-Levi).¹³ Indeed, by the end of the twelfth century, the course of Mishnaic commen-

tary had essentially been charted and its various methodological possibilities had already found literary expression. The commentaries took different forms: some were limited to solely elucidating specific textual and lexical difficulties (e.g. in the case of some Geonim) while others were more comprehensive and explained all aspects of the Mishnah; many commented only on those parts of the Mishnah which lacked Talmudic commentary, i.e. Zera'im and Taharot, unlike the work of Maimonides which explicated the complete Mishnaic text; for some (e.g. Maimonides) the goal was to enable the reader to study the Mishnah as a totally self-contained work without the need for recourse to the Talmud while for others (e.g. Rabad) the absolute literary independence of the Mishnah was not critical and crossreferences to discussions in the Talmud were common; in some cases (e.g. Maimonides and Rabad) the detailed commentary was often accompanied by systematic introductions and summaries while in others such programmatic essays were not included; for some (e.g. Maimonides) establishing the normative practice was a desideratum while for others it was unnecessary and, finally, some were strictly limited to interpreting words and phrases (e.g. R. Shemaya and R. Isaac b. Malkizedek) while others contained little essays citing different interpretations, analyzing them and deciding between them (e.g. R. Samson of Sens and Rabad).

Although Mishnah commentary continued in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (e.g. R. Meir of Rothenberg and R. Asher),¹⁴ it remained almost exclusively limited to those parts of the Talmud which lacked Talmudic explication. It was not until the fifteenth century that the second major comprehensive commentary on the entire Mishnah was produced by R. Obadiah Bertinoro (1445-c. 1510). Based primarily on the works of

Rashi, Maimonides and R. Samson of Sens, Bertinoro combined the terse style of the French commentators with the pragmatic orientation of Maimonides, often indicating which opinion in the Mishnah was to be accepted as normative practice.¹⁵

The seventeenth century witnessed a number of Mishnah commentaries, the most important and repercussive of which was the Tosafot Yom Tov by Rabbi Yom Tov Lipman Heller (1579-1654).¹⁶ In the introduction to his work, Heller noted that serious problems with Bertinoro's commentary motivated him to write his own, which he characterized as follows:

"This is my task: to analyze the Mishnah (and determine) whether there is a matter in it requiring explication which was not explained in the commentary of the Rav (i.e. R. Bertinoro) and if there is a contradiction to it from another Mishnah which was not noted by the Rav. (My task is to analyze) also the commentary of the Rav (and determine) if there is something requiring interpretation and explanation, if it is self-contradictory and certainly (if it is contradicted) by the Mishnah. I will go back and examine¹⁷ the Gemara, its commentary, the Tosafot, the works of the decisors and their commentaries in search of another explanation or answer to the contradiction."¹⁸

It is clear from this programmatic statement as well as from the title of the work which he explicitly interpreted as "additions" to the commentary of Bertinoro,¹⁹ that Heller intended his commentary to deal as

much with Bertinoro's work as with the text of the Mishnah, a fact borne out throughout Tosafot Yom Tov itself. In addition, Heller dealt with the opinions of Maimonides, the Tosafists and other medieval scholars and also expressed a great deal of interest in establishing the correct text of the Mishnah.²⁰

By the eighteenth century, the works of Bertinoro and Tosafot Yom Tov were accepted as the standard Mishnah commentaries and were printed in virtually every edition of the Mishnah text. It was this composite work, the Mishnah and its two major commentaries, which served as the major point of departure for Emden in his Lehem Shamayim.

Emden presented a characterization of this work on the title page:

"This is a commentary on the Mishnah which completes the interpretation in those areas where the Gaon, the author of the Tosafot Yom Tov, left 'gleanings, overlooked (passages) and edges'²¹ for a pauper like me. It includes glosses, pilpulim, and fine and pleasant novellae ('hidushim') (on both the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds, the Tosefta, Rashi, Tosafot and other commentaries, and on the Code of Maimonides and its commentators . . .)²² as I was shown from heaven. I often occupied myself especially with what the aforementioned commentator wrote and with other commentators in that which is relevant to an understanding of the true intention of the Mishnah and the analysis of the laws which emanated from it and its

normative practice."

However, at the beginning of his introduction, Emden acknowledged that he went one step further. Not only did he "complete" Heller's commentary but often challenged his interpretations and sharply disagreed with them.²³ It was this critical posture toward Tosafot Yom Tov which led him to the major focus of his lengthy introduction, a defense of his critical approach to his predecessors in general. Although Emden cited earlier examples of such an approach (e.g. R. Isaac de Leon's introduction to his Megillat Esther commentary on Maimonides' Sefer ha-Mizvot and R. Zerahya ha-Levi's preface to his Sefer ha-Ma'or), he felt that additional justification was necessary in his case because, being less great than they, he was more vulnerable to attack for being disrespectful. While acknowledging his own limitations and the great debt he owed his predecessors, Emden argued in very strong terms that any person had not only a right but an obligation to independently assess the opinions of those who preceded him and, as long as his intention was "for the sake of heaven," was morally compelled to share his findings with others.²⁴ Emden concluded his remarks by explaining his choice of name for this work and by expressing the hope that his introduction would not only be appreciated as an example of beautiful Hebrew style but would also serve to encourage others to develop their own independence of judgement.²⁵

It is parenthetically interesting to note that this issue was to figure very prominently in Emden's later controversy with Eybeschütz when he was repeatedly accused of being greatly disrespectful not only to his contemporaries but to his illustrious predecessors as well. While Emden was to later reaffirm the position he stated here, his formulation of

that position in this, the first work he ever published, was to remain the most elaborate and clearest exposition of his point of view he was ever to write.²⁶

Emden reiterated some of these points in a brief essay he appended to the end of the work.²⁷ Once again he appealed to his readers not to be offended by his criticism of his predecessors, apologized for the possibly harsh and inappropriate terminology he employed against them and stated that he, in fact, deleted many of his caustic criticisms when he revised the work for publication. He also explained why he did not seek approbations for his work and made it clear that the only commentaries he consulted in preparing it were Tosafot Yom Tov and those cited within it. His intention was not to present a summary of the opinions of others and any similarities between his remarks and those found elsewhere were purely coincidental.

At the beginning of this postscript, Emden also revealed his perception of the nature of his work. He wrote that he had not planned to compose a conventional commentary.

"It did not occur to me to write a book. For what I wrote was intended solely for myself, as I felt myself compelled to complete the interpretation in those areas where the words of my predecessors did not suffice for me."²⁸

This is, indeed, an apt description of his work. Even a cursory perusal of Lehem Shamayim clearly indicates that it is by no means a systematic commentary on the Mishnah, in the style of either Maimonides, Bertinoro or Heller. Emden commented only on those passages that he felt still re-

quired explanation and, in fact, often left even entire chapters without any commentary whatsoever. Emden clearly did not share Maimonides' feeling that his commentary on the Mishnah also filled a pedagogic need intended to provide a beginning student with an introduction to the study of the Talmud. On the contrary, Emden explicitly indicated at the end of this essay that he did not address himself to the Talmudic novice but rather to an already mature and accomplished scholar.

"With the help of God, may He be blessed, I pursued the path of brevity, 'so that the minimum (of words) contain the maximum (meaning)',²⁹ in a concise and clear language. In not a few instances I depended upon the intelligent reader ('maskil') and he who will understand one thing from the other."³⁰

In fact, Emden often abridged his remarks, directly appealing to the reader to personally fill in the gaps.³¹

Emden's penchant for brevity, which figured prominently in all of his writings, was repeatedly expressed throughout this work.³² Although, on occasion, he did launch into rather involved halakhic discussions,³³ he acknowledged when he may have digressed too far "from our intention in this work."³⁴

In this substantive postscript Emden also described the methodology he employed in commenting on the Mishnaic text:

"My entire focus on it is to clarify and elucidate all that is relevant to the Mishnah, so that its language be precise, without anything superfluous or missing."³⁵

Indeed, Emden stated on a number of occasions that he often struggled to interpret the text as it appeared even when a slight emendation would have made it much easier to understand.³⁶ Emden even went so far as to insist that the textual integrity of the Mishnah be maintained even if it meant disregarding the Talmudic interpretation of it. In discussing Heller's opinion regarding whether or not a cantor who happens to be the only Kohen in the congregation can deliver the Priestly Blessing during his repetition of the Shmoneh 'Esreh, Emden wrote:

"In all humility, I determined in all such cases to explain the wording of the Tanna according to its literal meaning (''al pi mashma peshuto'), to the extent possible . . . The reader will see how, in several places, I similarly toiled to retain the wording of the Mishnah as it appears ('kihaviyato'). For this is not a trifling thing (Deut. 32:47). Even where the Talmud explicitly says to add to or subtract from it, one must seek the reason for the Tanna's version. Certainly where the Talmudic masters were silent do I consider it meritorious for a person to make an effort to understand the wording of the Mishnah in its literal meaning ('ki-peshuto'), without additions or deletions."³⁷

This citation is most important in establishing Emden's position on one of the most basic issues which underlie Mishnah commentary since its inception, i.e. can the Mishnah be treated as a self-contained text in its own right independent of its Talmudic commentary or are the Amoraic

explicators of the Mishnah the only valid and legitimate interpreters of that text. Both positions had been staked out long before the eighteenth century. While the Perush ha-Geonim 'al Seder Taharot sometimes contained interpretations of words which differed from those suggested by the Talmud,³⁸ almost every major Mishnah commentator through the fourteenth century felt that once a Mishnah had been graced with Talmudic commentary, no other explanations were either necessary or valid. In addition to an argument ex silentio, i.e. that their commentaries on the Mishnah were almost exclusively limited to those sections which lacked any Talmudic explanation,³⁹ there is explicit evidence that whenever they dealt with a Mishnah which was interpreted elsewhere in the Talmud, they deferred to that interpretation.⁴⁰ It was Maimonides, whose commentary included the entire text of the Mishnah, who followed the Geonic precedent and, on occasion, did not feel bound by Talmudic interpretation.⁴¹ However, it has been noted that while Maimonides sometimes differed with Talmudic explanations of the Mishnah, he never differed with the halakhic conclusions in the Talmud which were predicated upon a particular interpretation of the Mishnah. In such cases, Maimonides faithfully reproduced it for, while innovative interpretation was acceptable, changing normative behavior was not.⁴² This point of view was most explicitly spelled out by R. Heller in his commentary:

"The view (of Maimonides) is validated, even though it differs from the Gemara's explanation. Since it has no implications whatsoever for normative practice, permission is granted to interpret (freely). I see no difference between the interpretation of the

Mishnah and the interpretation of the Bible for, as we see (in) the works of the (Biblical) commentators from the days of the Gemara, permission is granted to freely interpret the Bible. However, caution must be exercised not to decide and interpret any law in a manner that would contradict the opinion of the sages of the Gemara."⁴³

It was the commentary of Maimonides--in both its comprehensiveness as well as in its independence from the Talmud--which served as the model first for Bertinoro⁴⁴ and then for Emden. Nevertheless, as the passage about the cantor who was a Kohen indicates, Emden did not go as far as Maimonides. Whereas for Maimonides, non-Talmudic Mishnaic interpretation was allowed as long as it was not contradicted by halakhah, for Emden it was only acceptable when it was necessary to maintain the literal meaning of the text. In Emden's view, where the integrity of the text as it appeared was not questioned, no deviation from accepted rabbinic interpretation was tolerated.⁴⁵

Emden's commentary took many forms. He often explained statements in the Mishnah,⁴⁶ established its correct text⁴⁷ as well as the proper pronunciation of various words.⁴⁸ He made use of his extensive knowledge of grammar to interpret specific words⁴⁹ as well as, on occasion, to trace their etymologies.⁵⁰ Distinguishing between Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew,⁵¹ Emden sometimes defended a grammatically incorrect rabbinic formulation in the Mishnah by insisting that the rabbis were not bound by the conventional dictates of Biblical grammar and had every right to depart from it whenever they desired.⁵² Although at the very beginning

of his commentary Emden wrote: "I did not wish to burden the reader of this work with an extensive knowledge of the grammatical norms of the (Hebrew) language,"⁵³ the work is liberally sprinkled with a variety of grammatical observations.⁵⁴

But Emden's work extended far beyond the confines of elucidating the text of the Mishnah. Even a cursory perusal of Lehem Shamayim will yield the obvious conclusion that it is as much a commentary on Bertinoro and Tosafot Yom Tov as it is a commentary on the Mishnah itself. As already noted, Emden wrote in the title page to his work that, "I often occupied myself especially with what the aforementioned commentator (i.e. Tosafot Yom Tov) wrote and with other commentators . . ."⁵⁵ Indeed, much of Lehem Shamayim revolved around Tosafot Yom Tov, often in cases where Emden's analysis has no bearing whatsoever on the Mishnah text itself. Although, on occasion, Emden agreed with R. Heller and defended his point of view,⁵⁶ a major segment of his work is devoted to criticism of R. Heller's commentary. He accused him of not being true to the Mishnaic text,⁵⁷ of misunderstanding the Talmud⁵⁸ and of being ignorant of rabbinic chronology.⁵⁹ Emden upheld suggestions which were rejected by R. Heller⁶⁰ and answered questions posed by R. Heller which he either left unanswered⁶¹ or, to Emden's mind, did not answer satisfactorily.⁶² Emden also criticized R. Heller for taking positions contrary to the Talmud.⁶³ While we have seen that Emden himself did not feel bound by the Talmudic commentary on the Mishnah,⁶⁴ this occurred only when the integrity of the Mishnaic text was at stake. In such cases, the Mishnah

had to be interpreted literally even if the Talmud did not do so. However, any other disagreements with the Talmud, even when they did not affect normative behavior, were absolutely unacceptable. Most often Emden claimed that R. Heller simply erred in his commentary,⁶⁵ guilty of misunderstanding not only the Mishnah but also the opinions of later scholars whom he cited, e.g. Rashi,⁶⁶ Tosafot,⁶⁷ Maimonides⁶⁸ and R. Samson of Sens.⁶⁹

Emden's treatment of Bertinoro's earlier commentary took a similar form. While here too, on occasion, Emden sought to justify it,⁷⁰ even emended the text in order to render it correct⁷¹ and often defended it from R. Heller's criticism,⁷² it is important to recognize that, almost equally as often, Emden took issue with and rejected Bertinoro's commentary. His objections were similar to those he levelled against R. Heller---it lacks a source,⁷³ is not consistent with positions taken in the Talmud either regarding general Mishnah interpretation or normative pesak halakhah,⁷⁴ it reflects a misunderstanding of the opinion of other commentaries⁷⁵ or is simply guilty of error.⁷⁶ Recognizing that one of R. Heller's major objectives was to critically scrutinize Bertinoro's commentary, Emden often wondered why Heller overlooked statements there which he, Emden, considered obviously problematic.⁷⁷

As Emden himself characterized this work in his introduction, it is clear that Lehem Shamayim is as much a critical analysis of the two major commentaries on the Mishnah which preceded his as it is a commentary on the Mishnah itself.⁷⁸

But even this description does not exhaust the totality of Lehem Shamayim. Again, as Emden noted in his title page to the work, he often explained a related Talmudic passage to which he paranthetically referred in the midst of his discussions⁷⁹ and, more significantly, often elaborated at length on the opinions of many medieval scholars who were mentioned either by Tosafot Yom Tov or were introduced by Emden himself (e.g. Rashi,⁸⁰ Tosafot,⁸¹ Maimonides,⁸² Rabad of Posquières,⁸³ R. Samson of Sens,⁸⁴ R.Asher,⁸⁵ and R. Nissim⁸⁶).

In addition, Emden often launched into long halakhic excurses on various issues,⁸⁷ using the Mishnaic text simply as a point of departure for his presentation. Considering the fact that this was Emden's first published work, one could imagine that, being the accomplished Talmudist that he already was, he was eager to publicize some of his rabbinic novellae even if they were not strictly relevant to the subject matter under discussion. Finally, as he indicated on the title page to this work cited above,⁸⁸ Emden was concerned not only with abstract discussion but also with the normative practical rulings of halakhah.⁸⁹

It is thus eminently clear that one cannot simply characterize Lehem Shamayim as "a commentary on the Mishnah." It is that--and much, much more.

In general, Emden wrote with a great deal of certitude, often calling attention to the originality⁹⁰ and correctness⁹¹ of his commentaries. It is these types of statements, found throughout Emden's entire corpus, which accurately reflect his overall sense of self-confidence; those few self-deprecatory statements which are scattered throughout this

work and elsewhere⁹² seem to be artificial and only ring hollow. This self-effacement found there is merely a concession to literary convention and style and is not an expression of genuine humility. Emden had many virtues; timidity and modesty were not among them.

To the end of this first volume of Lehem Shamayim Emden appended his Binyan Bet ha-Behira, a commentary on the section of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah which dealt with the laws relating to the Temple. In his brief introduction Emden explained why he chose to publish it here:

"God, may He be blessed, helped us until now to complete the two loaves of shew bread ('lehem panim')⁹³ on the first two orders (of the Mishnah), the religious obligation of which was to arrange them on the pure altar before God in the Temple.⁹⁴ Also, since at this time we concluded the presentation (of the Mishnah commentary) with a good explanation of the Mishnah in the matter of the altars and the purity of the (Temple's) courtyard, we deemed it proper to present here some interpretations of Maimonides (Code) on these laws which I composed long ago."⁹⁵

Nevertheless, even given these explanations, the grafting of these two commentaries seems somewhat forced and artificial. One can only conclude that in this first published book of his, Emden was anxious to display his Talmudic prowess and commentatorial virtuosity. What better way to do so was there by showing his mastery over two of the most revered texts of study -- the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah the Prince and the

Mishneh Torah of Maimonides.

It must also be noted that a similar emphasis on Temple ritual is found throughout Emden's writings. Many of Emden's works, including this first volume of Lehem Shamayim, reflect the special interest he had in all laws relating to the Temple structure and ritual.⁹⁶ Furthermore, there seems to have been a widespread interest in the Temple, among both Jews and non-Jews alike, at that time. The works of Jacob Judah Leon (1603-1675) on Temple architecture, which were responsible for his being given the surname "Templo," were very popular in the first half of the eighteenth century and available in many languages.⁹⁷ Perhaps Emden was familiar with them as well.

While Emden's choice of topic may require some explanation, his choice of the Mishneh Torah as the point of departure for his remarks does not. This major work by Maimonides achieved almost canonical status very soon after it had been written at the end of the twelfth century and it only gained in stature as well as influence with the passage of time. The "heroic image" of Maimonides⁹⁸ was already in place during his lifetime and never faded. This commentary of Emden's is simply an eighteenth century example of an ongoing preoccupation with the Mishneh Torah among Talmudists which commenced with its appearance and continues until the present time.⁹⁹

While the topical connection between Lehem Shamayim and Binyan bet haBehira, printed together in one book, remains somewhat problematic, the methodological affinity between them is manifestly obvious. Indeed, Emden's commentary on this section of the Mishneh Torah is methodologically identical to that on the Mishnah. Here too he was not concerned

with explaining the entire Maimonidean text for the novice. Rather, he elaborated, in essay form, on those specific passages that he felt required further elucidation. For example, Emden provided sources for Maimonides' statements when they were not forthcoming in other commentaries,¹⁰⁰ defended Maimonides from the criticism of Rabad,¹⁰¹ explained the significance of a Maimonidean ruling which seemed superfluous¹⁰² and also engaged in some textual emendation.¹⁰³ Furthermore, again exactly parallel to Lehem Shamayim, Emden did not limit his remarks solely to the Maimonidean text but very often addressed himself to that of Rabad, its major critic and commentator. Rabad's strictures were treated exactly like the works of Bertinoro and Heller on the Mishnah, frequently serving as independent points of departure. Emden often dealt directly with statements found there even when they had no bearing at all on the underlying Maimonidean text. He explained as well as questioned positions taken by Rabad,¹⁰⁴ defended him from criticism by Karo,¹⁰⁵ while, at the same time, also attacked him for unfairly criticizing Maimonides.¹⁰⁶ This was also the case with R. Joseph Karo's Kesef Mishneh, a major Mishneh Torah commentary, in which Emden's involvement was more frequent and toward which it was more critical. Emden disagreed with Karo over how to interpret a Maimonidean statement,¹⁰⁷ answered a question Karo had posed on Maimonides and left unresolved,¹⁰⁸ defended Rabad from criticism by Karo,¹⁰⁹ attacked him for emending the text too freely¹¹⁰ and argued that his defense of Maimonides from Rabad's criticism was unsatisfactory.¹¹¹ In yet a further parallel to Lehem Shamayim, Emden explained the opinions of other medieval scholars (e.g. Rashi and Tosafot)¹¹² which were relevant to the matter under discussion. Finally, here too Emden also had

occasion to further discuss Bertinoro's and Heller's commentaries on the Mishnah¹¹³ and to reiterate his conviction that no one has a right to criticize his predecessors before carefully studying and trying to understand their opinions.¹¹⁴

The familial joy, fiscal solvency and close relationship with the members of his community which Emden experienced for a few years after arriving in Altona was not to last for long. Once again, he was soon to experience repeated personal tragedies, financial insecurity and increasingly more bitter communal quarrels.

A firm believer in the obligation to work for a living and not depend on individual or communal assistance,¹¹⁵ Emden soon found himself struggling for a livelihood. His rare venture into matchmaking¹¹⁶ and his position as a mohe¹¹⁷ earned him only a little money. His attempts at moneylending, importing precious stones from London and Amsterdam to sell on commission, and in trading in various foodstuffs met with repeated failure¹¹⁸ and Emden was sometimes forced to borrow substantial sums of money to repay his mounting debts.¹¹⁹ He himself admitted "I was not an expert in business,"¹²⁰ and was often robbed and cheated by unscrupulous borrowers. Both Jews and non-Jews took advantage of his ignorance, he lost large sums of money and suffered unpleasant experiences in Jewish as well as secular courts.¹²¹ In fact, at one time, close to ten years after having returned to Altona, Rabbi Jacob despaired of ever being financially secure there and was tempted to return to his former position as rabbi in Emden.¹²²

Emden also became involved in setting up a private printing press in his home. On November 11, 1743, he received permission from the Danish king, Christian VI, to operate a Hebrew printing press in Altona. After the king's death, Emden reapplied for the permission from his successor, Frederick V, and received it again on February 20, 1747.¹²³ However, it seems that the purpose of this new activity was not to provide himself with an additional source of income, but rather to be in a position to print his own works without being subject to any outside control. Just a few years earlier, in 1739, he ran afoul of communal officials by attempting to include a responsum in his She'elat Yavez which presented the Chief Rabbi in a less than favorable light and, as a result, they forced him to suspend publication of that work.¹²⁴ Emden could easily have felt that with royal permission to operate his own personal press he would not be bound by any community pressure. In fact, it appears from Emden's own words that this was his intention. Immediately after noting in his autobiography the difficulties he had in printing She'elat Yavez, Emden reported how he expended a great deal of money to provide new type for his own press.¹²⁵ Indeed, it would appear from a list of all works printed in Altona between 1743 and Emden's death in 1776¹²⁶ that Emden printed only his own works from which, he repeatedly noted,¹²⁷ he derived no monetary benefit.

Emden's personal family life was also full of recurrent tragedies. On July 7, 1739, one week after having given birth to a girl, his wife died.¹²⁸ Less than eight months later, on March 29, 1740, Emden married Sarah, the daughter of R. Naphtali Hirtz, a businessman and communal leader from Halberstadt, who had recently become widowed from her hus-

band, also a wealthy merchant.¹²⁹ Unfortunately, she too died, on February 25, 1743, after a brief illness.¹³⁰ A scant five weeks later, on April 1, Emden became engaged to his niece, Batya Zviyah, daughter of his younger brother Ephraim about whom he had already expressed an interest some four years earlier, after the passing of his first wife.¹³¹ They were married eight months later, on November 30, 1743.¹³²

Emden wrote extensively about each one of his three wives in his autobiography and, in each case, was critical of their behavior. The words expressed by the mother of Beethoven were applicable to Emden as well; his marriages were "a little joy but then a chain of sorrows."¹³³ Although he described his first wife as a wise and kind woman who was fairly successful as a moneylender, homemaker and mother,¹³⁴ he also claimed that she was a nasty, cantankerous woman who picked fights with her children's tutors and the domestic help.¹³⁵ His relationship with his second wife was adversely affected by a dispute he had with members of her family over the size of her dowry and he was also upset by her lack of business sense.¹³⁶ While describing his third wife and niece as intelligent, God-fearing and modest,¹³⁷ he was very upset by the fact that she was constantly bickering with his older daughters from his first wives.¹³⁸ He accused his brother (and father-in-law) of not living up to his dowry commitment, so much so that he was forced to take his second wife's clothes away from her own daughters to provide for his present wife's needs.¹³⁹

Tragedy also struck many of Emden's children, as the following chart will indicate:¹⁴⁰

From his first wife - Rachel

A. In Moravia

1. Meir, born in Bruda in 1717.¹⁴¹ While living in Emden, his father sent him away from home to study in Poland.¹⁴² He was married to the daughter of a wealthy man from Lissa in the spring of 1732¹⁴³ and only two daughters of his survived into adulthood.¹⁴⁴

2. and 3. Two sons who died in Moravia, one of whom was named Zevi.¹⁴⁵

4. Meshullam Zalman, born c. 1723.¹⁴⁶ At the age of eleven, his father sent him first to Glogau and then to Poland to find a wife. He was married in c. 1741 to a woman from Bruda but by 1757 still had no children.¹⁴⁷

5. A girl, born c. 1728.¹⁴⁸

B. In Altona

6. Zevi Hirsh, conceived in Emden¹⁴⁹ and born in November-December, 1732, shortly after the family's arrival in Altona.¹⁵⁰ He died, at the age of seven, on February 20, 1740.¹⁵¹

7. Esther, born on Purim, 1735.¹⁵² She was married to R. Zecharil Mendel, head of the rabbinical court of Tishvitz¹⁵³ and died in 1762-63.¹⁵⁴

8. and 9. Two girls, neither of whom survived. One was born deformed and died less than a month after birth.¹⁵⁵

10. Rachel, born at the beginning of July, 1739. Her mother, after whom she was named, died one week later from complications of her birth.¹⁵⁶ Her father hired a wetnurse for her but she too died a few months later.¹⁵⁷

As this list indicates, of Emden's ten children from his first wife, only three outlived him, i.e. Meir, Meshullam Zalman, and the girl born in Moravia.¹⁵⁸

From his second wife - Sarah

11. and 12. Twin girls. One died at the age of six.¹⁵⁹ The other, Neḥamah, married the son of R. Barukh who was an ally of Emden's in his anti-Sabbatian activity.¹⁶⁰ She returned to Altona in 1764 and died on September 5, 1775.¹⁶¹

13. A girl, who died suddenly when just a few months old.¹⁶²

14. A boy, who also died suddenly a few months after birth.¹⁶³

Of all four children from Emden's second wife, only Neḥamah survived into adulthood, and even she predeceased her father.¹⁶⁴

From his third wife - Batya Zviyah

15. Mordecai, born in the spring of 1746 and died a year and a half later, on October 13, 1747.¹⁶⁵

16. Yehudah, born on November 7, 1750.¹⁶⁶ He took ill in the winter of 1757-58¹⁶⁷ and died on January 24, 1775.¹⁶⁸

17. Levi, born on May 11, 1753, but died some fifteen months later, on August 6, 1754.¹⁶⁹

18. Chanah, born July 26, 1755.¹⁷⁰ She was married in Altona to Wolf Hollander and died on December 29, 1830.¹⁷¹

19. A boy, born on May 27, 1757.¹⁷²

20. Yosef, born on February 26, 1758,¹⁷³ and died some six months later, on August 12, 1758.¹⁷⁴

As this table indicates, Emden was not survived by even one of the eleven children born to him during the time of his life presently under

consideration, i.e. 1733-1751. It is interesting to contrast this to the fate of Emden's siblings. His parents had ten children, all of whom survived at least well into adulthood.¹⁷⁵

Emden's physical health was also a problem for him during this period. Although the move to Altona brought with it a change for the better,¹⁷⁶ Emden suffered from recurrent sicknesses.¹⁷⁷ On one occasion, in February of 1743, he was deathly ill. As an expression of gratitude to God for his recovery, he commemorated that day as a personal holiday for almost ten years, until his controversy with Eybeschütz made it impossible.¹⁷⁸

A most significant feature of Emden's life in Altona during this period was his relationship with the community at large. Emden informed us that during this period he lived a virtually hermetic existence, in sharp contrast to the almost constant travelling in which he was engaged up until this time. Writing about himself, he noted:

"He diligently studied and always secluded himself in his room, like a modest bride in her home. He did not leave the miniature sanctuary (i.e. his study) . . . except on rare occasions, once or twice a year, for an urgent need. Otherwise, no person ever saw him on the street . . ."¹⁷⁹

Nevertheless, although a private citizen with no official position, Emden's involvement in communal affairs was substantive and not without controversy.

Emden repeatedly claimed that until his controversy with Rabbi Eybeschütz, which began in 1751, he enjoyed the full respect of the community:

"Even those who were the enemies of my revered father were very fond of me, especially the entire household of R. B. K. (i.e. R. Baer Kohen),¹⁸⁰ his sons and sons-in-law and, generally, the entire spectrum of the community. Even the elderly head of the rabbinical court, R. Yehezkel, and the lay leaders also praised me behind my back. The Altona community, in particular, demonstrated affection for me. On every Sukkot festival they presented a beautiful etrog to me as a gift. They followed this practice with me, year by year, until 1751. When Eybeschütz came . . ."¹⁸¹

Writing later about an incident which occurred in 1743, Emden noted that, "as of yet, I had no enemies but, rather, the whole spectrum of the community loved me."¹⁸²

Emden invited many members of the community to personal family celebrations (e.g. the brit of his son in 1732 and his second marriage in 1740).¹⁸³ He also repeatedly noted how he benefitted the community at large by raising money on behalf of the poor and by aiding both the rich and poor in a number of different ways.¹⁸⁴ Although he later claimed that he did not seek to get involved in communal affairs,¹⁸⁵ he was approached by individuals seeking his assistance in personal matters,¹⁸⁶ by local communal officials who sought his advice,¹⁸⁷ and was also

approached for an approbation for a new edition of the commentary of R. Asher on Zera'im being prepared for publication.¹⁸⁸

Once again it is important to note that most of the information available about Emden's life in Altona prior to his controversy with Eybeschütz in 1751, like that relating to his stay in and departure from the community of Emden described above, is found in texts written in connection with that controversy and, again similar to that earlier case, was colored by it. Accused by Eybeschütz's supporters of being a meddlesome and disrespectful troublemaker, it was clearly in Emden's best interest to claim, as he repeatedly did, that until circumstances forced him against his will to assume a more active role in the community, he consistently maintained a low profile, did not seek communal involvement, concentrated solely on his Torah studies and on earning a livelihood and virtually did not even walk out of his house. It was certainly to his benefit to claim that he arrived in Altona to an enthusiastic welcome from the community and that he retained the respect and high esteem of its members for close to two decades.¹⁸⁹ It is true that there is no independent evidence to suggest that Emden was not being truthful and there is, therefore, no reason to deny the basic tenor of his presentation. Nevertheless, it cannot simply be accepted at face value as a dispassionate, objective description and it probably reflects not a small measure of exaggeration.

Particularly significant for Emden during this period of his life was his relationship with The Triple Community's Chief Rabbi, R. Ezekiel Kazenellenbogen.

Born in 1667 or 1668, R. Kazenellenbogen was raised in the town of Brisk and occupied rabbinic positions in the Lithuanian communities of Zitel, Razinai and Keidan. In 1713, he assumed the position of the chief rabbinate of The Triple Community, a post which he held for thirty-six years, until his death in July of 1749.¹⁹⁰ He played an active role in general communal affairs and figured prominently in the series of excommunications against Sabbatians issued in July - September of 1725.¹⁹¹

Although while still in Emden Rabbi Jacob publicly opposed a ruling of Kazenellenbogen's,¹⁹² he was respectfully deferential to him in the one extant private correspondence between them from that period.¹⁹³ This open and public respect for Kazenellenbogen continued after Emden moved to Altona and joined his community. Soon after his arrival in the summer of 1732, he visited the Chief Rabbi to pay his respects¹⁹⁴ and when his son, Zevi Hirsch, was born some three months later, he bestowed upon the rabbi the honor of sandek at the brit.¹⁹⁵ In the spring of 1733, Emden addressed a series of questions to R. Kazenellenbogen which were worded with a great deal of deference. In his first letter to the Chief Rabbi, Emden posed a series of four questions on a matter which Kazenellenbogen had addressed in his recently published collection of responsa, She'elot u-Teshuvot Kneset Yehezkel, and concluded with a respectful plea:

"Who, like my honorable master, is a wise man who knows the meaning of the matter?¹⁹⁶ My request is that he enlighten my eyes and establish for me the

truth whether I am correct, for I need to learn."¹⁹⁷

In the case of Emden's second letter, the point of departure was not something the Chief Rabbi had recently published but rather the Talmudic tractate he was in the midst of teaching in his public lectures. Once again, the tone is highly deferential:

"Therefore, I beseech of the master to answer me
(with) a full statement and clear explanation whether
my words are correct. If, God forbid, I erred, I
will recant and not be embarrassed."¹⁹⁸

He apologized to him for not being able to personally attend the classes due to sickness and concluded; "Thus I will take leave from before him with the appropriate genuflections of a student to his teacher and a servant to his master."¹⁹⁹ Three months later, on July 28, 1733, the Chief Rabbi returned the compliment by writing an approbation for Emden's newly published Lehem Shamayim Mishnah commentary.

This civil relationship between R. Kazenellenbogen and Emden lasted for about six years. Emden later recalled how the Chief Rabbi visited him in his home on every holiday²⁰⁰ and referred to him a number of halakhic issues which arose in the community.²⁰¹

In one case, Emden composed and printed a lengthy monograph in defense of a position taken by R. Kazenellenbogen. The question arose as to whether a person whose diseased right testicle had to be surgically removed fell into the category of pazua dakah who is prohibited by Biblical law (Deut. 23:2) from having sexual relations. In a responsum dated May 14, 1736, R. Kazenellenbogen was hesitant in allowing him to remain married because he may be guilty of transgressing that Biblical

precept. Both Rabbis Moses Hagiz and Samson Bloch, a local judge in Altona, rejected the Chief Rabbi's arguments.²⁰² R. Bloch penned his own responsum in which he argued that it was perfectly permissible for this couple to continue to live together as husband and wife. R. Kazenellenbogen sent Emden a copy of his own responsum as well as that of R. Bloch seeking his opinion in this matter. Emden responded with two long monographs, collectively entitled 'Iggeret Bikkoret', in which he strongly defended the Chief Rabbi's position.²⁰³

However, on the whole, Emden generally found himself in sharp disagreement with Kazenellenbogen. He took issue with a number of his halakhic rulings and, in one case, even claimed that he was instrumental in forcing the Chief Rabbi to publicly change his mind.²⁰⁴ Nevertheless, both were outwardly civil to one another until the beginning of 1739 when a halakhic debate between them became a major source of contention between Emden and the local lay leadership and brought all of Emden's inner hostility against Kazenellenbogen out into the open.

Once again, the Chief Rabbi had turned to Emden for advice, this time regarding whether or not a childless woman whose husband had died could remarry without halizah from her former brother-in-law who had become an apostate. The Triple Community's rabbinical court heard the case on February 25, 1739, and, in a responsum written nine days later, R. Kazenellenbogen ruled that it was permissible for her to remarry, provided that two other recognized rabbis would agree with his decision. Seeking support for his ruling, he turned to Emden for his opinion.

Emden later noted that this incident occurred shortly after he began preparing his collection of responsa for publication on November 13,

1738.²⁰⁵ He had already printed several responsa and had just concluded one which dealt at length with the general issue of the halakhic ramifications of apostasy.²⁰⁶ In introducing his exchange with R. Kazenellenbogen on this issue, Emden noted that when the Chief Rabbi sent him his ruling for a response he also requested that Emden forward him a copy of his own responsum which dealt with this subject.²⁰⁷ An analysis of Emden's previous responsum, written in 1731 while he was still rabbi in Emden, indicates that he took a lenient position in a similar matter of "zekukah le-mumar." It is, therefore, entirely possible that, having heard of Emden's view in that case, the Chief Rabbi thought that he would support his decision in this instance as well.

This, however, was not to be. This time Emden took the opposite position. He began his long responsum, dated March 19, 1739, with expressions of respect for the Chief Rabbi but proceeded to argue that there were no legitimate grounds for his lenient conclusion. He suggested that such a position was only justified when it is certain that the apostate was sincere in his newly accepted religious beliefs. However, when such clear evidence is lacking, one is obligated to assume that he converted only for the sake of financial and similar considerations and that "his heart is (really) directed toward Heaven."²⁰⁸ In such a case, where the conversion was not a genuine one, the requirement for halizah cannot be waived and the woman cannot be allowed to remarry.

Emden later claimed that the Chief Rabbi and his court first agreed with him but relented a few weeks later after sustained pressure and bribery from the woman's family and permitted her to remarry. He was particularly upset that he was not consulted about this about-face nor

informed as to the halakhic rationale for the change.²⁰⁹ Since he had just concluded printing a responsum dealing with this issue, Emden decided to prepare this exchange with Kazenellenbogen for publication and include it in his volume of responsa. However, the typesetter who worked for Emden informed the Chief Rabbi about his plans and he prevailed upon the lay leadership of the community to make a public proclamation in Altona's Great Synagogue prohibiting Emden to continue printing his work. Emden's strong protests fell on deaf ears and he was forced to delay the printing of his collection of responsa, which he insisted include a copy of this exchange, until after the Chief Rabbi died, on July 9, 1749.²¹⁰

In addition to a number of Emden's works which contain references to the story,²¹¹ independent confirmation can also be found in a hitherto unexamined source, one of The Triple Community's communal pinkasim. An entry dated August 17, 1740, notes how Aharon Zezer (i.e. Aaron the typesetter) requested permission to print books by "the head of the rabbinical court from Emden, may God protect and redeem him." Permission was granted but only on condition that he (i.e. Emden)," write the community that he will not break out again (in attack) against the head of our rabbinic court (i.e. R. Kazenellenbogen) nor against any individual from here."²¹² Emden never gave the community leaders such an assurance and publication of his collection of responsa was indefinitely suspended.

This event marked a turning point in Emden's relationship with R. Kazenellenbogen and exacerbated its already tenuous nature.²¹³ The tension continued when the Chief Rabbi insisted that Emden pay him a fee before he would officiate at his second and third marriages.²¹⁴ Emden

was particularly annoyed at Kazenellenbogen's demand when he married his niece in the fall of 1743 because of his financial instability at the time and because of the embarrassment he experienced in the presence of his younger brother:

"Out of regard for the honor of (my) family I thought that his intelligence would prevail over his lust (for money) and that he would not request anything at this time . . . In order that he release me and not impose this upon me, I told the official ('shamash') who collected the marriage tax that it would be considered an act of dishonor for me before my brother when it would become known to him that I am so insignificant in his eyes. For this is not the practice in the land of Poland with a person like myself. I therefore pleaded with him to honor me in this matter and be prepared to yield on this, thereby achieving honor and glory from Heaven. In spite of it all, he refused to set up the nuptial canopy until I would fulfill my obligation in advance. I was forced to obey his will."²¹⁵

Nevertheless, when Emden completed the first volume of his Siddur, Bet 'El; 'Amudei Shamayim, a few years later,²¹⁶ he requested an approbation from the Chief Rabbi. He even noted in his autobiography that when he received it, he felt that it was not sufficiently complimentary for him and returned it to Kazenellenbogen for a more enthusiastic version!

"I sent (my Siddur) to the aforementioned elderly

head of the rabbinical court to receive from him a letter of approbation as was the custom. I deliberately refrained from accepting an approbation from him at the beginning of the printing based upon my showing him one or two pages as is the practice of most authors in this generation. I did not want this but rather (preferred) that he testify on the basis of seeing almost all of it. The first volume was in his possession for several weeks to examine all of it before he gave me the approbation. Subsequently, he sent it to me with praise and glory signed by his hand. However, because he was a bit too brief (in describing) the virtues of the work, I returned it to him (with the request) that it would be appropriate for him to add several lines in his approbation to clearly make known the great benefits which emerge from the work, in addition to what is already mentioned in his first approbation. He did so. He again set his hand to write a new approbation as I requested."²¹⁷

Yet, these two written approbations notwithstanding, Kazenellenbogen did not come to Emden's aid in a controversy with local bankers generated by the Siddur shortly after it appeared.²¹⁸

By the time Kazenellenbogen died in 1749, there was no love lost between Emden and him. Although Emden later recorded that the Chief Rabbi praised him on his deathbed,²¹⁹ he also wrote the following in the

context of his oft-repeated assertion that he never wanted to succeed Kazenellenbogen in his position:

"God is my witness that even when the former head of the rabbinical court (i.e. R. Kazenellenbogen) was stricken upon his sick bed with the illness from which he died, I very tearfully prayed to God to lengthen his days . . . (even though I had no indication of love from him, as mentioned above)²²⁰ for I was afraid lest he would die and the burdens of the community would fall upon me . . . Therefore I prayed for the life of the old head of the rabbinical court, may he rest in peace, even though he had no real love for me, for the well known reason."²²¹

Emden's concern with his relationship with Kazenellenbogen did not cease after the latter's death. In fact, the opposite was the case. In the course of his later bitter struggle with Eybeschütz, which began less than two years later, Emden was depicted by his opponents as an inveterate troublemaker and agitator who had consistently shown no respect for the previous Chief Rabbi. In a letter to Emden's brother-in-law, R. Aryeh Leib, then Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam, dated in the spring of 1752, the lay leadership of The Triple Community levelled the following charge against him:

"He led with madness, not listening to the voice of a teacher, leader or judge of his community. He attacked the holy ones on high, the sages of the city

and its rabbis, particularly our master, the goan, R. Yehezkel, of blessed memory, in whose shadow we have lived for these thirty-six years. He (i.e. Emden) considered him as one of the boors and printed about him words which should be burned. The least (of the calumnies) which he wrote about him was that: 'he did not read, nor study nor serve scholars;' ²²² all his humbling of himself in the introduction to his book was not an expression of humility but he spoke the truth; he is not worthy to be depended upon for his rulings."

This letter was printed in Eybeschütz's Luhot 'Edut which appeared in 1755. ²²³

Emden was very sensitive to this charge and went to great lengths to defend himself in a number of works he wrote related to the controversy. ²²⁴ Generally, Emden's response took three forms. One approach was to take the offensive, accusing Eybeschütz of exhibiting much greater disrespect for the former Chief Rabbi than he had ever shown. When Emden addressed himself to this letter in his point by point refutation of Eybeschütz's Luhot 'Edut, he turned the tables on his arch-opponent and charged that the latter's alleged respect for Kazenellenbogen was a fraud:

"Now, please listen (to a story) about the piety of this tyrant and persecutor of Jews (i.e. Eybeschütz), about his deeds and his nature in honoring scholars and the Torah itself. Allow me to tell you something

about him that will cause the hair on the flesh of the listener to bristle²²⁵ and their ears to tingle.²²⁶ It once happened that a young man, Zalman son of R. Abraham Firda, travelled from here to Metz with the permission of the old head of the rabbinical court, R. Yehezkel, may he rest in peace. The rabbi told him that when he arrives in Metz he should greet the head of the rabbinical court there (i.e., Eybeschütz), this evil heretic,²²⁷ and should relate to him on his (i.e. R. Yehezkel's) behalf that he asks of him to study his book, Knesset Yehezkel, which he will enjoy. When he came there, the young man fulfilled his mission. Behold he, the devil of the toilet, was coming out of the bathroom where he met his natural needs. The young visitor (who was related to the heretic's wife)²²⁸ related to him the words of R. Yehezkel in his name. Then this heretic answered and said, 'You spoke correctly.'²²⁹ His book is very precious to me. I therefore keep it in the bathroom and, when necessary, take a page from it to wipe myself, as I just did.' When the aforementioned young man returned here, he related this story before all . . . So does he hold the book of R. Yehezkel in precious honor!"²³⁰

Emden actually repeated this bizarre charge elsewhere in his writings where he stressed its authenticity. On another occasion he intro-

duced this report with, "I will relate it as I heard it from a reliable, learned man,"²³¹ and concluded it as follows: "These were the words that I heard and that were related to me in truth. An enduring witness in the sky (Ps. 89:38) (will testify) that I did not consciously change anything. I did not fabricate words from my heart."²³² In fact, compared with the accursed Eybeschütz, even Kazenellenbogen merited a word or two of praise.²³³

Emden also responded to this charge by taking two apparently opposite positions. First he claimed that, when warranted, he did come to the Chief Rabbi's defense. He repeatedly referred to his 'Iggeret Bikoret' in this context as an example of his objectivity and support of Kazenellenbogen.²³⁴ In addition, at the same time, he bitterly attacked Kazenellenbogen repeatedly, implicitly arguing that such an unworthy person eminently deserved whatever criticism and disrespect he levelled against him. In his autobiography, in particular, Emden literally vilified Kazenellenbogen and, while the reason for it is never explicitly stated, it can only be understood in this context. In a long, rambling anti-Kazenellenbogen tirade,²³⁵ Emden charged that he was greedy for money²³⁶ and accepted bribes.²³⁷ He accused him of taking revenge,²³⁸ stealing from estates left under his jurisdiction,²³⁹ and, in general, of perverting justice.²⁴⁰ He claimed that Kazenellenbogen was insensitive to people,²⁴¹ "profaned the honor of the Torah,"²⁴² and did not treat his own position with respect.²⁴³ He also accused him of associating regularly with boors²⁴⁴ and of engaging in excessive partying:

"He was capable of sitting day and night drinking to inebriation. He ate excessively everywhere and with

everyone, particularly at a circumcision or wedding feast, in the company of boors and ignoramuses to the point that he became a mockery in the eyes of all the masses. The dignitaries were ashamed that he so denigrated and profaned the honor of the Torah in public. Therefore, the communal leaders were compelled to decree upon him that he shall not attend any feast unless it is among the prominent ones and only when he is called upon to participate in the mizvah."245

Emden also belittled the level of the Chief Rabbi's Torah learning:

"What can we say about the study of his novellae, his interpretations and his sermons which literally led to farce and mockery. It is incredible to relate all the absurdities, nonsense, imaginations, hallucinations and foolishness. All who heard them were forced to burst forth in laughter. Any knowledgable, understanding reader will be stunned by his decisions and rulings as I have demonstrated in writing. They are only a small part, a few of the many. His book which he published also testifies (to this). I presented some of them as a mere illustration (of his ignorance) in my book, She'elat Yavez. Reliable people informed me that in the holy community of Frankfurt, R. J. Katz, head of the rabbinical court, and other scholars also said that the book Kneset

Yehezkel should be burned."²⁴⁶

Indeed, a number of responsa printed in She'elat Yavez are directed against halakhic positions taken by Kazenellenbogen.²⁴⁷

Emden even went so far as to claim that, on a number of occasions, the Chief Rabbi publicly displayed such abysmal ignorance regarding the simple pronunciation of a Biblical verse or the meaning of straightforward Talmudic passages that he aroused the derision of all who heard him.²⁴⁸ He even recorded that someone allegedly said the following when Kazenellenbogen first arrived in The Triple Community as Chief Rabbi: "If R. Yehezkel would have come before me when I was the administrator ('gabai') of the elementary school for a license to be a teacher ('mela-med') in The Triple Community, I would not have given it to him."²⁴⁹

In another area, Emden claimed that the Chief Rabbi was overly servile to the local lay leadership²⁵⁰ and that, in general, his tenure was of no benefit to the community.²⁵¹ On the contrary, Emden charged that, due to the Chief Rabbi's well known dishonesty, the local secular authorities barred him from exercising judicial authority in Hamburg.²⁵² He also claimed that Kazenellenbogen took advantage of the power of his position and treated his constituents in a high handed way.²⁵³ As a result, he lacked their respect and affection²⁵⁴ and was often the butt of many of their jokes.²⁵⁵

Emden also drew attention to several personal deficiencies of Kazenellenbogen. He poked fun at "his speech, as unintelligible as chirping,"²⁵⁶ explaining that he hailed "from a distant land, from the country of Lithuania, a nation of stammering jargon"²⁵⁷ whose language the Germans did not recognize."²⁵⁸ He also made reference to his own

experience:

"I am a knowledgeable witness that he spoke with me several times after having dwelt here for much more than thirty years and (yet) I did not understand his speech and language at all."²⁵⁹

In addition, Emden ridiculed Kazenellenbogen's terrible handwriting²⁶⁰ and his voice:

"He made a farce and a mockery in the synagogue whenever he led the congregation in prayer. Whosoever did not see or hear the manner of his chanting and the sound of his chirping did not ever see mockery. It was a source of great scorn and derision²⁶¹ to the point where the scoffers who frequented the drinking houses would play and sing the melodies of the aforementioned head of the rabbinical court, mimicking all his characteristics, movements and ways when they wanted to increase the laughter and to multiply the fun by entertaining the people who came there. All those who were present and gathered for this fun burst forth in laughter."²⁶²

He also claimed that Kazenellenbogen personally slighted him when he moved into the community.²⁶³ Faced with the obvious question as to how such an alleged total misfit was able to secure and maintain the position of Chief Rabbi of one of Europe's foremost Jewish communities for close to four decades, Emden claimed that he got the position through "great machinations and powerful cunning"²⁶⁴ and kept it due to "his extraordi-

nary luck (which) helped him."²⁶⁵

In a real sense, Emden's relationship with Kazenellenbogen was doomed from the start. It is clear that Emden always compared the Chief Rabbi with his own father and grandfather who served in that position years earlier²⁶⁶ and always, inevitably, found him wanting. At the very beginning of the long section of Megillat Sefer devoted to Kazenellenbogen Emden wrote:

"If I were to elaborate all about this man, it would require a large book all by itself. I am a descendant of great ones, thank God, and my ancestors established the communities (of ours) and led the congregation for many years (all) for the sake of Heaven. They did many favors for them. My reputation too, thank God, was no less than his, even though I was then young in years. It is not the position which bestows honor upon the person²⁶⁷. . . (In light of all this) he was obligated to respect me out of honor for the Torah and for the sake of both the living and the dead."²⁶⁸

By comparison, Kazenellenbogen hailed from ancestors, "who had no reputation whatsoever, for he was the son of a poor teacher."²⁶⁹ The contrast to himself is eminently clear and obvious.

In this context it is also important to note Emden's recollection that personal relations were, in fact, already strained between Kazenellenbogen and his father. He recalled in his autobiography that the Chief

Rabbi had directly opposed Ḥakham Zevi on two occasions. In the winter of 1714-15, when Ḥakham Zevi was travelling in Poland after having left Amsterdam in the wake of the Ḥayon Affair, he was called to Hamburg to represent one party in a financial dispute there. Kazenellenbogen, then newly appointed as Chief Rabbi, however, sided with his opponent and, despite his efforts, Ḥakham Zevi's opponent lost the case.²⁷⁰ Emden also claimed that Kazenellenbogen was instrumental in not allowing Ḥakham Zevi to permanently settle in Altona at that time.²⁷¹

Other, more subtle, factors may also have been significant. As a young man in Brisk, Kazenellenbogen was a student of R. Moses Zusskind Rothenberg with whom Ḥakham Zevi had a major halakhic disagreement in 1710.²⁷² Indeed, when R. Rothenberg's collection of responsa was published in 1716, including the ruling against Ḥakham Zevi,²⁷³ it contained an approbation by the Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community in which he publicly acknowledged his debt to his teacher.²⁷⁴ If, as some have argued, this dispute was so bitter that it led to a diminution of Ḥakham Zevi's authority at that time,²⁷⁵ it is eminently plausible that Emden would have harbored a great deal of resentment against anyone who so proudly identified himself as a student of his father's adversary.²⁷⁶ The significance of this dispute is heightened by the suggestion that the entire reason Emden was later to engage in such a heated controversy with Eybeschütz was due to the fact that Eybeschütz opposed Ḥakham Zevi's ruling in this matter.²⁷⁷ If this was enough to kindle Emden's wrath against Eybeschütz, it surely could account for his derogatory attitude toward Kazenellenbogen. Also, Kazenellenbogen himself publicly disagreed with Ḥakham Zevi in his own She'elot u-Teshuvot Kneset Yehezkel.²⁷⁸ In

an era when halakhic disagreements had a tendency to blossom into personal and communal controversies, this may have been an additional factor in explaining Emden's generally adversarial relationship with Kazenellenbogen.

Emden's relationship with another one of Hamburg's older rabbis was also a tense and complex one. His relationship with his father's old friend, Rabbi Moses Hagiz was a long and cordial one²⁷⁹ but the friendship between them became strained shortly after Emden moved into The Triple Community.

Emden was close to Hagiz when he first arrived in Altona. His older friend had arranged for him to rent a home close to his own²⁸⁰ and gave him advice which Emden accepted.²⁸¹ Emden attended holiday services held in Hagiz's house soon after his arrival, in the fall of 1732. After the holidays, Hagiz refused to accede to a request made by Emden and others that he continue to host religious services in his home during the week as well. As a result, Emden later claimed, he was forced to seek official permission to hold services in his own house which was granted him. This was the first cause of friction between them.²⁸²

Apparently the tension between the two over this issue was not resolved and, about one year later, a compromise was necessary. A hitherto unknown entry found in one of the communal registers, dated October 17, 1733, stipulated that Hagiz has permission to hold services on Saturday and Holidays but not weekdays whereas, "R. Jacob, head of the rabbinical court of Emden, can make a minyan on weekdays and not on Shabbat or Holidays."²⁸³ Apparently either by then Hagiz wanted to hold services during

the week or Emden wanted permission to hold them on weekends as well. In any case, bickering over this matter continued to be a source of tension for them.

The printing of Emden's Lehem Shamayim in the summer of 1733 also was a source of friction between these two. Emden recorded how Hagiz was offended by the fact that Emden did not approach him for an approbation for the work.²⁸⁴ In addition, Emden noted that Hagiz took personal offense at a statement made by Emden in that work.²⁸⁵ Furthermore, Emden noted that Hagiz was upset by Emden's 'Iggeret Bikkoret', published in 1739, in which Emden ruled against him and sided with Chief Rabbi Katzenellenbogen in a dispute between them.²⁸⁶

In his autobiography, Emden went to great lengths, once again, to defend his behavior in all these cases and blamed Hagiz repeatedly for being responsible for the cooling of relations between them.²⁸⁷ Here too Emden didn't simply stop by defending his own actions but took the offensive and claimed that Hagiz was guilty of a whole series of indiscretions. He accused him of being duplicitous in his relationship with people, particularly Chief Rabbi Katzenellenbogen,²⁸⁸ of being a stubborn and angry person,²⁸⁹ of desecrating the name of God by improper behavior ("worthless chatter") in the synagogue,²⁹⁰ of disregarding the obligation of daily prayer with a minyan,²⁹¹ and, in general, of behaving in a way not befitting a distinguished person ("adam hashuv").²⁹² Emden even went so far as to criticize him for desecrating the Sabbath by allowing a fire to be kindled on that day to provide warm water for coffee even though he was healthy and therefore enjoined by Jewish law from behaving that way.²⁹³

Emden's difficulties with communal authorities were not limited to rabbis but extended to the lay leadership as well. He noted that from the day of his arrival in Altona he was confronted by the opposition of Joel Shav, a powerful parnas, who did all he could to disrupt the private services which Emden had received permission to hold in his home²⁹⁴ and who also attempted to interfere in some of Emden's business activities.²⁹⁵ In July of 1739 Emden became involved in his first conflict with Altona's entire lay leadership over their insistence that he make a special payment to the community before he would be granted permission to bury his first wife.²⁹⁶ He was also annoyed that he had to pay a marriage tax when he got married for the second and third times.²⁹⁷ Emden often felt that he should receive special treatment because his father and grandfather were great leaders of the community.²⁹⁸

Another serious disagreement he had with communal authorities resulted from a statement he made in his Siddur. In the section dealing with business practices, Emden had paraphrased a Mishnaic passage: "A man should always learn a clean, easy and dignified trade and escape from one that is despicable and ugly; for example, an assdriver, barber, shepherd, tanner and shopkeeper"²⁹⁹ and then continued, in parenthesis, "One can add to them the money changer in these generations."³⁰⁰ Shortly after the book began to be circulated, in the summer of 1747, the passage came to the attention of local bankers who were deeply offended by what they saw as an attack on their profession. They appealed to the local communal authorities to force Emden to remove that offensive sentence. The lay leadership, in turn, submitted the matter to Chief Rabbi Kazenellen-

bogen and his rabbinical court for a ruling. In the interim, Emden's opponents organized a rather effective boycott against the book. While Emden was able to sell some copies in The Triple Community, he was forced to seek a market for it elsewhere and met with little success. Some six months later, Emden received a list of other passages in his work which the court found objectionable but, shortly thereafter, the entire matter was dropped. Emden also agreed not to pursue the issue and left unpublished the essay he penned in response to his critics, entitled Zikkaron ba-Sefer; Ma'aseh 'Amalek.³⁰¹ Emden later recorded that shortly after Eybeschütz arrived in The Triple Community in 1750, he sent the new Chief Rabbi a copy of his Siddur to examine and that Eybeschütz praised the work highly and recommended that every household in town own a copy.³⁰² Nevertheless, the ill will generated by this controversy continued to fester and, during the height of the conflict with Eybeschütz just a few years later, Emden speculated that perhaps some of his opposition stemmed from that group of bankers who still could not forgive him for what he did.³⁰³ He even recorded how his Siddur was actually torn into pieces by his enemies.³⁰⁴

Nevertheless, with all Emden's personal problems and communal entanglements, he spent this period of his life deeply involved in the study of Torah. He founded a Chevrah Mishnayot which met in his home³⁰⁵ and studied with students³⁰⁶. He described himself repeatedly as one who spent his time at home studying Torah.³⁰⁷ In one of his later works he told the following story:

"I once fell asleep in the middle of the night and my

hand was resting on a small, slanted wooden box that stood before me on my table, upon which were my writing materials. On it is placed the book I am studying or reading and on it I write whatever I need. Above it stands a wax candle, placed into a wooden holder set into the box, which burns at night to illuminate for me the place of my study. Behold, deep sleep overcame me. I slept with my face on my arm upon this box. While I was fast asleep, the candle totally burned down and the fire already caught on to the holder into which the candle was placed. It consumed and burned all around without my knowledge. Several of the papers of my manuscripts were also burned and reduced to ashes. In the midst of all this, I awoke from my sleep and saw that, behold, the fire had consumed the edges of the dry wooden candleholder. In a split second it was consumed in fire together with the box and its contents. My study books also stood beside the burned papers. I too was in obvious danger . . ."³⁰⁸

This is followed by a description of two other similar incidents. One gets the impression that on many a night Emden fell asleep in this manner.

Emden also began printing his own works and was able to publish a number of them during this time. Reference has already been made to his first printed work, Lehem Shamayim³⁰⁹ and to 'Iggeret Bikkoret.³¹⁰ In

addition, to memorialize his son who died in the winter of 1740,³¹¹ Emden printed the eulogy he had delivered twenty-two years earlier for his father after whom his son was named.³¹² It was entitled Yeziv Pitgam and included also some additional comments explaining the circumstances of its publication.³¹³ In the winter of 1743-44 he published Derush Shemesh Zedakah, a discourse he delivered in honor of his third marriage to his niece, Batya Zviyah.³¹⁴ In 1748, he published Birat Migdal 'Oz a handbook of halakhic guidance designed to follow the life cycle. It opens with the laws and customs surrounding ritual circumcision, proceeds through the redemption of the first born to the legal status of the minor and then presents a detailed description of the requisite curriculum necessary for the proper instruction of a Jewish child. The second half of this work, entitled Bet Midot, is devoted to a systematic treatment of Jewish theology, ethics and behavior with major themes treated in alphabetical order. Work on this was interrupted by the Eybeschütz controversy and only part was published.³¹⁵ Emden also published the first volume of his collection of responsa, She'elat Yavez, during this period. He began working on it in 1739 but was interrupted by his clash with the Chief Rabbi over the matter of the childless widow whose brother-in-law was an apostate. It was not concluded until after Kazenelenbogen death, in 1749.³¹⁶

But the most significant, representative and repercussive work published by Emden during this period and perhaps during his whole life was his commentary on the Siddur. In its wide-ranging complexity, this work is the most systematic literary monument to the multifaceted nature of Emden's diverse interests and creativity. Emden the halakhist, mystic,

exegete, grammarian, poet, philologist, comparative customologist, historian, pedagogue and social critic and observer all stand fully revealed in this most extraordinary work which will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. MS, 115. His wife, who had' left Emden several months earlier to attend their eldest son's wedding and to visit her family in Posen (MS, 104, 112, 114; above, p. 120), was reunited with the family a day after their arrival in Altona (MS., 114).
2. Ibid., 112, 114-5, 122, 140, 143, 144; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 41b; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14a.
3. She'elot u-Teshuvot Knesset Yehezkel, #9. See also E. Duckesz, 'Ivah le-Moshav (Cracow, 1903), 22.
4. MS, 114-15, 140; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 41b; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14a. See also below, p. 201.

Emden made reference to "my synagogue" in SY II:167 and Sefer Hit-'avkut, 62a and to "my hazan" in SY II:41.
5. Lit., "money was available in my pocket."
6. MS, 150.
7. Ibid.
8. On the title page of the work (Altona, 1733), the date of publica-

tion appeared erroneously as Iyyar, 1728. Emden corrected the date to read 1733 at the beginning of his Mishneh Lehem (1a), a collection of addenda to Lehem Shamayim which was printed together with the second volume of that work in 1768. See A. H. Wagenaar, op. cit., 10, n. 104 and 35, n. 317*; Y. Rafael, op. cit., 243, n. 1.

Printing commenced after Passover and was completed some three months later, at the end of July. Chief Rabbi Ezekiel Kazenellenbogen's approbation (LS I:back of the title page) is dated 15 Av (= July 27, 1733), the end of Emden's postscript to the work (LS I:122b) is dated 17 Av (= July 29) and the concluding printer's note (LS I:122b) is dated 18 Av (= July 30). The date on the proofreader's note (LS I:120b) is Av, 1733. See also SY II:130 and 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14a, 29a.

9. MS, 112, 114, 151, 153, 159, 166; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14b. It was several stories high and contained: a prayer-room, a study, a mikveh which had to be repeatedly repaired, a sukkah (MS, 153), a backyard where the laundry was hung to dry (ibid., 159, 160), a kitchen (ibid., 160), bathrooms on different floors (ibid., 153, 162), and, later on, a printing press (ibid., 167). See also Mor u-Keziyah II:560 (60 a-b).

E. Duckesz, Hakhmei AHW (Hamburg, 1905), 53, identified Emden's address as Breitestrasse 155. Pictures of the house appear in A. Bick-Shauli, Rabi Ya'akov Emden, op. cit., 172 and idem., Megillat Sefer, op. cit., 254. See also idem., Mor u-Keziyah (New York, 1961), 6-9.

10. MS, 147. For additional references to the tutors he hired for his

children, see ibid., 150, 151, 152, 160. For other references to Emden's domestic help, see ibid., 151, 159.

11. MS, 100. In the introduction to Lehem Shamayim (henceforth LS; I:2b) Rabbi Jacob wrote that he completed the second edition of this work while still in Emden.

12. Emden himself made reference to this fact on the title page both directly and indirectly, by a reference to Lev. 23:20 - "lehem ha-bik-kurim," a play on the title of the book as well as a reference to it as his "first fruits."

13. For a brief overview of Mishnah commentary until the end of the twelfth century, see Z. Frankel, Darkei ha-Mishnah (Leipzig, 1859), 317-34; H. Albeck, Mavo le-Mishnah (Jerusalem, 1959), 237-46; I. Twersky, Rabad of Posquières (Cambridge, 1962), 106-10; M. Elon, ha-Mishpat ha-'Ivri III (Jerusalem, 1973), 909-10. See also J. N. Epstein, Mavo le-Nusah ha-Mishnah II (Jerusalem, 1948), 1275-1280.

14. See Frankel, ibid., 334-38; Albeck, ibid., 246-48 and Epstein, ibid., 1281-82.

15. See Frankel ibid., 338; Albeck, ibid., 249-52; Elon, op. cit., 910-11. See too J. Emden, LS I:11a: "It is the practice of the Rav (i.e. R. Bertinoro) in many places to cite the halakhic decision ('pesak halakhah')."

16. See Frankel, ibid., 339-40; Albeck, ibid., 252; Epstein, op. cit., 1282-84, 1287; Elon, ibid., 911. For a useful, albeit limited, analysis of Heller's methodology, see M. Hachohen, 'Ishim u-Tekufot (Jerusalem, 1977), 197-213 ("Rabbenu Yom Tov Lipman Heller, Sefarav ve-Shitat Limudo"), 214f ("Inyanei Lashon be-Tosafot Yom Tov").

17. Cf. Zech. 5:1; 6:1.

18. Mishnayot (New York, 1953). 7b.

Other seventeenth century Mishnah commentaries are: Melekheth Shelomo by R. Solomon Adeni (1567-1624; see Albeck, ibid., 252; Epstein, ibid., 1290; Elon, ibid., 912) and Ahavah ba-Ta'anugim by R. Abraham Azulai (c. 1570-1643). On the latter, see D. Zlotnick, "The Commentary of Rabbi Abraham Azulai to the Mishnah," PAAJR XL [1972], 147-68. His commentary on 'Eduyot was published by idem., "'Ahava ba-Ta'anugim, Perush ha-Mishnah me'et ha-Rav Avraham Azulai, Masekhet 'Eduyot," Mehkarim u-Mekorot I (Jerusalem, 1978), ed. by H. Z. Dimitrovsky, 1-120.

19. Mishnayot, ibid.

20. See Hachohen, op. cit.

Emden's own two-fold characterization of Heller's work (a. it presented an anthology of earlier viewpoints in summary form and b. it suggested new interpretations) is an accurate one. See LS I: introduction, 5, 8.

Unless otherwise indicated, all references to LS will be to the four-volume Jerusalem, 1978 edition. The first two volumes in this set (Zera'im and Moed) are a reprint of the one-volume Altona, 1733 edition.

21. See Lev. 19:19; 23:22; Deut. 24:19.
22. The parentheses are in the text.
23. LS I: introduction, 4. A list of examples will be presented below, pp. 171-72.
24. Ibid., 4-8.
25. Ibid., 9-10.
26. For Emden's most substantive treatment of this issue written during the controversy, see his as yet unpublished 'Iggeret Purim, op. cit., 30a-33b. I have printed part of this text in my "Rabbi Jacob Emden's 'Iggeret Purim,' " op. cit., 445-46.
27. LS (Altona, 1733), 122a-b. In subsequent editions, it is printed after the introduction at the beginning of the book.
28. Ibid., 10. Note also his comment on the title page, cited above, p. 164.

29. Cf. Vayikra Rabbah X:9.

30. LS I: introduction, 12.

31. See, for example, LS I:4a (Berakhot I:1), 13a (II:1), 16b (III:1), 25b (V:4), 29b (VII:3), 52a (Pe'ah VI:9), 63b (VII:2: "We briefly explained [only] that which is necessary and, in not a few instances, relied upon the reader's own understanding ['ha-mevin mi-da'ato']"); 65a (ibid.), 76b (Demai I:3), 88a (VII:7), 93b (Kil'ayaim VII:7), 125b (Terumat II:2), 126b (III:1), 129a (IV:6), 138b (IX:7), 143b (X:11), 160b (Ma'aser Sheni IV:8); LS II:81a (Yoma III:11), 101b (VIII:9), 105a (Sukkah II:3), 107a (II:5), 134b (Ta'anit II:4), 135b (IV:3), 136a (IV:4).

See LS II:143a (Megillah IV:3) where Emden noted that Bertinoro "relied upon the understanding reader ('ha-mevin') as did the best commentators."

32. See, for example, LS I:22b (Berakhot IV:1), 25a (V:4), 53b (Pe'ah VI:9), 91b (Kil'ayim III:1); LS II:43a (Pesahim VI:5).

33. See below, n. 87.

34. LS II:44a (Pesahim VI:5). See also LS I:8b (Berakhot I:2), 28b (VII:3); LS II:81a (Yoma III:11). In one case he stated that elaboration was unavoidable. See LS I:60a, 63b (Pe'ah VII:2).

Cf. LS I:24b (Berakhot V:4) where Emden stated that, on occasion,

brevity is misleading. See also LS II:78b-79a (Yoma III:11) and especially 137a-b (Ta'anit IV:5) where Emden was frustrated by what he considered the excessive brevity, and hence lack of clarity, of Bertinoro.

35. LS I:introduction, 12.

36. See, for example, LS I:63b (Pe'ah VII:2), 83b (Demai V:8); LS II:9a-b (Shabbat VIII:3), 94b (Yoma VI:8), 100b (VIII:3), 145a (Megillah IV:5).

See below, n. 54.

37. LS I:24b (Berakhot V:4). See also LS I:10a (Berakhot I:3), 11a (II:1); LS II:22b-23b (Shabbat XXIII:2), 84a-b (Yoma IV:3), 115b-116b (Bezah I:2).

38. See Frankel, op. cit., 318; Albeck, op. cit., 238, 244.

39. See the sources noted above, n. 13, 14.

40. See Frankel, ibid., 329-30; I. Twersky, op. cit., 109.

41. See Frankel, ibid., 320, 321, 323, 329; Albeck, op. cit., 244.

42. Ibid.

43. Tosafot Yom Tov, Nazir V:5.

44. See Frankel, op. cit., 338; Albeck, op. cit., 250 and n. 20.

45. The matter of the level of Mishnaic independence from the Talmud continued to play a major role in the nineteenth century. In the introduction to his 'Erekh Milin (Warsaw, 1914), XI-XIII, Solomon J. Rapoport ("Shir"; 1790-1867), cited the commentary of Tosafot Yom Tov on Tractate Nazir quoted above and noted that R. Nathan of Rome, author of the 'Arukh, R. Hananel and R. Saadya Gaon concurred with this position. His own conclusion is clear and succinct: "Undoubtedly, the interpretation cannot be true if it is contrary to the halakhah." (ibid., XIII).

Rapoport's total acceptance of Tosafot Yom Tov's principle was challenged by Hirsch Mendel Pineles (1806-1870), a maskil under the influence of Nachman Krochmal. Pineles formulated the second of his three goals for his most famous work, Darkah Shel Torah (Vienna, 1861), as follows:

"To defend the Mishnah in every instance against all attack (Cf. Lamentations 1:3), whether from those who respected it, the Talmudic masters, who removed it from its literal meaning ('midei peshutah') and interpreted it in farfetched ways, or its pursuers who attempted to find fault in it (and) diminish its worth." (See back of title page, ibid.).

Furthermore, in a programmatic statement at the beginning of the book (pp. 18-19), Pineles openly opposed the R. Heller-Shir position and maintained that the legitimacy of a Mishnaic interpretation is not contingent upon its conforming to normative pesak. In fact, his work contains a critical examination of close to one hundred and fifty selections

from rabbinic literature and is full of explanations which are clearly at odds with those found in the Talmud. For a positive evaluation of Pineles' efforts, see D. Halivni, Mekorot u-Mesorot: Seder Nashim (Tel Aviv, 1968), 12.

Pineles' rejection of accepted rabbinic interpretations was attacked by traditionalists. In his Kach hi Darkah shel Torah (Jassy, 1864), R. Moses Waldenberg composed a case by case refutation of Pineles' arguments.

An even earlier figure who figures prominently in this context is Manasseh of Ilya (1767-1831). Quoting R. Elijah of Vilna, Manasseh often underscored the importance of striving for peshat, and allowed for Mishnah commentary to be independent of the Talmud as long as the normative halakhic practice was not affected. See his Sefer Alfei Menashe (Vilna, 1822), 386 and Binat Mikra (Grodno, 1818), introduction. Manasseh's position, as well as that of R. Elijah, was discussed by Manasseh's biographer, M. Plungian, in his Sefer Ben Porat (Vilna, 1858), 33f. See also David W. Halivni, "Abraham Geiger and Talmud Criticism," New Perspectives on Abraham Geiger (New York, 1975), 36-8.

For recent studies on Manasseh's life and thought, see J. L. Maimon, ed., Sefer ha-Gra (Jerusalem, 1954), 161-67; I. Barzilay, "The Life of Menashe of Ilya (1767-1831)," PAAJR 50 (1983), 1-35; idem., "Acceptance of Rejection: Manasseh of Ilya's (1767-1831) Ambivalent Attitude Toward Hasidism," JQR LXXIV: 1 (1983), 1-20; idem., "Manasseh of Ilya (1767-1831) and the European Enlightenment," Jewish Social Studies (Winter, 1984), 1-8; E. Etkes, "Imminent Factors and External Influences

in the Development of the Haskalah Movement in Russia" in J. Katz, ed., Toward Modernity: The European Jewish Model (New Brunswick, 1987), 22-4. To my knowledge, Dr. Barzilay's forthcoming monograph on Manasseh has not yet appeared.

46. See, for example, LS I:18a (Berakhot III:5), 27a (VII:1), 39b (Pe'ah II:6), 39a-40a (III:1), 48b-49a (V:4), 51a (VI:3), 69a-70a (VIII:1), 72b-73b (Demai I:1), 83a (VI:1), 87a-88a (VII:3), 91b (Kil'ayim IV:6), 92a (VII:5), 92b-93b (VII:6), 97a-b (Shvi'it I:4), 104a-b (VII:1-3), 105b-106a (VII:5), 125a (Terumot II:1), 126a (III:1), 128b-129b (IV:6), 137a (IX:5), 143b-144b (X:11); LS II:26a-b (Eruvin II:4), 27b (III:4), 29a-b (VI:8), 37a-b (Pesahim II:5), 37b-38a (II:7), 59a-61a (Shekalim II:2), 76a-b (Yoma III:4), 100b-101b (VIII:9), 112b (Sukkah IV:10), 113a-b (V:6-8), 115b (Bezah I:1), 131b (Rosh Hashanah IV:6), 142a (Megillah IV:1).

47. See, for example, LS I:2a-b (Berakhot I:1 - "be-'arvit" or "be-'arvin"), 164b-165b (Ḥallah IV:11); LS II:31a-b (Eruvin IX:3 - in opposition to both Rashi and Tosafot), 65a (Shekalim VIII:8), 92b (Yoma VI:3), 94b (VI:8), 100b (VIII:3), 130b (Rosh Hashanah III:7), 152b (Hagigah II:1).

48. See, for example, LS I:2b, 5b, 7a (Berakhot I:1), 9b (I:3), 15a (II:2,4), 20a (IV:1), 22b-23b (IV:2-5), 24b (V:3), 25b (V:4-5), 34b (Pe'ah I:1), 37b (I:6), 44b (III:7), 45b (IV:1, 3, 6: "and so I found the punctuation in the Mishnayot printed in Amsterdam by the hakham Menashe

b. Israel"), 97a (Shevi'it III:4), 146a-b (Ma'asrot I:5); LS II:32b (Eruvin X:9), 33a-b (X:13), 63a (Shekalim V:1), 135a-b (Ta'anit III:7). At the end of his postscript to this work, Emden wrote, "On this, as well, I kept my eyes open, to correct the punctuation of unclear words." See LS I:introduction, 12.

The first edition of LS was printed with punctuation of key words. See, for example, 3a, 4a, 4b (Berakhot I:1); 5b (I:3), 10a (IV:2-5), 10b (V:3,5).

Emden's concern for correct text and pronunciation is reflected in many of his works. See above, p. 106; p. 141, n. 59.

49. See, for example, LS I:2a-b (Berakhot I:1), 15a (II:4), 29a (VIII:2), 44b (Pe'ah III:7), 45b (IV:3), 51a (VI:3), 89a (Kil'ayim I:3), 134a-b (Terumot VIII:3), 137a (IX:5), 156b (Ma'asrot V:8); LS II:4a (Shabbat VI:3), 17a (XVIII:2), 21a-b (XXI:2), 22b (XXII:4), 33a-b (Eruvin X:13), 49b (Pesahim X:5), 84a (Yoma III:3), 91b-92a (VI:2), 133b (Ta'anit I:4), 141b-142b (Megillah III:1).

50. See, for example, LS I:15a (Berakhot II:2), 24b (V:3), 29a (VIII:2), 65b (Pe'ah VII:3), 164a (Hallah III:1); LS II:5a (Shabbat VI:4), 17a (XVIII:2), 41b (Pesahim V:10), 83a (Yoma IV:1), 83b-84a (IV:3), 94b (VI:8).

51. See, for example, LS I:2a (Berakhot I:1), 9b (I:3), 15a (II:2), 23b (IV:5), 29b (VIII:2); LS II:84a (Yoma III:3), 106a (Sukkah II:4). Emden also differentiated between the language of the Mishnah and that of the

Talmud. See LS I:134b (Terumot VIII:3).

52. See, for example, LS I:2a, 5b, 7a (Berakhot I:1); LS II:33b (Eruvin X:13).

53. LS I:2b (Berakhot I:1).

54. In addition to those mentioned above, on two occasions Emden invoked the grammatical principle of Ibn Ezra that inanimate objects can be both masculine and feminine. See LS I:45b (Pe'ah IV:3) and LS II:142b (Megillah III:1).

In order to gain a full appreciation of Emden's position on the issues of textual emendation, subtleties of grammar, etc., his statements in LS must be seen together with those in his commentary to the Siddur and elsewhere. For a preliminary discussion of some of these issues in Emden's Siddur commentary, see below, Chapter IV.

55. Above, p. 164.

56. See, for example, LS I:3a (Berakhot I:1), 26b (VI:7), 117b (Shevi'it X:9), 120a (Terumot I:5), 129b-130a (IV:7), 134a (VIII:3), 144b (XI:2), 152a-b (Ma'asrot II:8); LS II:13a-14a (Shabbat XIII:7), 16b (XVI:8), 28a (Eruvin IV:9), 40a-b (Pesahim III:7), 90b-91a (Yoma V:5), 155a-b (Hagigah III:5).

57. See, for example, LS II:8a-9b (Shabbat VIII:3).

58. See, for example, LS I:49a-b (Pe'ah V:5).
59. See, for example, LS I:42a (Pe'ah III:6).
60. See, for example, LS II:2b-3a (Shabbat I:2).
61. See, for example, LS I:41a-b (Pe'ah III:6), 140b-143a (Terumot X:10); LS II:82a-83b (Yoma III:11), 125b (Bezah III:7), 130b-131b (Rosh Hashanah IV:2).
62. See, for example, LS I:14a-15a (Berakhot II:1), 110b-111b (Shevi'it VII:7). See also LS I:16a (Berakhot III:1).
63. See, for example, LS I:19a-b, 20a-b (Berakhot III:5).
64. Above, p. 168.
65. There are dozens of examples of this in LS. For some of the more striking ones, see LS I:38b-39b (Pe'ah II:2), 51a-52a (Pe'ah VI:6), 82a-b (Demai V:2), 93a-94a (Kil'ayim VIII:1); LS II:11a-12b (Shabbat XI:4), 30a-31a (Eruvin VIII:2, 7), 48b-49a (Pesahim X:5), 65b-67b (Shekalim VIII:8), 87b-89b (Yoma V:1), 103a-b (Sukkah I:11).
66. See, for example, LS I:132b (Terumot VI:4); LS II:45a (Pesahim VIII:6), 46a-b (IX:6), 73a-b (Yoma II:7), 74b-76a (III:4), 154a-b

(Hagigah III:3).

67. See, for example, LS I:157b-158b (Ma'aser Sheni II:5); LS II:153a (Hagigah II:1).

68. See, for example, LS I:50a-51a (Pe'ah V:5), 120a-b (Terumot I:5), 168b-169b ('Orlah 11:16); LS II:12a-13a (Shabbat XIII:3), 89b-90a (Yoma V:2), 102b-103a (Sukkah I:8), 150b-152b (Hagigah I:2).

69. See, for example, LS I:34a (Pe'ah I:1), 114a-b (Shevi'it VIII:10), 127a (Terumot III:4), 135b-136b (IX:3), 154b (Ma'asrot III:10); LS II:10b (Shabbat IX:6).

70. See, for example, LS I:3a-4a (Berakhot I:1), 35b-36a (Pe'ah I:4), 37a (I:5), 40b (III:5), 52a (VI:9), 80b-81a (Demai III:6), 82b (V:2), 95a (Kil'ayim IX:2), 118b-119a (Terumot I:5), 124a (II:1); LS II:18b (Shabbat XVIII:3), 19a (XIX:3), 22a (XXIII:2), 23a-24a (XXIV:1), 29a (Eruvin VI:1), 78b-79a (Yoma III:11), 95a-99b (VII:5).

71. See, for example, LS I:138b (Terumot X:1); LS II:25a (Shabbat XXIV:5).

72. See, for example, LS I:11a-14a (Berakhot II:1), 20a-b (IV:1), 36b-37a (Pe'ah I:4), 86a (Demai VI:11), 89a (Kil'ayim II:1), 92a-b (VII:6), 94a-b (VIII:5), 104b-105a (Shevi'it VII:3), 115a-b (IX:9), 118a-b, 120b-121a (Terumot I:1), 127a (III:4), 131a-b (V:1), 138b (IX:7),

159b (Ma'aser Sheni IV:8), 171b-172b (Bikkurim III:8); LS II:16a-b (Shabbat XVI:7), 31a-32a (Eruvin X:1), 36b-37a (Pesahim II:4), 50a-52a (Shekalim I:1), 56a-59b (I:4), 61a-b (III:1), 63a-b (V:1), 72a-b (Yoma II:3), 74b-76a (III:4), 99a-100b (VIII:1), 102b-103a (Sukkah I:8), 142b-143a (Megillah IV:3), 152b-153a (Hagigah II:1).

73. See, for example, LS I:112a-b (Shevi'it VIII:5), 138a-139a (Terumot X:1), 157a (Ma'aser Sheni II:4); LS II:25b (Shabbat XXIV:5), 65a (Shekalim VIII:8), 71b (Yoma II:3), 135a (Ta'anit IV:2).

74. See, for example, LS I:9b (Berakhot I:2), 85a (Demai VI:9); LS II:1a (Shabbat I:1), 41a-b (Pesahim V:9), 71b-72a (Yoma II:3), 94a-b (VII:1), 117b (Bezah I:8), 135a-b (Ta'anit IV:2). Once again we see how Emden, while allowing for some deviation from Talmudic Mishnah commentary, did not allow it to take place indiscriminately.

75. See, for example, LS I:38b (Pe'ah II:2) where Emden accused Bertinoro of misunderstanding R. Samson of Sens.

76. See, for example, LS I:35a-b (Pe'ah I:3), 84b-85a (Demai VI:9), 95a-b (Kil'ayim IX:4), 97a-98a (Shevi'it IV:2), 128b (Terumot IV:5), 132a-b (VI:3), 146b (Ma'asrot I:5), 148a-149a (II:1), 150b (II:2), 157a (Ma'aser Sheni I:1), 166a-167b ('Orlah II:3); LS II:11a (Shabbat XI:1), 60b (Shekalim II:2), 83a (Yoma IV:1), 94a (VII:1), 136b-137b (Ta'anit IV:5).

77. See, for example, LS I:128b (Terumot IV:5), 139a (X:1); LS II:1a (Shabbat I:1), 14a (XIV:1), 19a (XIX:3), 66b (Shekalim VIII:8). Cf. this to LS II:20a (Shabbat XIX:4) where Emden posed a question on a statement in Maimonides' Mishneh Torah and wondered why its commentators failed to notice the difficulty.

78. Cf. Z. Frankel, op. cit., 339, 340 who maintains that Emden's motivation in LS was to defend Bertinoro from Heller's criticisms. This one-line comment is the only assessment of this work I have found in secondary literature. Not only is it obviously inadequate, it is also simply wrong.

79. See, for example, LS I:26a (Berakhot VI:6), 111a-b (Shevi'it VII:7), 145a-b (Terumot XI:8), 147a-b (Ma'asrot I:5); LS II:3a (Shabbat I:2), 7b-8b (VII:3), 68a-b (Yoma I:1), 134a-135b (Ta'anit II:4).

On those tractates which lack Babylonian Talmudic commentary, Emden often elaborated on the relevant passages in the Palestinian Talmud. See, for example, LS I:42b-44b (Pe'ah III:6), 45a-b (IV:1), 54b-55b (VI:11), 90a-b (Kil'ayim II:10), 106b (Shevi'it VII:5), 144a-b (Terumot XI:1), 153b-154a (Ma'asrot III:2).

80. See, for example, LS I:25b-26a (Berakhot VI:6), 136b-137a (Terumot IX:4), 151b-152a (Ma'asrot II:7); LS II:3b-4b (Shabbat I:11), 12b (XI:6), 12a-b (XII:5), 23a-24a (XXIV:1), 24b (XXIV:4), 25b-26b (XXIV:5), 32b-33a (Eruvin X:9), 41a-b (Pesahim V:9), 65a-67b (Shekalim VIII:8), 74b-76a (Yoma III:3), 84a-85b (IV:3), 86a (IV:4), 91b (V:6), 154a-b (Hagigah

III:3).

81. See, for example, LS I:4b-5b (Berakhot I:1), 11a-13a (II:1), 21a-22b (IV:1), 27a-b (VI:7), 34a-b (Pe'ah I:1), 37a-b (I:6), 43a-44b (III:6); LS II:5a-b (Shabbat VI:5), 14b (XIII:7), 16a (XV:2), 20b (XIX:6), 23b (XXIII:3), 26a-b (Eruvin I:2), 34a-35b (Pesahim II:1), 42a-b (VI:1), 45b-46b (VIII:5), 47a-b (:3), 73a-b (Yoma III:1), 103a-b (Sukkah I:11), 107a-108a (III:1), 112a-113a (V:3), 133b (Ta'anit I:6), 149a-150b (Hagigah I:1). For examples of Tosafot independently introduced by Emden, see LS II:71a-b (Yoma II:2), 86a-b (IV:4), 95a (VII:5), 105b (Sukkah II:1).

82. See, for example, LS I:3a-4a, 6a-7a (Berakhot I:1), 12a-b (II:1), 34b-35a (Pe'ah I:1), 47a-b (IV:10), 52a-54a (VI:9), 60a-63b, 64a-65a (VII:2), 66a-b (VII:3), 68a-69a (VII:7), 73b-74a (Demai I:1), 98b-99a (Shevi'it IV:4), 100b-101b (V:1), 106a-b (VII:5), 119a-120a (Terumot I:5), 137b-138a (IX:7), 156a-b (Ma'asrot V:1), 159b-160b (Ma'aser Sheni IV:8), 168b-169b ('Orlah II:16); LS II:4a-5a (Shabbat VI:4), 19a-20a (XIX:4), 24a (XXIV:1), 28a (Eruvin IV:2), 32b-33a (X:9), 36a-b (Pesahim II:1), 44a-45b (VII:10), 66a-67b (Shekalim VIII:8), 74a-b (Yoma III:3), 76b (III:4), 89b-90a (V:2), 95a-b, 96a-98a (VII:5), 114a-b (Sukkah V:8), 129a-130a (Rosh Hashanah III:1), 146a (Megillah IV:8), 150b-152b (Hagigah I:2).

83. See, for example, LS I:57a-59a (Pe'ah VII:1), 59b-63a, 64b-65a (VII:2).

84. See, for example, LS I:40b (Pe'ah III:5), 65a-b (VII:2), 95a (Kil-'ayim IX:4), 107b-108a (Shevi'it VII:6), 108a-110b (VII:7), 116b (X:2), 118b-119a (Terumot I:5), 160b (Ma'aser Sheni IV:11).

85. See, for example, LS I:46a-47a (Pe'ah IV:9); LS II:23a-24a (Shabbat XXIV:1), 38a-39a (Pesahim II:8), 43a-b (VI:5), 124a-125b (Bezah III:1).

On a few occasions Emden referred to the commentary by R. Asher on the Mishnah which had only been recently published. See LS I:160b (Ma'aser Sheni IV:8), 164b (Hallah IV:11), 166b ('Orlah II:3). For information about this commentary, published together with an edition of the Talmud in Amsterdam, 1715, see Albeck, op. cit., 248. A full text of R. Asher's commentary on Zeraim, Sefer Pi Shnayim, was published in Altona in 1735 and contained both a rare haskamah by Emden as well as a brief section of LS which was not printed in his own work, both of which can be found at the beginning of that book. See also below, n. 188, 285.

86. See, for example, LS II:2a-3a (Shabbat I:2), 21a-b (XXII:3), 38a-39a (Pesahim II:8), 47b-49a (X:5), 108b-109a (Sukkah III:5).

Although commenting on those works, Emden did not seek them out before composing his work. Very often he suggested an explanation and only afterwards noted that he subsequently found it in an earlier source. See, for example, LS I:18a (Berakhot III:4), 51b (Pe'ah V:5), 111a (Shevi'it VIII:4); LS II:126a (Bezah V:2). Particularly interesting is Emden's comment in LS II:146b (Megillah IV:8): "I later found this in a Tosafot but maybe I already saw it (there) and forgot."

87. See, for example, LS I:3a-5b, 6a-7a (Berakhot I:1 - aspects of korbanot), 7b-9b (Berakhot I:1 - the definition of sha'ot zmaniyot; this passage is particularly significant for Emden's use of Kabbalah in a halakhic context), 11a-14a (II:1 - mizvot zrikhot kavvanah), 16a-18a (III:4 - hirhur ki-dibbur), 18b-20a (III:5 - ba'al kerī), 42b-44b (Pe'ah III:6 - vidduy ma'aser), 59a-63b (VII:2 - shikha), 75a-79a (Demai I:3 - demai), 140a-b (Terumot X:8 - bittul bi-'elef), 160a-162b (Ma'aser Sheni V:2 - the power of a court to overturn the ruling of its predecessors); LS II:50a-52a (Shekalim I:1 - the principle of bittul), 52a-59b (I:3, 4 - laws dealing with minors), 79a-82a (Yoma III:11 - Bet Yosef's opinion regarding ketoret), 95a-99b (VII:4 - Bertinoro's comments about the hoshen), 119a-121b (Bezah II:3 - mikva'ot). This last text served as the basis for a later correspondence between Emden and Mendelssohn (SY II:155), discussed below, pp. 665-68.

88. Pp. 164-65.

89. See, for example, LS I:27b (Berakhot VII:2 - requirements for zimmun), 39b (Pe'ah II:5 - blessing of she-he-heyannu over various foods); LS II:24b-25a (Shabbat XXIV:5 - hatarat nedarim), 104a-b (Sukkah I:11 - materials suitable for sekhakh), 108a (III:1 - tress acceptable for a lulav). In each case he cited the relevant passages from the Shulhan Arukh. Cf. LS I:11a (Berakhot II:1) where Emden noted that, on the whole, Mishnah commentators were unconcerned with the final pesak.

90. See, for example, LS I:27a (Berakhot VII:1).

91. See, for example, LS I:3a (Berakhot I:1), 14b, 15a (II:1), 20a (III:6), 73a (Demai I:1), 77b (I:3), 95a (Kil'ayim IX:1); LS II:7b (Shabbat VII:2), 26a-b (XXIV:5), 120a (Bezah II:3). See also LS II:98a (Yoma VII:5) where, after explaining a statement of Maimonides' and defending it from criticism, Emden wrote: "I merit that when I die Maimonides should come forth to greet me because I explained his teaching correctly on the basis of a profound principle . . ." See also below, pp. 573-75.

92. See, for example, LS I:9a (Berakhot I:2), 22a-b (IV:1), 24b-25b (V:4). Emden's reference to himself as a "worm" (LS I:28b; Berakhot VII:3) appears throughout his writings and is nothing more than an illusion to the "worm Jacob" in Isaiah 41:14.

For an interesting example of the fusion of these two attitudes, see LS I:18a (Berakhot III:5): "This matter is clear and is established for all eternity" ("ve-kayyam la-'ad"). The simple interpretation reflects self-assurance but Emden wrote "la-'ad" with two lines between the "'ayin" and "daled," considering it an abbreviation for "la-'aniyut da'ati," i.e. "in my humble opinion."

93. Cf. Ex. 35:13; 39:36. It is a play on the title of the work, Lehem Shamayim.

94. There is somewhat of an inconsistency here because "two loaves of shew bread" represents one sixth of the total (of twelve loaves) while

"two orders" of the Mishnah represent one third of the total (of six orders).

95. Binyan Bet ha-Behirah was printed only in the first edition of LS, beginning on p. 112a. The commentary itself was reprinted separately in some later editions of the Mishneh Torah.

96. See, for example, LS I:95a-99b (Yoma VII:5). For Emden's pre-occupation with Temple ritual in his Siddur, see below, p. 285.

97. On Templo, see EJ XV, 998-99. Most recently, see Helen Rosenau, "Jacob Judah Leon Templo's Contribution to Architectural Imagery," JJS XXIII (1972), 72-81.

98. The phrase is found in B. Septimus, Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition (Cambridge, 1982), 63. The book reflects the great extent to which this image was pervasive even in Maimonides' own lifetime and shortly after his passing.

99. For an analysis of Emden's attitude towards Maimonides in general and the Mishneh Torah in particular, see below, p. 573f.

100. See, for example, Binyan bet ha-Behirah on Hil. Bet ha-Behirah I:11; III:12.

101. Ibid., VI:15.

102. Ibid., IV:1. See also II:11.
103. Ibid., I:13. Cf. this to other places where Emden opposed improper emendations (ibid., II:1; IV:9).
104. Ibid., I:16; IV:5. For a question on Rabad, see ibid., IV:3.
105. Ibid., II:7, 8, 13, 14.
106. Ibid., VI:15.
107. Ibid., IV:2.
108. Ibid., I:20.
109. See above, n. 105.
110. Ibid., IV:9.
111. Ibid., III:12; VI:15.
112. Ibid., II:13, 14.
113. Ibid., IV:2, 3, 5, 11; V:1, 3; VI:4, 15.

114. Ibid., II:8, end. See LS II:76a (Yoma III:4).
115. MS, ibid. See also Siddur I: 268a-271b.
116. MS, 141-42.
117. Ibid., 147; Sefer Hit'avkut, 62a; SY 1:132.
118. MS 114, 142-43, 146-50, 156-60, 164-66, 173; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 41b; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 5b, 14a.
119. MS, 166.
120. Ibid., 143. See also ibid., 146, 166, 173; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 41b.
121. MS, 143, 146, 149, 156-60, 164; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, ibid.; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 5b.
122. MS, 113-14; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14b.
123. MS, 165, 167; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 2b; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 8a.---

For the formal document of permission as well as all the corres-

pondence between Emden and the secular authorities which preceeded it, see B. Brilling, "Zur Geschichte der Hebräischen Buchdruckereien in Altona," Studies in Bibliography and Booklore XI (1975-76), 41-56.

124. See below, pp. 187-89.

125. MS, 167.

126. See M. Grunwald, Hamburgs deutsche Juden (Hamburg, 1904), 169-72.

127. See, for example, 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 5b, 14a; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 23b, 41b-42a; Wagenaar, op. cit., 10, n. 110.

128. MS, 151. For the text of her tombstone, see E. Duckesz, Ivah le-Moshav, op. cit., 64.

129. MS, 148, 154-57.

130. Ibid., 161, 162. For her tombstone inscription, see Duckesz, op. cit.

131. MS, 154, 163. Ephraim, the second son of Hakham Zevi, died in Lvov in 1772. See H. N. Dembitzer, Kelilat Yofi I (Cracow, 1888), 100a.

132. MS, 163. See also J. Emden, Derush Shemesh Zedakah, delivered on the occasion of this third wedding, 9b.

Batya Zviyah outlived her husband by over twenty-five years and died on December 9, 1803. For her tombstone inscription, see E. Duckesz, op. cit.

133. See M. Solomon, Beethoven (New York, 1977), 9.

134. MS, 148-49, 151, 157.

135. Ibid., 151. See too ibid., 61.

136. Ibid., 156-157.

137. Ibid., 163, 176.

138. Ibid., 176-77.

139. Ibid., 163.

140. For previous incomplete lists of Emden's progeny, see I. T. Eisenstadt, Da'at Kedoshim, op. cit., 55; N. Rosenstein, The Unbroken Chain (New York, 1976), 476-77; H. N. Dembitzer, Kelilat Yofi I, op. cit., 100a. The hitherto most complete list can be found in E. Duckesz, Hakhmei AHW, op. cit., 65-68.

141. He was seven years old in 1724 (MS, 84), twelve in 1729 (ibid., 100) and Bar Mitzvah one year later (ibid., 104). See also ibid., 114;

above, p. 49.

142. Ibid., 105, 152.

143. Ibid., 104, 112, 114.

144. Ibid., 153. Both were married by 1757, ibid.

145. Ibid., 84, 114, 150.

146. Ibid., 100.

147. Ibid., 152-53, 161.

148. Ibid., 100, 114.

149. Ibid., 100, 104, 114.

150. Ibid., 114, 150.

151. Ibid., 114, 160-61; J. Emden, Yeziv Pitgam, op. cit., 17a-b.

152. MS, 114, 150.

153. Ibid., 186.

154. Ibid., 205.

155. Ibid., 114, 150. See also E. Duckesz, Ivah le-Moshav, op. cit., 66-7, #2.

156. MS, 114, 150-51.

157. Ibid., 153.

158. See also ibid., 114.

159. Ibid., 160-61.

160. Ibid., 186.

161. E. Duckesz, op. cit., 67, #4.

162. MS, 161.

163. Ibid.

164. See also ibid., 163.

165. Ibid., 177.

166. Ibid.

167. Ibid., 187.

168. E.Duckesz, op. cit., 66, #8.

169. MS, 180.

170. Ibid.

171. E. Duckesz, op. cit., 67, #7. She was the one who inherited her father's books and manuscripts. See my "Rabbi Jacob Emden's 'Iggeret Purim,'" op. cit., 441, n. 1.

172. E. Duckesz, ibid., 65, #6.

173. MS, 187; cf. E. Duckesz, ibid., 66, #7.

174. E. Duckesz, ibid.

175. See MS, 10-11.

176. Ibid., 114.

177. Ibid., 115. See also A. Bick's edition of MS, 186, for a passage not included in the Kahana edition.

Emden also repeatedly complained about his ill health in the res-

ponsa he wrote during this period. See, for example, SY I:30, 32, 95, 131, 132, 164; SY II:45.

178. MS, 161-62. See also Mor u-Keziyah I:introduction, end; 103b (postscript).

179. Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 41b. For references indicating that Emden himself wrote this work, see below, pp. 496-97, n. 261.

See also Sefer Hit'avkut, 5a: "I loved being in solitude" and 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14a: "I was not seen outside except for once or twice a year, for an urgent matter."

180. See MS, index.

181. MS, 143. See also ibid., 147 ("originally, everyone praised me"), 162 (the controversy with Eybeschütz "estranged friends and companions from me").

For Emden's complimentary etrog, see also 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14a. The enthusiastic welcome he received by the community when he arrived in Altona, see above p. 159. See also Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 42a.

182. MS, 161.

183. Ibid., 150, 156; above, p. 160.

184. Ibid., 119, 123, 144-48; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 5b, 14a; Shevirat Luhat

ha-'Aven, 41b.

185. 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 5b.

186. See, for example, SY II:22, 43 (where he opposed the opinion of the local bet din), 99.

187. See, for example, SY I:85; II:1, 29, 167.

188. MS, 120. The work, entitled, Sefer Pi Shnayim, was printed in Altona in 1735. See above, n. 85; below, n. 285.

189. See above, pp. 159, 182-83. See especially 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14a where many of these descriptions are combined; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 23b.

190. A full study of R. Kazenellenbogen remains a major historical desideratum. See only E. Duckesz, Ivah le-Moshav, op. cit., 19-21; I. T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener, Da'at Kedoshim (St. Petersburg, 1897-98), 103-04; I. Wolfsberg, "AHW," 'Arim ve-'Immahot bi-Yisrael, op. cit., 25-26; N. Rosenstein, The Unbroken Chain, op. cit., 337-39.

191. For the July 2 excommunication, see Duckesz, ibid., 23-25. A second excommunication was issued on August 23 specifically against Nehemya Hayon and Leib Prostitz. See Lehishat Saraf (1726), 15a-16a and J. Emden, Torat ha-Kena'ot, 41a-42a. Emden also referred to it in his Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 25a. On September 6, Altona joined the com-

munities of Amsterdam and Frankfurt-am-Main in anti-Sabbatian pronouncements, collectively entitled Hivya de-Rabanan. The Yiddish-German originals were printed by J.D. Wilhelm and G. Scholem, "Keruzei 'Hivya de-Rabanan' Neged Kat Shabbetai Zevi," KS XXX (1954), 103-04. An abridged Hebrew translation can be found in Torat ha-Kena'ot, ibid., 37a-b. Chief Rabbi Kazenellenbogen is prominently featured in each one of these documents.

For other references to R. Kazenellenbogen's anti-Sabbatian activity, see Torat ha-Kena'ot, 35b, 55b (in the controversy over R. Moses Hayyim Luzzatto); Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 49a; M. Friedman, Sefunot X, op. cit., 512, 606-07, #12.

192. MS, 128-29.

193. SY I:83; see above, pp. 107-08.

194. MS, 122.

195. Ibid., 150; see above, p. 160.

196. Cf. Eccles. 8:1.

197. SY I:163. The reference is to She'elot u-Teshuvot Knesset Yehezkel, #23, end. For the last phrase, see Berakhot 62a and Megillah 28a.

198. SY I:164.

199. Ibid.

It is interesting that Emden here was also motivated by a desire to show the Chief Rabbi his own halakhic expertise. In both responsa Emden transcribed long passages which he had written on the subjects under discussion. One almost gets the impression that besides flattering Kazenellenbogen, the purpose of these questions was an excuse to be able to present him with samples of some of his own work. Nevertheless, Emden's tone was consistently cordial and respectful.

200. MS, 129; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 42a.

201. See MS, 128-29, 131, 133; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, ibid.; Torat ha-Kena'ot, 55b; Sefer Hit'avkut, 9a.

202. R. Bloch (d. 1737) was the author of Nezirut Shimshon (Berlin, 1764), a commentary on Shulhan 'Arukh, Orah Hayyim and of Tosafot Hada-shim (Amsterdam, 1775), a commentary on the Mishnah. See. E. Duckesz, Hakhmei AHW, op. cit., 24-6 (Hebrew), 9-10 (German).

203. The first was written in June of 1736 and the second is dated July 24 of that year. They were printed together with both Kazenellenbogen's and Bloch's responsa. Although the title page of the first edition reads 1736, it was not published until three years later (MS, 154). It was reprinted in Altona, 1765; Zhitomir, 1867, and Jerusalem, 1970. See Wagenaar, op. cit., 304; Rafael, op. cit., 244-45. All references will

be to the Zhitomir edition. For the dates of both of Emden's monographs, see 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 10a, 34b.

Emden discussed this case in MS, 121, 129-31, 164; Sefer Hit'avkut, 9a; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 40b-41a; 'Iggeret Purim, 32b. He also referred to his 'Iggeret Bikkoret in Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 42a. On the role this played during the Emden-Eybeschütz controversy, see below, p. 195.

This totally overlooked work is very important for an overall assessment of Emden's intellectual profile. It engages in a long discussion regarding the relationship between medicine and Torah and analyzes the reliability of a doctor in matters of Jewish law, an issue which will be discussed below, pp. 685-96. It also reflects Emden's wideranging medical knowledge and features a long discussion on the notion of progress and Emden's attitude to his predecessors ('Iggeret Bikkoret, 15b, 18c, 20a, 24a-b). In the context of discussing various "unnatural" occurrences, Emden is clearly even ready to accept the notion of a virgin birth (25a-b)! The work also contains references to Aristotle (24a), Avicenna (21b, 24a) and to the philosophical notion that God does nothing in vain (20b). It is also an important source for Emden's attitude to the Palestinian Talmud (5a, 14a, 18b, 19a, 28b) and for his assertion that Rashi's commentary can also be accepted as normative pesak (32a).

204. MS, 128-29; 133; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 42b. See too SY II:39.

Emden's collection of responsa includes a number in which he opposed various rulings of Kazenellenbogen. See below, n. 247.

205. MS, 130; introduction to SY I:29. For the date when Emden comm-

enced work on this volume, see MS, 161 and SY I:title page. The work was set to type in sections. For example, in SY I:30, Emden referred to a previous responsum by number (I:3). See SY I, p. 23b, ("presently in print"), 24b.

206. See SY I:26-28.

207. SY I:29; see too MS, 130.

208. SY I:30. See, especially, p. 23b, 24a. See also SY I:32, p. 24b, 25b.

209. MS, 130. For the charge of bribery, see also SY I:32 (p. 27a). See also below, n. 237. Emden also claimed that he was similarly offered a bribe to change his position. See SY, ibid., beginning.

210. The title page of SY I contains only the date (1739) upon which Emden commenced his work (see above, n. 205); it was not concluded until at least a decade later. See 'Iggeret Purim, op. cit., 32b; below, p. 206.

211. The entire story is related in MS, 129-33. Some additional details are added in 'Iggeret Purim, 32a-b. Allusions to it can also be found in 'Iggeret Purim, 9b; Sefer Shimush, 172; Sefer Hit'avkut, 9a; Akizat Akrav, 14b; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 42a, 60b and in Bet Yehonaton ha-Sofer, 12b. See also E. Duckesz, Hakhmei AHW, op. cit., 53-4.

The actual exchange can be found in SY I. #29 is R. Kazenellenbogen's ruling; #30 is Emden's response in opposition to it; #31 is missing and #32 is a long essay by Emden in defense of his position, entitled Haita di-Kitra.

212. See the manuscript identified as AHW 17a in the collection of The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People on the Hebrew University campus in Jerusalem, p. 60a. My thanks to Dr. Daniel Cohen, director of the Archives, for bringing this entry to my attention.

213. See Sefer Hit'avkut, 9a; Shevirat Luhav ha-'Aven, 42a.

Emden also noted that the family of this woman who he felt should not be allowed to remarry, continued to hate him. See Sefer Hit'avkut, 4b and Shevirat Luhav ha-'Aven, 42a.

214. MS, 139-40, 163-64.

215. Ibid., 164.

216. See below, p. 256; p. 304, n. 2.

217. MS, 168-69.

It is striking that in Shevirat Luhav ha-'Aven, 23b, Emden pointed with pride to the high esteem in which Kazenellenbogen held him as evidenced by this approbation. . .

218. See below, pp. 203-04.

219. 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 40b. See too 'Iggeret Purim, 32b.

220. This parenthesis is in the text.

221. 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 16b. This is almost certainly a reference to the issue over requiring halizah from an apostate brother-in-law.

For Emden's professed reluctance to succeed Kazenellenbogen, see below, p. 425f.

222. See Sota 22a.

223. See J. Eybeschütz, Luhot 'Edut, 17b. These remarks of Emden about Kazenellenbogen can be found in SY I:164. They also appear in 'Iggeret Purim, 31b-32a. See below, n. 247.

224. See, for example, 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 40b, 41a-b; Shevirat Luhath ha-'Aven, 42b, 60b; Bet Yehonatan ha-Sofer, 12b; Sefer Hit'avkut, 12a; 'Iggeret Purim, 9a, 30b, 31b-33a, 37b.

225. Cf. Job 4:15.

226. Cf. Jer. 19:3.

227. Cf. Esther 7:6.

228. This parenthesis is in the text.
229. Cf. Num. 27:7.
230. Shevirat Luhav ha-'Aven, 42b.
231. 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 40b.
232. Ibid. See also Bet Yehonatan ha-Sofer, 12a-b; 'Iggeret Purim, 27a, 33a.
233. Shevirat Luhav ha-'Aven, 42b; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 40b, 51b.
234. See the sources cited above, n. 203.
235. MS, 122-40.
236. MS, 122, 123, 133. See too ibid., 163 and A. Bick's edition of MS, 220.

Emden also charged that the Chief Rabbi opposed his settling in Altona out of fear that Emden would deprive him of some of the income he was accustomed to receiving from members of the community (ibid., 123).

Elsewhere, Emden also noted that while Kazenellenbogen had been serving as rabbi in The Triple Community he received an offer from the Jews of Metz to become their rabbi. Kazenellenbogen responded by using

this offer to force a salary increase from the lay leadership of The Triple Community, threatening to leave unless it was granted. See 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 47b; Bet Yehonatan ha-Sofer, 7b.

237. MS, 129, 134, 137-38. See also ibid., 41; above, n. 209.

238. Ibid., 134, 135, 137. See also 'Iggeret Purim, 32b.

239. MS, 134.

240. Ibid., 128, 134, 137-38.

241. Ibid., 135.

242. Ibid., 137. See also ibid., 41, 127.

243. Ibid., 122-23. For an example of this, see ibid., 111-12.

244. Ibid., 136, 137.

245. Ibid., 136-37. See also ibid., 135-36.

246. Ibid., 134-35. See also ibid., 122; 'Iggeret Purim, 33a; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 42b.

247. See, for example, SY I:15b where Emden attacked a statement

Kazenellenbogen made in his book, without mentioning it by name. The reference there is to She'elot u-Teshuvot Kneset Yehezkel #28 where Kazenellenbogen had opposed an opinion of Hakham Zevi (see She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, #101). In SY I:171 Emden harshly attacked a ruling of Kazenellenbogen's:

"Whence does he derive his authority to uproot a halakhah which was established and agreed upon by all the earlier and later sages of Israel . . . All this is without any rhyme or reason or any proof at all, only that he so dreamt a dream . . . His method is unknown. Perhaps he forgot or perhaps he never learned or he wrote (it) while dozing and lying down."

See also SY II:9 (this incident, which took place in 1736 or 1737, is also described in MS, 140-41), 10 (harshly critical of She'elot u-Teshuvot Kneset Yehezkel, #33), 34, 35, 36, 37, 39 (this incident is also described in MS, 133; see too Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 42b), 40-2, 60, 99, 167.

In a postscript to a responsum to Kazenellenbogen written when preparing She'elat Yavez for publication (SY I:164), Emden noted how it is clear "that he did not read nor study. His teachers did not explain it to him or did not sufficiently serve them." He added that whatever self-effacement Kazenellenbogen expressed in the introduction to his She'elot u-Teshuvot Kneset Yehezkel reflects the truth and is not to be simply understood as standard pretensions of humility. Emden repeated this claim in 'Iggeret Purim, 31b-32a. See above, n. 223.

In a number of responsa (e.g. SY II:34-7, 39-42, 58) Emden was not responding to a question which was posed to him. He wrote them on his

own simply to point out Kazenellenbogen's errors.

Emden made general reference to these anti-Kazenellenbogen responsa as a group in 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 40b and Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 23b. In 'Iggeret Purim, 32a Emden argued that he benefitted the community by publicly opposing many of the Chief Rabbi's rulings, thereby saving many from error.

Cf. SY II:57 where Emden once agreed with Kazenellenbogen. In SY II:58 Emden related how he personally once had a chicken whose kashrut status was questionable and referred the matter to the Chief Rabbi for his opinion. Although he felt that Kazenellenbogen was too stringent in his ruling, he accepted it anyway and instructed the members of his household to sell it to a non-Jew.

248. MS, 134-35. See too 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 40b: "He did not know an explicit verse."

249. MS, 135.

250. Ibid., 133-34. See also Sefer Hit'avkut, 1b and 'Iggeret Purim, 41b: "He excessively demeaned himself before the wealthy and greatly flattered those with money." Emden also noted that Kazenellenbogen received presents from his rich constituents. See MS, 123, 128.

In particular Emden singled out Kazenellenbogen's deference to Baer Kohen, the wealthy and powerful communal leader. See ibid., 41, 122, 127-28, 136. In several places Emden accused the Chief Rabbi of not taking a strong stand against Eybeschütz in 1725 because of pressure from

Kohen. See Sefer Hit'avkut, 1b; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 25a; 'Iggeret Purim, 31b; MS, ed. Bick, 168 (this passage is missing in the Kahana edition).

251. MS, 41, 134, 136; 'Iggeret Purim, 31b.

252. MS, 41-2, 134; 'Iggeret Purim, ibid.

253. MS, 41, 128, 130, 130-36, 138; Sefer Hit'avkut, 17b.

254. MS, 138; 'Iggeret Purim, 33a.

255. MS, 134, 136, 138-39; 'Iggeret Purim, ibid.

256. MS, 127.

257. Cf. Isa. 28:11.

258. Ibid., 124.

259. Ibid., 127. See also ibid., 122.

260. Ibid., 127.

261. Cf. Ps. 44:14; 79:4.

262. MS, 138-39. For the last phrase, cf. Ps. 126:2.
263. Ibid., 123.
264. Ibid., 124. See also ibid., 124-26.
265. Ibid., 122. See too ibid., 123-24, 136; 'Iggeret Purim, 31b.
266. See above pp. 23-24.
267. Cf. Ta'anit 21b.
268. MS, 122-23. See also ibid., 163-64 where Emden noted that he expected Kazenellenbogen to respect him out of consideration for his great ancestors.
269. Ibid., 123.
270. Ibid., 40-2, 59-60; E. Duckesz, 'Ivah le-Moshav, op. cit., 22; D. Kaufmann, TJHSE III, op. cit., 117-18.
271. MS, 122.
272. See above, p. 69, n. 14; below, pp. 403-04.
273. She'elot u-Teshuvot Maharam Zusskind, #33.

274. See also E. Duckesz, 'Ivah le-Moshav, op. cit., 21.
275. See n. 272.
276. For other examples of this tendency on Emden's part, see E. Duckesz, Hakhmei AHW, op. cit., 57.
277. See R. Margolyot, Sibat Hitnagduto shel Rabbenu Ya'akov me-'Emden le-Rabbenu Yehonatan Eybeschutz (Tel Aviv, 1941). The entire issue will be discussed below, pp. 403-04, 406-07.
278. See #28 where he opposed a ruling in She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, #101. In his own responsa collection (SY I:15b), Emden ridiculed Kazenellenbogen's argument and defended his father's position. See above, n. 247.
279. See above, p. 102f.
280. MS, 115, 119: ". . . when we were close neighbors."
281. Ibid., 140.
282. MS, 115-16.
283. See the manuscript identified as AHW 17a, op. cit., (n. 212), 47a.

The communal ruling also stipulated that only "visitors or melamdin" could attend these services but that no member of the community, with the exception of the cantor, could do so. This explains why Emden wrote in SY II:167 that he had to get communal permission to allow someone to pray in "my synagogue."

My thanks again to Dr. Daniel Cohen for bringing this source to my attention.

284. MS, 116-17.

285. Ibid., 117, 118, 119-21. The passage is found in Emden's commentary to Bikkurim I:4 (LS I:170a-b).

Hagiz responded to this alleged attack on him in a note he interpolated into the commentary to R. Asher to Zeraim, Pi Shenayim, which he was instrumental in publishing in Altona in 1735 (see pp. 103b-105b). Emden counter-responded twice to Hagiz. The first took the form of a parenthetical statement which he included in the approbation that he wrote for that work (see above, n. 85). He later responded at greater length in #4 of his 'Asarah ha-Lehem, a series of essays on various aspects of his Lehem Shamayim, which he appended to the first volume of She'elat Yavez.

286. MS, 121. For 'Iggeret Bikkoret, see above, p. 186-87.

287. MS, 115-21.

288. Ibid., 116, 118, 121.

289. Ibid., 116.

290. Ibid., 118.

291. Ibid.

292. Ibid., 116, 118.

293. Ibid., 116, 117-18.

294. MS, 140-41, 145.

On occasion he was successful in disbanding the service and its congregants were forced to pray elsewhere. Once, Emden recorded, one of them by the name of R. Ephraim went to Altona's Great Synagogue where he found someone flagrantly desecrating the holiday by smoking in the courtyard. R. Ephraim persistently requested that he cease this offensive act and, when the perpetrator refused to stop, knocked the tobacco out of his mouth. In response, the "smoker" took a knife and stabbed R. Ephraim to death. By forcing R. Ephraim to leave Emden's service and pray in the synagogue where he was killed, Emden concluded the story by charging Shav with the responsibility of this death. See MS, 141; SY II:9. This occurred either in 1736 or 1737.

For other information about Shav in Megillat Sefer, see pp. 23-4, 75 (he and Emden had a previous disagreement).

295. MS, 143.

The tension between the two extended to the members of Shav's family. See MS, 141-43, 152.

296. Ibid., 152-52.

297. MS, 139-40, 163-64.

Emden noted that he was generally not required to pay taxes ('Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14a) although he participated in a "meat tax" (MS, 151; Shevirat Luhah ha-'Aven, 42a).

298. See, for example, MS, 163; above, p. 199.

299. Kiddushin 82a.

300. Siddur I:269a.

301. The controversy was described in detail in MS, 168-74. For other references to it in Emden's works, see Migdal 'Oz (Jerusalem, 1969), 39a; SY II:17, 71; Mor u-Keziyah I:103b (postscript); 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 5b, 15b-16a; Shevirat Luhah ha-'Aven, 39b, 42a; Sefer Hit'avkut, 4b-5a, 9a; Sefer Shimush, "Meteg la-Hamor," 13b (he was offered a bribe to delete that phrase); ibid., "Shevet Mussar," 86b; Mitpahat Sefarim, 48a; 'Iggeret Purim, 4b, 9a-10a, 32b. It is also clearly alluded to in the postscript to the second volume of the Siddur (II:159a) which was written

during the controversy. See also M. J. Cohen, op. cit., 75-77.

The first few pages of Zikkaron ba-Sefer; Ma'aseh 'Amalek were printed by A. Bick, Tarbiz XLII, op. cit. For another reference to the work, see Mor u-Keziyah I:48a (#110). See also A. H. Wagenaar, op. cit., 21, #8 and Y. Rafael, op. cit., 276, #6.

302. See, for example, 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 41b, 53b; Bet Yehonatan ha-Sofer, 7a, 19b; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 23b (regarding Eybeschütz's attitude at that point to Emden's works in general), 39b; Sefer Hit'avkut, 5a; Iggeret Purim, 4b.

303. See Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 39b, 42a; Sefer Hit'avkut, 4b-5a; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 15b; MS, 172-173.

304. See 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 38b (correct pagination), 84b; Bet Yehonatan ha-Sofer, 14a, 19b.

305. MS, 150; above, p. 160.

306. Sefer Hit'avkut, 62a; SY I:163; II:22.

307. See, for example, 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 5b, 14a; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 41b.

308. Mor u-Keziyah I:103a (correct pagination).

309. See above, pp. 161-74; Y. Rafael, op. cit., 242-43; Wagenaar, op. cit., 35, #7.

310. See above, pp. 186-87; Y. Rafael, ibid., 244-46; Wagenaar, ibid., 30-31, #1.

311. See above, p. 180.

312. For a description of this work, see above, pp. 49-51.

313. See MS, 161; Yeziv Pitgam, 17a-b; Rafael, op. cit., 261-62; Wagenaar, op. cit., 34.

314. See above, p. 179; MS, 163; Rafael, ibid., 261; Wagenaar, ibid.

315. MS, 174-75; Rafael, ibid., 268-70; Wagenaar, ibid., 13.

316. See above, pp. 187-89, n. 205, 210. In addition, some responsa later included in the second volume of She'elat Yavez were written during this period. See SY II:1, 9, 22, 26-31, 34-37, 45, 46, 167, 168.

I V

T H E S I D D U R

Rabbi Emden began work on his Siddur in the Fall of 1744¹ and feverishly devoted himself to it for close to three years.² Besides the general hardships he faced during that time in earning a livelihood, raising children, overcoming sicknesses, the death of two wives, and general distractions,³ the project itself was fraught with difficulties. Emden often complained about the great deal of money and effort he was forced to expend on it⁴ and, for some reason which is not clear, he felt himself under intense pressure to complete it. At the end of his presentation of the blessings to be recited after eating various foods, and in terminology reminiscent of that context, Emden apologized for not being able to give the subject the kind of treatment he felt it deserved and explained why this was the case:

"I am not yet sated, my soul thirsts⁵ and is empty today as though I never tasted pleasant bread and appealing food.⁶ For at this time I did not merit eating to the fill because the matter was necessary and pressing due to

the worker who stands over me declaring, 'Fulfill your work, your daily task.'⁷ He did not permit me to arrange the table relaxedly and slowly, as I would have liked, to rest in the depths of the halakhah and to arrange the platters (with) all that is necessary for them, with salt and spices. For the work was exceedingly difficult for me."⁸

Elsewhere Emden complained that he was forced to write most of his commentary on scraps of paper⁹ and that as soon as he wrote or dictated it, his worker immediately set the type, not affording him the opportunity, "to clarify the words, to refine them and to transcribe them properly."¹⁰ Furthermore, in addition to the reasons mentioned above, the second volume of the Siddur was particularly rushed as a result of Emden's controversy with the bankers of The Triple Community, discussed above.¹¹ Emden noted that he worked days and sleepless nights until it was completed.¹²

The difficulties faced by Emden in preparing this work not only led him to abridge his presentation and delete various commentaries and even prayers,¹³ but it also forced him to structure his commentary very differently than the four-fold division he had originally intended to use. He had planned to print descriptions of the various exoteric as well as esoteric kavannot for the reader to keep in mind during prayer, entitled Yakhin ha-Lev, in a column to the right of the liturgical text. All the laws and customs relevant to that prayer were to be printed on the left side of the page. This section was to include the opinions of the standard rabbinic decisors as well as material based upon Lurianic mysticism

and was to be entitled 'Oz 'Amo. The two final sections were to be printed on the page beneath the text. One, Kibud ha-Bayit, was to deal solely with clarifying the correct text and the other, Daltot ha-Bayit, was to contain grammatical explanations. However, "because of the pressure, paucity of paper and lack of type for small letters" this plan had to be scrapped.¹⁴

Furthermore, besides these conscious changes Emden was forced to make, the haste in which the book was printed is evident throughout. The work contains a number of displaced sections which were inadvertently overlooked and later interpolated.¹⁵ There is also a general sloppiness in the printing of the work: some page numbers (I:176 and 357-359) appear twice while others (I:385-387 and 416) do not appear at all, and minor printing errors abound.¹⁶

The overall structure of the Siddur also betrays a lack of systematization. For example, the title page described the work as containing fifty sections while the Table of Contents at the end identified fifty-seven;¹⁷ Emden introduced the seventh chapter of the unit dealing with sexual matters by stating that it will contain two sub-sections but later he presented three;¹⁸ at the beginning of his discussion of the month of Tishrei, Emden stated that it will be divided into six parts¹⁹ while, in fact, there are seven; his discussion of hanhagat ha-se'udah does not follow the order of topics he outlined at the beginning of his presentation.²⁰ Most striking is the fact that the Table of Contents printed at the end of the first volume does not accurately reflect the order in which some issues were indeed presented.²¹ Emden was absolutely correct when he noted many years later that "as I myself realized, because of the

haste, the book did not escape various errors."²²

None of these minor technical deficiencies, however, minimize the greatness of Emden's achievement. The Siddur is an outstanding work and a major contribution to the area of liturgy. In order to gain a full appreciation of its magnitude and originality, it is important first to analyze it from a vertical perspective by comparing it to its predecessors.

Beginning with the Seder Rav Amram Gaon compiled in the ninth century, a number of important prayer books including commentaries on the liturgy were composed throughout the medieval period. The Siddurim of R. Saadya Gaon, Rashi, R. Shlomo b. Samson of Worms, Maimonides, the Hasidei Ashkenaz, and R. Shabbetai Sofer of Przemyśl; Mahzor Vitry, Arugat ha-Bosem of R. Abraham b. Azriel and Sefer Abudarham, each reflected the different orientations and emphases of their respective authors.²³ However, with the exception of Maimonides and Sefer Abudarham, they were all printed beginning in the nineteenth century and there is no evidence as to whether or not Emden saw them in manuscript.²⁴ Moreover, even though over three hundred prayer books had already been printed by the time Emden commenced work on his own,²⁵ he was most likely to have been more familiar with those which were popular enough to have merited more than one edition. These included Sefer Sha'arei Zion by R. Nathan Nata Hannover,²⁶ Derekh Siah ha-Sadeh by R. Azriel and his son Elijah of Vilna,²⁷ Sha'ar ha-Shamayim by R. Isaiah Horowitz, author of the Shenei Luhot ha-Berit,²⁸ and Seder Tefillah Derekh Yesharah by R. Yehiel Mikhel

Epstein.²⁹ In fact, all the Siddurim to which Emden made explicit reference come from this group.³⁰ Most significantly, in explaining his choice for the name of his Siddur, Emden noted:

"I am calling it by a new name, established by the mouth of God, BET 'EL,³¹ not like the earlier (prayer-books) which they called 'Har' (Mountain) and 'Sadeh' (Field) which allude to 'the mountain of God which is desolate' (Lam. 5:18) and '(Zion) shall be plowed as a field' (Jer. 26:18)."³²

Finally, the Siddur which directly precipitated Emden's own work was Sha'arei Tefillah by R. Shlomo Zalman Hanau, to which Emden also referred by name.³³

At the beginning of his introduction to the Siddur, Emden presented three fundamental criteria essential for effective prayer. He found an allusion to this triad in a verse in Deuteronomy (30:14); "For the matter is very near to you, in your mouth ('bi-fikha'), in your heart ('bi-levavkha') so that you may carry it out ('la'asoto')." Emden interpreted "bi-fikha" as a reference to the proper text and pronunciation of the liturgy, "bi-levavkha" as referring to the correct interpretations of the prayers and the proper intentions they require and "la-'asoto" reflecting the appropriate normative behavior relating to ritual prayer.³⁴ Having made his point by way of this novel exegetical twist, Emden proceeded to utilize this model in a threefold critique of earlier Siddurim which he claimed, on the whole correctly, were found wanting in one or another of these areas. Firstly, due to the ignorance of printers and copyists, the original liturgical text had become corrupt over the years resulting in

different and sometimes strange variant readings for the same prayer. Also, since the pronunciation of letters differed from country to country, in some places the Hebrew words were not being properly vocalized. Furthermore, charged Emden, the various extant commentaries on the prayers were ineffective because they were either too brief or too long. Neither the simple interpretation of the words nor their hidden meanings were properly elucidated. Finally, he maintained that the available Siddurim did not provide their readers with appropriate normative guidance regarding the many minutae of Jewish law relevant to ritual prayer, again because its authors were either too expansive or too exclusive. It was a desire to fill what he saw as a lamentable void which motivated Emden to undertake the writing of a Siddur and commentary which would provide the correct liturgical text and accents to facilitate proper pronunciation and also present an appropriate amount of interpretation and halakhic direction.³⁵

In addition to this reason, Emden was motivated by a personal, subjective consideration as well. In terms reminiscent of one of his later explanations for writing an autobiography, Emden noted that he saw the publication of his Siddur as his expression of gratitude to God for His many kindnesses.³⁶ Yes, the vicissitudes of the previous twenty years and his preoccupation with other literary works had forced him to abandon work on the liturgy after having completed his Luah Eresh, a minor work directed against R. Shlomo Zalman Hanau's Sha'arei Tefillah, in 1729. But now, rejuvenated after his third marriage which he hoped would be a lasting one, he decided to devote himself to preparing a text and commentary on the prayerbook as an appropriate gesture of thanksgiving to Him

who is the object of all prayer.³⁷

Finally, in passing, Emden provided a motivation which is a commonplace in medieval Jewish literature. He claimed that he wrote this work for his own personal benefit: "My sole intention in my work was to ease the burden, to assist me and my contemporaries."³⁸

What emerged from Emden's pen was a Siddur which consisted of two volumes. The first one, entitled Bet 'El - 'Amudei Shamayim, begins with a general introduction elaborating upon the three themes mentioned above³⁹ and then presents the liturgical rite from morning to night together with commentary and halakhic instruction. Interpolated throughout the work are major excurses on the sacrificial rite, and the ethical and legal norms regulating food, sex, business and other matters. The second, entitled Sha'arei Shamayim presents the laws, customs and liturgy relevant to each month of the Jewish calendar, beginning with Nisan and proceeding in chronological order.⁴⁰

In analyzing the Siddur, I have decided to adopt Emden's own three-fold characterization. I will first deal with his concern for the proper text and vocalization of the prayers ("bi-fikha"), then categorize his commentary per se ("bi-levavkha") and, finally, note the scope and focus of his halakhic directives ("la'asoto").

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the corrupt state of the liturgical text, as well as the recognized lack of a single uniform system of Hebrew vocalization, had long been the focus of attention and

concern. The differences between Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew and the variants within the latter determined by geography and chronology were all reflected in the liturgy which, to a large extent, incorporated them all.⁴¹ In order to avoid this confusion, attempts were made during medieval times to standardize liturgical Hebrew. Arugat ha-Bosem of R. Abraham b. Azriel of Bohemia, R. Joseph Hazzan of Troyes' Sefer Yedidut, Sefer Maharil by R. Jacob b. Moses Moellen, R. Abraham Klausner's Minhagin and the works of R. Jacob Nakdan, R. Solomon Luria and R. Mordecai Jaffee all reflect a strong, conscious desire to eliminate errors in the grammatical formulations of the liturgical text as well as in its vocalization. This concern was also expressed in a number of quasi-grammatical medieval works which emphasized the importance of establishing the correct text of the prayers.⁴²

While the advent of printing at the end of the fifteenth century made it possible to speak of a standardized liturgical text for the first time, it still did not help solve the existing problem. On the contrary, it simply compounded it by enabling ignorant printers and copyists to add to the growing proliferation of defective and inaccurate texts. Matters reached a head one century later when such figures as R. Zevi Hirsh b. Hanokh Moses Sundeles, R. Nathan b. Samson Spira (d. 1577), R. Meshullam Phoebus of Cracow (1547-1617) and R. Jacob Koppel b. Asher Katz of Przemyśl (d. 1630) all almost simultaneously deplored the lack of liturgical uniformity and the many divergencies and even errors found throughout the liturgical text. One figure in particular, R. Shabbatai Sofer of Przemyśl (c. 1565 - c. 1635), made a major effort to rectify this situation. He prepared a volume on the Ashkenazi liturgy which included the

corrected text and vocalizations together with extensive grammatical introductions and commentaries.⁴³ His Siddur was extremely well received with the hope that it would eliminate all the confusion and provide for liturgical precision and conformity.⁴⁴ This, however, was not to be. The full text of his Siddur was never printed and, although it is cited in later liturgical works, its influence was not really substantial and the problems it sought to address continued to exist.⁴⁵

One of the prayer books which claimed to be based on Shabbetai Sofer's work was Derekh Siah ha-Sadeh, a collaborative effort by R. Azriel and his son R. Elijah, which was published in Frankfurt-am-Main, 1704.⁴⁶ The father prepared the text of the liturgy as well as a short companion treatise on Hebrew grammar and vocalization (entitled Mikra Kodesh) while the son added a brief grammatical introduction (entitled Ma'aneh 'Eliyah). This Siddur, printed with approbations from some of the most prominent rabbis of the time, became very popular but did not go unchallenged. Four years later, the noted grammarian R. Shlomo Zalman b. Judah Leib Hanau (1687-1746) published a major grammatical treatise entitled Sefer Binyan Shelomoh which was full of caustic criticisms against a number of earlier grammarians, including Rabbis Azriel and Elijah. On nine different occasions, Hanau took issue with various vocalizations they suggested.⁴⁷ Father and son responded to these criticisms in both the second and third editions of their work (Berlin, 1713, and Wilmersdorf, 1721) but Hanau remained unconvinced. In 1725, he published his own two-part prayer book in which he continued his attack. The first part, entitled Bet Tefillah, contained a full pointed text of the liturgy. The second, entitled Sha'arei Tefillah, featured extensive gram-

metrical addenda to explain his choices of vocalizations. In his introduction to the latter, he bemoaned the fact that no accurate prayer books were available and launched into a long and harsh attack explicitly directed against the work of Rabbis Azriel and Elijah. He was prepared to grant that they were correct on those occasions when they followed the opinion of R. Shabbatai Sofer of Przemyśl whose great mastery in the area of Hebrew grammar Hanau freely acknowledged. However, when they presented their own opinion, he accused them of often being mistaken. Hanau also claimed that their blatant errors were far more extensive than the few he had originally noted in his Sefer Binyan Shelomoh and rejected any of their subsequent responses even to his limited criticism there. He then launched into a point by point refutation of all three editions of their work, noting over three hundred instances where he disagreed with them.⁴⁸ Hanau's intention was to present a liturgical text which conformed to the grammatical norms of Biblical Hebrew and, as he had already demonstrated in many of his previous works,⁴⁹ was prepared to challenge previously accepted formulations whenever he felt it to be necessary.

Hanau's consistent rejection of his predecessors aroused the ire of many of his contemporaries, some of whom wrote critiques of his works.⁵⁰ Among them was Jacob Emden, then in his early thirties. In the late winter of 1729, Emden had completed writing his Luah Eresh, a sharply worded elaborate criticism of Hanau's Bet Tefillah⁵¹ which, he reluctantly admitted, had gained wide popularity.⁵² In his introduction and throughout the work, Emden addressed himself to a long-standing issue and debate and maintained that Hanau had gone too far in insisting that the liturgical text must be judged strictly by the grammatical norms of Bib-

lical Hebrew. Emden repeatedly argued that the rabbis had a legitimate right to adopt whatever linguistic formulations they chose, even when they ran counter to Biblical Hebrew.⁵³ While there were a few occasions when Emden agreed with Hanau,⁵⁴ he almost always excoriated him for recklessly and irresponsibly emending the text, often out of sheer ignorance⁵⁵ and with great audacity.⁵⁶ Instead of simply changing the text, Hanau should have followed the example of scholars in previous generations who expended a great deal of effort in order to justify the existing versions of the prayers, composed as they were by venerable rabbis and hallowed over the course of centuries.⁵⁷ These prayers are full of hidden mystical meanings and allusions which would be totally lost if the texts were emended⁵⁸ and, Emden added, changes may even result in dangerous heresies.⁵⁹ On rare occasions Emden also acknowledged that emendations were appropriate, but only if the error was a patently obvious one.⁶⁰

Emden's deep concern for the correct spelling and proper vocalization of classical texts continued with his Lehem Shamayim commentary on the Mishnah printed in 1733, four years after Luah Eresh was completed. This first published work of Emden's, discussed above in great detail, contains many comments relating to these areas.⁶¹ Here too Emden defended the grammatical integrity of a rabbinic statement by insisting that its authors were not bound by the rules governing Biblical Hebrew. In discussing the vocalization of the word "eivarim" found in the first Mishnah of Tractate Berakhot, Emden wrote:

"The Sages realized that it is proper to call (it) by a specific name . . . as they did in many places. The (Heb-

rew) language was perfected by them in a special manner to serve their unique pedagogical needs ('le-zorkham le-hora-'ah nivdelet'). Therefore, the original text stands and one may not deviate from it."⁶²

In this context, he again launched into a scathing attack on Hanau, without mentioning his name, for irresponsibly tampering with old and venerated texts and noted how he had already called attention to Hanau's error in his Luah Eresh.⁶³

But his adversary was not silenced. That same year, Hanau published his Sefer Zohar ha-Teivah (Berlin, 1733) in which he responded to Emden's criticism, also not referring to his adversary by name. At the conclusion of the work, Hanau wrote that, as he was completing it, he noticed the first volume of a treatise entitled Lehem Shamayim which contained, in a comment on the first Mishnah in Tractate Berakhot, a lengthy attack against someone who was accused of irresponsibly emending old texts on a regular basis. After quoting the relevant passage verbatim and correctly adding, "I saw that the words were relevant to me," Hanau defended himself from the charge by stating that, on the contrary, he generally always made every effort to justify the old texts wherever possible. Before turning to a lengthy defense of his position in this particular case, Hanau told a very interesting story of a personal encounter he had with Emden some three years earlier, again without ever mentioning him by name. He wrote that he heard from "speakers of truth" how Emden had boasted of composing a work refuting his Shaarei Tefillah, entitled Luah Eresh. When Emden arrived for a visit in Amsterdam in 1729-1730, Hanau went to see him and requested that Emden show him even a small portion of

what he had written and, if proven wrong, he would be prepared to stand corrected:

"In truth do I declare that the man lied to me. He stated to me that never did it occur to him to write anything regarding these issues. Since I heard these words from the mouths of trustworthy people, not strangers, whose eyes saw (it),⁶⁴ I therefore pleaded with him saying that this is not the practice of the wise, for we are lovers of truth. Neither did he lay even this so heart (Ex. 7:23) nor did he tell me anything."⁶⁵

According to Hanau's report, they then entered into a grammatical discussion which, he claimed, clearly demonstrated Emden's gross ignorance in these matters.⁶⁶ After recounting the story, Hanau proceeded to defend his vocalization of "'avarim" and also took the opportunity to explain his position in two other cases where he was directly or indirectly attacked by Emden.⁶⁷

This exchange with Hanau provided the immediate background for Emden's own edition of the prayerbook. He began that work with a direct attack against Hanau, once again continuing their practice of not referring to one another by name. He alluded, on the very first page, to Hanau's Zohar ha-Teivah and to the criticism expressed there of the vocalization he had suggested for the word "'aravit."⁶⁸ He quipped that Hanau's Sha'arei Tefillah ("Gates of Prayer") should have really been entitled Za'arei Tefillah ("Pains of Prayer") and referred by name to his Luah Eresh which he composed against it. Once again, he accused Hanau in general of wrongly disregarding old texts and ignorantly fabricating new

ones.⁶⁹ This immediate attack on Hanau which appears even before the section of his introduction entitled "hakdamah"⁷⁰ and the concern for the integrity of the liturgical text which underlies it indicates that this "bi-fikha" element was uppermost in Emden's mind.

Indeed, a significant portion of Emden's commentary addressed itself to this issue. Emden was often concerned with establishing the correct liturgical text,⁷¹ an enterprise which led him either to add or delete letters and even words from various existing versions.⁷² He polemicized against those variants he found unacceptable,⁷³ preferring a particular reading because it was grammatically correct,⁷⁴ it had a Biblical precedent,⁷⁵ was endowed with a special mystical significance⁷⁶ or because it was more consistent with his own logic.⁷⁷ On occasion, however, Emden accepted two variants as equally legitimate⁷⁸ and, in the well known case of Kol Nidrei, decided to incorporate both versions into the text.⁷⁹

Emden's concern also extended to the proper pronunciation of the liturgy and his commentary is full of information relevant to it. Making repeated references to the rules of grammar, Emden often noted how a letter is to be vocalized,⁸⁰ when the "'aleph" is silent,⁸¹ and when a letter should be stressed through a dagesh or mapik.⁸² Here too Emden sometimes accepted the legitimacy of two different variants.⁸³ Emden also informed his readers when they should pause⁸⁴ and very often referred them to his as yet unpublished Luah Eresh for information about both the text itself as well as its vocalization.⁸⁵

In addition to dealing directly with the text and its pronunciation, Emden also discussed the order in which he presented various prayers⁸⁶ and noted when a particular passage was to be omitted entirely. It is also in this context that the great influence of his father as well as R. Isaac Luria is clearly evident. The Siddur is Emden's first printed work which incorporated a great deal of the teachings of these two very major figures of his life.⁸⁷

However, perhaps the most significant and surely the most unprecedented feature of this "bi-fikha" element of Emden's commentary is his extensive references to both his own Ashkenazi as well as to Sephardi practices. Throughout medieval times, Ashkenazim in Franco-Germany and Sephardim in Spain constituted two separate Jewish cultural and ethnic entities. Although contacts between them always existed and neither tradition developed in total isolation of the other,⁸⁸ they remained relatively self-contained and geographically distinct. With the expulsion of both of these Jewries from their respective centers in the fifteenth century, they continued to flourish primarily in different areas (Poland and the Ottoman Empire), but substantive contact between them became more widespread. Not only did R. Shabbetai Sofer in sixteenth century Poland acknowledge the influence of Sephardim on his Siddur,⁸⁹ on occasion he even preferred their custom to his own.⁹⁰ In the next two centuries, this contact was intensified as more Ashkenazim found their way to Turkey and as both groups began to settle in large numbers in major cities in Western Europe. London, Amsterdam, and Emden's own community of Hamburg, for example, boasted of large Ashkenazi and Sephardi

populations living side by side, growing in numbers and prominence into the eighteenth century.⁹¹ Comparative customology, which hitherto required extensive travel,⁹² was now available in the same community. In addition to the generally intensified cultural cross-fertilization which surely affected Emden as well, he must also have been sensitized to Sephardi traditions due to the cultural pluralism which pervaded his home town.

There was one other factor which was particularly significant in Emden's case, i.e., the substantive Sephardi background of his father. Born in Moravia to a prominent Ashkenazi family, Hakham Zevi spent his formative years in a Sephardi environment. As a young boy, he moved with his family to Ofen-Buda in Hungary which was then part of the Ottoman Turkish Empire and under Sephardi influence.⁹³ Encouraged by his maternal grandfather, R. Ephraim ha-Kohen (1616-1678), to become familiar with Sephardi traditions, he studied with R. Elijah Covo (d. 1689) in Salonika⁹⁴ and travelled extensively in the East, visiting the communities in Adrianople, Belgrade and Constantinople.⁹⁵ According to one view, he received rabbinic ordination from the Sephardi rabbi, R. Hayyim Benveniste.⁹⁶ Hakham Zevi's first rabbinic position was in Sarajevo⁹⁷ and even when he later held leadership positions in the Ashkenazi Triple Community of Altona, Hamburg and Wandsbeck (c. 1688-1710), he was in close contact with the local Sephardim who looked to him for guidance.⁹⁸ For the first few years of his tenure as Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam's Ashkenazi community (1710-1713), he enjoyed such a close relationship with the Sephardim there that "he was considered by them to be a Sephardi as well."⁹⁹ They had endorsed his candidacy, enthusiastically welcomed him when he arrived

in the city and supported him in the various communal controversies in which he became involved.¹⁰⁰ Even at the beginning of the Hayon affair, which was to result in the severing of all ties between them, the Sephardim in Amsterdam sought and accepted his advice.¹⁰¹ After leaving Amsterdam in the winter of 1714, Hakham Zevi visited London at the request of its Sephardi community which had already approached him a few years earlier to serve as their rabbi.¹⁰² He was received with such great honor and splendor that the Gentiles there were prompted to ask, "Perhaps has your Messiah arrived?"¹⁰³

Hakham Zevi's collection of responsa also reflects the high esteem in which he was held by members of various Sephardi communities, especially that of London. His very first printed responsum, written in 1696, represents a highly respectful exchange with Rabbi Solomon Ayllon, then the Sephardi Chief Rabbi there. Another responsum was addressed to a group of London Sephardim who inquired whether they could violate a congregational ban and withdraw from the local Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in protest against its policy of conferring honors on members who were guilty of blatantly violating Jewish law.¹⁰⁴ The most famous issue for which the Sephardim of London sought Hakham Zevi's advice was the alleged heresy in a sermon on Divine Providence delivered by their Chief Rabbi, Hakham David Nieto, in 1703.¹⁰⁵

Finally, Hakham Zevi's familiarity with Sephardi culture is demonstrated by his knowledge of Spanish and Turkish¹⁰⁶ and by his use of the Sephardi script to write Hebrew.¹⁰⁷ This close contact with Sephardim and great respect for their traditions notwithstanding, Hakham Zevi insisted upon maintaining his own Ashkenazi ethnic identity. He rejected

two very lucrative rabbinic offers from the Sephardim of London and Livorno, "for he declared, 'I am an Ashkenazi and I desire that my progeny and descendants be reared and instructed in the ways of the Ashkenazim.'"108 Furthermore, he may even have chosen "Ashkenazi" as his family name for that very reason.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, as Emden's Megillat Sefer indicates, there is no doubt that Ḥakham Zevi transmitted his great respect for Sephardim and their traditions to his son. The coexistence of all these factors explain the unprecedented incorporation of Sephardi traditions into the prayer book written by an Ashkenazi and the great sensitivity expressed therein to the points of convergence and divergence between these two traditions.

In a very significant postscript to the first volume of this work, Emden discussed the relative merits of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi traditions from an historical perspective. In seeking to account for the existence of textual variants in the prayer book, he noted that:

"Because we have no precise knowledge as to who has the authentic and original tradition, each group maintains its own (customs) for which it seeks authentication as best it can . . . As R. Asher noted in a responsum,¹¹⁰ Ashkenazi Jewry upheld their tradition much more fully than did the Sephardim, although the origin of the latter could be traced to those exiled from Jerusalem.¹¹¹ They also possessed Babylonian Ge'onim, guides and teachers like R. M(oses) and his son R. Ḥanokh (in the tenth century).¹¹² It was (only) from then on that they produced great Torah scholars but before then they were very ignorant. The

Talmud was not at all widespread among them before that time. Contrast this to Ashkenazi Jewry. From the days of the destruction (of the Second Temple in 70 C.E.), Torah study never ceased, generation after generation. They offered their very lives for the complete and proper knowledge of Torah and its observance. Therefore, they were certainly more advanced in the correct knowledge of its details. However, subsequently, many tragic hardships befell them (to the point) that Torah was almost forgotten in Germany."¹¹³

But Emden's cultural objectivity went even further. Not only did he recognize that the Sephardi tradition was equally legitimate but, on occasion, even preferred it over his native Ashkenazi practice. Emden stated this explicitly in his programmatic statement at the end of his commentary to the Shmoneh Esreh:

"Behold you see how exact are the texts of these nineteen blessings in our Ashkenazi tradition and how very accurate and precise they are . . . (I say this) not because we tend to observe the Ashkenazi customs, naturally following them from our very birth. For, verily, we are bound only by that which is proper from all that we received, saw, heard and practiced. In many matters we follow the Sephardi customs when the law is completely with them. However, in this matter, our ancestors are entirely correct."¹¹⁴

Emden's objectivity, expressed here in principle, is clearly evident

in his careful and selective evaluation of these two traditions regarding this "bi-fikha" element of his commentary. In the course of stressing how crucial both proper pronunciation and vocalization are during prayer, Emden censured the Ashkenazi practice which blurred the distinction between the letters 'aleph' and 'ayin' and between the soft tav and samakh. However, in the realm of vowel vocalization as well as accents, "we (Ashkenazim) are fortunate, our portion is good . . . our strength is greater than theirs, how pleasant is our lot in our being different from them." In this case, the Sephardi tradition is in error for totally disregarding the holam and for not differentiating between the kamaz and patah and between the segol and zereh.¹¹⁵ It is in connection with this that Emden wrote elsewhere, "Therefore I rejoice and thank the Lord with all my heart that he has made me pronounce (Hebrew as) an Ashkenazi Jew."¹¹⁶

Emden's objective assessment of both traditions is forthcoming throughout the entire work in different ways. Sometimes he expressed a clear preference for one tradition or the other, and, on occasion, he acknowledged the legitimacy of both. Each situation was assessed independently, on its own merits, and without any preconceived bias.

There were instances when Emden did explicitly reject the Sephardi tradition. In commenting on "veyavarekh Javid," Emden noted that the Sephardim include a phrase from Nehemiah (9:5). Although he recognized that this version already appeared in "old texts," he opposed it on halakhic grounds (one does not begin a passage from the middle of a verse), for literary reasons (the context militates against it) and kabbalistic considerations.¹¹⁷ Emden also opposed the Sephardi order of the "vishtabah" prayer,¹¹⁸ and its version of "ya'aleh vi-yavo."¹¹⁹

However, the cultural cosmopolitanism of this work is most evident in those areas where Emden rejected his own Ashkenazi practice in favor of the Sephardi one. For example, Emden agreed with the Sephardi tradition of including Isaiah 47:4 ("go'aleinu . . .") in the blessing prior to the Shāharit Amidah, opposing the Ashkenazi custom which deletes it;¹²⁰ saying "morid ha-tal" in the summertime;¹²¹ reciting "sim shalom" during the afternoon and evening Amidah as opposed to the Ashkenazi practice of switching then to "shalom rav;"¹²² concluding the last blessing of the Amidah with "ha-mevarekh et 'amo yisrael ba-shalom" even during the Ten Days of Repentance and not with "'oseh ha-shalom" as the Ashkenazim do;¹²³ including the special prayer recited by a guest at the end of the Grace After Meals;¹²⁴ adding certain passages before both the Afternoon and Evening Prayers and, in the latter case, Emden even printed them;¹²⁵ reading "bameh madlikin" before Kabbalat Shabbat rather than after Ma'ariv on Friday night and reading it even if Friday night coincides with a Holiday;¹²⁶ reciting "keter" for the Shabbat Musaf Kedushah;¹²⁷ not reciting "Tahanun" for an entire week after Shavuot.¹²⁸

While it is thus clear that, in the realm of ritual behavior, Emden was an unbiased assessor of each tradition, he was not so objective when it came to the actual text of the prayer book. Even when he explicitly stated his preference for the Sephardi text, he was not sufficiently bold enough to repudiate his own tradition and insisted upon printing the Ashkenazi version. For example, he still printed "'om ha-meyahadim" in Tahanun even though he claimed that it was grammatically incorrect¹²⁹ and "natata [lo]" in the Shabbat Shāharit Amidah and "zeh korban Shabbat . . ." in the Rosh Hodesh Musaf Amidah even though he felt they were super-

fluorous¹³⁰ and were properly deleted by the Sephardim.

Some ambivalence about this, however, may be detected from his commentary on the Yom Kippur Musaf Amidah. Although he maintained that the phrase "ela 'atah" was unnecessary and that Maimonides was correct in not including it, "nevertheless I did not permit myself to erase it and ascribe error to all the prayer books of our forefathers." Yet, he found it necessary to immediately add, "for, in reality, nothing is lost for it is only an additional explanation which is proper in prayer."¹³¹ One gets the impression here that had it been something other than just an "additional explanation" perhaps Emden would indeed have deleted it.

The opposite was also the case. Although Emden felt that the verse of "ki va sus . . ." (Ex. 15:19) should be recited at the end of "'az yashir," he did not include it in his printed text, presumably because the Ashkenazi custom was not to say it.¹³² Also, in his commentary on the Haggadah, Emden noted that although he personally followed his father's custom of adding "va-'e'evor 'alayikh va-'er'ekh . . ." (Ezek. 16:6), "I did not include it in the text since I did not find it until now written in (any) book."¹³³

This overall preference for the Ashkenazi custom was also the case with vocalization as well. In spite of his feelings that the traditional pronunciation of "'arvit" should be changed to "'aravit," "I left the pronunciation intact according to the accepted reading in our circles."¹³⁴

While Emden often did express a preference for one tradition over the other, on many occasions he also insisted upon granting equal legitimacy to both. As part of his description of this work found at the end

of his introduction, Emden wrote, ". . . and in matters that depend upon local custom . . . I left both"¹³⁵ and invoked the Talmudic phrase "nahara nahara u-pashtei," which Rashi, in his commentary, interpreted as "each place follows its customs."¹³⁶ He made his position very clear in his commentary on the passage preceeding the morning Shema:

"The principle is: whenever you are uncertain as to the law, go and observe how the community acts, as long as it does not contradict the Talmudic view. Each (opinion in a) controversy for the sake of Heaven found in the Talmud has validity for each has its root in Heaven above. This as well as that are the words of the living God."¹³⁷

Indeed, Emden himself followed this advice throughout his work, allowing for the harmonious diversity of customs both in regard to ritual practice¹³⁸ as well as textual variants.¹³⁹ Sometimes Emden even went so far as to print both versions in the text itself.¹⁴⁰

This same tendency was also apparent when Emden dealt with customs he did not specifically identify as either Ashkenazi or Sephardi. While he sometimes expressed a preference,¹⁴¹ here too he most often accepted the legitimacy of all the customs he encountered. In discussing at which point in the morning service the birkhat ha-Torah should be recited, Emden wrote that, "Every path of a person is correct in his eyes. Whoever does not want to change his practice in this matter may follow his own custom."¹⁴² He made an effort to defend existing customs¹⁴³ and sometimes directed that they be followed even when they were contrary to the law.¹⁴⁴ Indeed, Emden invoked many different customs throughout the book, sometimes referring to them simply as "our custom,"¹⁴⁵ and some-

times as associated with a particular city or group, e.g., "the holy community of A.,"¹⁴⁶ Poland,¹⁴⁷ Toledo,¹⁴⁸ and Must'aravim.¹⁴⁹

In addition to the standard text of the daily and holiday liturgy, Emden also printed and commented upon two other liturgical texts which had achieved a measure of popularity by the eighteenth century, Shir ha-Yihud and Perek Shirah.

Shir ha-Yihud is a hymn about the unity of God and His attributes composed, in all probability, by the school of Hasidei Ashkenaz in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. In spite of the opposition to it that developed in many circles for its Hebrew style, content and place within the service, it became an accepted part of the Ashkenazi liturgy. In an introductory essay preceeding his commentary,¹⁵⁰ Emden defended the legitimacy of the prayer and refuted some of the objections raised against it.¹⁵¹

Perek Shirah is an early anonymous hymn of praise to God which is placed into the mouths of all His creation (the heavens, plants, animals, etc.) with the exception of Man. While there is evidence that it was already known in the tenth century, it did not achieve popularity as a liturgical text until the spread of Lurianic Kabbalah some six hundred years later. First printed in 1576, it was incorporated into many Sid-durim, including that of Emden, who provided it with a Kabbalistic commentary.¹⁵²

In addition to focusing on identifying the correct text and its proper vocalization ("bi-fikha"), Emden devoted a great deal of attention in his commentary to an analysis and interpretation of the prayers. This focus, which Emden described by the term "bi-levavkha," was also a most substantive and significant feature of this work.

It is first important to realize that, due to the nature of the liturgy, any commentary on it will automatically contain a great deal of Biblical and Talmudic exegesis.¹⁵³ Furthermore, Emden's Siddur is particularly useful in this regard because he included the Ma'amadot, a collection of various Biblical and Talmudic passages that were to be studied every day, and commented extensively upon them.¹⁵⁴

The commentary proceeded along a number of different levels. On the very first page, Emden noted that he planned to explain the prayers, "according to the peshat and according to the kabbalah."¹⁵⁵ His description of the Siddur in his autobiography was more precise by describing a greater diversity of method. There he noted, "and I interpreted according to "pardes,"¹⁵⁶ an acronym for the four-fold exegetical scheme popularized by R. Bahya ben Asher in the introduction to his thirteenth century Commentary on the Torah, i.e., peshat, remez, derash and sod.¹⁵⁷

Indeed, Emden made an effort to maintain the literal meaning (or peshat) of the text¹⁵⁸ and often invoked the rabbinic dictum of "ein mikra yoze midei peshuto."¹⁵⁹ In addition to utilizing various exegetical principles,¹⁶⁰ Emden also based much of his peshat comments on grammatical considerations. On many occasions he used grammatical rules to explain the meaning of a word or phrase¹⁶¹ and often identified a word as representing either "leshon ha-katuv,"¹⁶² "leshon mishnah,"¹⁶³ "leshon

hazal"¹⁶⁴ or "leshon hakhamim."¹⁶⁵ There are also a number of etymological notes, scattered, seemingly at random, throughout the work¹⁶⁶ as well as translations of words into different languages.¹⁶⁷ In the course of his commentary, Emden cited and sometimes disagreed with some of the classical Biblical exegetes, most notably Rashi,¹⁶⁸ R. Abraham ibn Ezra,¹⁶⁹ and R. David Kimhi.¹⁷⁰ There are also references to "derekh ha-derash" throughout the commentary¹⁷¹ and Emden often incorporated material from Midrashic sources.¹⁷² Nevertheless, the most significant feature of Emden's commentary is its thoroughgoing use of mysticism or sod.

Ever since the early Middle Ages, Jewish mysticism exercised a great influence on the liturgy. Merkavah mysticism, Hasidut Ashkenaz, Spanish Kabbalah and the Zohar, Lurianic mysticism, Sabbatianism and Hasidut either added new texts to the liturgy or provided new interpretations and mystical meditations to previously existing ones.¹⁷³ A number of prayer books were printed which reflected this mystical influence, and which became very popular. Some of the more prominent ones were the Siddur Dikduk Tefillah (Thiengen, 1560) with the commentary of R. Yom Tov Lipman Muelhausen,¹⁷⁴ Siddur Sha'arei Zion by R. Nathan Nata Hannover (Prague, 1662),¹⁷⁵ Or ha-Yashar by R. Meir Poppers (Amsterdam, 1709) and Seder Sha'ar ha-Shamayim by R. Isaiah Horowitz.¹⁷⁶ Emden's Siddur fit squarely into this tradition.

Already Emden's introduction reflected the central role Kabbalah was to play in this work. Structuring his remarks around the three-fold foci of "be-fikha," "bi-levavkha" and "la'asoto,"¹⁷⁷ Emden devoted the bulk of his remarks to "bi-levavkha" and within that category, almost all of it to various kavannot essential for proper prayer.¹⁷⁸ Making reference to

the responsum by R. Hayyim Yair Bacharach on "le-shem yihud,"¹⁷⁹ Emden launched into a long analysis of the meaning and significance of the tetragrammaton and the implications of the unity (or "yihud") of God. He also explained the kavannot relating to the words "'amen" and "barukh hu u-varukh shemo" and digressed on such subjects as the knowledge of God and the purpose of creation, treating them all from the perspective of Kabbalah.

Indeed the entire work is saturated with mysticism. In addition to providing mystical kavannot for many prayers,¹⁸⁰ Emden often prefaced many of them with kabbalistic introductions¹⁸¹ and, in general, filled his commentary with kabbalistic interpretations.¹⁸² Furthermore, Emden's plan to explain the prayers "according to the peshat and according to the kabbalah"¹⁸³ meant not only alternating between both methods throughout the work but often offering both as interpretations of the same text.¹⁸⁴ In fact, Emden sometimes explicitly indicated that the peshat alone cannot do justice to a particular passage and that, therefore, an interpretation "'al derekh ha-'emet" is a necessity. For example, he introduced his commentary to "'ashrei" as follows:

"It is true that those who interpret Scripture literally are incapable¹⁸⁵ of explaining the nature and the reason for the repetition of melizah in Scripture in so many different forms. Verily, the initiated will understand through the true wisdom (i.e. Kabbalah) that it is not without significance¹⁸⁶ and it is not by chance that there is a multitude of synonyms for the same matter and changes in language and terminology ('melizah'). To them alone

was revealed . . ."¹⁸⁷

Emden also made extensive use of kabbalistic literature and incorporated many of its major works into his commentary. References abound to the Zohar,¹⁸⁸ Sefer ha-Tikkunim,¹⁸⁹ Ra'ayah Mehemna,¹⁹⁰ Midrash ha-Ne'elam,¹⁹¹ Zohar Hadash,¹⁹² Sefer ha-Bahir,¹⁹³ and R. Isaac Luria.¹⁹⁴ Emden also made single references to Sefer Hekhalot,¹⁹⁵ Sifra di-Zni'uta,¹⁹⁶ Sha'are 'Orah of R. Joseph Gikatilla,¹⁹⁷ 'Avodat ha-Kodesh of R. Meir ibn Gabbai,¹⁹⁸ R. Moshe Cordovero,¹⁹⁹ and to R. Isaiah Horowitz, author of the Shenei Luhot ha-Berit.²⁰⁰

In addition, Emden's commentary also includes extensive use of gematriya²⁰¹ and contains many comments noting the significance of the first or last letters of a phrase (rashei teivot²⁰² and sofei teivot).²⁰³

One last element of this "bi-levavkha" component of Emden's commentary was his repeated noting of the specific number of words in any given prayer. This method of interpretation stemmed from the belief of the Hasidei Ashkenaz of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the precise wording of the liturgy reflected basic theological and cosmological truths. R. Jacob b. Asher already noted in his Tur that the Hasidei Ashkenaz "would weigh and count the number of words in the prayers and blessings and corresponding to what were they instituted"²⁰⁴ and he himself also engaged in this practice on a number of occasions.²⁰⁵

However, this practice met with some opposition among Spanish authorities. In his commentary on the Tur, R. Joseph Karo approvingly cited an opinion which argued that it had no basis:

"Rabbi David Abudarham wrote: 'There are people who counted the words in every single blessing of the Amidah and they cited verses relating to the substance of each of them, (verses) whose number of words correspond to the number of words in the blessing. Originally, I too made such calculations. However, I subsequently realized that nowhere in the world will you find (even) one place where the Amidah is recited in the identical manner, word for word. Rather are there those who add and omit words. Hence, this calculation is of no avail except to the one who suggested it and to no one else. Why, then, impose upon the scribes to write it?'²⁰⁶

Nevertheless, while this opinion of R. Abudarham was known in sixteenth century Poland,²⁰⁷ it was generally overlooked and the old practice of the Hasidei Ashkenaz continued to be followed.²⁰⁸ Indeed, it constitutes a major aspect of Emden's commentary.

In a long programmatic statement at the end of the first volume, Emden underscored the great significance of this enterprise. He first claimed that it was a major consideration for those originally involved in composing the text of the Shmoneh Esreh, then cited the Tur's comment and concluded by opposing R. Abudarham's rejection of it:

"Be that as it may, the number of words certainly is no vain thing (Deut. 32:47). Behold, the Zohar also dealt with it. Therefore, there are grounds for one to wonder why the Bet Yosef (i.e. R. Karo) considered the words of R. David Abudarham worthy of being included in his great

'house'."209

In listing the major features of his Siddur commentary, Emden noted that he consistently stressed the significance of the number of letters of the prayers²¹⁰ and, in fact, he himself did so on numerous occasions.²¹¹

Finally, the breadth of Emden's scope of interest in his Siddur commentary is also indicated by his long and detailed presentation of the Temple's sacrificial cult. As he made his way chronologically through the day and then year, he described all the sacrifices that were relevant to those particular times and dates.²¹² In introducing the first of these presentations of the daily morning sacrifice, Emden noted how the rabbis stressed the importance of having a sophisticated knowledge of this material. He also claimed that the four previous descriptions - those of the Mishnah, Talmud, Seder ha-Yom and 'Avodat Mikdash²¹³ - were unclear, not concise, incomplete and, in the latter two cases, sometimes in error and that, as a result, his own presentation was necessary.²¹⁴

If in the realms of "bi-fikha" and "bi-levavkha" Emden could find precedents in Siddurim available to him, in the area of "la'asoto" he went much further than his predecessors by incorporating a great amount of halakhic material into his commentary. At the very beginning of his work, Emden described this halakhic or normative dimension only in terms of laws relating directly to the prayers themselves.²¹⁵ Indeed, in his introduction, Emden focused only on those laws relevant to prayer in

general. He discussed the proper preparations necessary for prayer, the various physical movements and posture during prayer (e.g. articulating the words; standing, sitting or bowing; shaking back and forth; eyes closed; praying aloud or softly; raising one's hands), decorum in the synagogue and the obligation to face in the direction of Jerusalem.²¹⁶ He clearly described his intention at the end of the introduction:

"And with reference to the laws (of prayer), it was not my intention to transcribe from the Shulhan 'Arukh the details of the laws which are not substantially and primarily essential and relevant to the order of the prayers. My wrath is poured forth on those who confuse the order of the (legal) works and whose manner of study is (simply) to pour from one vessel to another that is inappropriate and who lengthen the brief and shorten the long."²¹⁷

In fact, throughout his work Emden included many laws and practices directly relevant to specific prayers.²¹⁸

However, in the course of writing his commentary, Emden broadened this "la'asoto" component of it to include much, much more. He not only discussed all these liturgically-related laws but expanded his focus to include a great deal of legal as well as general information on a wide variety of subjects. For example, in the process of introducing the Grace After Meals, Emden launched into a long, elaborate discussion on all kinds of issues relating to food. He dealt with: the proper mystical intentions (kavannot) necessary while eating; various preparations that must be done before a meal, including moderate exercise to aid the digestive process; proper posture during the meal; when a person should

eat; what types of foods are preferable, taking into account one's health, age, the climate, etc.; the order in which food should be eaten; the appropriate amounts of food; the relative merits of wine and water; the optimal emotional state while eating; the importance of sharing one's food with guests and the poor; selections from the Zohar to be recited during and after the meal; the "hamozi" blessing and, finally, everything relevant to the Grace After Meals itself - the cup of wine, zimun, those obligated to recite it, and more.²¹⁹

It is interesting to note that Emden himself sensed that he may have gone beyond the limits he originally set for himself and, at the conclusion of his presentation, apologized for its unexpected length. He noted that he elaborated on this matter because it deals with important and complicated issues and requires explanation on a number of different levels.²²⁰

But Emden's expansiveness was not limited only to this case. Throughout his entire work, he engaged in a variety of excurses which dealt with a number of different subjects. For example, after concluding his presentation of the Ma'amadot, Emden discussed the importance of breakfast and which foods should be avoided in the morning.²²¹ Shortly afterwards he entered into a long discussion on the importance of being gainfully employed in a trade or business.²²² As part of his "Seder ha-Yom," Emden discussed the importance of resting after eating and presented laws relating to the afternoon nap.²²³ In a section entitled, "Seder ha-Laylah" after the Ma'ariv Prayer, Emden dealt with the requirement to recite one hundred blessings daily, described the general behavior of a person leading up to bedtime and prescribed what to do in

case of a bad dream.²²⁴

But even all of this does not do justice to the pivotal role of the "la'asoto" dimension of this book. Beginning with the section on the Sabbath²²⁵ and continuing through the second volume, there is a subtle but very significant change in its orientation. Until this point the work was basically a prayer book, with a presentation of various laws and customs related either to prayer in general or to the liturgical text, albeit sometimes remotely. After this point, however, the focus shifted. Instead of the point of departure being the liturgical text with the legal material playing a secondary role, the opposite became the case. Emden was now concerned with presenting all of the ritual practices relating first to the Sabbath, then Rosh Hodesh and then every day of the year, beginning with the first of Nisan. Since prayer is only one aspect of the daily ritual observance, it was treated accordingly by Emden. No longer did he present the laws of Sukkot, for example, as an extension of his discussion of the liturgy but, on the contrary, he presented its special prayers as only one aspect of its laws. In short, at this juncture the emphasis shifted from liturgy to law, the prayer book became a code and the "la'asoto" element of this work assumed center stage.

It does not seem as if Emden originally intended this work to be so halakhically all encompassing. On the contrary, as noted above, he explicitly stated in his introduction that "it was not my intention to transcribe from the Shulhan 'Arukh the details of the laws which are not substantially and primarily essential and relevant to the order of the prayers."²²⁶ It would appear that this shift in emphasis occurred in the course of his writing the book. Indeed, by the time he concluded the

first volume of this work, its more expanded focus was obvious and he reflected that awareness in its concluding pages.²²⁷

That this shift already took place by the second volume is obvious. After discussing the laws and prayers associated with Rosh Hodesh, Emden launched into a detailed presentation of the ritual behavior associated with all the days of the year, with their special liturgies serving as just one component of the presentation. The following presentation of the structure of Nisan, the first month discussed, will serve as an example of this phenomenon which consistently recurs throughout the entire work:

<u>Mavo I</u>	Rosh Hodesh Nisan	14b-15b	Laws & Customs
<u>MavuyII</u> ²²⁸	2-13 Nisan	15b-16a	"
<u>Mavo III</u>	Erev Pesah-14 Nisan	16a-22a	"
Delet 1 - Night of Erev Pesah	16a-b	"	
Delet 2 - Day of Erev Pesah	16b-17a	"	
Delet 3 - Fast of First Born	17a	"	
Delet 4 - Afternoon of Erev Pesah	17a	"	
Delet 5 - Working on Erev Pesah	17a-b	"	
Delet 6 - Baking Mazot	17b-18a	"	
Delet 7 - Description of the Pascal Sacrifice	18a-20b	"	
Delet 8 - Preparations for the Holiday	20b-22a	"	
Halon 1 - Food preparations	20b-21a	"	
Halon 2 - <u>Eruv Tavshilin</u>	21a-22a	"	
Halon 3 - <u>Eruv Hazerot</u>	22a	"	
Halon 4 - <u>Eruv Tehumin</u>	22a	"	

<u>Mavo IV</u>	First Night of Pesah	22a-47b	
Delet 1 - Prayers (including special text for Ma'ariv Amidah)	22a-23a	Liturgical Text	
Netiv 1 - Laws of <u>Heseibah</u>	23a-b	Laws & Customs	
Netiv 2 - Laws of Four Cups of Wine	23b	"	
Netiv 3 - Kiddush	23b-24b	Liturgical Text	
Netiv 4 - <u>Urhaz</u> and <u>Karpas</u>	24b	Laws & Customs	
Netiv 5 - <u>Yahaz</u>	24b	"	
Netiv 6 - <u>Maggid</u> including text of Haggadah and commentary	24b-41b	Liturgical Text	
Netiv 7 - <u>Rahzah</u>	41b	Laws & Customs	
Netiv 8 - <u>Mazah</u>	41b	"	
Netiv 9 - <u>Marmor</u>	41b-42a	"	
Netiv 10- Practices at the Table until end of Seder including text of end of Haggadah	42a-47b	Laws & Customs with Liturgical Text	
<u>Mavuy V</u> ²²⁹	First Day of Pesah	47b-53a	
Shevil 1- Shaḥarit (the only printed prayers are the Thirteen Divine Attributes and " <u>Ribon ha-'Olamim</u> " prior to the Torah reading)	47b-48b	Laws & Customs with Liturgical Text	
Shevil 2- Musaf (including special text for Musaf Amidah)	48b-50b	Liturgical Text	
Shevil 3- Temple Musaf Sacrifice	50b-51b	Laws & Customs	
Shevil 4- <u>Simhat Yom Tov</u>	51b-52b	"	
Shevil 5- Minhah	52b-53a	"	

<u>Mavuy VI</u>	Second Night of Pesah	53a-54a	
Meshual 1 -	<u>Arvit</u>	53a	"
Meshual 2 -	Laws of <u>Sefirat</u> <u>ha-'Omer</u> (includ- ing text)	53a-54a	Laws & Customs with Liturgical Text
Meshual 3 -	Laws of <u>Kezirat</u> <u>ha-'Omer</u>	54a	Laws & Customs
Meshual 4 -	Practice of Jews in the Diaspora	54a	"
<u>Mavuy VII</u>	Second Day of Pesah	54b	
<u>Mavuy VIII</u>	<u>Hol Ha-Mo'ed</u>	54b-55b	
Mesilah 1 -	First Day, 17 Nisan	54b-55a	"
Mesilah 2 -	Second Day, 18 Nisan	55a-b	"
Mesilah 3 -	Third Day, 19 Nisan	55b	"
Mesilah 4 -	Fourth Day, 20 Nisan	55b	"
<u>Mavuy IX</u>	<u>Shabbat Hol Ha-Mo'ed</u>	55b	"
<u>Mavuy X</u>	Last Days of Pesah	56a-57a	"
Maslul 1 -	Seventh Day of Pesah	56a-b	"
Maslul 2 -	<u>Aharon shel Pesah</u>	56b-57a	"
<u>Mavuy XI</u>	<u>'Isru Hag</u> , 23 Nisan	57a	"
<u>Mavuy XII</u>	Rest of Month of Nisan	57a-58a	"

From this outline it is clear that Emden's major focus was a legal and not liturgical one and, indeed, this remained the orientation of the book until the end.

What is even more significant, however, is that this was also the case in the latter part of the first volume as well, beginning with the section dealing with the Sabbath. The following presentation of its

structure makes this very clear:

<u>Heder I</u>	Erev Shabbat	333b-337b	Laws & Customs
<u>Heder II</u>	Evening Prayers	337a-343a	Liturgical Text
<u>Heder III</u>	Friday night	343a-second 358a	
Part I	Meal (including some <u>zmirot</u> and kiddush)	343a-351b	Laws & Customs with Liturgical Text
Part II	Sexual Relations	351b-second 357b	
Perek 1	- Why is Friday night the most appropriate time	351b-352a	Laws & Customs
Perek 2	- How sex, in general, can either sanctify or desecrate the Divine Name	352a	"
Perek 3	- If performed with the proper (i.e. kab- balistic) intentions, sex can be an exalt- ing experience	352a-b	"
Perek 4	- When sex is appropriate		
Helek 1	- How often a month	352b-353b	"
Helek 2	- How soon after a meal; which hour of the night	353b-354a	"
Perek 5	- Proper diet neces- sary for healthy sex	354a-b	"
Perek 6	- List of required <u>kavannot</u> during sex	354b-355b	"
Perek 7	- The Sexual Act		
Hulya 1	- When sexual relations are necessary	355b-356a	Laws & Customs

	Hulya 2 - How it is done (various positions, preparations, etc.)	356b-first 357a	"
	Hulya 3 - Other related issues	first 357a- second 357b	"
Part III	Other Laws Relevant to Friday Night	second 357b- second 358a	"
<u>Heder IV</u>	Shabbat morning (including special prayers for Shahrar and Musaf)	second 358a- 373a	Laws & Customs with Liturgical Text
<u>Heder V</u>	Sacrificial Ritual and Ma'amadot	373a-398b	Laws & Customs
<u>Heder VI</u>	Shabbat Day Practices	389b-397b	
	Kituniya 1 - Meal (including some <u>zmirot</u>)	389b-391b	"
	Kituniya 2 - Torah study and other practices	391b-393b	"
	Kituniya 3 - Minhah service	393b-396b	Laws & Customs with Liturgical Text
	Kituniya 4 - <u>Seudah Shlishit</u> (including some <u>zmirot</u>)	396b-397b	Laws & Customs
<u>Heder VII</u>	Saturday night	397b-408b	
	Mehiza 1 - Continuation of <u>Seudah Shlishit</u>	397b-398a	"
	Mehiza 2 - Evening service (including text of " <u>veyiten lekha</u> " and what to do if one forgot <u>Havdalah</u> in the Amidah)	398a-401b	Laws & Customs with Liturgical Text
	Mehiza 3 - Practices at home (including some <u>zmirot</u>) and laws of <u>Havdalah</u>	401b-407b	"

Perek 1 - General laws	403a-404a	Laws & Customs
Perek 2 - Wine and cup	404a-b	"
Perek 3 - <u>Besamim</u>	404b	"
Perek 4 - <u>Ner</u>	404b-405a	"
Perek 6 ²³⁰ Kabbalistic Interpretation	405a-406a	"
Perek 7 - Text and other Saturday night practices	406a-407b	Laws & Customs with Liturgical Text
Mehiza 4 - <u>Melaveh Malkah</u>	407a-408b	Laws & Customs

Once again, the structure and point of departure is clear. It is also striking to note that this time, unlike his previous elaboration regarding Birkhat ha-Mazon,²³¹ Emden did not feel any need to apologize for his lengthy interpolation about sex. Now that the focus was law and not liturgy, Emden felt that such an elaborate presentation was entirely appropriate.²³²

As a code, the form of this work is of special interest. Emden did not present the halakhic material in a strictly apodictic or catechitic fashion. Rather, his work here shares some of the characteristics of earlier codes, including that of Maimonides.²³³ Firstly, Emden did not always provide a definitive pesak. There are many occasions where he cited multiple opinions about a particular issue and left the matter unresolved.²³⁴ Also, as was noted in the previous discussion regarding "bi-levavkha," while Emden often expressed a preference for a particular custom,²³⁵ he sometimes accepted variant traditions as being equally legitimate.²³⁶ Even when Emden did present a normative conclusion, it was often preceded by a discussion in which he noted how this matter had

been disputed by others.²³⁷ Furthermore, his presentation was not self-contained, for Emden often referred the reader to other sources,²³⁸ most often to his own works.²³⁹ Finally, Emden provided reasons for various laws,²⁴⁰ openly disagreed with his predecessors whom he mentioned by name,²⁴¹ engaged in textual criticism,²⁴² addressed himself directly to the reader,²⁴³ and made references to his own personal practices²⁴⁴ as well as to those of his father.²⁴⁵

Indeed, while Emden's initial impression of this "la'asoto" dimension was limited to issues relating to prayer itself, already by the time he completed his first volume, he acknowledged that it included much more. He noted that his achievement in this work was:

"to set forth the ritual behavior of the Jew. The righteous shall live by his faith²⁴⁶ and his behavior in (fulfilling) the needs of his body and soul, when he arises and lies down on his bed, when he is at rest and is on route, his coming and going, in his Torah study, eating, drinking, sexual activity and other bodily needs and pleasures, in his involvement in business, trade and work, the norms (governing) his night and day, his weekday and Sabbath."²⁴⁷

All of these were included in Emden's presentation.

Whom did Emden have in mind when he composed this work? Was he addressing what he expected to be a restricted audience or did he plan to offer his work to Jews of all levels?

It is clear that both the "bi-fikha" and the "la'asoto" elements were intended for all. It is equally incumbent upon every Jew to pray from a properly arranged and corrected vocalized text and to follow the halakhic, normative prescriptions of Jewish law. Indeed, Emden consistently indicated that he had two types of audiences in mind when he wrote the work - the masses as well as those religiously and intellectually superior. On occasion he addressed himself to the "midakdekim" or those who are particularly "meticulous in their observance." For example, he noted that this group wears two pairs of tefillin daily - those of Rashi and Rabbenu Tam²⁴⁸ that they do not count the 'Omer until it is certainly dark.²⁴⁹ He instructed them to finish the entire paragraph of Shema during the "korbanot" section in Shaḥarit and not just recite the first verse together with "barukh shem," etc.²⁵⁰ He directed a "ba'al nefesh" or a "refined person" to make sure that his house is properly prepared for the Sabbath²⁵¹ and instructed him not to do any work immediately after the Sabbath on Saturday night.²⁵² He also wrote how it was the custom of healthy "'anshei ma'aseh" or "pious ones" to immerse themselves in a mikvah on the day before a holiday²⁵³ and included a discussion of various laws for the benefit of a religious authority who might be asked to rule about them.²⁵⁴ Emden also inserted special material directed towards the talmid hakham or scholar,²⁵⁵ and admonished him to be concerned about his health and do exercise.²⁵⁶ In fact, this focus on the intellectual elite even once determined Emden's classification scheme. He noted that since the talmid hakham has sex only once a week, he will not discuss those laws in the section dealing with the daily evening practices where they appear in the Shulhan 'Arukh but will rather wait

until the section devoted to Friday night.²⁵⁷

Nevertheless, it is eminently clear that Emden also consciously planned his work to have a broad appeal, although he did insist that at the very least, the reader have a knowledge of Hebrew.²⁵⁸ At the very end of his introduction, he noted how he did not insist upon printing the accent notes on each word indicating where it should be stressed, "so as not to burden the unfamiliar, while he who is familiar is himself knowledgeable."²⁵⁹ Elsewhere, after completing a rather detailed presentation, he apologized to the more advanced reader for whom it may have been too elementary.²⁶⁰ While expecting the more knowledgeable to benefit from his work, he clearly elaborated on it for the sake of the ignorant as well.

This concern for the unlettered led Emden to include a series of selections from the Bible and Talmud, known as the Ma'amadot.²⁶¹ This collection was designed to provide simple Jews, "the ignorant who did not study or by temperament are not suited for intensive Torah study in its entirety and were created to engage in business"²⁶² with a minimum amount of Torah for daily study. Although unable to be intensely involved in Torah study, "nevertheless he is not exempt from studying even a bit of it every day and night."²⁶³

That this Ma'amadot section was intended by Emden for the non-scholar is strikingly indicated by its very limited references to kabbalistic material, in sharp contrast to what we have seen was a major element elsewhere in this work. Even in those few cases where he did introduce kabbalistic motifs in this part of his commentary, Emden sounded a note of apology and tried to justify it for various reasons. For example, in

discussing a Talmudic passage, he noted, "In this matter, perforce we need the words of the hakhmei ha-'emet because, apparently, we do not know at all what the master is saying."²⁶⁴ Elsewhere Emden wrote that since a particular rabbinic statement

"(contains) extremely profound, hidden and concealed mysteries of the Torah, we will speak of it a bit briefly, (in a manner that is) close to the revealed meaning and we will, with God's help, allude to that which is hidden and the wise will understand."²⁶⁵

Here he specifically explained that he planned to be brief and, at least, be "close to the revealed meaning," by only hinting at the esoteric interpretation.²⁶⁶

It is in this realm of "bi-levavkha," with its considerable esotericism, where the issue of Emden's intended audience becomes most significant. To whom did Emden address the many kabbalistic remarks in the Siddur? It is clear that this area, as well, contained material for both the uninitiated as well as the more advanced scholar, each on his own level. In discussing "bi-fikha," "bi-levavkha" and "la'asoto" at the very beginning of his introduction, Emden paraphrased Ex. 21:11 and wrote: "If these three (prerequisites for prayer) are not fulfilled, it will have been in vain, with none to heed it."²⁶⁷ He repeated this assertion at the end of his introduction when he applied the ruling of Rabbi Gamliel regarding the essential features of the Passover Seder: "Whoever did not recite these three things . . . has not fulfilled his obligation."²⁶⁸ Clearly Emden felt that the middle dimension of "bi-levavkha" was indispensable for the masses as well.

It is, however, obvious that "bi-levavkha," as well as the nature of kavannah which underlies it, can be understood on a number of different levels. They range from a simple understanding of the literal meaning of the text to a sophisticated appreciation of the multidimensional mystical implications and significance of the liturgy. In discussing "kavannat ha-lev" Emden himself distinguished between esoteric ("nistar") and exoteric ("nigleh") elements.²⁶⁹ A more simple and accessible level of kavannah could suffice for the masses; quite another was appropriate for the already initiated elite. Nevertheless, here too it is clear that Emden wrote with both of these audiences in mind, expecting that each would elicit what was relevant to them. Almost all the kavannot that he spelled out,²⁷⁰ the kabbalistic ideas he presented²⁷¹ and the many texts of the Zohar he printed²⁷² were not explicitly restricted to the elite. Even when he mentioned that there is a deeper level of understanding, he did not spell out exactly what it was.²⁷³ Emden also clearly recognized that not everyone was in a position to maintain proper kavannah but, as long as they made an honest effort, their prayers would be heard.²⁷⁴

At the same time Emden did explicitly address himself to the elite on several occasions. For example, he wrote:

"If he is amongst those who are initiated into the Divine esoterica ('me-ha-'omdim bi-sod Hashem'), let him say . . . This is proper for them that feareth the Lord and think upon His name (Mal. 3:16) but not everyone who wishes to assume the 'title' may do so."²⁷⁵

It is precisely because Emden intended this book for a wide audience that he was particularly sensitive to the problem of divulging esoteric

material to the masses.²⁷⁶ Emden devoted almost the entire middle section of his introduction to an analysis of those aspects of Kabbalah which were going to serve as the basic theoretical underpinnings of his commentary.²⁷⁷ He did so with the specific intention of orienting the uninitiated by providing them with at least a rudimentary limited knowledge of those aspects which he felt it was necessary even for them to know. He made it clear that it was only an introductory essay which was by no means to be considered an exhaustive treatment of the subject and urged those who were capable to plumb its depths even further.²⁷⁸

While he sensed that even here he may have overstepped his bounds and felt the need to apologize for expounding too openly on such esoteric subjects,²⁷⁹ he made his position very clear in his corrigenda to this passage:

"One must never conceal from Man the fundamentals of his faith. Thus did all the Kabbalists unanimously command to publicize the roots of the (esoteric) Wisdom and they were prolific in their production of many works about it. Even in the very profound matters of the sublime, sacred wisdom where concealment is certainly appropriate, they have already passed the bounds of concealment in this time without protest even though it is undoubtedly improper and the spirit of the truly wise is not pleased with them. However, when it comes to the simple, elementary essentials, certainly no one can question that it is a mizvah (to publicize them)."²⁸⁰

Nevertheless this tension continues throughout the work and, as is

to be expected, is never fully resolved.²⁸¹

Given the multifaceted nature of the work, it is now possible to appreciate Emden's own retrospective characterization of it in his autobiography in its entirety:

"I included in it laws and customs that need to be known throughout the entire year, the order of the sacerdotal ritual which they practiced during the time of the Temple, all the events which occurred to our ancestors and the prophecies which the prophets foretold on any given day. Everything that is found in the Written and Oral Laws (the fulfillment of) which depends upon a given time, I presented in its place and on its day for each of the months of the year, even the appropriate hours (for the fulfillment of the) deeds for each day of the week on its day, and for that which applies to the nights of weekdays and holidays. All this I have set separately.²⁸² I did not confuse the matter of one day with that of another for all the days of the year. I explained, with the help of God, all the prayers, the blessings and the text of the supplications of the ancients. I interpreted (all) in accordance with Pardes,²⁸³ and they are corrected as best as I could. At first, the voluminous, long and wide work was very heavy in

quantity and quality because I accepted upon myself to even cite the numbers of words in all the blessings and to provide for them blossoms and flowers,²⁸⁴ with beautiful allusions. I also presented in this work many pleasant, sweet and clear interpretations, aside from the simple approach, in different verses. Also many wondrous and strange Rabbinic statements were brought closer and more acceptable to the logical intelligence, with the help of God."²⁸⁵

In later years, Emden's Siddur gained wide popularity. He himself wrote additions to his commentary but this material has remained to date largely unpublished.²⁸⁶

The Siddur also served as a springboard for other works. As noted above, Emden complained about the fact that he prepared it in great haste, with the result that he was forced to print a great deal of abbreviations.²⁸⁷ In the postscript to the first volume, Emden expressed the hope that he would be able to append a chart at the end of the entire work identifying all the abbreviations he used.²⁸⁸ He was unable to do so and it remained for others to complete this task.²⁸⁹

The greatest indication of the popularity of Emden's work is the large number of times that it served as the basis for subsequent editions of the Siddur.²⁹⁰ It was also used and cited with great regularity in a variety of contexts well into the twentieth century.²⁹¹ A remarkable

work, it is representative of its author and a lasting contribution to Jewish religious life.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. See the title page of the Siddur I (the Biblical reference there is to Gen. 28:17 found in Parshat Vayeze, a Torah portion read during the Fall); MS, 167; J. Emden, Zikkaron ba-Sefer: Ma'aseh 'Amalek, partially printed in A. Bick, "Rabi Ya'akov Emden u-Milhamto bi-Shulhanei 'Altona," Tarbiz XLII (1973), 464. See also Siddur I:38b where Emden noted that he began work on it in the month of Kislev, 1744. More references to verses found in Parshat Vayeze are scattered throughout the introduction. See, for example, 1a (Gen. 28:19), 4a (Gen. 28:12), 38a (Gen. 28:16) and 38b (Gen. 28:11-12).

Also noteworthy in this context is the fact that the prayer for the government found in the Siddur (I:369b) is in honor of King Frederick V who became King of Denmark (which at that time had jurisdiction over Altona) in 1746.

2. The first volume was completed in two years, on the first day of Chanukah, 1746 (Siddur I:418b). See too R. Ezekiel Kazenellenbogen's approbation to the Siddur dated Rosh Hodesh Tevet, 5507 (= Dec. 14, 1746), which Emden elsewhere informed us (MS, 168) he requested after the volume was completed. He immediately commenced work on the second volume and completed that some eight months later, on August 31, 1747 (Siddur II:159a; MS 169-70, 174). See also Siddur II:title page, 14b; SY II:17.

Throughout the second volume of the Siddur, Emden made explicit references to various practices during the years 5507-08 (= 1747-48; e.g. "this year it [i.e. the seventh of Nisan] is a Shabbat and we read [Parshat] Vayikra" [II:15b]). For other examples of such references, see 57a, 57b, 58a, 58b, 59a, 59b, 60a, 66b, 67a, 68a, 70b, 79b, 80a, 80b, 81a, 106a, 114a, 132a, 136b, 144b, 147a, 147b, 149a, 149b, 150a, 150b, 151a, 155a, 155b, 157a.

From the beginning Emden intended the work to contain more than one volume. See the title page to the first volume of the Siddur, "hu sefer rishon . . .;" see also the end of the first volume of the Siddur (415b and 418b) where Emden prayed for Divine help to complete the rest of it.

3. Siddur I:3a-b. See also ibid., I:23b, 36a, 38a-b, 310b; II: 159a; A. Bick, "Rabi Ya'akov Emden," op. cit. (n. 1); above, Chapter III.

At the end of the first volume of his Mor u-Keziyah (I:103a-b), Emden described a potentially dangerous fire in his study room which occurred during the time he was preparing his Siddur for publication. See also above, pp. 204-05.

4. Siddur I:3b, 39b, 310b, second 358a, 409a; MS, 169; A. Bick, ibid.
5. Cf. Isa. 29:8.
6. Cf. Dan. 10:3.
7. Cf. Ex. 5:13.

8. Siddur I:311a. See also I:329b, 409a ("because this work was done suddenly, without previous preparation" it is incomplete); SY II:67.

9. SY II:17.

10. Siddur I:56a. Emden, though, never explained why he was constantly at the mercy of his printer or typesetter.

For other references to haste resulting in omissions, see the introduction to Pirkei Shirah (Siddur I:43a) and to Shir ha-Yihud (I:176a) and I:409a. Emden also discussed the insistent prodding of his typesetter which was responsible for the work's insufficient breadth of content as well as clarity of presentation in Siddur I:43a and SY II:17. At the very end of his introduction to the Siddur (I:38a), Emden noted how it was written as a last minute decision and that it may not be "sufficiently elucidated, structured or embellished" because of "the worker who stands over me like a taskmaster (prodding me) to finish my work on a daily basis (Ex. 5:13) for it is his livelihood."

In his postscript to his commentary to Pirkei Shirah (I:56a, cited above), Emden referred to the great haste in which he wrote it, blamed his worker for not allowing him the time to properly formulate his words, but, this time, added that all this did not compromise the profundity of his commentary and that the reader should not expect to fully plumb its depths with just one reading.

Emden's complaint that the beginning of the work was already being printed while he was in the midst of composing the rest is easily con-

firmed by a perusal of the printed text. At times, corrigenda printed immediately after a particular text refer to passages in it by their page number. See for example, I:38b-39b (corrigenda to I:2a-36b), 56b-58b (corrigenda to 43a-54b); II:128a (corrigenda to II:122b). Furthermore, in about one hundred and fifty instances, Emden cross-referenced to a passage printed earlier and referred to it by its page number. For example, I:219a contains a cross-reference to I:199b; I:222b contains cross-references to I:200a, 201a and 202a. The earliest such example I found, other than the corrigenda referred to above, is in I:127a.

11. See pp. 203-204.

12. Siddur II:158a.

13. In addition to the sources cited above, n. 10, see Siddur I:177b.

14. Ibid., I:36b-37a.

Emden was also forced to use many abbreviations in the second volume. See MS, 169.

15. For examples, I:56b-57a belongs after I:43a; the bottom of I:261a belongs on I:258a; I:262a belongs on I:244a; almost the entire I:296a belongs on I:290a and the bottom of I:319a belongs on I:170b. Note also the addendum on I:325a-b.

16. See, for example, I:98a, 1. 11: should read "yedeihem veragleihem;"

217b, 1. 1: "45" should be "48"; 225a, 1. 3: "hamishi" should be "shishi"; 314a, 1. 19: there should be a "7" at the beginning of the line; 314a, 1. 25: "6" should be "9"; 379b, 1. 2: "59" should be "58"; 405a, 1. 23: "Perek 5" is missing; II:16a, 1. 16 and 22a, 1. 7: "mavo" should be "mavuy"; II:21a, 1. 11: "10" should be "9"; 44b, 1. 1: "24" should be "25"; 63a, 1. 16: "shvil 15" should be "shvil 14"; 86a, 1. 23: "8" should be "7"; 128a, 1. 14: "5" should be "4"; 133a, 1. 20: "8" should be "7"; 135a, 1. 2: "22" should be "23"; 142a, 1. 4: "2" should be "1"; something is also missing between 1. 11 and 1. 12; 151b, 1. 1: "10" should be "20"; 154a, 1. 8: "7" should be "8". On II:21a, 44b, 86a, 128a, 133a, 151b, 154a the rest of the numbers in the sequence must be adjusted accordingly.

There are also misprints in the page numbers of I:222 and 321.

Note also II:57b where the twenty-eighth day of the month of Nisan is said to fall on Saturday while the thirtieth of that month is said to fall on a Wednesday. The reader is also informed (II:59a-b) that both the nineteenth and twenty-seventh of 'Iyyar fall that year on a Saturday. These are not simply misprints but rather reflect sloppiness on Emden's part.

17. Siddur I:415b-418a.

18. Cf. Siddur I:355b to I:first 357a.

19. Siddur II:81a.

20. Cf. Siddur I:275b with the material subsequently presented.

21. For example, in the Table of Contents (I:417b, #28) Emden listed the section dealing with business after that dealing with laws relating to travel; in the text, business (I:268a-271b) preceeded travel (I:271b-275a). Even within the section on travel, the Table of Contents (ibid.) does not reflect the order found in the work itself (I:271b-273a). Also, unlike the order of the Table of Contents (I:418a), the additional kinot mourning the destruction of the Temple are printed before the practices relating to preparing for bed (I:328b-330b).

It is interesting, however, that the Table of Contents of the second volume (II:155b-156b) is in perfect conformity with the actual structure of that work.

22. MS, 171. Emden also correctly admitted at the end of the first volume's list of corrigenda (I:415a) that, "it does not (even) represent one-third or one-quarter" of the changes that had to be made.

Nevertheless, on occasion Emden did pay attention to printing technicalities. See, for example, Siddur I:63b (previous printers who left a space at this point are wrong); 282a (he punctuated passages from the Zohar); 306b (he explained why he chose large type for a particular word).

23. Extensive work on various aspects of the Hebrew liturgy has been done by L. Zunz, I. Levi, I. Elbogen, A. Berliner, I. Jacobson and D. Goldschmidt. For an excellent bibliographical essay on the contributions

of the German scholars in particular, see D. Goldschmidt, "Studies on Jewish Liturgy by German-Jewish Scholars," LBIVB II (1957), 119-35; trans. into Hebrew as "Mehkar ha-Liturgia ha-Yehudit bi-Germania," Mehkarei Tefilla u-Piyyut, ed. by D. Goldschmidt (Jerusalem, 1979), 429-44.

However, while contributions to the liturgy per se have been extensive, very little attention has been directed toward an analysis of the methodologies of the different editions of and commentaries on the Siddur, e.g. why did their authors feel they were necessary, how do they differ from one another, what types of issues concern them, what was their intended audience, etc. Some limited examples of this type of analysis can be found, for example, in L. Zunz, Die Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes (Berlin, 1859), in passing; I. Elbogen, Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung (Leipzig, 1913), 353-77 (translated into Hebrew by Y. Amir as ha-Tefillah bi-Yisrael bi-Hitpathutah ha-Historit (Tel Aviv, 1972), 265-280; E. Urbach, Sefer 'Arugat ha-Bosem le-Avraham be-R. Azriel IV (Jerusalem, 1973).

In addition, Emden's Siddur, in particular, has not yet received scholarly attention and has not even been fully appreciated. For negative assessments of the Siddur, see H. Graetz, Geschichte der Juden X, 397: ". . . sein sollenden aber Komischen Gebetbuchs;" H. Graetz - S. P. Rabinowitz, Divrei Yemei Yisrael VIII (Warsaw, 1893), 473: "In truth, it is a book without any literary importance and it arouses only incredulous ridicule" ("sehok shel timahon"); M. J. Cohen, op. cit., 75: "the original copy of the prayer book is unreadable without a key, and practically useless."

Other assessments have been more favorable. See, for example,

Jewish Encyclopedia X (1905), 172: "From a literary point of view, Jacob Emden's Siddur was the best produced in the eighteenth century;" S. Krauss, "Zur Literatur der Siddurim," Soncino-Blätter II (Berlin, 1927), 9, #41: "...mit gar reichem Inhalt." It has not, however, been systematically analyzed. The discussions of A. Bick-Shauli (in "'Adrikhal 'Armon Tefillah," Sinai LVIII [1966], 274-77 and Rabi Ya'akov Emden [Jerusalem, 1974], 55-73) are not helpful. See also A. Kahana, bi-Ma'at lot ha-Tefillah (Tel Aviv, 1971), 123-25.

I hope that the following discussion of Emden's Siddur will not only illuminate that particular work but will prove to be a contribution to the genre of Siddur analysis in general.

24. Seder Rav Amram Gaon was first printed by N. N. Coronel in Warsaw, 1865; Siddur R. Saadya Gaon was not printed until 1941 by I. Davidson, S. Assaf and B. I. Joel in Jerusalem; Siddur Rashi was printed by J. Freiman with help from S. Buber in Berlin, 1911; Mahzor Vitry was printed by S. Hurwitz in Berlin, 1889-93; Siddur Rabbenu Shlomo mi-Germayza was printed by M. Hershler in Jerusalem, 1971; Arugat ha-Bosem was printed by E. Urbach from 1939-1962 in Jerusalem. The Siddur of R. Shabbetai Sofer was printed in the seventeenth century (Prague, 1617) but that edition consisted only of a corrected liturgical text without R. Shabbetai's most important grammatical commentary. The "General Introduction" to his work was published by A. Berliner, Abhandlung über den Siddur des Schabtai ha-Sofer aus Przemysl (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1909) and his commentary on the Sabbath service was recently published with extensive annotation and a very useful introduction by S. C. Reif, Shabbethai Sofer and his Prayer-

book (Cambridge, 1979). For information on the seventeenth century edition of Shabbetai's Siddur, see Reif, ibid., 39-41, 53.

Maimonides' Siddur was printed as part of his Mishneh Torah and Sefer Abudarham was first printed in Lisbon, 1490. Citations from Sefer Abudarham can, in fact, be found in Siddur I:322a, 327b, 329b, 399a, 411b-412a (below, p. 284); II:9a, 25a, 119b. See also Emden's Luah Eresh I: 16b, 25k, 37b, 38a, 64b.

25. See the list in M. Steinschneider, Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana I (Berlin, 1852-1860), 295-356. For Siddurim of the German-Polish rite, see also A. E. Cowely, A Concise Catalogue of the Hebrew Printed Books in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1929), 532-50; J. Zedner, Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Library of the British Museum (1867), 458-60; M. Roest, Catalog der Hebraica und Judaica aus der L. Rosenthal'schen Bibliothek I (Amsterdam, 1875), 713-15; S. Krauss, "Zur Literatur der Siddurim," op. cit., 7-9; and Jewish Encyclopedia X (1905), 174. For a general bibliography of printed prayer books, see S. Shunami, Bibliography of Jewish Bibliographies (Jerusalem, 1965), 187-90.

These are the works upon which the following footnotes are based.

26. It was printed in Dyhernfurth alone, either in toto or in part, five different times between 1689-1718. See M. Marx, "Hebrew Printing in Dyhernfurth 1689-1718," Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature in Honor of I. Edward Kiev (New York, 1971), 221-232, #5, 33, 74, 83 and 106. It was also printed in Amsterdam in 1671, 1718, 1720 and 1736; Wilmersdorf in 1690; Dessau in 1696; Venice in 1701 and 1736, and

was partially incorporated into a Siddur printed in Frankfurt-am-Oder in 1714.

27. It was first printed in Frankfurt-am-Main, 1704, and reprinted in Berlin, 1713, and Wilmersdorf, 1721.

For more on this text, see below, pp. 264-65.

28. It was first printed in Amsterdam, 1717, and reprinted there in 1742.

29. It was first printed in Frankfurt-am-Main, 1697, and reprinted there in 1707, 1714 and 1723. It was also printed in Frankfurt-am-Oder in 1703 and parts of it were incorporated into Seder Tefillot mi-kol ha-Shana (Jessnitz, 1720).

30. Emden already referred to R. Hannover's work in his Lehem Shamayim, op. cit., I:8a (Berakhot I:2). For references to Derekh Siah ha-Sadeh, see below.

For Emden's attitude to R. Epstein's Seder Tefillah Derekh Yesharah, see below, p. 424; pp. 486-87, n. 226.

31. These two words are printed in large size type.

32. Siddur I:3b. While "sadeh" is clearly a reference to the Siddur of Rabbis Azriel and Elijah, I have been unable to identify the reference to "har." For Emden's criticism of Derekh Siah ha-Sadeh, see LE I:24b-25a

(#123); below, n. 54.

33. It was printed in Jessnitz, 1725. See Siddur I:1a. This will be discussed below, pp. 264-69.

34. Ibid., I:1b.

35. Ibid., 1b-2b. Emden alluded to this three-fold emphasis again in Siddur I:39b, 415a-b, 418b and in the epilogue at the end of Siddur II, 158a-b.

For references to printers being responsible for faulty texts, see also ibid., I:411b and II:158a.

The contribution by Emden in each one of these three areas was also underscored by R. Ezekiel Kazenellenbogen in his approbation printed at the very beginning of the work (see above, n. 2).

Although Emden claimed that the introduction was an afterthought (Siddur I:38a), his many cross-references to it throughout the work indicate that, having written it, he considered it an integral part of it. See, for example, Siddur I:60b, 61b, 62a, 85a, 90b, 96a, 97a, 110b, 112a, 117b, 118b, 120b, 125b, 126b, 127a, 127b, 128a, 128b, 131a, 131b, 143b, 157b, 158b, 179b, 189b, 197b, 199a, 199b, 216b, 217b, 219b, 220b, 236b, 238a, 257a, 260a, 264a, 301b, 304b, 311b, 372a, 395a, 412b; II:6a, 6b, 106b, 118a.

36. Siddur I:3a-b. Cf. MS, 54-5. In fact, Emden even made reference in this context to the phrase which he was to choose as the title of his

autobiography, "megillat sefer" (Jer. 36:2). A similar motivation clearly underlay both works.

37. Siddur I:3a-b; II:158a.

For Emden's experiences prior to his commencing work on the Siddur, see the previous chapter.

38. Siddur I:326a.

For earlier examples of this tendency, see I. Twersky, "Sefer Mishneh Torah la-Rambam: Megamato ve-Tafkido," Divrei ha-'Akademiah ha-Le'umit ha-Yisra'elit le-Mada'im (1972), V, 15-16; translated into English as "The Mishneh Torah of Maimonides," Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities V (Jerusalem, 1976), 286-87.

39. Siddur I:4a-b discusses the liturgical text and pronunciation, 4b-26a presents a discussion of the proper intentions necessary during prayer as well as a commentary elucidating the various meanings of the text and 26a-36a describes different laws relevant to proper prayer.

40. All of this will be discussed in greater detail below.

For a brief description of Birat Migdal 'Oz, considered to be Part III of the Siddur, see above, p. 206.

41. There is an extensive literature on the different traditions of Hebrew vocalization. See, for example, Hanokh Yalon, "Shevilei Mivta'im," Kuntresim . . . 'Inyanei Lashon 1 (1937), 62-78; idem., "Shevilei

Mivta'im," Kuntresim . . . 'Inyanei Lashon II (1938), 70-76; idem., "Hagayah Sefaradit bi-Zarefat ha-Zefonit bi-Doro shel Rashi u-ve-Dorot shele-'aharav," 'Inyanei Lashon (1942), 16-31; idem., "'al Hagayat ha-Hatafim ve-ha-kamez he-hatuf bi-'Ashkenaz," ibid., 31-39; Y. P. Gumpertz, "Hagayat ha-'Otiyot bi-Zarefat ve-Gilgulah le-'Ashkenaz," 'Inyanei Lashon (1943), 12-30; B. Klar, "le-Toledot ha-Mivta ha-'Ivri bi-Yemei ha-Beinayim," Leshonenu XVII (1951), 72-75; Y. P. Gumpertz, Mivta'ei Sfateinu: Mehkarim Fonetiym-Historiym (Jerusalem, 1953); I. Garbell, "The Pronunciation of Hebrew in Medieval Spain," Homenaje a Millas-Vallicrosa I (Barcelona, 1954), 647-96; H. J. Zimmels, Ashkenazim and Sephardim (London, 1958), 82-88; S. Morag, The Vocalization Systems of Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic (Hague, 1962); E. Ehrentreu, "Ashkenazi and Sephardi Pronunciation," 'Ateret Zvi: Jubilee Volume Presented in Honor of the Eightieth Birthday of Rabbi Dr. Joseph Breuer (New York, 1962), 216-35; M. Weinreich, "Reishit ha-Havarah ha-'Ashkenazit bi-Zikatah le-Ba'ayot Kerovot shel ha-Yiddish ve-shel ha-'Ivrit ha-'Ashkenazit," Leshonenu XXVII-XXVIII (1963-1964), 131-47, 230-51, 318-39 and L. Charlop, "Kamaz 'Ashkenazi' o 'Sefaradi'?" Sinai XCVI (1985), 265-75.

For the different types of Hebrew, see "Hebrew Language," Supplementary Entries, EJ XVI, 1590-1642. Much information on the earlier period is forthcoming in the works of E. Y. Kutscher, J. N. Epstein, S. Lieberman and M. H. Segal. See the bibliography, EJ, ibid., 1659-60. For Hebrew in later medieval Spain and Germany, see the works cited ibid., 1660-61.

42. See, for example, Ez Hayyim (1579; in ms.) by R. Hayyim b.

Bezalel; 'Em ha-Yeled (Prague, 1597) and Kol Korei (Cracow, 1603) by R. Joseph b. Elhanan Heilprun; Siah Yizhak (Prague, 1627) by R. Isaac b. Samuel of Posen; Mateh Mosheh (Cracow, 1591) by R. Moses b. Abraham Met; 'Emek Berakhah (Cracow, 1597) by R. Abraham b. Shabbatai Horowitz; Hokhmat Manoah (Prague, 1612) and Manoah ha-Levavot (Lublin, 1596) by R. Manoah b. Shemaryah Handel; Livyat Hen (Manuta, 1557) by R. Emmanuel b. Yekutiel; Lehem Rav (Prague, 1609) by R. Samuel b. Joseph of Lublin and, reflecting Sephardic traditions, 'Ot 'Emet (Salonika, 1565) by R. Meir b. Samuel Benveneste. See also Jewish Encyclopedia VI (1904), 77-78.

43. A great deal of important information on Shabbetai Sofer and his contemporaries is available in the very helpful work by S. Reif, Shabbetai Sofer and His Prayer Book, *op. cit.*

44. See I. Halperin, Pinkas Va'ad Arba 'Arazot (Jerusalem, 1975), 31-33, 34-35.

45. See Reif, *op. cit.*, 53f.

46. See above, n. 27.

47. S. Hanau, Sefer Binyan Shelomoh (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1708), 52b (the correct reading is "eilu devarim she-ein lahem shi'ur" not "shey'ur"), 56b (the correct reading is "zokhreinu bi-zikaron tov," not "bi-zikaron"), 61b-62a (the correct reading is "ve-sa nes le-kabez giluyoteinu," not "galuyoteinu"), 63b (the correct reading is "hei ha-'olamim," not

"hay ha'olamin"), 70b (in the Rosh Hodesh Amidah, the text should read "zikaron le-kulam yehiyu," not "hayu"), 84b (in Birkat ha-Mazon for Shabbat, the text should read "hani'ah lanu," not "hanah lanu"), 89b (the correct reading is "benei Avraham 'ohavkha," not "'ohavekha"), 91a and 93a ("ma anu" in both cases should be printed with a kamez, not a hataf patah or patah).

The background for some of these objections are explained in Reif, op. cit., 225, n. 391; 256, n. 393; 279, n. 674 and 308, n. 995.

It is interesting to note that this work which Emden was to roundly criticize carried an approbation by R. Naphtali Kohen, then Chief Rabbi of Frankfurt-am-Main, who was to become Emden's grandfather-in-law. See above, p. 35. A later work of Hanau's, Sefer Yesod ha-Nikkud (Amsterdam, 1730), contained an approbation by R. Samuel Hilman, then Chief Rabbi of Mannheim, who was later a strong supporter of Emden in his controversy against Eybeschütz.

48. S. Krauss, "Zur Literatur der Siddurim," op. cit., 9 characterized Hanau's book as "grammatische Erörterungen und Polemik gegen Asriel und dessen Sohn Elia aus Wilna."

49. In addition to Sefer Binyan Shelomoh mentioned above, see also Hanau's Sha'arei Torah (Hamburg, 1718).

50. See, for example, R. Grieshaber, Sefer 'Anaf 'Ez 'Avot (1744). The book is cited by J. Zedner, op. cit., 722.

Already Hanau's first book, Sefer Binyan Shelomoh, published in

Frankfurt-am-Main in 1708 (above, n. 47), was criticized for this reason and the leaders of the Frankfurt community forced him to add an apology at the end of this work to those early grammarians he offended (e.g. I. Abravanel, Ibn Ezra, D. Kimhi, E. Bahur and R. Isaac b. Samuel of Posen, author of Siah Yizhak [above, n. 42]).

Later on, Hanau penned an entire work, Kurei Akhvish (Fuerth, 1744) in response to his critics.

51. See above, pp. 61-61; p. 89, n. 144. Much material later published in LE was clearly added after 1729 (see below, n. 67) and it is, therefore, very difficult to determine what exactly had already been written by that time.

References to LE II in the notes below refer to the Marassziget, 1912 edition of 'Ez 'Avot.

It is interesting to note that Hanau's work which Emden here so bitterly attacked was also printed with an approbation from R. Naphtali Kohen and, in fact, from Hakham Zevi as well! Emden claimed, however, that both were forged. See LE I:2a, 73a, 74a-75a; LE II: 76a.

52. See LE I:57a, 78b.

53. See LE I:3b (introduction), 6a (#6), 9a (#10), 10b (#14), 11b (#17), 13a (#21), 21a (#58), 23b (#121), 25b (#128 - the Rabbis also incorporated Aramaic into the liturgy), 29b (#146), 32a (#156), 36a (#176 - they even incorporated Greek, Persian and Egyptian, among other languages into the liturgy), 54b (#302), 60a (#363), 62b (#405), 64b-65a

(#420), 68a (#557).

54. See, for example, LE I:14a (#25), 16a (#35), 24a (#122), 37a (#177), 67b (#446); LE II:80d. In LE I:24b-25a (#123) Emden agreed with Hanau's criticism of the Siddur of Rabbis Azriel and Elijah.

55. See, for example, LE I:16, 68a-b. Emden accused Hanau of being ignorant of the Bible (LE II:77d, 78a, 80b) and Rabbinic literature (LE I:13b [#22], 36a [#176], 68a-b [#459], 76b; LE II:78d).

56. LE I:2b, 62b.

57. LE I:1b-3b.

58. See, for example, LE I:3a (introduction), 32a (#159), 37a (#177), 60a (#363) and 62b (#405). Emden, however, did not introduce mysticism into this work. See LE I:26a (#130). This was to wait until his own Siddur commentary where, as we shall see, it played a major role.

59. LE II:80b. For examples of this, see LE I:29a-b (#146) - the misreading of "ki-shem" at the beginning of Kedushah to "ka-shem" sounds like an affirmation of Dualism; ibid., 45a (#219) - those who say "bi-shalosh Kedushot" seem to be accepting the Trinitarian doctrine.

60. See, for example, LE I:19a (#49), 30a (#148) and 65b (#424).

Emden also wrote notes in the margins of his own personal copy of

Hanau's Sefer Binyan Shelomoh. See M. Steinschneider, Ozrot Hayyim (Hamburg, 1848), 108, #585.

The final book-length criticism of Hanau's Sha'are Tefillah was penned by Mordecai Halberstadt (also known as Mordecai of Dusseldorf), Kuntres Hassagot 'al Siddur Sha'are Tefillah (Prague, 1784).

61. See above, pp. 170-71.

62. LS I:5b (Berakhot I:1).

63. LS I:5b-6a (ibid.). For the reference in Luah Eresh, see LE I:53b-54a (#302).

In LS I:7a (Berakhot I:1) and II:33b (Eruvin X:13) Emden again asserted that the rabbis often created their own linguistic formulations which need not conform to Biblical Hebrew.

Emden attacked Hanau directly once again in LS I:15a-b (Berakhot II:4). Other references to Emden's Luah Eresh in his Lehem Shamayim can be found in I:3a, 7a (Berakhot I:1), 9b (I:3), 23a (V:1), 25b (V:4), 34b (Pe'ah I:1), 45b (IV:6).

64. Cf. Job 19:27.

65. Sefer Zohar ha-Teivah (Vilna, 1873), "Mikhseh ha-Teiva," 87b.

For Emden's trip to Amsterdam at this time, see above pp. 152-53, n. 126.

66. The issue was whether to pronounce the word in the "u-va le-zion" prayer as "u-nitaltani" (Hanau) or "u-nitalatni" (Emden). In fact, Emden attacked Hanau's position on this in his LE I:47b-49a. See too Siddur I:166b.

67. See Sefer Zohar ha-Teiva, op. cit., 87a-91a. He addressed himself to Emden's comments in his Lehem Shamayim on Berakhot I:3 and II:4.

In sections of his Luah Eresh written after 1729, Emden responded to Hanau's criticism of him in his Zohar ha-Teivah. See LE II (1752):76a, 79a-b, 82a-b; I (1769):54a-56a, 64a, 78b. He referred to the title of Hanau's work not as Zohar ha-Teivah ("Light of the Ark;" see Gen. 6:16) but as "Sohar ha-Teivah" ("Prison of the Ark").

Regarding the pronunciation of "eivarim," see also Emden's marginalia on R. Elijah Bahur's Sefer ha-Tishbi edited by A. J. Bombach (Bnei-Berak, 1976), 1.

In his Luah Eresh, Emden attacked Hanau's other works as well. For comments on Sefer Binyan Shelomoh, see LE I:7a, 8b, 13a, 73a; for reactions to Yesod ha-Nikkud, see I:45a, 74a.

68. See Siddur I:1a. Emden was responding to Hanau's Zohar ha-Teivah, op. cit., 89b-90b which contained an attack on his Lehem Shamayim I:2a-b (Berakhot I:1).

69. See Siddur I:1a-b.

For other attacks by Emden against Hanau in the Siddur, see I:3b, 62b, 63a, 64b, 412b; II:8a, 64a.

70. It starts in the middle of I:1b.

71. He informed his readers that he would provide them with the correct texts of: Pirkei Shirah (Siddur I:43a, 45b), the personal kabbalat ta'anit (I:142b), the siyyum at the conclusion of studying a tractate from the Talmud (I:267b), various passages from the Zohar to be recited daily (I:282a), the prayer "ha-Mapil" to be recited before bedtime (I:327b) and the poem "Azamir bi-Shevachin" composed by R. Isaac Luria for recital prior to Kiddush on Friday night (I:346b).

On one occasion, when he couldn't ascertain the correct text for a special blessing (to be recited by the rabbinical court when they fixed the beginning of the new month), he regretfully left it out entirely. See Siddur II:1b.

For other specific examples, see Siddur I:65a ("ma zidkoteinu," not "ma zidkeinu"), 114b ("rezon koneihem"), 118a ("ve-keiravtanu malkeinu"), 126a ("go'alam"), 192a ("shem tiferet"), 323a ("ve-'ain heker"); II:23a ("mikadishei"), 117a ("'aval anahnu va-'avoteinu hatanu").

72. For an example of adding a letter, see Siddur I:159b; of deleting a letter, see II:9a; of adding a word, see I:125b; II:23a (one must say "eloheinu velohei avoteinu" in the Holiday Musaf Amidah even if it falls on Shabbat); of deleting a word, see I:65a ("ba-seter" only and not "ba-galuy" as well), 80b ("nidreshet" only and not "bahem" as well), 216a ("barukh 'ata shome'a tefillah," without mentioning the name of God).

For Emden's bracketing the word "hinei" (followed by "lo yanum ve-

lo yishan shomer yisrael" in the Nishmat prayer; Siddur I:second 359b), see Reif, op. cit., 252, n. 363. The background for Emden's bracketing "yom" (followed by "menuhah u-kedushah" in the Shabbat Minhah Amidah; I:359a) is discussed by Reif, ibid., 317-18, n. 1104. Reif's extensive notes also contain much information on grammatical aspects of the liturgical text and include many other important references to Emden's Siddur. See index, s.v., "Emden, Jacob."

73. In addition to his polemic against Hanau (above, n. 69), Emden took issue with Maharil's formulation of "kol ma'aseihem tohu" instead of "rov ma'aseihem tohu." See Sefer Maharil (Warsaw, 1874), 48 and Emden's Siddur I:65a and II:131a). See also Reif, ibid., 251, n. 228.

For Emden's polemics against Abudarham, see some of the sources cited above, n. 24, end.

74. See, for example, Siddur I:153a and the discussion regarding Kol Nidre, below, n. 79.

Emden was already known for his grammatical expertise. It is mentioned by R. Ezekiel Kazenellenbogen in his approbation to the work, printed at the beginning of Siddur I.

75. See, for example, Siddur I:191b, 323a; II:117a.

76. Emden noted (Siddur I:118a, 125b, 126a, 327b) that an important sod would be lost if the text was altered. Sometimes he argued that the significance of the exact number of words in the prayer would be lost if

one followed a particular variant (Siddur I:125b, 327b). The general significance of the number of words in a prayer will be discussed below.

In LE I:35b (#172), 39b (#191), 45b (#223), 46a (#226, 227), 51a (#272-76) and 58a (#322) Emden adduced the Zohar to determine the correctness of a text.

77. See, for example, Siddur I:43a. See also LE I:63b (#414).

78. See, for example, Siddur II:22b, 41a.

79. Siddur II:115b-116a. See also SY I:145 and Mor u-Keziyah II:68c (#619).

Emden's opinion on this matter was cited by Yaakov ibn Yizḥaki, Mahzor Oholei Ya'akov II (Jerusalem, 1908), 19. See, in general, N. Wieder, "'Avar ve-'Atid bi-Nusah 'Kol Nidrei'," Mikhtam le-David: Sefer Zikkaron ha-Rav David Ochs (Ramat Gan, 1978), 198-200.

80. See, for example, Siddur I:62b, 64b, 65a, 80b, 87a, 109b, 111b, 115a ("ne'imah kedoshah"; on this see the "Hakdamah ha-Kellalit" to R. Shabbethai Sofer's Siddur printed by A. Berliner, Abhandlung über den Siddur des Schabtai ha-Sofer aus Przemysl, op. cit., 14-15), 125b, 150a, 151b, 159b, 169b, 337a, 360a; II:3b, 28a, 41a, 82a, 119b.

81. See, for example, Siddur I:87a, 94a, 101a, 123b; II:5b.

82. See, for example, Siddur I:62b, 111b, 192a; II:5b, 27b.

83. See, for example, Siddur I:63a, 156a; II:7a.

84. See, for example, Siddur I:115a, 137b and second 359a. See also LE I:29b (#147).

85. For pages with multiple references to LE, see Siddur I:62a, 62b, 63b, 65a, 66a, 82a, 83a, 111a, 114a, 117b, 125b, 126a, 130a, 131a, 133a, 134a, 135a, 138a, 153a, 159b, 163b, 166b, 304a, 305a, 307b, 323b, second 359a, 360a, 369a, 412b; II:8b, 82b, 83b, 88b and 131a. Some hundred references to Luah Eresh can be found in these pages alone. Over sixty more are scattered elsewhere throughout the work.

86. See, for example, Siddur I:64a (Birkhat ha-Torah), 69a (Pitum ha-Ketoret), 69b (Parshat ha-Musafim).

There was some discussion as to where the section of Ketoret should be placed. Basing himself on a statement from the Zohar, Emden compromised by printing the relevant Biblical text (Ex. 30:34-6, 7-8) at the beginning of the service (Siddur I:69a-b) and its explanation at the end (I:169a-172b). This issue is also discussed by R. Shabbetai Sofer in his Siddur commentary. See Reif, op. cit., 201.

87. At the very beginning of the work (Siddur I:2b), Emden acknowledged their influence. For specific references to R. Isaac Luria, see Siddur I:62a (include "'afilu sha'ah 'ahat" at the end of "'asher yazar"), 63b (recite the blessing of "ha-ma'avir sheinah me'einai" at the end of birk-

hot ha-shahar), 64a ("ha-'arev na," without a "vav"), 110b (add "ki va
sus . . . [Ex. 15:19]" to the end of "'az yashir"), 129b (recite "morid
ha-tal" in the summertime), 140a (conclude the Minhah and Ma'ariv Amidah
with "sim shalom"), 140a-b (do not end the Amidah with "'oseh ha-shalom"
during the Ten Days of Penitence but always conclude with "ha-mevareh 'et
'amo yisrael ba-shalom"), 154a (recite Ps. 25 for "nefilat 'apayim"),
168b (recite Ps. 86 before "'ein keloheinu"), 172b (recite "'aleinu"
after every service), 321a (recite various Biblical passages, in addition
to the Kaddish, prior to the beginning of Ma'ariv), 327b, 328b, 329b
(correct text of "keriyat shema 'al ha-mitah"), 337a (begin "Kabbalat
Shabbat" with "mizmor le-david" [Ps. 29] and not "lekhu niraninah" [Ps.
95]), 339a (recite "lekha dodi" on Shabbat and Yom Tov), 347a (correct
text of the "kiddush"), 372b (correct text of the Shabbat Musaf Kedu-
shah); II:56b (when counting the 'Omer, first count the number of days,
say the word "la-'omer" and then count the number of weeks), 73b (recite
"nahamu" ["nahem"?] in the Tish'ah be-'Av Minhah Amidah). Under the
impact of Ari, Emden also omitted various prayers (e.g. Yigdal [I:37a,
176b, 348b], "parshat ha-man" and the Ten Commandments at the end of the
morning service [I:197a and 210a]) and added others (e.g. after birkhat
kohanim [I:147a], after opening the ark for the Torah reading on holidays
and Rosh Hashanah [II:48a and 88b-89a]). For references to Ari in Luah
Eresh, see LE I:53b (#298, vocalization), 59a (#339) and 62a (#400; cor-
rect text).

For references to Hakham Zevi in the Siddur, see I:64a (add the
word "lishemah" at end of "ha-'arev na"), 68a (recite only the Biblical
section of "terumat ha-deshen" during "korbanot"), 69a (recite the Bibl-

ical section of ketoret at the beginning of the services), 110b (don't repeat the verse "hashem yimlokh" nor recite its Aramaic equivalent during "'az yashir"), 110b (conclude "'az yashir" with the verse of "shema yisra'el"), 210b (read Deut. 4:32-40, 8:2-18 and 10:12-11:2 at the end of the morning service), 315b (recite various Biblical and Talmudic passages before beginning the Minhah Service), 394b (recite Ps. 92 after completing the Torah reading during Minhah on Shabbat afternoon); II:33a (interpolate Ezek. 16:6 into the text of the Haggadah immediately after reciting the verse which follows it). See also LE I:10a (#12), 36b (#176) and 47a (#244). In some cases, Emden noted that his father adopted positions taken by R. Isaac Luria. See, for example, Siddur I:110b, 321a, 327b, 337a and 339a.

He also quoted his father once on a matter of vocalization. See Siddur II:138b (the correct pronunciation during "hoshanot" is "'ani va-ho"). See also LE I:25a (#123), 50b (#263), 65b (#424), 66b (#439) and 67a (#441).

88. For early examples of this interaction, see S. Assaf, "Halifat She'elot u-Teshuvot bein Sefarad u-bein Zarefat ve-'Ashkenaz," Tarbiz VIII (1937), 162-70; reprinted in S. Assaf, Mekorot u-Mehkarim bi-Toledot Yisrael (Jerusalem: 1946), 119-29. For later examples, see H. J. Zimmels, Ashkenazim and Sephardim (London, 1976), in passing.

89. In listing the works he consulted in preparing his Siddur, he included 'Ot 'Emet by the Sephardic Rabbi Meir b. Samuel Benveniste (Salonika, 1565; above, n. 42). See Reif, op. cit., 19, 327.

90. See Reif, ibid., 23, n. 93-95; 226, n. 148; 243, n. 275; 286, n. 772.

91. See, for example, M. Grunwald, Portugiesengräber auf deutscher Erde (Hamburg, 1902); S. Rosanes, Divrei Yemei Yisrael bi-Togarma, 6 vols. (1914-1945; Vols. 2, 4-6 are entitled Korot ha-Yehudim bi-Turkiya ve-Arazot ha-Kedem); H. Bloom, The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Williamsport, 1937); A. M. Hyamson, The Sephardim of England (London, 1951); H. Kellenbenz, Sephardim an der unteren Elbe (Wiesbaden, 1958).

92. For information about R. Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarhi (c. 1155-1215), see I. Twersky, Rabad of Posquières (Cambridge, 1962), 240-44; Y. Raphael, ed., Sefer ha-Manhig I (Jerusalem, 1978), introduction, 11-86; B. Septimus, Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition (Cambridge, 1982), 32-35. Regarding R. Asher b. Yehiel (c. 1250-1327), see EJ III, 706-08; H. J. Zimmels, op. cit., 21-35; E. Elinson, "le-Heker Kavei ha-Pesikah shel ha-Rosh," Sinai XCIII (1983), 234-44. For later examples, see H. J. Zimmels, Ashkenazim and Sephardim, op. cit., in passing.

93. See D. Kaufmann, Die Erstürmung Ofens und ihre Vorgeschichte (Trier, 1895), 18-19; reprinted in idem., "Isak Schulhof, der Zeuge und Geschichtsschreiber der Erstürmung Ofens," Gesammelte Schriften II (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1910), 300-01; A. Fuerst, "Budapest," 'Arim ve-'Immahot bi-Yisrael, edited by J. L. Fishman, II (Jerusalem, 1948), 124f.

94. MS, op. cit., 8.

R. Ephraim ha-Kohen was the author of She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim. R. Elijah Covo wrote 'Aderet Eliyahu, printed in Constantinople, 1739, together with the responsa of R. Joseph Handali and collectively entitled Shenei ha-Me'orot ha-Gedolim.

95. See She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, #7, 41, 168; H. Y. D. Azulai, Shem ha-Gedolim ha-Shalem I (New York, 1965), 84a.

During this visit to the East, the Sephardim conferred upon him the honorary title of "Hakham." See S. Buber, Anshei Shem (Cracow, 1895), 187; E. Duckesz, 'Ivah le-Moshav (Cracow, 1903), 12.

For more on these visits in the East, see below, pp. 372-73.

96. See J. Loewenstein's notes to S. Buber's Anshei Shem, ibid., 247. Cf. J. Bleich, "Hakham Zevi as Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazic Kehilla of Amsterdam (1710-1714)," (unpublished Master's thesis; Yeshiva University, 1965), 14, n. 36.

97. MS, op. cit., 8-9; She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, introduction.

98. MS, ibid., 13, 25. See also above, p. 23.

99. MS, ibid., 107-08. See also 25-26.

100. MS, ibid., 30; see above, pp. 30-31.

101. MS, ibid., 30-1. See too J. Emden, 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 22b; A. Freimann, "Koshet 'Imrei 'Emet," 'Inyanei Shabbetai Zevi (Berlin, 1912), 129-30; M. Friedman, "'Iggerot bi-Parshat Polmos Neḥemya Ḥiyya Ḥayon," Sefunot X (1966), 429f.

102. MS, ibid., 34-37; SY I:170; D. Kaufmann, "Rabbi Zevi Ashkenazi and His Family in London," TJHSE III (1899), 116-17.

103. MS, ibid., 36.

104. She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, #38. This entire issue is discussed in I. Epstein, "The Story of Ascama I of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Congregation of London with Special Reference to Responsa Material," Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman (Philadelphia, 1962), 170f; H. J. Zimmels, op. cit., 297-99.

105. Ibid., #18; MS, ibid., 35. See also J. Bleich, op. cit., 40-47; I. Solomons, "David Nieto and Some of His Contemporaries," TJHSE XII (1931), 10f.; J. Petuchowski, The Theology of Hakham David Nieto (New York, 1954), 15-17 and the literature cited there.

This responsum is carefully annotated by Gil 'Ad, "'Imanentiyut, Transzendentiyut u-Pitronot shel ha-Rabi mi-Lyadi," Midor Dor I (Jerusalem, 1979), 126-31.

For other evidence of Hakham Zevi's close ties with Sephardim from his responsa, see #13, 14, 42, 95, 111. See also S. Rosanes, op. cit.,

IV, 253.

106. MS, op. cit., 16, 25; J. Emden, Mitpahat Sefarim (Lvov, 1870), 9: "although my revered father was an Ashkenazi, he spoke Spanish ('leshon Sephardi') like one of the Sephardim born in that country." Hakham Zevi also knew Italian. See MS, 16.

107. MS, ibid., 8. For background information, see H. J. Zimmels, op. cit., 91-97.

108. MS, ibid., 35.

109. See Encyclopedia Judaica III (Berlin, 1929), 484.

110. Emden is probably referring to She'elot u-Teshuvot ha-Rosh XX:20. See also Elinson, op. cit., 234-35 and Zimmels, op. cit., 25, n. 3.

111. The verse from Obadiah (I:20), "and the captivity of Jerusalem that is in Sefarad" was adduced by Sephardim throughout the Middle Ages as proof of their exalted lineage. For example, see the beginning of Hasdai ibn Shaprut's letter to Joseph, King of the Khazars, printed in P. K. Kokovtsov, Evreisko-Khazarskaya Perepiska v X veke (Leningrad, 1932), 10; G. Cohen, Sefer ha-Qabbalah: The Book of Tradition by Abraham ibn Daud (Philadelphia, 1967), Hebrew section, 71; English section, 97-8; M. Maimonides, 'Iggeret Teman, ed. by J. Kapah (Jerusalem, 1972), 48; R. Moses of Coucy, Sefer Mizvot Gadol, Mizvot 'Aseh, #74.

For later sources, see H. H. Ben-Sasson, "Dor Golei Sefarad 'al 'Azmo," Zion XXVI (1961), 23-24.

112. See EJ XII, 417-18 and the bibliography cited there. In addition, see G. Cohen, ibid., index, s. v. "Moses, R., the captive."

113. Siddur I:411b-412a.

114. Ibid., 139a. The significance of this passage was already noticed by B. S. Jacobson, Netiv Binah I (Tel Aviv, 1964), 126.

115. Ibid., 4a. This passage is cited in Y. Z. Halevi, 'Amirah Ne'imah, Tinyana I (Tel Aviv, 1955), #188; O. Yosef, Yabi'a 'Omer VI (1976), #11, 35; H. J. Zimmels, op. cit., 86.

See also Siddur I:36a where Emden sadly admitted that, "due to the tyranny of habit," he is unable to properly pronounce the soft tav.

For the Ashkenazi lack of distinction between 'aleph and 'ayin, see also Siddur II:85b.

Other references to the inadequacy of Sephardi vowel pronunciation in Emden's works can be found in LE I:22b (#118), 42a (#198), 47b (#252), 55b (#302) and Mor u-Keziyah I:52d; for a similar comment by R. Shabbetai Sofer, see Reif, op. cit., 218, n. 79.

116. Mor u-Keziyah I:35b.

For an earlier expression of preference for the Ashkenazi pronunciation by R. Shabbetai ha-Sofer, see Reif, ibid., 228, n. 152.

117. Siddur I:106a.
118. Ibid., I:111a.
119. Ibid., I:136b-137a.
120. Ibid., I:126a.
121. Ibid., I:129b.
122. Ibid., I:140a.
123. Ibid., I:140a-b. For the background of this, see A. Berliner, Kitavim Nivharim, op. cit., I:36.
124. Ibid., I:308b.
125. Ibid., I:315b, 321a.
126. Ibid., I:338a-b.
127. Ibid., I:372a. Cf. II:9a (regarding Rosh Hodesh) and 50a (regarding Holidays) where Emden also identified this as a Sephardi practice but did not express a preference.

128. Ibid., II:66b.

In some of these cases, R. Isaac Luria's practice was identical with that of the Sephardim which may account for Emden's preference for that tradition. See, for example, Siddur I:129b (recital of "morid ha-tal" in the summertime), 140a (recital of "sim shalom" during the Afternoon and Evening services), 140a-b (no "'oseh ha-shalom" during the Ten Days of Penitence), 154a-b (recite Ps. 25 during "nefilat 'apayim"), 168a (recite Ps. 86 before "'ein ke-loheinu" in the daily Morning service) and 321a (recite various Biblical passages and Kaddish before Ma'ariv). He also noted, on occasion, that his father followed the Sephardi custom. See, for example, I:315b (recite various Biblical and Talmudic passages before Minhah).

129. Ibid., I:153a.

130. Ibid., I:364a-b and II:12a-b.

131. Ibid., II:116b-117a.

132. Ibid., I:110a.

133. Ibid., II:33a

There are other instances where Emden's commentary was not synchronized with the text he published. In Siddur II:27b, Emden noted in his commentary that "shederashah Ben Zoma" should have a mapik but the printed text does not reflect that. Also, in I:172a, Emden's commentary

on "'aleinu" includes remarks on the phrase "she-hem mishtahavim la-hevel ve-la-rik" but it does not appear in the text. Although clearly maintaining that it should be included, Emden exercised self-censorship by not printing it. As late as 1750 that passage was still considered offensive and was legally proscribed by the government. See J. R. Marcus, The Jew in the Medieval World (Cincinnati, 1938), 95, for the Charter issued by Frederick the Great of Prussia on April 17, 1750.

134. Siddur I:64b.

Emden also sometimes adopted the Ashkenazi text and vocalization without specifically identifying it as such. For example, he printed "o bishvil ha-holeh she-yishan" unlike the Sephardi "mipnei ha-holeh she-yishan" (ibid., I:339a; for the background of this, see Reif, op. cit., 240, n. 244); "ein ki-'erkikha" instead of "ein 'arokh lekha" (ibid., I:362a; Reif, ibid., 269-70, n. 561) and vocalized "bi-nidah bi-halah" instead of the Sephardi "ba-nidah ba-halah" (ibid., I:339a; Reif, ibid., 243, n. 275).

For earlier examples of Emden's choosing between Ashkenazi and Sephardi traditions in this area, see LE I:11a-b (#16; Emden favored the Ashkenazi "asher natan la-sekhvi vinah" as opposed to the Sephardi "ha-noten la-sekhvi vinah"); 20a (#50); 25b (#129; Emden preferred the Ashkenazi "ne'imah kedushah kulam ki-'ehad" over the Sephardi "ne'imah kedoshah"); 41a (#198; the Sephardi vocalization of "sha'at rahamim" with a kamaz is correct); 51b (#278; the Ashkenazi text of "berikh shemei" is wrong); 52b (#296; since old Ashkenazi texts have "bi-rov ha-tushbahot," do not emend it); 59a (#340; do not deviate from the Ashkenazi version of

"'et musaf"); 70a-73a (#462; the Sephardi tradition of the cantillation of the Ten Commandments is superior to the Ashkenazi).

135. Ibid., I:37a. See also the epilogue to the second volume of the Siddur, II:158a and 159a: "Heaven forbid that a person should change the custom of his community . . ."

136. Hullin 18b, s. v. "nahara." See also Hullin 57a.

On the phenomenology of minhag in general, see M. Havazelet, "'al ha-Minhag bi-Safrut ha-Geonim," Perakim III (New York, 1963), 97-108; I. Z. Kahana, "ha-Yahas bein ha-Halakhah ve-ha-Minhag," Mazkeret, ed. by S. Zevin and Z. Warhaftig (Jerusalem, 1962), 554-64; reprinted in I. Z. Kahana, Mehkarim bi-Sifrut ha-Teshuvot (Jerusalem, 1973), 108-16; Y. Denari, "ha-Minhag ve-ha-Halakhah bi-Teshuvot Hakhmei 'Ashkenaz bi-Me'ah ha-15," Sefer Zikaron le-Binyamin de Vries (Jerusalem, 1968), 168-98.

137. Siddur I:117a.

138. See, for example, Siddur I:83b (while Emden printed "hodu" after "barukh she-'amar" in the daily morning service, he noted that Sephardim recite it first and concluded, "there is a basis for each, therefore, let everyone follow his custom;" this is cited in A. E. Millgram, Jewish Worship [Philadelphia, 1971], 382); 90b (the Sephardi custom of adding certain selections from the Psalms to the Sabbath and holiday morning service is also correct); 338a-b (although Emden failed to find a basis for the Ashkenazi practice of omitting "bameh madlikin" if Friday night coin-

cided with a holiday, he maintained that everyone had a right to follow his own custom); 398b (either Psalm recited before the Evening service on Saturday night is acceptable - Ps. 119 for the Sephardim or Ps. 144 for the Ashkenazim).

139. See, for example, Siddur I:114b-115a ("u-mevorkhim" in the birkhot keriyat shema can end either with a mem [his preference] or a nun [the Sephardi custom]); 116a (Emden noted that the Sephardim have a different text for "l'eyl barukh" in the daily Morning service); 131b-139b (Emden repeatedly noted the different Sephardi variants for the weekday Shemoneh 'Esreh); 139a (the Sephardi text of the Priestly Blessing is also correct); 293b (both the Ashkenazi and Sephardi versions of the second blessing of the Grace After Meals are acceptable); 366b (Emden noted that the Sephardim have a different version of "'al hakol yitgadal" prior to the Shabbat morning Torah reading); II:11b (the Sephardim add two sentences to the Haftorah when Saturday coincides with the first day of Rosh Hodesh).

140. In Siddur 1:372a Emden printed the Sephardi "keter" alongside the Ashkenazi "na'arizkha" in the Shabbat Musaf Kedushah.

Sometimes the variant text appeared in parentheses. See, for example, I:359a-360a (in "nishmat," the questionable word is "'alef," and Emden noted that "it is placed in parentheses out of doubt and let everyone follow the custom of his place;" for the background of this issue, see Reif, op. cit., 256, n. 393, 396); 371a (regarding the text of "tik-anta shabbat;" for background, see Reif, ibid., 305-06, n. 983); 372a-b

(kedushah for Shabbat Musaf); II:27b (regarding "le-par'oh" at the beginning of the Haggadah).

141. See, for example, Siddur I:107a where Emden opposed the custom in some unidentified communities where the mohel led a responsive chanting of "ve-kharot 'imo ha-brit" on the morning of a brit.

142. Ibid., I:64a. See also I:second 359a (where to pause in nishmat); II:50b, 55a (which Biblical passages should be recited at the end of the Passover morning service); 87b (the order of "shokhen 'ad" on the Holidays); 119b (which penitential prayers should be recited after services on Yom Kippur night).

143. See, for example, Siddur I:396a; II:80b, 123b, 130a.

144. See, for example, ibid., I:69b (in discussing at which point in the morning service to recite the Biblical passage referring to the Musaf sacrifice, Emden wrote that "the custom uproots this law - "minhag 'oker halakhah zu"; 138b (regarding the recital of birkhat kohanim in the house of a mourner); II:50a (in noting that additional liturgical prayers are added during tefillat tal, Emden noted that, "even though it is not proper according to the law, the strength of custom is all-powerful" ["yad ha-minhag takifa"]); 72b-73a (by law, nahem should also be recited during Ma'ariv and Sha'arit on Tish'a B'Av).

145. See, for example, Siddur I:100b, 146a, 373a, 396b.

146. See, for example, ibid., I:342a-b; II:73a, 85b, 87b. I have been unable to identify this community. It is unlikely that it refers to Altona because in II:106a Emden cited a practice from there and then added, "this is not our custom."

147. Ibid., I:194a, 194b.

148. Ibid., II:130a.

149. Ibid., I:338a.

All of these sources are important to consider in an analysis of Emden's attitude to minhag and in determining his understanding of the concept of minhag ta'ut.

150. Siddur I:178a-192b.

151. Ibid., 175b-177b.

For various editions of this text with some of its commentaries, see A. M. Haberman, ed., Shirei ha-Yihud ve-ha-Kavod (Jerusalem, 1948). For a discussion of the history of this controversial prayer, see A. Berliner, "Die Einheitsgesang; eine literar-historische studie," Jahresbericht des Rabbiner-Seminars zu Berlin für 1908/09 (5669) (Berlin, 1910); translated into Hebrew as "Shir ha-Yihud," Ketavim Nivharim, op. cit., I:145f. For references there to Emden's commentary see pp. 151, 158 and also, ibid., 67-68.

See also Mor u-Keziah I:48c (#113).

152. Siddur I:42b-58b.

An exhaustive discussion of the history and significance of this work can be found in M. Beit-Arié, Perek Shirah: Mevo'ot u-Mahadura Bikortit, 2 vols. (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Hebrew University, 1966). For references to Emden's commentary, see I:33, 99. It was recently reprinted with a commentary by the son of the late Steipler Rav. See S. Kanivsky, Baraita Perek Shirah (Bnei Berak, 1985).

Emden's commentary was reprinted in his lifetime, in Livorno, 1767, but with no mention of his name. The title page refers to it simply as "a pleasant interpretation according to the way of Truth" ("al derekh ha-'Emet," i.e. Kabbalah) and all personal references at the beginning and end of the commentary were deleted. It was printed again by P. Z. Gliksman in his edition of Perek Shirah (Lodz, 1934). One must exercise great caution with the text because Gliksman took it from a later edition of Emden's Siddur which included much interpolated material not found in the original. See Rafael, op. cit., 240, n.; above, p. 15, n. 1.

Some of Emden's own additions to his commentary found in an Amsterdam manuscript in his own hand were published, with a brief introduction, by A. Bick (Shauli) in Moriah V:1-3 (1973), 19-22. Great caution must be exercised as well with any texts published by Bick (see above, pp. 17-18, n. 8).

153. The following Biblical passages are explained by Emden: Gen. 22:1-19 (Siddur I:66b-67b), Num. 28:1-8 (68a-b), Ex. 30:34-36 and 30:7-8 (69a-b), I Chron. 16:8-36 (83b-84b), Ps. 100 (85b), Ps. 19 (86a-87a), Ps. 34

(87a-88a), Ps. 90 (88a-89b), Ps. 91 (89b-90b), Ps. 135 (90b-92a), Ps. 136 (92a-93b), Ps. 33 (94a-95a), Ps. 92 (95a-96a), Ps. 93 (96a-b), Ps. 145-150 (98a-105a), Ex. 14:30-15:19 (107b-110b), Deut. 6:4-9 (119b-121a), Deut. 11:13-21 (121a-123b), Num. 6:24-27 (145b-147a), Ps. 25 (154b-155b), Ps. 20 (164b-165b), Ex. 31:16-17 (364b-365b), Ps. 113-118 (II:2b-8a).

For comments on various collections of verses, see I:84b-85b ("hodu"), 96b-97b ("yehi khivod"), 105a-b ("barukh 'adonay le-'olam"), 105b-107a ("va-yivarekh david"), 150a-151a ("ve-hu rahum"), 166a-168a ("u-va le-Zion") ; II:28a-38b (Hagaddah). In most cases Emden noted their Biblical source. On one occasion, Emden noted only the source without providing any of his own commentary. See I:324a (the verses cited before the Amidah during Ma'ariv of the Shabbat and Holidays).

For Emden's comments on various selections from the Mishnah and Talmud, see I:64b (Pe'ah I:1), 77a-80b ("eizehu mikoman;" Zevahim V), 169a-170b ("pitum ha-ketoret;" Keritut 6a).

For examples of eliciting exegetical information from a nonexegetical work, see Z. Karl, "ha-Rambam ki-Parshan ha-Mikra," Tarbiz VI (1935), 152-63; I. Twersky, Introduction to the Code of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah) (New Haven, 1980), 145-50.

154. See Siddur I:197a-262a, 375b-389a. The Biblical selections included: Gen. 1:1-5 (I:197a-198a), Isa. 42:5-9 (198a-b), Ps. 24 (198b-199b), Lev. 1:10-13 (211a), Lev. 6:1-16 (211a-212a), Lev. 7:11-16 (212a-b), Lev. 3:1-5 (212b), Num. 15:1-16 (212b-213b), Lev. 6:17-23 (213b-214a), Lev. 7:1-10 (214a), Gen. 1:6-8 (216b-217a), Isa. 42:10-16 (217a-b), Ps. 48 (217b-219a), Gen. 1:9-13 (224a-225a), Joel 2:18-27 (225a-226a;

Emden's reference to Isa. 42 on 225a is an error; see above, n. 16), Ps. 82 (226a-227a), Gen. 1:14-19 (231b-232b), Jer. 31:34-39 (232b-233a), Ps. 94 (233b-234b), Gen. 1:20-23 (244b-245a), Ezek. 47:9-12 (245a-b), Ps. 81 (245b-247a), Gen. 1:24-31 (255b-257b), Isa. 45:11-17 (257b-258a), Ex. 20:8-11 (375b-376b), Ex. 31:12-15 (376b-377b), Lev. 24:5-9 (377b-378a), Isa. 56:1-8 (378a-379b), Isa. 58:9-14 (379b-380b), Neh. 13:19-22 (380b).

For commentary on various Talmudic passages in the Ma'amadot, see I:199b-210a, 219a-223b, 227a-231a, 234b-243b, 247a-254b, 258a-261b, 381a-389a.

155. Siddur I:1a.

156. MS, 167. See also Tarbiz XLII, 464.

157. For recent studies on this issue, see F. Talmadge, David Kimhi: The Man and the Commentaries (Cambridge, 1975), Chapter III ("The Way of Peshat"), 54-134; M. Berger, The Torah Commentary of Rabbi Samuel ben Meir (unpublished doctoral dissertation; Harvard University, 1982).

158. See, for example, Siddur I:89b, 147a, 225a, 238a, 239b, 246a, 365a; II:31b-32a.

159. See, for example, ibid., I:118b, 269b, 382a; II:32a. The source for this principle is Shabbat 63a, Yevamot 11b, 24a.

160. See, for example, ibid., I:89b: "It is customary for Scripture to

repeat the figurative phrase ('meliza') in different words;" 107b (the verse often uses the future tense instead of the past), 138b (focusing on the meaning of a vav at the beginning of a word).

Emden also stressed the significance of context. See Siddur I:106b, 111a-b, 118b.

161. See, for example, ibid., I:108b ("vekhasyumu"), 110a ("mikdash"), 206a ("'olam ha-ba"), 365a ("vayinafash"), 376a ("ta'avod"); II:3a ("'akeret"), 26a ("nishtanah"), 28a ("ha'eydot"), 28a-b (the difference between "lachen" and "'etchem"), 35a ("vayeda"), 118a ("ve'idat"), 118b ("kapat"). Emden also noted the grammatical form of a word (see, for example, II:5a ["u-mizarej"] and 7a ["ha-mezar"]) and also pointed out when it was grammatically problematic (see, for example, I:92b where, in commenting on "le-memshilot," he noted that, "it is a slightly strange word" and 121b where he wrote that, "this word [i.e. "ve-natati"] is difficult, there is none like it in the entire book of Deuteronomy").

162. See, for example, ibid., I:66a, 191b, 192a, 323a.

163. See, for example, ibid., I:189b. See also I:178a ("lakuah me-ha-mishnah") and I:203b ("lashon gemara lehud ve-lashon mishnah lehud").

164. See, for example, ibid., I:64a, 65b, 185a, 185b, 189a, 189b, 191b, 214a; II:88a, 118b. See also I:190b ("leshon razal").

165. See, for example, ibid., I:82b, 173a, 174b, 182a, 183a, 183b, 250a,

258a, 372a; II:88a.

Emden also identified a word as "milah talmudit" (see, for example, ibid., I:62a, 65b, 94a, 131b, 184b) or pointed out that it comes from Aramaic (see, for example, ibid., I:62a, 62b, 63b, 65b, 86a, 122a, 124b, 125a, 217a, 226a).

In Luah Eresh, Emden also often differentiated between Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew. See, for example, LE I:9a (#10), 10b (#14), 21a (#58), 30b (#152), 45b (#223), 53a (#298), 54b (#302), 56a (#304), 56b (#305), 57a (#308), 62a (#395-398), 62b (#405), 63b (#413), 67b (#452), 75b; II:78d.

166. See, for example, ibid., I:94a and 101a ("navah"), 107a ("ve-kha-rot"), 232b ("galav"), 251a ("sayaf"), 257b ("zirim" and "azabim"), 260a-b ("min"), 327b ("hevlei"); II:69a ("mishti").

167. See, for example, ibid., I:48a, 90a, 127a, 169b, 287b, 301a, 362b, 411a; II:69a, 74b, 78b, 89b, 144a. For a reference to Latin, see I:251a.

168. See, for example, ibid., I:33a, 108a, 108b, 110a, 158b, 165b, 176b, 197a, 221b, 222a, 224b, 227a, 227b, 232b, 250a, 275a, 285b, 373a, 375a, 376b, 377a, 377b, 384a, 392a; II:32a, 68b, 156b.

169. See, for example, ibid., I:2a, 13a, 93b, 94a, 107b, 108a, 109a, 109b, 110a.

170. See, for example, ibid., I:36a (Mikhlol), 46b (Sefer ha-

Shorashim), 93b, 199b (Sefer ha-Shorashim), 246a, 380b.

Emden also cited the commentary of R. Elijah Mizrahi, ibid., I:108a, 376b.

171. See, for example, ibid., I:197b; II:6b, 34a.

If one compares I:106a with I:197b, it would appear that Emden identified the interpretation of "razal" with "derek ha-derash."

172. See, for example, ibid., I:44a, 51b, 55a, 57b, 59a, 62b, 109a, 187a, 190b, 191a, 191b, 393b, 399a, 410a; II:13a, 33b, 34a, 80b, 92a, 151a.

All of these sources are important for a more comprehensive study of Emden's exegetical methodology.

173. For specific studies see, for example, P. Bloch, "Die Yorde Mer-kava, die Mystiker der Gaonenzeit, und ihr Einfluss auf die Liturgie," MGWJ XXXVII (1893), 18-25, 69-74, 257-66, 305-11; I. Tishby, "Tefillah ve-Kavanah," Mishnat ha-Zohar II (Jerusalem, 1961), 247-362; R. J. Z. Werblowsky, "Tikkunei Tefillah le-Rabi Shlomo ha-Levi ibn Alkabez," Sefu-not VI (1962), 135-82; A. Yaari, Ta'alumat Sefer (Jerusalem, 1954) on Sefer Hemdat Yamim and idem., "Sifrei Tikunim u-Tefillot le-fi Sefer 'Hemdat Yamim'," KS XXXVIII (1962-63), 97-112, 247-62, 380-400; L. Jacobs, Hasidic Prayer (New York, 1973).

The issue, in general, is discussed by L. Zunz, op. cit., (n. 23), 24, 149f; A. Berliner, Randbemerkungen zum taeglichen Gebetbuche (Siddur) I (Berlin, 1909), 30f., trans. into Hebrew as "He'arot 'al ha-Siddur,"

Ketavim Nivharim, op. cit., I:33f.; I. Elbogen, "Der Einfluss der Mystik auf den Gottesdienst," Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung, op. cit., 377-94; trans. into Hebrew as "Hashpa'at Torat ha-Sod 'al 'Avodat Bet ha-Knesset," Ha-Tefilla bi-Yisrael bi-Hitpathuta ha-Historit, op. cit., 281-91; H. J. Zimmels, op. cit., 111-13, 117-19; G. Scholem, "Kabbalah," EJ X, 627-30, 640-41; A. E. Millgram, Jewish Worship, op. cit., 474-517.

174. See J. Kaufmann, R. Yom Tov Lipmann Muelhausen (New York, 1927), 44, 80-81.

175. See above, p. 259, n. 26. See also I. Zinberg, A History of Jewish Literature VI (New York, 1975), 123-24; VII, 250.

176. See above p. 259, n. 28.

Emden was familiar with at least some of these works. He cited R. Muelhausen's comments on Shir ha-Yihud in his Siddur (I:176a-b) and made reference to R. Hannover's Sha'arei Zion in LS I:8a (Berakhot I:1).

177. See Siddur I:4a-b, 4b-26a, 26a-36a respectively; above n. 39.

178. Ibid., 5a-26a.

179. See She'elot u-Teshuvot Havot Ya'ir #210; Siddur I:8a.

For more on the significance of this responsum, see I. Twersky, "Law and Spirituality in the Seventeenth Century: A Case Study in R.

Yair Hayyim Bacharach," Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century, ed. by I. Twersky and B. Septimus (Cambridge, 1987), 448, n. 3.

180. On the title page of the first volume, Emden noted how he will provide "desirable intentions" ("kavannot") for prayer. For specific examples, see I:59a-b (talit), 60a (tefillin), 60b (prior to entering the synagogue), 61a (before beginning the morning service), 68a (recital of sacrificial rite during the morning service), 82b (barukh she-'amar), 112b (birkhat yozer), 118a (keriyat shema), 145b-148b (birkhat kohanim), 153b-154a (nefilat 'apayim), 161a-b (birkat ha-Torah), 169a (the offering of ketoret), 172b (aleinu), 263b-266a (various prayers to be recited before the study of Bible, Mishnah, Halakhah and Midrash), 272a (tefillat haderekh), 275b-276b (during a meal), 288a-b (netillat yadayim), 296a-297b (birkhat ha-mazon), 329a-b (keriyat shema 'al hamitah), 333a-b (prior to sleep), 405a-b (havdalah); II:53a-b (sefirat ha-'omer), 92b-103a (teki'at shofar), 148b (Chanukah candles), 153a (blessings prior to the reading of the Megillah).

Emden also made specific references to kavannot of R. Isaac Luria. See, for example, Siddur I:118a, 126a, 128a, 136b, 143b, 148b, 172a, 263b; II:53a-b, 92b, 93a, 94a, 104a, 137b, 148b.

181. See, for examples, Siddur I:96b-97a (yehi khevod), 97b ('ashrei), 105a-b (barukh adonay le-'olam), 105b (vayevarekh david), 107a-b ('az yashir), 110b-111a (vishtabah), 112b (barkhu), 118a-119b (keriyat shema), 126a-128a (Shemoneh 'Esreh), 164b (Ps. 20), 165a-166a (u-va le-zion), 169a (pitum ha-ketoret) and 172b ('aleinu).

182. See, for example, Siddur I:83a (barukh she-'amar), 86b (Ps. 19), 91b (Ps. 135), 96b-97a (yehi khevod), 98a-100a ('ashrei), 106a-107a (va-yevarekh david), 111a (vishtabah), 113a (birkhat yozer 'or), 113b-118b and 125a (birkhot keriyat shema), 119b-124b (keriyat shema), 128a-140b (Shemoneh 'Esreh), 166a-168a (u-va le-zion), 173a-174b ('aleinu), 301b-309a (Grace After Meals), 320b-323b (tefillat 'arvit), 339a-340a (lekha dodi), second 359a-361a (nishmat), 363b (Shabbat morning Amidah), 371a-372a (Shabbat Musaf Amidah), 372a-b (kedushah of Shabbat Musaf), 394b-395b (Shabbat Minhah Amidah); II:2b-8b (Hallel), 13b-14a (kiddush le-vanah), 26a-28a, 30b, 36a-37b and 41a (Hagaddah), 81b-82b (Rosh Hashanah 'Arvit Amidah), 116b-117b (Yom Kippur 'Arvit Amidah), 131a-b (Ne'ilah).

183. Siddur I:1a; above p. 280.

184. See, for example, I:90a-b, 99b, 106a, 116b, 118b, 165b, 197b, 337b; II:8b, 36a.

185. Lit., "cannot find their hands and feet ('yedeihem ve-ragleihem')."
The word "yedeihem" is missing in the text but clearly belongs there.
See above, n. 16.

186. Cf. Deut. 32:47.

187. Siddur I:98a. The significance of this passage has already been noted by J. Bazak, "'Or Hadash 'al Tehilim 143 (Tehilla le-David)," Sinai

LXXXV:1-2 (1979), 1.

For other examples, see ibid., I:39a, 107b, 121b, 302a, 305b, 339b-343b; II:6a, 31b-32a.

188. See, for example, I:50a, 53a, 55a, 86a, 89b, 111a, 115b, 119a, 125a, 139b, 153a-b, 159b, 164a, 165b, 187a, 205a, 206b, 241b, 242a, 243a, 338b, second 359a, 371b, 376a, 393b, 394a, 395b, 409b, 410a, 411a, 413a; II:4b, 30b, 41a.

Emden also printed entire selections from the Zohar, some of which were to be recited on various occasions. See, for example, I:107a-b, 126b, 160b-161a, 164b, 168a, 282a-285a, 349b-350b, 391a-b, 396b-397a (to be recited at mealtimes), first 358a (holiness of sex), 362a; II:43a-b (Seder night), 56a-b (on the seventh night and day of Passover), 65b-66b (Shavuot), 86b-87a (on the night of Rosh Hashanah), 103a-b (Rosh Hashanah day), 136b (Sukkot), 143b-144a (Shemini Azeret).

189. Ibid., I:11b, 29b, 48b, 53a, 53b, 115b, 372a, 410a.

190. Ibid., I:53b, 364b.

191. Ibid., I:40b, 253b, 408a.

192. Ibid., I:40b, 124b, 129b, 138b, 139b, 303a.

193. Ibid., I:205b; II:35a. In both cases Emden noted that he was aware of this source through the writings of Nahmanides.

194. Ibid., I:21b, 55b, 99b, 118a, 150b, 153a, 153b, 171b, 172a, 205b, 319b, 320b, 339b, 340b, first 357a, first 359a, 367b, 372a, 395b; II:26b, 57b, 81b, 82a, 82b, 84b. These are all Kabbalistic interpretations. For other references to Ari in the Siddur, see above n. 87.

195. Ibid., I:114b.

196. Ibid., 127b.

197. Ibid., I:36b.

198. Ibid., I:11b.

199. Ibid., I:338b.

200. Ibid., II:94a.

201. See, for example, I:20b-21a, 83a, 95b, 98b, 106a, 114a, 120a, 121b, 122b, 124a, 127a, 127b, 131a, 133a, 136a, 136b, 139a, 147a, 150b, 152a, 160a, 162a, 162b, 163a, 166b, 167a, 168a, 169a, 171b, 172a, 173a, 186b, 229b, 301b, 302b, 303a, 304a, 305a, 305b, 306a, 307a, 337b, 339b, 341a, 341b; 347a, first 359a, second 358b, second 359a, 361a, 361b, 371a, 372a, 372b, 378a, 378b, 388a, 395a, 395b, 396a, 408b, 409b, 410a, 410b, 413a;

II: title page, 4a, 5a, 6a, 8a, 8b, 11b, 12b, 28a, 30b, 36a, 37b-38a, 40b, 42a, 82a, 116a, 116b, 117b, 131a, 142a, 157a.

For an earlier example from R. Eliezer of Worms, see A. Berliner, op. cit., I:35.

202. Ibid., I:95b, 97b, 98a-100a, 106a, 152a.

203. Ibid., I:95b, 98b.

204. Tur, Orah Hayyim, #113.

205. See ibid., #114, throughout #118 and #125. See also She'elot u-Teshuvot ha-Rosh IV:20; Kol Bo, #122; J. Perles, "Die Berner Handschrift des Kleinen Aruch," Jubelschrift zum Siebzigsten Geburtstage des Prof. Dr. H. Graetz (Breslau, 1887), 1-2, 16-17; Zimmels, op. cit., 112, 190.

206. Bet Yosef, Tur, Orah Hayyim, #113. The statement is found in Sefer Abudarham (1877), 30a.

207. It was quoted by R. Shabbetai Sofer in his commentary to the Siddur. See Reif, op. cit., 226, n. 148.

208. See, for example, the commentary of N. H. Treves to the Siddur (Thiengen, 1560). See Reif, ibid., 212, n. 20.

209. Siddur I:411a-412a.

210. Siddur I:418b; II:158a; MS, 167.

211. See, for example, Siddur I:82b (barukh she-'amar), 85b (mizmor le-todah - Ps. 100), 96b (yehi khevod), 97b (ashrei - Ps. 145), 112a-b (kaddish), 119b-123b (kriyat shema), 129b-139b (shmoneh 'esreh), 155b (Ps. 25), 157a ('el erekh 'apayim), 159a (tefillat havinenu), 160a-b (prayers prior to the Torah reading), 163b (birkhat ha-Torah), 164b (lamnazeah - Ps. 20), 172b (alenu), 174b-175a (kaddish), 303b-307b (birkhat ha-mazon), 310a (brakhah me'ein shalosh), 321b-324b (ma'ariv), 327b (keriyat shema 'al ha-mitah), 338a (kabbalat Shabbat), 340b-341b (Friday evening 'Amidah), 347a (Friday evening kiddush), second 358b, 361b (nishmat), 364b (Shabbat morning 'Amidah), 366a-b (prayers preceeding the Torah reading on Shabbat morning), 368b (birkot ha-haftorah), 371a (Shabbat Musaf 'Amidah), 405b (havdalah); II:3a-8a (hallel), 11b-12b ('atah yazarta), 13b (kiddush levanah), 22a (holiday evening 'Amidah), 24a-b (holiday evening kiddush and havdalah), 25b, 41a (parts of the Haggadah), 48b (holiday Musaf 'Amidah), 81b-83a (Rosh Hashanah evening kiddush), 87b (avinu malkenu), 96b-99b (Rosh Hashanah Musaf 'Amidah), 116a (Yom Kippur evening service), 124a (Yom Kippur Musaf 'Amidah), 130b (Ne'ilah), 153b (blessing following reading of Megillah).

For the significance of the number of verses, see I:92a (Ps. 136), 96b (yehi khevod); for the number of letters, see I:164b (lamnazeah - Ps. 20), 168b (kaddish).

This substantive mystical component of Emden's commentary was recognized in the approbations to the work by R. Ezekiel Kazenellenbogen

(I:after title page) and R. Aryeh Leib (II:159b).

212. See Siddur I:71b-77a (tamid shel shahar), 315b-319a (tamid shel bein ha-'arbayim), second 358a-b (the Shabbat tamid), 373a-375b (the Shabbat Musaf); II:9b-11a (the Rosh Hodesh Musaf), 18a-20b and 42b-43a (the Pascal sacrifice), 50b-51b (the Passover Musaf), 54b (second day of Passover), 64b-65a (the Shavuot Musaf), 103a (the Rosh Hashanah Musaf), 105a-b, 119b-123a and 124b-130a (the Temple service on Yom Kippur), 139a-143b (the Sukkot Musaf and the Simhat Bet ha-Sho'eivah ritual).

For Emden's interest in korbanot, see also ibid., I:210b-211a, 223a.

Most interesting is Emden's inclusion of material from non-Jewish sources known to him via Solomon ibn Verga's Shevet Yehudah. He inserted into his commentary Roman eyewitness descriptions of the Pascal sacrifice ritual (ibid., II:19b-20b) and the preparations of the High Priest for the Yom Kippur service (ibid., II:105a-b). This will be discussed below, pp. 525-25 as part of an analysis of Emden's knowledge and use of non-Jewish texts.

213. Seder ha-Yom is a commentary on the prayers together with relevant laws written by R. Moses ibn Machir, a rabbi in sixteenth-century Safed. It was very popular and was reprinted some thirty times.

Emden had a copy of the Venice 1605 edition in his library and he wrote some notes in the margin. See Wagenaar, op. cit., 32; M. Steinschneider, Ozrot Hayyim, op. cit., 210, #3128; J. Zedner, op. cit., 577. These notes were recently published in Kerem Shelomo III:7 (1980), 14-16. Emden also made reference to this work in Siddur I:40a, 161a, 167b, 334a,

392b.

'Avodat Mikdash was jointly authored by Rabbis Menahem Azarya of Fano (1548-1620) and Menahem b. Judah di Lonzano (1550-before 1624) and had already been reprinted a number of times.

214. Siddur I:71a-b. See also ibid., I:223a. Emden was consistently critical of these two medieval works. See, in addition, ibid., I:315b-317a, 373a-374a; II:9b-10a, 18a-b, 20b, 50b, 124b, 128a, 130a, 139a.

All of these passages from the Siddur, with the exception of some of the material in parentheses as well as his explicit critiques of Seder ha-Yom and 'Avodat Mikdash were collected into one volume and published by S. Deutsch, Sefer 'Avodat Korbanot bi-Bet ha-Mikdash mi-Kol ha-Shanah (Pressburg, 1835). The work carries an approbation by R. Moses Sofer. See also Rafael, op. cit., 240, n.

At the end of the first volume of the Siddur (I:415b) Emden called attention to this as a major aspect of his commentary. See also MS, 167. It was also singled out by R. Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen in his approbation to the work, printed at the beginning of the first volume.

215. See Siddur I:1a, 2a.

216. Ibid., I:26a-36a.

217. Ibid., I:39b. Emden had already previously attacked those who were either too brief or verbose in their presentation of the relevant legal material. See ibid., I:2b.

218. See, for example, Siddur I:82a-b (the prohibition of speaking between barukh she-'amar and vishtabah), 118a (the time of day when it is proper to recite the Shema), 143a-b (the repetition of the Shemoneh Esreh), 144a-145b (a systematic presentation of the laws relating to the Priestly Blessing), 157a-158b (the laws dealing with perisat Shema), 158b-159a (laws governing the recital of havineinu), 159a-163a (the public Torah reading), 271b-273b (tefillat ha-derekh), 273b-274b (birkhat ha-gomel), 314a-315b and 319b-320a (the Minhah prayer), 320a-321a, 324b and 325a-b (Keriyat Shema and Ma'ariv).

219. Ibid., I:275a-301a.

220. Ibid., I:310a-311a.

221. Ibid., I:262a-b.

222. Ibid., I:268a-271b; see also I:195b-196b.

223. Ibid., I:313b-314a.

224. Ibid., I:326a-333a.

225. Ibid., I:333b.

226. See above, p. 286.

227. See below, p. 295.

228. For some reason, the text has "Mavuy" here instead of "Mavo." Emden again reverts to "Mavuy" with #V. See n. 229.

229. The text here reverts back to "Mavuy."

230. Perek 5 is missing; see above, n. 16.

231. See above, pp. 286-87.

232. While proper sexual behavior had been discussed earlier in a variety of contexts, the inclusion of such material into a Siddur was unprecedented. For earlier treatments of the subject see, for example, those cited by Emden himself (Siddur I: first 358a [the abbreviations there are explained in the table printed at the end of A. H. Wagenaar's Toledot Yavez, op. cit., xxiv; see below, n. 289]); R. Abraham ibn David, Ba'alei ha-Nefesh, especially "Sha'ar ha-Kedusha," ed. by J. Kapah (Jerusalem, 1964) and Iggeret ha-Kodesh, attributed to Nahmanides. For a discussion of the authorship of this latter work, see G. Scholem, "Ha-'im Hibber ha-Ramban 'et 'Iggeret ha-Kodesh," KS XXI (1944), 179-86; M. Harris, "Marriage as Metaphysics: A Study of the 'Iggereth HaKodesh,'" HUCA XXXIII (1962), 200; C. Chavel, Kitvei Rabbenu Moshe ben Nahman II (Jerusalem, 1963), 315-19; S. J. Cohen, introduction to his English translation of this work, The Holy Letter (New York, 1976), 8-18; EJ VIII, 1237-38.

See also M. ibn Machir, Seder ha-Yom (Slawuta, 1793), 29b-32a; R. Meldola, Huppat Hatanim, any edition; J. Katz, "Nisu'im ve-Hayyei 'Ishut bi-Moza'ei Yemei ha-Beinayim," Zion X (1944), 21-54; L. M. Epstein, Sex Laws and Customs in Judaism (New York, 1948), esp. 16-24, 148-51; D. Feldman, Marital Relations, Birth Control and Abortion in Jewish Law (New York, 1975), 101-02; Index, s. v. "Emden, Jacob."

In the course of his presentation, Emden claimed that the level of a child's intelligence is directly proportional to the extent of passionate love between his parents at the moment of conception (Siddur I:355b) and that sex is a cure for depression and insanity (ibid.; Feldman, ibid., 96).

See also earlier (I:330a-b) where Emden discussed how to overcome lust and deal with an unwanted erection.

For more information about Emden and sexuality, see below, pp. 407-09.

233. For a discussion of some of the following issues in Maimonides' Mishneh Torah, see I. Twersky, Introduction to the Code of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah), op. cit., Chapter II.

234. See, for example, Siddur I:403b (does Birkhat ha-Mazon require a kos); II:44a (at which point is sleeping considered a hefsek regarding the eating of the Afikoman); 55a (should one wear tefillin on hol ha-mo'ed; for the background to this issue, see J. Katz, "Tefillin shel Hol ha-Mo'ed - Hilukei De'ot u-Mahlokot Zibburi'ot bi-Hashpa'at ha-Kabbalah," Divrei ha-Kongres ha-'Olami ha-Shevi'i le-Mada'ei ha-Yahadut [Jerusalem,

1981], 191-213); 101b (can the Reader fulfill the obligation of a "baki" to recite the Rosh Hashanah Musaf Amidah); 135a (various aspects of "the Four Species").

Sometimes Emden simply raised an issue and did not present a final decision. See, for example, ibid., I:first 357a (can one have sex outside a building, under the stars).

235. See, for example, ibid., I:144a (Emden was upset with the custom in some Ashkenazi communities which eliminated birkhat kohanim when a Holiday coincided with a Sabbath); 174b (he favored the Sephardi custom of having the Mourner's Kaddish recited in unison as opposed to the Ashkenazi practice of one person reciting it on behalf of the entire congregation); II:16a and 30b (against the Ashkenazi custom of reciting the beginning part of the Haggadah on the afternoon of Shabbat ha-Gadol); 64a (upset with the Ashkenazi practice of often interrupting the standard prayers with piyyutim). See H. J. Zimmels, op. cit., 122.

236. See, for example, ibid., I:301a (saying "barukh hu u-varukh shemo" after zimun); II:15a (fasting or eulogizing in the month of Nisan); 50b and 55a (conclusion of the Musaf Service); 114a (various procedures on Erev Yom Kippur); 147b (men refraining from work while the Hanukah candles are burning).

237. See, for example, ibid., I:287b (how much of the hand must be washed for netilat yadayim), 397b (at which point must one interrupt a meal to recite havdalah); 401a (what if one forgot to say havdalah in the

Saturday night Ma'ariv Amidah); 403a (can one who has extended his observance of the Sabbath into Saturday night ask a friend to do work for him).

Sometimes Emden cited two conflicting traditions and compromised between them. See, for example, ibid., II:13a (is a blind man obligated to recite kiddush levanah).

238. See Siddur I:39b where Emden wrote that he will include only a brief discussion of the relevant halakhot and invited the reader to consult other works for the details. In fact, Emden made reference to a wide variety of sources, by name, throughout this work.

239. References abound, in particular, to his Lehem Shamayim, Mor u-Keziyah and She'elat Yavez. See also below, n. 285.

240. See, for example, Siddur I:393b (why is "va'ani tefilati" recited prior to the Minhah Torah reading on Shabbat afternoon).

241. Emden most often expressed his disagreement with the opinions of R. David Halevi, author of Taz (see, for example, ibid., I:271b, 288a, 291b, 299b, 309a, 309b; II:16b, 113a, 137a, 149b, 151b) and those of R. Abraham Gumbiner, author of the Magen Avraham (see, for example, ibid., I:239a, 275a, 287a, 288a, 294a, 295a, 299b, 300a, 390a, 397b, 398b, 401b; II:15a, 16a, 21a, 53a, 60b, 70a, 71a, 72a, 94a, 114a, 134a, 135a, 148b, 153a, 153b).

242. See, for example, ibid., I:403b (in the text of Magen Avraham).

243. See, for example, ibid., I:131a, 141a, 311a.

244. See, for example, ibid., I:16a, 42b, 295b, 309a, 335b, 345a, second 359a, 364a-b, 394b; II:68b, 115b.

245. In addition to those issues cited above in the realm of "bi-fikha," (n. 87), Emden made many references to his father's practices in the area of "la'asoto." See, for example, ibid., I:16a, 60a, 61a, 139b, 315a, 331b, 335a-b, 339b, 344b, 345a, 346b, 348b, 406b, 414b; II:13a, 68b, 69b, 71b, 72a, 73b, 80a, 100a, 112b, 113b, 137a, 153b, 154a.

246. Cf. Habakuk 2:4.

247. Ibid., I:415a-b. See also the title page of Siddur I where Emden noted that he will include in it a description of ". . . normative behavior (arranged for the life of the Jew)." The parentheses are in the original text.

248. Ibid., I:59b.

249. Ibid., II:53a.

250. Ibid., I:66a.

251. Ibid., I:344a. For another reference to the reader as a "ba'al nefesh," see I:23b.
252. Ibid., I:403a.
253. Ibid., II:17b.
254. Ibid., I:144a.
255. Ibid., I:263b-267b.
256. Ibid., I:276b.
257. Ibid., I:330a. Cf. Shulhan 'Arukh, 'Orah Hayyim, #240.
258. Ibid., I:23b, 39b. See also I:1b and 311a where Emden assumed some level of knowledge on the part of the reader.
259. Ibid., I:39b.
260. Ibid., I:311a.
261. Ibid., I:195b-262a, 375b-389b.

The notion of a particular Biblical passage to be recited each day is found in Ta'anit 27b and Megillah 31b. Based on Kiddushin 30a, it was expanded already in medieval times to include Mishnaic and Talmudic pas-

sages.

Emden noted that he did not know who was responsible for compiling the various texts to be recited and what criteria were used to determine which passages would be included (Siddur I:196b-197a). Emden himself disagreed with some of the choices that were made, adding some (ibid., I:210b-211a, 258a) and deleting others (ibid., I:199b, 210a).

See S. Baer, Seder 'Avodat Yisrael (Rödelheim, 1868), 495; J. D. Eisenstein, Ozar Dinim u-Minhagim VI (New York, 1951), 267.

262. Ibid., I:196b. See also I:203a.

263. Ibid. See also I:263b.

264. Ibid., I:209a. See also I:219a.

265. Ibid., I:240a. See also I:241b.

266. For other brief references to kabbalistic material in this section, see I:197b, 216b-217a, 229a, 229b, 247a, 253a-b. The paucity of these references in a work otherwise full of kabbalistic commentary is striking.

267. Ibid., I:1b.

268. Ibid., I:36a. See Pesahim 116a-b.

269. Ibid., I:4b and on.
270. See above, n. 180.
271. See above, n. 181-182.
272. See above, n. 188.
273. See, for example, ibid., I:23a, 333a-b. See also I:68a.
274. Ibid., I:411a.
275. Ibid., I:61a. See also I:330b: "whoever merits to be initiated into the Divine esoterica . . ."
276. This concern, based on Hagigah 11b, has a long history in the disciplines of both Kabbalah and philosophy. For some earlier examples, see P. Bloch, "Die kabbalah auf ihrem Hohenpunkt und ihre Meister," MGWJ IL (1905), 130; I. Tishby, "ha-Polmos 'al Sefer ha-Zohar bi-Me'ah ha-Shesh 'Esreh bi'Italyah," Perakim I (Jerusalem, 1967-68), 139.
277. Siddur I:6a-26a.
278. Ibid., I:23b.
279. Ibid., I:11a. For similar terminology, see I:302a.

280. Ibid., I:39a.

281. See, for example, ibid., I:55a, 56a-b (epilogue to Perek Shirah), 98a (introduction to "'ashrei"), 118a (introduction to Keriyat Shema); II:53a-b (kavannot for Sefirat ha-'Omer).

On some occasions, Emden noted that there is a sod which underlies a particular passage but did not spell it out. See, for example, ibid., I:58a, 97b, 122a, 125b, 143b, 158b, 182b, 247a, 253b, 274b, 292b, 327b; II:28a, 35a, 154a. However, in keeping with his feeling about the importance of divulging some esoterica to the masses, most often Emden did spell out the sod, albeit briefly. See, for example, ibid., I:54a, 55a, 56a, 65b, 82a, 83a, 96b, 98b, 106b, 111a, 113a, 113b, 114a, 116a, 118a, 118b, 119a, 124b, 125a, 128a, 129a, 131b, 132a, 133a, 136a, 140b, 149a, 153b, 161b, 165b, 168b, 171b, 172a, 173b, 175a, 180a, 183b, 229a, 241b, 262a, 265a, 285a, 296b, 297a, 302b, 303a, 305b, 307a, 310a, 319b, 320b, 321a, 322a, 322b, 323b, 333b, 339b, 340b, 344b, 348b, 352a, 352b, 353a, 362b, 364a, 367b, 372a, 372b, 379a, 394b, 395a, 405b; II:4a, 13b, 14a, 27a, 36a, 94b, 99a, 116a, 131b, 137b, 139a, 141a, 142a, 154a.

282. Cf. Gen. 21:29.

283. See above, p. 280.

284. See Shabbat 145b.

285. MS, 167. For other assessments of this work by Emden himself, see also Siddur I:415a-b; II:158a-159a (above, n. 35); SY II:17, 67; Zikkaron ba-Sefer, op. cit. (n. 1), 464.

Emden's commentary on the Siddur also contains references to works of his which were lost. See, for example, ibid., II:25a (Gal'ed - a commentary on the Bible), 56b, 106b, 107a (Derush Mikhtav le-Yehizkiyahu) and 113b, 114a (Derush Mikhtav 'Elohim), both belonging to his collection of sermons, Kishurim le-Ya'akov. See above, Chapter II.

286. The manuscript is in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam. See L. Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, Hebrew and Judaic Manuscripts in Amsterdam Public Collections I (Leiden, 1973), 71, #142. Some parts were printed by A. H. Wagenaar, op. cit., Appendix IX and, in corrupt form, by M. Bick at the end of the second volume of his edition of the Siddur (above, p. 15, n. 1). Emden made references to it in Siddur I:127b and 135a. See also SY II:17.

Parts were printed by A. H. Wagenaar, op. cit., Appendix IX, x-xiii and by M. Bick who reprinted the first edition of the Siddur (Tel Aviv, 1966) and selectively included some of these additions at the end of Vol. II. See also A. Bick (Shauli), above, n. 152 and idem., "ha-Hasidut bi-Sidduro shel ha-Yavez," Shanah bi-Shanah (1973), 368-70.

The printing of the manuscript in its entirety remains a major desideratum. I plan to publish in the near future a new edition of Emden's Siddur incorporating the manuscript into the original text in my capacity as Editor of Machon Yerushalayim's "Mif'al Rav Ya'akov Emden."

287. MS, 169; above, n. 14.

288. Siddur I:418b.

289. See M. Segal, Kuntres Kiryat Sefer (1860). This work deciphered abbreviations, made some textual emendations and, on occasion, provided some sources of the work. It was printed with an approbation by Rabbi Yosef Shaul Nathanson and was reprinted in Odessa, 1864, with a slightly different introduction. Most recently, it was appended to the second volume of M. Bick's reprint of the original edition of the Siddur, op. cit., with some changes. See Y. Rafael, op. cit., 240, n.

A second such table was appended by A. H. Wagenaar to his Toledot Yavez, op. cit., xxi-lii. It also included very little textual emendation and some sources. Some of this material was also reprinted by M. Bick, ibid.

M. Segal also wrote another work solely devoted to identifying the rabbinic sources of the statements in Emden's Siddur. See Sefer Va'ad le-Hakhamim (Lvov, 1875; reprinted with some additions in Lublin, 1880, and Warsaw, 1886). It contains almost the same introduction found in his other work and the same text of the approbation by Rabbi Nathanson, the only difference being the date. The Lublin edition carried an additional approbation by R. David of Talne, written by his nephew, R. Jacob. See Rafael, ibid.

290. Rafael, ibid., 266-68 noted over half a dozen such editions. See also S. Schuck, Siddur Rashban (Vienna, 1894) which incorporated material

from Emden's Siddur. Emden's commentary on the Haggadah, in particular, was reprinted very often (see Rafael, ibid., 241, n.). It was analyzed by H. R. Rabinowitz, Benei Binah (Jerusalem, 1972), 272-77.

Great care must be exercised, however, in utilizing these later editions of his Siddur as representing Emden's work because they contain much interpolated material added by subsequent editors not found in the original text. For example, Sefer Yom Kippur Katan (Lodz, 1936) includes a commentary attributed to Emden which did not appear in his original Siddur. In fact, Emden explicitly opposed the notion of Yom Kippur Katan (Siddur II:1b). It can be found in part, however, in the most popular of the offshoots of Emden's Siddur, Siddur Bet Ya'akov (Lemberg, 1904), 208b-213a. Cf. Y. Rafael, ibid., 241, n. See also above, p. 15, n. 1.

Also, a later edition of N. N. Hannover's Sha'arei Zion (Tel Aviv, 1961), title page and pp. 23a-29a included a "bi'ur ha-Mishnah le-R. Yavez" on parts of its commentary on Tikkun Hazot which it claimed was taken from Emden's Siddur. This too did not appear in the original edition (I:329a-b) nor in his Lehem Shamayim. It too can be found in Siddur Bet Ya'akov, ibid., 24b-25a.

291. See, for example, She'elot u-Teshuvot Hatam Sofer, Orah Hayyim, #163. In one of his letters, Hatam Sofer expressed great esteem for Emden's Siddur. It is printed by J. N. Stern in his introduction to Sefer Hatam Sofer: Dereshot I (Cluj, 1929). See also, R. Pinhas of Polotsk, Sha'ar ha-Rahamim (Shklov, 1788), title page (see Rafael, ibid., 241, n.); H. Halberstamm, Divrei Hayyim II (New York, 1962), 40a; A. Bornstein, She'elot u-Teshuvot Avnei Nezer, Orah Hayyim, #447; Z. ha-

Kohen Rabinowitz, Zidkot ha-Zaddik (Lublin, 1902), 3d; S. Y. Agnon, 'Elu va-'Elu (Tel Aviv, 1959), 300. These, of course, are only a small example of the wide popularity the Siddur enjoyed and continues to enjoy until today.

V

THE CONTROVERSY

On May 31, 1665, Shabbetai Zevi formally initiated what was to become the most significant and repercussive messianic movement in Jewish history. While on a visit to Gaza, he proclaimed himself as the Messiah, precipitating an explosive excitement not only in Palestine but in most Jewish communities throughout the world. Masses of Jews, from London to Livorno and from Poland to Persia were swept up in the frenzy and enthusiasm of the imminent Messianic Era. And then, only some fifteen months later, this highly popular movement came to an abrupt end with Shabbetai's unexpected and shocking conversion to Islam.

Although Shabbetai Zevi captured the imagination and allegiance of world Jewry for only a short period of time, the impact of those few months was felt for generations to come. As Gershom Scholem has argued, after their leader's conversion, every Sabbatian believer was confronted with a bitter choice - either to accept the verdict of history which unmasked their messianic experience as a mere illusion and tragic error

or to trust the intensity and fervor of their experience and therefore retain their faith by rejecting the obvious implications of the Messiah's apostasy. Most of those who had been absolutely convinced of Shabbetai's messianic claims, could, under no circumstances, accept the paradox of an apostate Messiah. They painfully surrendered to the reality of his conversion and reluctantly concluded that it had all been a terrible mistake.

But others continued to believe. Their own inner experience of actually having lived in the Messianic Era was so profound, had so penetrated the innermost core of their being, that nothing could shake their faith. These post-conversion Sabbatians undertook to formulate various doctrines with the intention of harmonizing their own inner experience of redemption with the outer historical reality which seemed to contradict it. Faith in Shabbetai Zevi as the Messiah thus remained after his apostasy and the Sabbatian movement continued to exist throughout the eighteenth century. Followers of the movement such as Abraham Cardozo, Baruhya Russo, Abraham Rovigo, Mordecai Ashkenazi, Solomon Ayllon and Nehemya Hayon continued to do battle with its opponents led by Jacob Sasportas, Samuel Aboab, Moses Hagiz, Joseph Ergas and Hakham Zevi Ashkenazi for well over a century.¹

Indeed Hakham Zevi was one of the leading anti-Sabbatians in the first half of the eighteenth century. Already in his youth, he had a substantial contact with followers of that movement. In 1666, as a young boy of six, Zevi moved, together with the members of his family, to Ofen-Buda, later known as Budapest.² His arrival in that city directly coin-

cided with the rise of the Sabbatian movement which swept through almost the entire Jewish world at that time. Ofen was no exception. Like other Hungarian communities, it too became a center of Sabbatian influence and activity.³ Indeed, many years later, Ḥakham Zevi related to his son some of his own eyewitness experiences with Sabbatians at that time:

"My revered father, who was a child during the time of Shabbetai Zevi, told us and testified that at that time there were women who said: 'Let us go to slay demons.' They dressed themselves in white linen garments and moved their outstretched arms to and fro in the air, one here and one there. They spread out their garments and collected much blood from the air with their clothes, as if with their own hands they killed (them) . . . One woman said, 'Who wants me to give him the aroma of Gan 'Eden? With her hands outstretched to the heavens she caught some air and offered an exceedingly fragrant odor to whoever wanted.'"4

He also told a story about a young boy in Sarajevo during the days of Shabbetai Zevi who, for a period of time, suddenly was endowed with the prophetic power of being able to inform people about all the sins they had ever committed.⁵

During his travels to the East,⁶ where Sabbatianism was particularly strong, Ḥakham Zevi came into contact with former followers of the movement and undoubtedly heard a great deal about their traditions and beliefs. In Adrianople, he encountered R. Jacob Straimer who had been a

Sabbatian prior to Shabbetai Zevi's conversion.⁷ On a visit to Belgrade in 1679 he also met R. Joseph Almosnino who had been an ardent follower of Shabbetai Zevi.⁸ Interestingly, Hakham Zevi's first-hand knowledge of Sabbatian lore is indicated by the fact that a later work quotes him as the source for the Sabbatian tradition that their Messiah died in Arnaut-Belgrade, Albania. R. Almosnino is also cited as a source and it is entirely possible that Hakham Zevi heard it from him.⁹

Also interesting is some anecdotal evidence which indicates that Hakham Zevi was considered to have been an opponent of Sabbatianism even in his youth. It was told that when Shabbetai Zevi demonstrated that he was indeed the Messiah by flying through the air in Adrianople, Hakham Zevi ridiculed him by duplicating this feat. In fact, close to two hundred years later, Adrianople's elders were still pointing to the two houses where this miracle had allegedly occurred.¹⁰

While head of the Klaus in Altona in the last decade of the seventeenth century, Hakham Zevi became further involved in activity against the movement in a number of different ways. His son later recorded how his father opposed the itinerant Sabbatian teachers Hayim Malakh and R. Zadok of Grodno, a Sabbatian "maggid," who predicted that Shabbetai Zevi would return as the Messiah in 1695.¹¹ According to Emden, his father was also instrumental in supporting Polish opposition to R. Judah Hasid and his Sabbatian followers. He received a request for information about them from R. Saul, Chief Rabbi of Cracow, who "assiduously inquired from my revered father who was reared in the East and about whom he was certain that he knew the nature of this cursed new sect."¹² It is apparently clear that Hakham Zevi enjoyed a reputation as an expert on this

movement due to his early contact with some of its followers. He advised R. Saul to harrass them and, when his advice was followed, they left Poland for Germany. Upon their arrival in his home town of Altona, Hakham Zevi continued his personal opposition to this group. Finally, Hakham Zevi's long anti-Sabbatian career culminated in his major battle against Nehemya Hiyya Hayon when he served as Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazi Jewish community in Amsterdam in 1713-1714.¹³

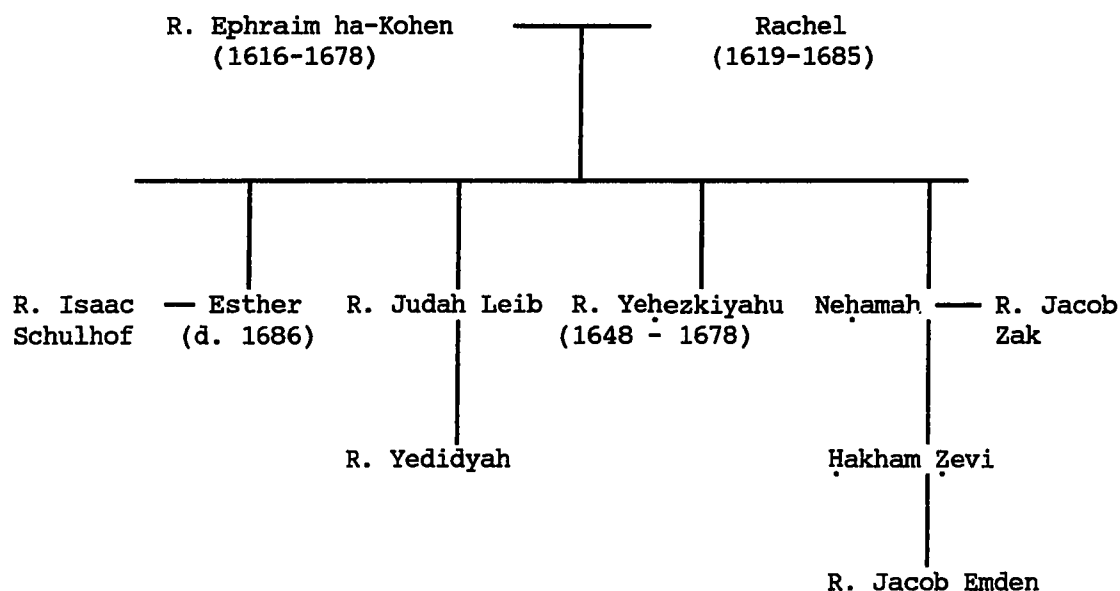
In seeking to account for the intensity of Hakham Zevi's anti-Sabbatianism there is one consideration especially worthy of note. The family backgrounds of prominent opponents of Sabbatianism at this time reveal that many of them shared one thing in common - close relatives who are known to have been confirmed followers of the movement in the previous generation, both before and after Shabbetai's conversion. For example, R. David Yizhaki (c. 1615-1694) had been a devoted follower of Shabbetai Zevi for many years.¹⁴ His son, R. Abraham Yizhaki (1661-1729), was one of the leading opponents of Sabbatianism at the beginning of the century.¹⁵ R. Moses Glanate (1620-1689) was, for a time, a leading Sabbatian.¹⁶ His grandson, whom he personally raised from the age of five, was R. Moses Hagiz (c. 1671 - c.1751), a leading anti-Sabbatian.¹⁷ Rabbi Moses Pinheiro (d. 1689) was a childhood friend and early associate of Shabbetai Zevi and remained an ardent spokesman for the movement as late as 1690.¹⁸ His grandson, R. Joseph Ergas, was an active anti-Sabbatian who played a major role in the controversy with Hayon in the second decade of the following century.¹⁹ This phenomenon recurs too often

to be merely coincidental. Perhaps, in each of these cases, the prominent Sabbatianism of the elder was responsible for the aggressive anti-Sabbatianism of the younger.

There are a number of ways to explain this nexus, whether the members of the first generation subsequently recognized their error after Shabbetai's conversion or continued to believe in him in spite of it. One possibility is that their descendants assumed a leadership role in combatting Sabbatianism as a reaction to the discomfort they felt over the closeness to it within their own immediate families. Rather than feel defensive, they took the initiative and placed themselves in the forefront of the struggle against this movement. One may also explain this phenomenon by applying a suggestion made regarding R. Abraham Yizḥaki to the entire group: "The man who was cognizant of the original deeds of his father and of his (father's) regret and deep remorse became a determined opponent of the movement that led his father astray. In this way he sought to achieve atonement and purification for his father's soul."²⁰ While these psychological suggestions are purely conjecture, they are very plausible in helping explain a recurrent pattern which has, hitherto, gone completely unnoticed.

This may also serve to explain the intensity of Ḥakham Zevi's reaction as well. Modern scholarship has failed to notice that some of the members of his own immediate family were Sabbatians. This itself is a matter of great interest and significance. However, one may take this information one step further. Given this fact, it may now be possible to shed new light on the nature of Ḥakham Zevi's excessive anti-Sabbatianism.

This family tree will be useful in keeping track of the relationship between those who will figure prominently in the following discussion:



Hakham Zevi's maternal grandfather, R. Ephraim ha-Kohen, was born into a rabbinic family in Vilna in 1616.²¹ He studied with R. Moses b. Isaac Judah Lima, head of the rabbinical court there,²² and later joined that group when he was around twenty years of age. A victim of the second Swedish-Polish War, R. Ephraim left Vilna with his family in 1655²³ and wandered through Europe for the next ten years. He was a rabbi and a teacher in Moravia for six years, spent about three years in Prague and one year in Vienna.²⁴ In 1666, R. Ephraim assumed the position of Rabbi of the important Jewish community of Ofen-Buda where he remained for the next twelve years until his death in 1678.²⁵

Having just arrived as the new rabbi of Ofen-Buda in 1666, R. Ephraim was undoubtedly placed squarely in the midst of the Sabbatian turmoil which gripped the city in that year.²⁶ Unfortunately, no source material is available to directly determine his reaction to the movement.

Unlike the responsa collection of some of his contemporaries, R. Ephraim's printed collection of responsa, She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim, contains no overtly Sabbatian material and reveals no obvious information about its author's position on this matter.²⁷ Nevertheless, there are two responsa which are relevant for this matter. While both have been noted in the secondary literature,²⁸ their major significance in this context has hitherto gone completely unnoticed.

In the course of delivering a sermon on the Sabbath before Passover, R. Joseph Almosnino, rabbi of the Belgrade community, addressed himself to an exegetical problem in a verse at the beginning of Exodus. The Bible states that after Moses hesitated to accept the Divine charge to free his co-religionists from Egyptian servitude, God said to him: "I will be with you, and it shall be your sign that it was I who sent you. And when you have freed the people from Egypt, you shall worship God ('elohim') at this mountain."²⁹ Drawing a parallel to a Talmudic statement,³⁰ R. Almosnino was troubled by the use of the word "elohim" in the last phrase. Since God was speaking, should He not have said, "you shall worship me on this mountain?" Citing other verses as proof that this word need not necessarily refer to the Divine, R. Almosnino interpreted it as a reference to the Golden Calf to which the Bible referred elsewhere as "elohim."³¹ The verse, then, was to be understood as a prophetic statement, i.e. God informed Moses that at some point in the future, after having been freed from Egypt, the Jews will worship a Golden Calf.

This sermon created an immediate uproar in the community. One individual, in particular, publicly insulted and vilified the rabbi, charged him with heresy, insisted that he be forced to relinquish his

rabbinic post, and demanded that he be excommunicated. Among other matters, he accused him of profaning the Divine Name and of negating the principle of free will. If, in fact, God Himself pre-ordained this act, then what choice did the Jews later have? R. Almosnino defended himself and claimed that even if, indeed, he had erred, he was not deserving of excommunication and should not be forced to lose his rabbinic position. The repercussions of this conflict extended beyond the Belgrade community as each of the protagonists sought to advance their positions. As part of their search for support, both R. Almosnino as well as his anonymous opponent turned to R. Ephraim.³²

While there was no overt mention of Sabbatianism as a factor in this controversy, it can be cogently argued that this was precisely the issue which lurked behind it. In their quest to interpret their Messiah's conversion, Sabbatians argued that such an apparently bizarre act was foreseen and part of the Divine plan from the very beginning. With exegetical ingenuity and ardent faith, Sabbatians claimed that many earlier rabbinic statements, if properly interpreted and understood, suggested that such a paradoxical step was a necessary part of the redemptive process. The Messiah's behavior was thus inevitable, having been foretold and anticipated long in advance.³³

A careful and knowledgeable listener in the synagogue on that Saturday could surely not fail to have been struck by the Sabbatian overtones of R. Almosnino's remarks. Was he not hearing from the pulpit the well-known Sabbatian justification for the Messiah's conversion presented in a slightly different garb? After all, the upshot of the preacher's comments was that the worship of the Golden Calf was, in a sense, inevitable

because it had been preordained by God. If this could be true for that most terrible of sins for which Jews continue to suffer in every generation,³⁴ could it not also be true of another most cataclysmic of sins, the apostasy of the Messiah? This echo of Sabbatianism may have been the factor that was ultimately responsible for the harsh and extreme response of that anonymous listener. A statement such as the one he heard smacked too much of the Sabbatianism which the Jewish community as a whole had rejected and which he therefore could not accept under any circumstances.

Furthermore, one other association may have occurred to him. It is well known that both proponents and opponents of the Sabbatian movement had, from the very beginning, utilized the numerical equivalent (gematriya) of Shabbetai Zevi's name for their own mutually contradictory purposes. For example, Sabbatians proudly showed how the gematriya of Shabbetai Zevi equalled one of the Divine names, Shaddai, according to a particular system of counting.³⁵ In response, anti-Sabbatians pointed with glee to the fact that the numerical value of various permutations of Shabbetai Zevi's name corresponded, among others, to "Bil'am the Wicked,"³⁶ "Amalek the Wicked,"³⁷ urine,³⁸ excrement ("zo'ah"),³⁹ Ahasveraus,⁴⁰ Vashti,⁴¹ "Ba'al,"⁴² and "Haman the son of Hamdata, oppressor of the Jews."⁴³ The anonymous listener in R. Almosnino's synagogue may have realized, as did other anti-Sabbatians, that the numerical value of "Zevi" happens to equal "'egel" as well.⁴⁴ Could then the preacher perhaps be offering an oblique justification for continued belief in this false Messiah? After all, God Himself told Moses that at some point in the future the Jewish people will worship the "'egel," i.e. Zevi, on "this mountain!"⁴⁵

Also relevant in this context are other factors which assume a special significance in light of the suggestion made above. Firstly, it should come as no surprise that R. Almosnino would deliver a sermon with Sabbatian resonances for it is already well known that he had been an adherent of that movement. Extant in his own handwriting are copies of several writings of Nathan of Gaza,⁴⁶ with whom R. Almosnino studied in the yeshiva of R. Jacob Hagiz in Jerusalem.⁴⁷ In addition, there is also a record of a commentary which he wrote to one of Nathan's works.⁴⁸

Secondly, there is the subtle matter of R. Ephraim's rabbinic writing style. R. Ephraim never concluded any of his responsa with a prayer for the speedy arrival of the Messiah, a commonplace in rabbinic literature, except for the two under consideration here. At the end of his response to R. Almosnino's opponent, he wrote, "May the Lord God deliver me from my mistakes and spread peace in the midst of the congregation of Israel and send us the Redeemer . . . May God merit that he see the rebuilding of 'Ariel."⁴⁹ He also ended his letter to R. Almosnino in a similar vein.⁵⁰ While independently insignificant, this fact assumes great importance if, in truth, the underlying issue in both of these responsa was a messianic one.

Finally, the Sabbatian overtones of the sermon may explain the particular virulence and stridency on the part of the person who objected to it.

What was R. Ephraim's reaction to this affair? In responding first

to R. Almosnino's opponent, he agreed that the preacher, of whose identity he was then unaware, certainly acted improperly by delivering such a sermon. Nevertheless, he struggled to justify the content of his remarks because the latter was apparently a scholar who, according to Jewish law, deserves special consideration. Practically speaking, R. Ephraim advised that the preacher be privately rebuked and be prepared to recant in public if necessary but should not be subject to excommunication.⁵¹

In his response to R. Almosnino, now aware that it was he who delivered this sermon, R. Ephraim's tone palpably shifted in intensity and became much more strident. He informed his correspondent that when he first heard the story, "I stood shuddering and my flesh was seized with trembling when I declared, 'Who is he that dares to distort the words of the living God and to profane His Honor!'"⁵² and charged him with being responsible for such a "disgraceful," "dark" and "bitter" matter. Although he granted that R. Almosnino's opponent had no right to rebuke him publicly without having first done so in private, R. Ephraim concluded: "To the essence of the matter: about your apology (lit. 'the apology of his honor') regarding the homily on (the verse) 'ye shall serve God upon this mountain' which you (i.e., 'his honor') interpreted, heaven forbid, to be an allusion to the Golden Calf, how dare you! Quiet! This must never be said!" He rejected, one by one, all of R. Almosnino's arguments and concluded that he should rectify the situation by publicly disavowing his statements.⁵³

Whatever R. Ephraim's personal attitude toward Sabbatianism may have been, it is fairly certain that he was not publicly identified either as a Sabbatian or as an opponent of the movement. Assuming that this dis-

pute was essentially Sabbatian in nature, the fact that his support was sought by each of the protagonists is a clear indication of this fact. Had he been publicly identified as a Sabbatian, R. Almosnino's opponent would never have turned to him for help. Conversely, had he been known to be an anti-Sabbatian, R. Almosnino would not possibly have sought his assistance. There is surely no evidence to support L. Greenwald who seems to imply that R. Ephraim was an active opponent of the movement.⁵⁴

There is also no hard evidence available to make a more definitive statement about R. Ephraim's personal attitude toward Sabbatianism. On the one hand, it is possible to conclude that he was essentially opposed to it and therefore bitterly rebuked R. Almosnino for his remarks. Nevertheless, in response to R. Almosnino's opponent who asked him to take a public position on this matter, R. Ephraim urged restraint out of a clearly stated desire to downplay any communal schism and to maintain peace in the community.

It is, however, also possible to suggest that R. Ephraim may have been in basic sympathy with the Sabbatian position and that his forceful rebuke of R. Almosnino was not due to his maintaining such a position, per se, but rather for having stated it in public. Perhaps he accused him not of "distorting" the word of God by perverting its meaning but of "distorting" the intention of God by presenting its meaning publicly. There were, indeed, a number of Sabbatians who continued to be "believers" after the conversion but who opposed any public demonstration of their belief.⁵⁵ One could, then, imagine the following scenario: R. Ephraim received a letter from an individual who charged that R. Almosnino's sermon, in addition to being problematic for a number of

reasons, also smacked of Sabbatianism and therefore must be vigorously opposed. In his desire to defuse the situation, R. Ephraim, although essentially in agreement with Almosnino's position, was prepared to grant that he was wrong and suggest that he publicly recant but, at the same time, cautioned against the extreme act of excommunication. It was only when writing to Almosnino himself that R. Ephraim's anger became apparent because he maintained that Almosnino greatly erred by making such a statement in public.⁵⁶

While the nature of R. Ephraim's relationship to Sabbatianism remains unresolved, the issue of the attitude of the members of his family to that movement becomes much clearer, more involved and intriguing as the focus is shifted to the next generation.

R. Ephraim's daughter Nehamah was married in Vilna to R. Jacob b. Benjamin Ze'ev Zak.⁵⁷ Together they fled from that city in 1655 and, after much difficulties, settled in Moravia where their son (Hakham) Zevi was born. In 1666, they followed R. Ephraim to Ofen-Buda and remained there for the next twenty years. R. Jacob served first as a judge in the community and then became head of its rabbinical court after his father-in-law's death in 1678.⁵⁸ In 1686, when Ofen was captured by the Austrian Imperial forces,⁵⁹ R. Jacob and his wife were taken prisoner and transported to Berlin where they were ransomed by local Jews. Some time thereafter, they arrived in Altona where they found their son Zevi at the head of the local yeshiva. A short time later they travelled to Jeru-

salem where R. Jacob died at the age of seventy-three.⁶⁰

While it is hard to determine R. Ephraim's personal attitude toward the Sabbatian movement, it has been widely accepted that his son-in-law and father of Ḥakham Zevi was a Sabbatian. Arriving with R. Ephraim in Ofen in that fateful year of 1666, R. Jacob was also undoubtedly aware of the upheaval in the community as a result of the messianic claims of Shabbetai Zevi. While nothing is extant from the hand of R. Jacob which would shed light on his reaction, there is one surprising primary source directly relevant to this matter which requires very careful analysis.

In responding to the charge levelled by Ḥakham Zevi in Amsterdam, 1713, that he was a Sabbatian, Nehemya Ḥayon wrote a number of pamphlets, including one entitled ha-Zad Zevi, which was printed in that city the following year. In the course of his remarks in the introduction to this work, Ḥayon made the following statement:

"Mr. Zevi b. Jacob is the son of the firm believer in Shabbetai Zevi who was in the city of Budin (called Ofen in German).⁶¹ It was he who caused a Jew to die because he refused to invoke God's blessing in the synagogue for the life of Shabbatai Zevi. He ruled that this constituted a rebellion against the kingdom of the House of David and permitted the blood of that Jew (to be shed). There are witnesses here who can corroborate this fact."⁶²

On the basis of this statement, H. Graetz and a number of other historians assumed that R. Jacob, father of Ḥakham Zevi and grandfather of R. Jacob Emden, was a Sabbatian.⁶³

The use of this source as the sole evidence of R. Jacob's alleged Sabbatianism clearly requires an explanation. After all, how can one accept at face value the testimony of a bitter adversary of Ḥakham Zevi who might have been prepared to write anything in the heat of the controversy in order to promote his own position?⁶⁴ Nevertheless, it is reasonable to argue that this source is a reliable one and that, in fact, all the distinguished historians who accepted it as legitimate testimony were correct.

In order to assess the legitimacy of Ḥayon's statement, it is necessary to consider the entire context in which it appeared. Immediately after the passage cited above, Ḥayon continued:

"A son is an extension of his father. He (i.e. 'Mr.' Zevi) emulated the deeds of his father by permitting the murder of an innocent person. He declared that I and all my followers are liable to be put to death and that he who would kill (any of us) merits a share in the World to Come. It once occurred that one of his disciples publicly stabbed with a knife one of my followers, a scholar from Poland, at the entrance to the synagogue."⁶⁵

It may be argued that what was at issue for Ḥayon here was not the Sabbatianism of R. Jacob. Had he so desired, Ḥayon could have diffused the sharpness of Ḥakham Zevi's attack, at least to some extent, by turning around and pointing out that his own father had himself been a Sabbatian. Ḥayon could have responded to Ḥakham Zevi by suggesting to him that he not be so quick in condemning others for maintaining such a posi-

tion if his own father had been similarly guilty. If asserting the Sabbatianism of R. Jacob was the essence of his argument then one could plausibly argue that this information would be suspect. However, this was not Hayon's claim. What he did stress in R. Jacob's behavior was not his Sabbatianism but rather his callous disregard for the sanctity of human life which, in one particular instance, happened to express itself in a Sabbatian related case. R. Jacob's crime, according to the Sabbatian Hayon, was that, by being prepared to kill an opponent, he was too fervent in his Sabbatian belief. It was this violation of the sanctity of human life that, Hayon charged, was shared by father and son and which, in the case of the latter, happened to express itself in exactly opposite circumstances. Both shared a lack of concern for human life; the fact that the father expressed such a tendency in a matter involving a Sabbatian is only incidental. If this is indeed the case, and the fact of R. Jacob's Sabbatianism is not the central focus of Hayon's argument, it is possible that there may be some truth in his statement.

In addition, Hayon made sure to add: ". . . There are witnesses here who can corroborate this fact." He could easily have omitted this sentence entirely or have eliminated even just the word "here." The impression he gives is that he is prepared to produce the witnesses, if necessary. Such a willingness further militates in favor of the authenticity of his report. This is especially telling because just a few pages later Hayon showed a special sensitivity to matters whose truth can be easily ascertained. In describing the criticism levelled at one of his works, he wrote: ". . . He heaped calumny and (spread) various lies and fabrications upon my book; even matters whose truth can be easily

verified."⁶⁶

It is obvious that the preceding analysis is predicated upon the assumption that Hayon was generally a careful writer not prone to wild and reckless fabrications. Indeed, a reasoned, objective reading of Hayon's works reveals an author who often exaggerated but who also, at the same time, did not totally disregard the truth.⁶⁷

Finally, the essence of Hayon's charges against R. Jacob and his son are neither as inherently implausible nor as extreme as they may appear to be. The merciless sentence attributed to R. Jacob could possibly have had a precedent in the behavior of Shabbetai Zevi himself who permitted shedding the blood of "non-believers" and even commended those who did.⁶⁸ In addition, there are a number of examples of vigorous physical struggle in the synagogue between Sabbatians and their opponents.⁶⁹

In conclusion, while one must be wary of accepting as fact a charge levelled by a bitter opponent of Hakham Zevi whose sole objective was to discredit him, there are nevertheless sufficient grounds to assume that this arch enemy of his was not guilty of fabricating a story out of thin air and that his testimony may be accepted as truth.⁷⁰

The evidence for the existence of Sabbatianism in the family of Hakham Zevi is clearest in the case of his uncle, R. Judah, son of R. Ephraim and brother-in-law of his father, R. Jacob.⁷¹ As boyhood friends in Ofen, both studied there with R. Ephraim.⁷² In the spring of 1685, R. Judah set out for the land of Israel where, a year later, he heard of the capture of his home town by the Austrians which severely affected all the

members of his family.⁷³ He returned to Europe by way of Italy, found his immediate family safe in Prague and was able to fulfill his father's last wish by publishing his collection of responsa, She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim, in 1689. After some more travel between Europe and Jerusalem, he returned to the land of Israel in 1701-1702 and died there.

The primary evidence of R. Judah's Sabbatianism is the very close relationship he enjoyed with the well-known Italian Sabbatian, Abraham Rovigo.⁷⁴ On his way from Jerusalem to Central Europe, R. Judah visited Rovigo at his home in Italy.⁷⁵ They remained in contact and about a decade later, in 1697, Rovigo informed the members of his circle, including R. Judah, about the appearance of a "maggid" in his school in Italy.⁷⁶ The clearest expression of this closeness is the fact that R. Judah was the leader of a group of members of Rovigo's circle who travelled with their teacher from Livorno to Jerusalem in the winter of 1701-1702.⁷⁷ His leadership was so evident that the only extant account of this journey written by Mordecai de Lattes, a student of Rovigo's, mentions his name in the list of travellers even before that of his teacher.⁷⁸ Upon arriving in Jerusalem, Rovigo and his family stayed for a while in R. Judah's home.⁷⁹ Finally, and most significantly, Rovigo chose R. Judah as one of a select group of ten students to study in his Jerusalem yeshiva. There is strong reason to believe that Rovigo chose as his students only those who shared his views and, indeed, many of the members of this group which constituted Rovigo's innermost circle have already been independently identified as Sabbatians.⁸⁰

This closeness between Rovigo and R. Judah provides enough evidence of R. Judah's Sabbatianism. It has already been claimed that mere mem-

bership in Rovigo's Jerusalem yeshiva may be enough to establish one's Sabbatian identity,⁸¹ a conclusion which would certainly be warranted in the case of R. Judah whose closeness with Rovigo was of such intensity and long standing duration. However, the evidence here may be even stronger. A list of amounts of money which Rovigo sent to R. Judah in Jerusalem between 1694-1695 contains the following entry: ". . . and afterwards I also sent him two other pizi for a Derush Taninim."⁸² Assuming that this is a reference to the well-known, important Sabbatian tract by Nathan of Gaza,⁸³ I. Sonne simply cited it and concluded, "Any further explanation (to prove R. Judah's Sabbatianism) is simply superfluous."⁸⁴

One may also adduce proof of R. Judah's Sabbatianism from a subtlety in a description of him by his great-nephew, R. Jacob Emden. At the beginning of his autobiography, Emden stated that R. Judah moved to Jerusalem "and died there with a good name ('bi-shem tov')."⁸⁵ Such a characterization is rare in Emden's writings and one gets the impression that he did not enjoy "a good name" throughout his life, perhaps due to an involvement at some point with the Sabbatian movement.⁸⁶ Indeed, had R. Judah died a believing Sabbatian, one could expect that Emden would have attacked him in spite of their family connection. In another context, Emden lauded someone who hounded even a relative whom he accused of Sabbatianism⁸⁷ and, in fact, there is evidence that he did so as well.⁸⁸

The fact that sufficient evidence exists to suggest that members of Hakham Zevi's own immediate family were Sabbatians is not only of intrin-

sic interest but may also provide the key to understanding the particular virulence and intensity of his opposition to the movement. It is reasonable to assume that he knew about R. Judah's association with Sabbatianism. The two were close childhood friends who studied together in their youth.⁸⁹ In addition, R. Judah kept in contact with R. Jacob, Hakham Zevi's father⁹⁰ and, presumably, also with Hakham Zevi as well.

In any case, this phenomenon of confirmed Sabbatians in the immediate families of major anti-Sabbatians is a significant one and may explain, to some extent, their particular opposition to the movement. It may have been significant in the anti-Sabbatian career of Hakham Zevi and may even also explain the particular intensity of his son's opposition to this movement. If Emden was indeed aware of his uncle's association with it, this may also have motivated him to take the offensive against Sabbatianism. Nevertheless, in the case of Emden, one generation removed, other considerations were undoubtedly more central and substantive.

Rabbi Yehezkel Katzenellenbogen's thirty-six year tenure as Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community came to an end with his death on July 9, 1749. A number of candidates were nominated to fill this vacancy, among whom were Emden, then a printer in Altona, and Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschütz, Chief Rabbi of Metz. After communal elections, Eybeschütz was chosen for the position on May 14, 1750.

By this time R. Eybeschütz was widely acknowledged as the preeminent Torah scholar of his generation. Born in the last decade of the seventeenth century, his father died when he was a young boy and he travelled

from the city of Eybeschütz to Prossnitz where he studied with R. Meir Eisenstadt, author of Panim Me'iroh, a collection of novellae on the Talmud and responsa printed in Amsterdam, 1715.⁹¹ After spending some time in various other communities, he arrived in Prague in 1710 and, at eighteen years of age, married Elkele, the daughter of R. Isaac Spira, rabbi of Jungbunzlau. Shortly thereafter, he lived in Hamburg for two years with his wife's grandfather, R. Mordecai ha-Kohen but, in 1715, returned to Prague to serve as a teacher and preacher. In 1725, he joined his rabbinical colleagues in excommunicating all followers of the Sabbatian movement and in 1736, after the death of Chief Rabbi David Oppenheim, was appointed Oberjurist, or head of Prague's rabbinical court. It was during this time that he developed an international reputation as an outstanding teacher and Torah scholar. In 1741, when Rabbi Joshua Falk left Metz to assume the Chief Rabbinate of Frankfort-am-Main, Eybeschütz was chosen as his successor. He served in Metz until 1750 when he was elected the new Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community. In a generation which boasted of many outstanding rabbis and scholars, e.g. R. Joshua Falk in Frankfort, R. Ezekiel Landau in Prague, R. Aryeh Leib (author of the Sha'agat 'Aryeh) in Metz, R. Hayyim Yosef Azulai in Livorno and R. Jacob Emden in Altona, Rabbi Eybeschütz was recognized as an outstanding, if not the outstanding pre-eminent Torah authority. It was with this reputation and stature that he arrived in Altona in the middle of September 1750 to assume his new rabbinical position.⁹²

For some time prior to Eybeschütz' arrival, an unusually high number of women in The Triple Community had died during childbirth. After becoming Chief Rabbi, Eybeschütz granted the request of a number of preg-

nant women to provide them with amulets which, they believed, would protect them from death. Shortly thereafter, Eybeschütz was accused of including cryptic references to Shabbatai Zevi in the amulets he issued and the matter was brought to the attention of Emden. After first refusing to become involved, Emden publicly announced in his synagogue on Thursday morning, February 4, 1751, that there was no doubt that the author of these amulets is a Sabbatian. Although not mentioning Eybeschütz by name, it was clear that he was accusing him of outright, blatant heresy. The Triple Community's lay leadership was very upset by this serious attack on their newly appointed Chief Rabbi and, the very next day, rescinded Emden's privilege of holding private services in his home and his right to operate a printing press. Two days later, on Sunday, February 7, they ordered him to leave the community. Emden refused and was placed under house arrest.

In addition, Emden and others revived the long standing claim that Eybeschütz was responsible for having composed ve-'Avo Hayom 'el ha-'Ayin, an overtly Sabbatian tract. This charge first surfaced in 1725 when Eybeschütz was first accused of being a Sabbatian. Shortly thereafter, the matter quieted down and, having lain dormant for two and a half decades, it now received a great deal of attention and was presented as major evidence of Eybeschütz' close association with that movement.⁹³

Emden's accusation that the greatest rabbinic figure of his generation was a Sabbatian was a most serious one and gave rise to one of the most intense, bitter and repercussive controversies in all of Jewish history.⁹⁴ The controversy began to escalate as each side turned to others for support. Emden won the assistance of R. Joshua Falk, Chief

Rabbi of Frankfort-am-Main, R. Samuel Hilman, Chief Rabbi of Metz and his brother-in-law, R. Aryeh Leib, Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam. Eybeschütz began to rally his many students and, on February 21, delivered a major sermon in Altona's Great Synagogue in which he sharply denied the charges levelled against him. Tensions did not abate and, sensing that he was in personal danger, Emden fled to his brother-in-law in Amsterdam some three months later, on Saturday night, May 22, 1751, leaving his wife and family behind. Unfettered now by any fears of personal safety or by any communal restraints, Emden intensified his struggle against Eybeschütz and sought further support for his position from other religious as well as secular authorities. On June 30, 1752, the Danish authorities ruled that Emden had a right to return to Altona and to live there in peace. He left Amsterdam on July 26 and arrived back in his home nine days later.

The entire Triple Community was split into pro-Emden and pro-Eybeschütz factions. Personal insults, physical fights and even street brawls became common between members of the contending groups. Local secular authorities and the Danish monarch were drawn by both sides into the conflict as were leading rabbis from other Jewish communities in Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Italy, Hungary, Holland, Turkey, France, Lithuania, the Ukraine and Palestine. Hamburg's police were summoned to quell disturbances, local newspapers carried accounts of what had become a major cause célèbre for Jews and non-Jews alike and the violence spilled over into the marketplace, fairs, the cemetery, private homes, the synagogue and even onto the floor of Hamburg's stock exchange (Bourse). Excommunications and counter-excommunications of people as well as books

were traded across Europe. Proclamations, insults, threats and denunciations were hurled by one faction against the other and the tension and bitterness continued even after Eybeschütz died more than thirteen years after the controversy began, on September 18, 1764.

Two issues relevant to the controversy have long been analyzed and discussed. The first relates to the essence of the conflict, i.e. was Emden, in fact, correct in accusing Eybeschütz of being a Sabbatian or was he guilty of unjustly maligning and impugning the reputation of the Chief Rabbi? In effect, which side is to be believed, Emden's or Eybeschütz's? As we shall see shortly, this issue continued to be a matter of heated and impassioned debate long after its two principal protagonists passed from the scene. Secondly, even if Emden's accusations were justified, how does one account for the virulence and intensity with which he pursued them? After all, there were others, like Rabbis Joshua Falk of Frankfurt, Samuel Heilman of Metz, Aryeh Leib of Amsterdam, Ezekiel Landau of Yampol and more who were also convinced of Eybeschütz's Sabbatianism, and yet took a more passive and conciliatory position.⁹⁵ What was it that motivated Emden, in particular, to take the lead on this issue and to assume the kind of extreme and harsh position that he did?

It must be made clear that, methodologically, these two issues are very much related to one another. Many of those who attempted to address the second question, i.e. to explain Emden's position, assumed that, in answer to the first question, Eybeschütz was not a Sabbatian. As a result, they considered Emden's charge to be totally ludicrous and absurd. Having resolved the basic issue of the controversy in favor of Eybeschütz, they sought explanations for the highly audacious and irrespon-

sible behavior on the part of Emden in areas unrelated to the charges raised in the controversy itself. Modern scholarship has argued, however, that the evidence clearly indicates that Eybeschütz was a Sabbatian, in which case the extremism of Emden's behavior is greatly mitigated and the task of explaining his position made significantly easier. According to this view, Emden accused Eybeschütz of being a Sabbatian because, in fact, he was a Sabbatian. It then follows that Emden's charge, per se, requires no explanation and the virulence and intensity with which he pursued it can be at least partially explained from within the context of the controversy itself. Each of these issues will now be discussed in detail.

Long after both Emden and Eybeschütz passed from the scene, the debate over Eybeschütz' alleged Sabbatianism continued. No longer the focus of conflict in the rabbinic world, it continued to be hotly debated in the scholarly community, beginning in the nineteenth century. The first one to substantively address the issue from an historical perspective was Heinrich Graetz who argued strongly in favor of Eybeschütz's Sabbatianism both in the text of his History of the Jews as well as in an appendix especially devoted to this issue.⁹⁶ He based his opinion primarily on the amulet evidence and on the Sabbatian works allegedly written by Eybeschütz, i.e. va-'Avo Hayom 'el ha-'Avin and Shem 'Olam. Graetz himself was fully aware of the highly controversial nature of his position and directly addressed himself to those whom he knew would be

offended by it: "I am compelled to ask forgiveness from several of my friends and colleagues who, to this day, respect and extol the author of the books, 'Urim ve-Tummim and Kreti u-Pleti for I will aggravate them by attacking the honor of the praiseworthy warrior in the battle of Jewish law which is very precious to them. It is the obligation of history to focus a sharp light upon the personalities and events as they are without any prejudice. This is what has compelled me to issue such a harsh judgement."⁹⁷

In his Hebrew edition of Graetz's history printed in 1899, Shaul Pinchas Rabinowitz ("Shefer") offered a point by point refutation of Graetz' arguments. Accusing Graetz of consistently maintaining a pro-Emden bias, Rabinowitz repeatedly argued that none of the evidence adduced by Graetz warranted the conclusion he derived from it.⁹⁸ Graetz, however, was followed by David Kahana in 1913 who simply assumed that Eybeschütz knowingly included allusions to Shabbetai Zevi in the amulets he issued.⁹⁹ On the other hand, in his description of the controversy in his biography of Eybeschütz printed around twenty years later, David L. Zinz defended him from all criticism. Indeed, his orientation is reflected in the title he chose for his work, "Gedulat Yehonatan" ("The Greatness of Jonathan").¹⁰⁰ The following quote, printed in 1935, indicates how strongly some felt about this matter: "The suggestion that he (i.e. Eybeschütz) actually shared their beliefs and hopes touching the person of Shabbetai Zevi is too fantastic to merit serious consideration. His learning and sagacity preclude this possibility, his life and teachings repudiate the imputation of such a monstrous aberration."¹⁰¹

Graetz was followed by Gershom Scholem who became the most forceful

spokesman on behalf of the point of view which espoused Eybeschütz's Sabbatianism. While his earliest pronouncements on the subject reflected a measure of uncertainty,¹⁰² he soon became convinced of its validity and began to strongly argue in its favor. He first clearly stated his opinion in a footnote to an essay printed in 1937: ". . . I cannot conceal the fact, however, that after thoroughly examining both Eybeschütz' own Kabbalistic writings and all the polemical works they engendered I have been forced to concede that he was indeed a Sabbatian, as both Jacob Emden and, in a later age, Heinrich Graetz insisted."¹⁰³ Indeed, later in that essay, he mentioned Eybeschütz in the company of the Sabbatians Nehemya Hayon and Shmuel Primo¹⁰⁴ and also listed them in a book he published one year later.¹⁰⁵ It is, however, important to note that while Scholem agreed with both Emden and Graetz regarding the fact of Eybeschütz' Sabbatianism, he radically differed with them as to how to assess that fact. Unlike his predecessors for whom Eybeschütz' Sabbatianism was a terrible mistake and cause for criticism, Scholem considered it a reality which required sober, objective and non-judgemental historical analysis.

This continuing controversy was heightened by the publication of a biography of Emden by Mortimer J. Cohen in 1937. This book precipitated a heated debate on this issue in the popular as well as scholarly press between Scholem and members of the Orthodox community. Cohen argued that there was no factual basis for Emden's assertion about Eybeschütz and, as a result, his claim can only be understood in light of Emden's "unbalanced character" and "contentious personality."¹⁰⁶ In an extensive review of Cohen's book, Scholem dealt primarily with the question of Eybe-

schütz' Sabbatianism and repeatedly affirmed his previous position. He based his argument primarily on the Sabbatian character of Shem 'Olam and ve-'Avo Hayom 'el ha-'Avin which Cohen himself attributed to Eybeschütz,¹⁰⁷ on the texts of the amulets and on the fact that many of Eybeschütz' defenders, in-laws and descendants were known to be Sabbatians.¹⁰⁸

In an article published shortly thereafter, Scholem marshalled yet more proofs of Eybeschütz' Sabbatianism. He drew attention to a clear reference to Nathan of Gaza's Derush Taninim in Eybeschütz' Luhot 'Edut and re-examined the evidence that R. Ezekiel Landau, the author of the Noda bi-Yehudah, also shared that point of view.¹⁰⁹ The printing of an amulet of Eybeschütz by M. Greenwald shortly thereafter¹¹⁰ led Scholem to engage in a comprehensive analysis of it as further proof of Eybeschütz' Sabbatianism.¹¹¹

Scholem's assertions aroused a storm of controversy in Israel's Orthodox community. He was attacked in the Orthodox press,¹¹² and one of its leaders, Rabbi Reuven Margoliot, penned an essay in 1941 specifically intended to refute his position. Explicitly noting that he will not deal with the amulet evidence, Margoliot raised four objections to statements made by Scholem both in his review of Cohen's book and in his first article on the subject. Margoliot questioned the attribution of Shem 'Olam to Eybeschütz, denied that R. Landau considered him a Sabbatian, rejected the claim that marrying one's children into families of Sabbatians reflected one's own closeness to the movement and, finally, argued that Eybeschütz' reference to "Derush Taninim" in his Luhot 'Edut was not to the Sabbatian tract by that name authored by Nathan of Gaza

but to a brief passage in the Zohar on Exodus which was also known by that title.¹¹³

For the only time in his career, Scholem responded in an Orthodox journal to his critics¹¹⁴ and that year also penned an independent monograph responding particularly to the criticisms of Margoliot and his major ally, Yizhak Rafael. In a most sharply worded polemic, Scholem addressed himself to each one of Margoliot's four objections and dismissed them all.¹¹⁵ Scholem's basic arguments were repeated in a newspaper article by his student Isaiah Tishby¹¹⁶ and his identification of Shem 'Olam as a work by Eybeschütz was defended in an article published during this time by Fishel Lachover.¹¹⁷ Yizhak Rafael, a younger colleague of Rabbi Margoliot who had already entered into the controversy against Scholem,¹¹⁸ was deeply offended by the insulting tone of Scholem's attack against his teacher and mentor and shortly thereafter penned an extensive monograph in his defense.¹¹⁹ He concluded his remarks by claiming that Scholem was generally ignorant of the Bible and Talmud and cited a number of examples to prove it.¹²⁰

The level of the controversy was advanced by the appearance of a full length work by Moshe Aryeh Perlmutter, a student of Scholem's, who argued that there can be no doubt whatsoever that Eybeschütz is to be included among the followers of the Sabbatian movement. His book contains a carefully reasoned and clearly argued analysis of ve-'Avo Hayom 'el ha-'Ayin which, he showed, served as the basic issue around which the entire controversy revolved. Basing himself on an internal analysis of the language and content of this work, Perlmutter claimed to conclusively prove the clearly Sabbatian nature of this text as well as that of Shem

'Olam. Furthermore, by closely analyzing Eybeschütz' own comments about ve-'Avo Hayom 'el ha-'Ayin and by comparing it and Shem 'Olam to other works by Eybeschütz where his authorship is beyond question (e.g. Ya'arot Devash, Tif'eret Yehonatan, Ahavat Yehonatan and Keshet Yehonatan), Perlmutter argued that there can also be no doubt that both were written by Eybeschütz. In addition, he analyzed Eybeschütz' amulets and concluded that they too contained unequivocal references to Sabbatianism.¹²¹

Nevertheless, the opponents of Scholem and his school continued to remain unconvinced. Mortimer J. Cohen reviewed Perlmutter's book and simply repeated the assertions he had made in his book about the "innocence" of Eybeschütz without substantially addressing himself at all to any of Perlmutter's arguments.¹²² In 1954, Leopold Greenwald printed a book-length study on Eybeschütz written specifically with the intention of defending "the righteousness of the zaddik" against the destructive opinions of Scholem and "his student."¹²³ However, in the course of his entire presentation, he almost totally ignored the evidence presented by them and simply elaborated upon arguments exonerating Eybeschütz already found in his first book on the subject written almost fifty years earlier.¹²⁴ He argued, in essence, that Eybeschütz could not possibly have been a Sabbatian because he was so respected by many great people and, in fact, even Emden considered him highly.¹²⁵ In addition, he claimed that Emden was totally unreliable, witness the fact that he attacked other great rabbis, including those who were his friends, and deprecated even himself.¹²⁶ It is obvious to the objective reader that all of these assertions are irrelevant and it is no wonder that neither Scholem nor Perlmutter felt the need to respond.¹²⁷

Three years later, Y. Rafael reprinted his earlier essay defending Margaliyot, but this time in a more moderate, respectful and conciliatory tone. He also omitted the unrelated attacks on Scholem with which he concluded his essay the first time.¹²⁸ He later noted in his autobiography that, in the interim, his respect for Scholem had grown and that he later regretted the overzealousness of his attack which he considered to be a "youthful blunder."¹²⁹ Yet, the scholarly community continued to be convinced that Scholem was right and in a book published in 1964, Isaiah Tishby, who had defended Scholem over twenty years earlier, fully assumed that Eybeschütz was a Sabbatian.¹³⁰

After having lain dormant for a while, the issue was raised again by Abraham Bick (Shauli) in 1974. He claimed to have discovered a text which definitively proved that Scholem was wrong in insisting that the "Derush Taninim" mentioned by Eybeschütz was not a reference to a passage in the Zohar as Margoliyot had claimed but to the book by that name by Nathan of Gaza. Scholem had argued that Eybeschütz' remarks which preceded this reference to "Derush Taninim" were found only in Sabbatian literature but Bick claimed that a similar interpretation is found, of all places, in a commentary to the Zohar by none other than Emden, whom no one would dare accuse of being associated with that movement. As the subtitle of his article indicates ("The End of an Old Controversy"), having made this "discovery," Bick pronounced the matter closed.¹³¹

Very shortly after Bick's article appeared, Ephraim Kupfer printed a brief note responding to it in which he showed that Bick was guilty of grossly sloppy scholarship. Kupfer examined Emden's Zohar commentary and noted that, in fact, it simply contains no such interpretation.¹³²

Nevertheless, one year later, Bick reprinted his article at the end of his new edition of Emden's commentary on the Zohar and appended a hopelessly inadequate rebuttal of Kupfer's argument.¹³³

Bick's article was subjected to a longer and more substantive refutation in 1978 by Yehudah Liebes, a student of Scholem's, who took the place of his teacher and has become the foremost current proponent of Eybeschütz' Sabbatianism. In an article printed that year, Liebes accepted Perlmutter's arguments and simply assumed that, as the author of va-'Avo Hayom 'el ha-'Ayin, Eybeschütz was a Sabbatian.¹³⁴ In an appendix to that article, Liebes briefly reviewed the debate on this subject to date, focusing specifically on Bick's article. He claimed that even if Bick was correct that the reference of "Derush Taninim" by Eybeschütz really was to the Zohar, it would not affect Scholem's basic thesis. This whole issue was raised by Scholem simply as an additional proof and is clearly not pivotal for the essence of his argument. Furthermore, Liebes showed how Bick's response to Kupfer was as sloppy and irresponsible as his original assertion.¹³⁵ Indeed, Liebes continued to refer to Eybeschütz' Sabbatianism as a fact in a number of his later articles.¹³⁶ Finally, Sid Z. Leiman has proven in a recent paper that, at least as far as R. Ezekiel Landau was concerned, Eybeschütz was a Sabbatian.¹³⁷

Nevertheless, in spite of the flurry of prodigious scholarly output to the contrary, the traditional Jewish community has steadfastly maintained that Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschütz, outstanding rabbi, scholar, preacher and teacher, could not possibly have been a Sabbatian.¹³⁸

The foregoing presentation clearly indicates that modern scholarship maintains that Eybeschütz was a Sabbatian. Since Emden was, according to

this view, justified in his assertion, his behavior was not as rash and irresponsible as some had thought it to be. But it is also possible to go one step further. Ultimately, in assessing Emden's behavior, one need not even determine the answer to the basic question as to whether or not Eybeschütz was a Sabbatian. As far as Emden is concerned, the real issue is whether or not there were legitimate grounds for Emden to assume that Eybeschütz was a Sabbatian. As far as this, more limited question is concerned, the modern scholarly consensus could clearly be invoked to provide an answer in the affirmative. There is no question that the plain sense of the amulets, for example, clearly supported Emden's position and therefore one can argue that he had more than reasonable grounds to accuse Eybeschütz of heresy. What requires elucidation then, is not why Emden claimed what he did but rather the sharpness and extremism with which he pursued that claim.

A number of suggestions have been presented to explain Emden's behavior in this controversy. In an essay published in 1941, Reuven Margoliot argued that Emden opposed Eybeschütz in 1751 because of a disagreement which had taken place over forty years earlier between the new Chief Rabbi and his father. After the death in 1706 of Hakham Zevi's father-in-law, R. Meshullam Zalman, who had been the Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community, R. Zevi was elected to fill that position but was forced by local politics to share the rabbinic leadership of the Altona community with R. Moses Rothenberg.¹³⁹ In a halakhic debate between them

in 1709, which subsequently became a cause célèbre in rabbinic literature, Ḥakham Zevi ruled that a chicken was kosher even though, upon evisceration, it was found to have no heart. He reasoned that since no living thing could possibly exist without this vital organ, one must conclude that it had been in the chicken's body but that it somehow had been either lost or overlooked.¹⁴⁰ R. Rothenberg took the opposite position, defending an explicit ruling in the Shulhan Arukh that rendered a chicken found without a heart unfit for consumption.¹⁴¹ According to Margoliot, it was this debate, which Eybeschütz joined in favor of R. Rothenburg,¹⁴² which caused Ḥakham Zevi to resign from his rabbinic post. As a result, claimed Margoliot, his son lost the right to succeed him as Chief Rabbi. He theorized that Emden never forgot this episode, and that close to a half century later vented his anger at Eybeschütz whom he felt was responsible for cheating him out of an opportunity to don the mantle of rabbinic leadership in his community.¹⁴³

Another approach to the controversy was to blame Emden's unstable and contentious personality for his extreme and erratic behavior. First suggested at the end of the nineteenth century,¹⁴⁴ it was most fully developed by Mortimer J. Cohen in his book published in 1937. In attempting to understand the controversy, Cohen wrote that he "came more and more to the conviction that much of the meaning of the conflict was to be found in Emden himself."¹⁴⁵ He proceeded to explain Emden's activity as a reflection of a "sick soul," "spiritual confusions and mental perplexities" and an "unbalanced character." He argued that Emden's "unstable personality" and "physical and mental illness" accounted for his "unpleasant querulousness" and "morose contentious personal-

ity."¹⁴⁶ He claimed that Emden had an "unstable nervous equilibrium," a "pathological condition" and "inner psychopathic delusion."¹⁴⁷ In particular, Cohen accused Emden of having a "mind suffused with repressed sexual desire" and whose "morbid interest" and "preoccupation" with sex revealed itself in his accusations against Eybeschütz. He wrote that, "we can be certain that every phase of his thought and behavior reveals a mind distorted by sexual repressions, afflicted with persecutory delusions and weighed down with a deep-seated sense of inferiority . . . It was this sense of frustration [due to sexual impotence] that nurtured the secret feelings of inferiority that lay at the basis of his excessive egotism and his acute need for respect and consideration."¹⁴⁸ Indeed, the fact that he was not chosen to succeed Kazenellenbogen to the Chief Rabbinate of The Triple Community "may, indeed, have upset the equilibrium of his delicately balanced mind . . . He needed the position of Chief Rabbi to restore his own confidence in himself and to rebuild himself, if that were possible, in his own estimation. Consequently, his defeat affected him more deeply than it did the other candidates because it meant much more to him. He centered all his passionate hate upon Eybeschütz who now became the outer symbol of his inner failure."¹⁴⁹

In the course of his presentation, Cohen made another suggestion which he claimed also had to be considered in understanding the controversy. While Emden initiated his attack against Eybeschütz for the personal reasons he indicated, it soon mushroomed into a major communal battle because of a class struggle taking place in The Triple Community at the time. The lower class sided with Eybeschütz, while the upper class, who saw their position threatened by the new Chief Rabbi, rallied

around Emden.¹⁵⁰

There are a number of serious problems with each one of these suggestions. Firstly, Margoliyot's assumption that the debate over the "heartless" chicken is what caused Hakham Zevi to resign from the Chief Rabbinate of The Triple Community has no factual basis. Although it is mentioned in some of the secondary literature,¹⁵¹ it is not forthcoming from any of the primary sources which discuss this episode. There one finds an entirely different and unrelated explanation for Hakham Zevi's resignation. It appears that R. Rothenberg had become involved in a serious financial impropriety and Hakham Zevi felt that it would be inappropriate for him to continue to serve as rabbi together with him. When R. Rothenberg's supporters in the community insisted that he be allowed to retain his position, Hakham Zevi resigned.¹⁵² It is most significant that when Emden discussed this entire episode in his father's life in his autobiography, he made no mention of any halakhic dispute.¹⁵³ Clearly, its significance was lost on Emden five decades later and could not possibly account for his anti-Eybeschütz behavior at that time. Furthermore, Emden repeatedly claimed throughout the controversy that he did have a family right to the Chief Rabbinate of The Triple Community.¹⁵⁴ It is obvious that he felt that his father's resignation in 1708 did not adversely affect his claim to that position. Also, Margoliyot is assuming that, his explicit protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, Emden really wanted to be Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community, a matter which will be analyzed below in greater detail.¹⁵⁵ Finally, Margoliyot himself recognized that in a later work Emden opposed his father's ruling and agreed with Eybeschütz' position that a chicken without a heart is

not kosher.¹⁵⁶ Emden went so far as to accuse Eybeschütz of plagiarism¹⁵⁷ and also attacked him for involving Gentile experts in a matter of Jewish law¹⁵⁸ but did not take issue with his ruling as such. It is thus highly unlikely that Emden would harbor so intense a grudge against Eybeschütz for voicing an opinion with which he himself agreed.¹⁵⁹

Objections can also be raised to both theories propounded by M. J. Cohen. There is certainly no question that Emden's works reflect an unusual degree of openness about his most intimate, personal sexual feelings and frustrations. We have already seen his explicit description of his strong urge to have sex with his cousin while visiting Prague in 1722.¹⁶⁰ Emden noted how, at that time, "I was a young man, tender in years, with full strength of my passion. I had been separated from my wife for a long time and greatly desired a woman . . ."¹⁶¹ One finds in his works references to involuntary erections caused by sickness which resulted in the emission of semen¹⁶² and to his personal need for sexual relations on a regular basis. Comparing his regulated sex life with the looseness of sexual mores among Sabbatians, Emden noted:

"Behold, it is now several weeks that I am separated from my wife.¹⁶³ Because of her incessant menstrual flow, she could not achieve the (required state of) cleanliness. I suffered pain due to the withholding of my desired function and natural need to discharge the surplus (semen) which is gathered. It is not possible for me (to do so)¹⁶⁴ for I have no other woman besides her to release me from my tension."¹⁶⁵

It was not as if he lacked a sex drive, continued Emden, "On the con-

trary, our inclination is greater than yours, as our rabbis wrote, 'The greater the man, etc.'"¹⁶⁶ He concluded, "we have not permitted for ourselves even a concubine (pilegesh) which was not prohibited by the Torah" while you, "steeped in immorality" have sex even with married women.¹⁶⁷

A famous example of Emden's total lack of inhibition about discussing matters of sex can be found in his well-known presentation of that subject in the first volume of his Siddur. As part of his description of the Friday evening ritual, Emden elaborated upon sexual issues from a number of different perspectives, discussing how often sex is appropriate, the proper diet necessary for healthy sex, acceptable sexual positions, and more. In the course of his remarks, he wrote:

"When sperm is 'surplus,' nature prepares to discharge it, like other surpluses to be discharged. If, therefore, when the reproductive organs are ready to expel it but it gathers up inside, this is harmful and intercourse is necessary. Moreover, for one overcome by depression or insanity, intercourse is beneficial, for it dissipates melancholy, calms bad temper, and gladdens the soul. Also, a healthy man . . . who becomes sexually aroused involuntarily and feels a heaviness in his loins, yet does not cohabit . . . his sperm gathers . . . and creates bad vapors which may affect the heart, brain, and stomach, damaging his health and causing possibly fatal illnesses. So it happened with some who were accustomed to sexual release and then refrained for a long time;

they died suddenly [!] Therefore, coitus is good for such a one; it cleanses the body of its fullness, lightens heavyheadedness and brightens his eyes . . . [The evils of overindulgence are repeated here] . . . but in moderation, coitus is good and beneficial in the ways stated . . . Just as proper and disciplined eating preserves life and sustains strength and health, so proper sexual expression is a source of pleasure and benefit to body and soul. As despicable eating habits, in quality or quantity, destroy body and soul, so improper sex habits destroy body and soul."¹⁶⁸

Nevertheless, while it is clear that Emden had a complex and contentious personality, all this emphasis on his sexuality is really irrelevant to his attack on Eybeschütz. It is totally implausible to reduce such a bitter controversy to a matter of personal pathology. In the words of S. Baron, "There were greater issues at stake than the mere 'witch hunting' propensities of one sexually dissatisfied rabbi."¹⁶⁹ Such psychological interpretation is sheer speculation and, in addition to lacking any basis in the sources, simply makes no sense.

Cohen's other thesis about the class conflict in The Triple Community is simply wrong. In both of their reviews of Cohen's book, Gershom Scholem and Salo Baron pointed out that Cohen did not adduce any evidence for the existence of such a class struggle and certainly none to prove the positions he claimed were adopted by both of its major protagonists.¹⁷⁰ Both correctly note that many of the wealthy communal lead-

ers were solidly in the Eybeschütz camp. In fact, they had been alienated by Emden before the controversy even began when he aroused their anger by a pejorative aside about bankers which he included in his Sid-dur.¹⁷¹ Emden himself noted that they never forgave him and joined the opposition when the controversy arose.¹⁷²

Gershom Scholem and his student, Moshe A. Perlmutter, objected to these suggestions for a more fundamental reason. They claimed that since both Margoliot and Cohen assumed that Emden was wrong in accusing Eybeschütz of being a Sabbatian, they searched for all kinds of reasons extrinsic to the controversy to explain why he fabricated such a totally false and ludicrous charge out of whole cloth. Having dismissed Emden as rash and irresponsible, they overlooked those documents generated by the controversy and ignored what he himself claimed was the issue. Once, however, one posits that Eybeschütz was indeed a Sabbatian and that Emden was correct, all of this is unnecessary and one need not look elsewhere for an explanation of Emden's behavior. He acted the way he did for no reason other than because he had good reason to do so.¹⁷³

However, this too is an oversimplification. As Scholem himself indicated,¹⁷⁴ one must differentiate between the correctness of Emden's position and the factors which motivated him to pursue it with such vociferousness and intensity. Even if he was justified in his accusation against Eybeschütz, it is still necessary to attempt an explanation of why he was so bitter and extreme in his attack. After all, as noted earlier, other rabbis were also convinced of the fact that Eybeschütz was a Sabbatian and yet were more passive and restrained in their approach.

Another most interesting and intriguing interpretation was recently

suggested by Yehudah Liebes. He first argued that Emden had a paradoxical relationship with certain features of Sabbatian theology. Liebes claimed that Emden was so virulent in his denunciation of Sabbatianism precisely because he recognized the great significance of some of their views and, therefore, was more cognizant than others of their danger. Unlike many of his contemporaries who mocked and denigrated Sabbatian theology, Emden took it very seriously and was greatly influenced by the teachings of Nathan of Gaza, Abraham Cardozo and Nehemya Hayon. Liebes showed how Emden adopted for himself certain elements of Sabbatian theology, including even seeing Shabbetai Zevi as fulfilling a messianic purpose, but transformed these ideas for his own purposes. According to Liebes, it was his closeness with Sabbatian theology which, paradoxically, motivated Emden to reject it with such extremeness and intensity.¹⁷⁵

Furthermore, Liebes claimed that Emden's anti-Sabbatianism was a function of his own general conception of messianism. Basing himself on a careful analysis of Emden's more purely kabbalistic works, Liebes argued that Emden posited the notion that in every generation a temporary messiah appears with the goal of purifying it through the twin activities of Torah study and combatting the "evil Messiah," which he identified with Sabbatianism. According to Liebes, Emden considered the members of his immediate family--his father, himself and one of his sons named Zevi--as the messiahs of their respective generations who were destined to play this role.¹⁷⁶ In a later article, Liebes took this one step further and pointed out that Eybeschütz also considered himself to be the messiah of his generation. He therefore suggested that the controversy between them did not simply revolve around the alleged Sabbatianism of Eybeschütz

but was really a struggle between competing claimants for the role of the generation's messiah. This added component, claims Liebes, explains its particular scope and intensity.¹⁷⁷

While certainly a striking suggestion, I cannot accept it as a plausible reflection of the kind of position Emden would take. Based on an extensive knowledge of Emden, it does not seem likely to me that such a line of reasoning would be so central for him. I also wonder why echoes of it do not appear anywhere else in his writings. Although basically divided into the two categories of standard rabbinic works and anti-Sabbatian polemic, a careful analysis of the totality of Emden's literary oeuvre indicates that there was an essential unity in his writings. Various issues of general intellectual concern are discussed at length in his anti-Sabbatian tracts and references to that movement abound in his rabbinic works.¹⁷⁸ I consider it extremely unlikely that such a major element of Emden's thought, as bold and as strange as it was, would only be alluded to in one or two of the most obscure parts of his corpus. Had this, in fact, been as central a feature of Emden's thinking as Liebes claims, I believe that one would be justified in expecting to see references to it elsewhere in his works as well.

Any attempt to explain the nature of Emden's role in this controversy must take cognizance of a related issue which is critical in determining the background of his anti-Eybeschütz behavior. If, indeed, the intenseness of Emden's anti-Sabbatianism was due to any one of the reasons mentioned above -- i.e. revenge against his father's four-decade

old opponent (Margoliot), a bitter personality (Cohen), a full recognition of the Sabbatian suffused ve-'Avo Hayom 'el ha-'Ayin (Perlmutter), or messianic pretensions (Liebes) - why did he wait until 1750, when he was fifty-three years of age, to launch a major attack against this movement? Emden had ample opportunity up until that point to take the initiative against Sabbatians in general and Eybeschütz in particular and yet we find him almost totally silent.

Emden's earliest first-hand exposure to the Sabbatian movement as an adult occurred already some twenty-five years earlier, in 1725, and happened to directly involve none other than Eybeschütz himself. In 1725-1726 a major campaign was initiated against various itinerant Sabbatian emissaries who had been travelling throughout Eastern and Central Europe disseminating Sabbatian doctrine and seeking adherents to their cause. Men like Nehemya Hayon, Leibele (Judah Leib) Prostiz, Israel Hasid and Moshe Meir of Zolkiew were hounded by one community after another in an attempt to oppose this movement which had recently begun to infiltrate in that area. R. Moses Hagiz, then living in Altona, and R. Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen, Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community, expended great effort in galvanizing broad communal support against these Sabbatian activists and their teaching. Various rabbinic courts gathered evidence against them and bans were promulgated in various cities throughout Europe.¹⁷⁹

One of the central figures of this controversy was the young, but already highly acclaimed, R. Jonathan Eybeschütz of Prague who was alleged to have strong ties with these Sabbatians. Discovery was made of correspondence between him and Hayon.¹⁸⁰ In addition, his wife and

daughter-in-law supported Hayon on the outskirts of Prague after he was banned from entering that city.¹⁸¹ Also, in testimony gathered in the Mannheim rabbinical court against Leibele Prostiz in 1725, it was alleged that Leibele considered himself to be the Messiah, son of Joseph, and Eybeschütz the Messiah, son of David.¹⁸² Eybeschütz' most significant role in the controversy, however, was due to the fact that he was alleged by both Sabbatians and their opponents to be the author of the major Sabbatian tract entitled ve-'Avo Hayom 'el ha-'Ayin.¹⁸³

Hagiz and Kazenellenbogen were particularly upset by what they held to be Eybeschütz' presence in the Sabbatian camp. Although he had not yet attained the prominence and following he was to have twenty-five years later, the preacher from Prague was already recognized as an outstanding and brilliant scholar. The presence of such a respected authority on the Sabbatian side granted the movement great legitimacy and credibility. In order to clear himself of any suspicion, Eybeschütz joined his Prague rabbinic colleagues in signing the ban against Sabbatianism issued in that city on September 16, 1725, but doubts as to his real sympathies continued to linger.

During a visit to Pressburg in the spring of 1725, Emden saw ve-'Avo Hayom 'el ha-'Ayin, attributed to Eybeschütz, for the first time. He recalled this event in detail in his autobiography, written during the height of his controversy with Eybeschütz two and a half decades later:

"For when I was at the home of the aforementioned rabbi,¹⁸⁴ he secretly revealed to me how an immoral¹⁸⁵ event occurred. Prior to my arrival there, an itinerant guest came by there from Eybe-

schütz's yeshiva in Prague.¹⁸⁶ In his hand were calumnious writings from this man. Then, through the efforts of the head of the rabbinical court of Prague together with the communal leaders and officers of Vienna, they appointed supervisors to examine unworthy students who were returning from Prague and bringing with them novellae of their master. In Pressburg, too, the same was done with the aforementioned (traveller) shortly before my arrival there. The beadles of the community suddenly searched the room of the aforementioned guest, opened his valise and found the manuscript of the world-famous seducer called by its opening (words), "And I Came This Day Unto The Fountain" (Gen. 24:42). This book had been handed over to the aforementioned R. M.¹⁸⁷ When I arrived there, he secretly revealed to me that this manuscript was given to him to examine, that the words found there seemed strange and shocking and that he is not learned nor expert in matters of Kabbalah¹⁸⁸ He is, therefore, no master in this matter.

Consulting me, he therefore requested of (and) asked me what to do with it. Should he publicize it, consign it to the fire or put it into hiding? He gave it to me to examine in order to determine its nature. However I would evaluate it, so would it

be¹⁸⁹ for he relied upon me (¹⁹⁰ even though I was then in my youth, of tender years, without even the beginning of the growth of a beard.¹⁹¹ I acceded to his request and took the aforementioned manuscript from him. I studied it, reviewed its contents and, upon reading two (or) three sections, it made the hair on my flesh to stand up (Job 4:15) because of the many reproaches and blasphemes contradicting the Divine truth of the Kabbalistic secrets. Nothing was seen or known like this by any heretic or 'apikorus' in all the world. Therefore, I said to the aforementioned rabbi that there is no doubt that it is a heretical book and must certainly be burned. Nevertheless I advised him not to publicize the matter for I felt that nothing would be gained thereby but it would more likely cause damage, as I already wrote in the book Torat ha-Kena'ot.¹⁹²

From then on I knew with absolute certainty that the man Eybeschütz, may the name of the wicked rot (Prov. 10:7) is as a bear lying in wait (Lam. 3:10) (to destroy) the faith of Judaism. May a lion pursue Jonathan Eybeschütz in his lair.¹⁹³ The matter penetrated my heart like the poison of a ringed snake even though I concealed these opinions within me for, because of my youth, I could not gather strength. He also did not sign his name on the book. I knew that

he would deny the obvious and would say that it is not the work of his hands. It is for that reason that he did not openly put his name in the body of the manuscript. His students, who brought it with them to stealthily circulate the seeds of his heresy, also concealed the name of the author in public and only revealed (it) to their cohorts. It was not possible to rectify anything at that time. Therefore, I was silent and kept it in mind.¹⁹⁴ It was abominable for me to hear (even) a mention of Eybeschütz the heretic."¹⁹⁵

In the earlier description of this event in his Torat ha-Kena'ot to which he referred, Emden wrote how R. Moses was himself accused of being a Sabbatian due to this work being found in his possession. R. Moses urgently requested from Emden, who had already left Pressburg, that he send a letter to R. David Oppenheim, Chief Rabbi of Prague, explaining the circumstances under which he was holding this manuscript and to exonerate him from these terrible charges. In his brief introduction to a copy of the letter he wrote Oppenheim, Emden noted:

"The Rabbi showed me the heretical work in order to express to him my opinion as to its contents. When I carefully looked at it I was very frightened, my heart stumbled¹⁹⁶ from seeing (such) obscenities . . . However, since I found that there was nothing to be gained by publicity, I decided that silence is preferable.¹⁹⁷ I thus advised him to destroy the

hamez, that it not be seen¹⁹⁸ in public so that the
profanity¹⁹⁹ not be increased, as I wrote in this
letter."²⁰⁰

In the actual text of the letter itself, Emden elaborated on the
considerations which had led him to advocate restraint at that time:

"My unworthiness precludes me from expressing my
opinion and from making my voice heard 'on the moun-
tains of Israel.'²⁰¹ Behold they will not believe me
(Ex. 4:1) (and therefore) for what do I need this
aggravation. I forementioned rabbi²⁰² asked me to
advise him what to do in this matter. I did not
advise him to publicize it prominently²⁰³ for he is
neither an eyewitness nor does he have (first hand)
knowledge. All (he has heard) is gossip.²⁰⁴ Who
knows from whom these words emerged, since not a
single name of a person is signed on them. Even if
we knew for a certainty, R. J. (i.e. Eybeschütz)
would deny that they are his. It serves not Divine
honor to excessively reveal the very despicable deeds
perpetrated by these evildoers. It is already known
that their strength has been dimmed²⁰⁵ and the name
of God should not be further desecrated before the
masses . . .

Since, in light of the contemporary reality, I
see no way that we can accomplish anything good for

God and for humanity, we therefore both agreed that it remain a closed book that merits destruction. 'Let the owner of the vineyard come and destroy its thorns'²⁰⁶ and let not our hands strike it.²⁰⁷

Furthermore, here Emden presented a different explanation for R. Moses' initial hesitation at getting involved. In this earlier text, he attributed it not to an ignorance of Kabbalah on R. Moses' part but to his discomfort in publicly taking on Eybeschütz. "The aforementioned rabbi did not muster strength²⁰⁸ to publicize this matter and to cast aspersions upon R. J(onathan) for his reputation was becoming exceedingly great."²⁰⁹ Although Emden mentioned this motive in connection with R. Moses, in all likelihood it was a consideration which influenced him as well.

In light of the extreme positions Emden took in his later controversy with Eybeschütz, these excuses for remaining silent in 1725 ring hollow. The fact that he was a young man at the time should not have been considered a drawback because he had not been expected to lead the actual attack on Eybeschütz. After all, as he repeatedly noted, it was R. Moses who had requested his advice and it was he who would have taken the initiative had Emden suggested it. More significantly, his assertion that nothing would be accomplished by publicizing the matter is precisely a position he repeatedly railed against later on in the 1750's. In the course of his bitter anti-Eybeschütz polemic, Emden also had very harsh words for those, like R. Ezekiel Landau, who recognized the dangers of Eybeschütz' Sabbatianism but preferred a more moderate approach for the very same reasons he gave in explaining his own position in 1725. Like

Emden, Landau was convinced that Eybeschütz was a Sabbatian but nevertheless, out of a concern for upholding "kavod ha-Torah" and minimizing "hillul Hashem," he felt that subjecting Eybeschütz to total exposure and censure as demanded by Emden would be counterproductive. Yet, in the 1750's, Emden strongly attacked Landau for maintaining such a point of view.²¹⁰ Emden's moderate anti-Sabbatianism in 1725 became extreme anti-Sabbatianism in 1751 and what he was prepared to overlook in 1725 he hounded with a vengeance twenty-five years later. It wasn't so much the new amulet evidence which caused Emden to take a harsher stand against Eybeschütz; it was a fundamental change in tactics. In fact, in attempting to explain his new approach of relentless hounding and disclosure of Eybeschütz, Emden made no mention of the amulets at all:

"Behold, in my youth I also feared to reveal even an iota of these obscenities as I mentioned above in my letter to the Gaon, head of the rabbinical court (i.e. R. David Oppenheim). However, now that this leprous plague has spread and righteous people have been ensnared by them into considering them (i.e. ve-'Avo Hayom 'el ha-'Ayin) to be words of holiness, greater than the writings of the Ari, I cannot avoid presenting two or three kernels of this deadly poison to make known their nature to those who are as yet unaware of them in order to protect them."²¹¹

However, once again, Emden's explanation rings hollow. Eybeschütz had a wide following already in 1725 and many "righteous people" were being "ensnared" already then.²¹²

Another major controversy regarding Sabbatianism broke out just a few years later, this time revolving around the Italian, R. Moses Hayyim Luzatto. Claiming to be privy to special revelations from a maggid (a divine teacher), Luzatto founded a secret circle of confidants with whom he shared its teachings. When the existence of the small group came to the attention of the broader public in the summer of 1729, both R. Yehezkel Kazenellenbogen, The Triple Community's Chief Rabbi, and R. Moses Hagiz, then living in Altona, suspected, among other things, that it represented a new manifestation of Sabbatianism and began to vigorously oppose it. Both rabbis actively started to recruit support from their colleagues against this "evil sect." After a brief hiatus, from the summer of 1730 to the winter of 1733-34, the controversy resurfaced, with these same two figures still leading the opposition. As a result of their efforts, a number of bans were issued in 1735 against Luzatto's writings.²¹³

In 1735, Emden was already living in Altona and was approached by Hagiz to get involved against Luzatto. But, once again, Emden's involvement was only a minor one. He later claimed that he was not invited to join R. Kazenellenbogen and R. Hagiz in signing their original ban against Luzatto because of the Chief Rabbi's personal opposition to his involvement. Quoting R. Hagiz, Emden wrote how he told him:

"My brother, it was my initial intention and desire
to request from you to sign with us in one group.

However, the elder head of the rabbinical court (i.e. R. Kazenellenbogen) did not agree and prevented me for, in his view, it is not honorable for him to need to include others."²¹⁴

Nevertheless, even after he was approached, Emden preferred to take a more passive, secondary role:

"Verily, I did all within my power to avoid taking a crown unto myself . . . I was aware of my modest worth,²¹⁵ especially having then still been young in years, and did not consider my strength adequate for others to lean and depend on me. I therefore refused to become involved²¹⁶ in this matter even though I had already, several years earlier, written a responsum to the rabbis of Mantua in the matter of a conflict and controversy . . . ²¹⁷ However, this time, I wanted to avoid raising my voice to people I did not know and to inhabitants of a land I did not recognize."²¹⁸

In his later controversy with Eybeschütz, Emden would never have accepted such an argument as an excuse for passivity. It is thus clear, once again, that prior to that controversy Emden was not terribly invested in anti-Sabbatian polemics. Indeed, the one letter he did write was only one of the many gathered by Hagiz.²¹⁹

An analysis of all of Emden's works printed prior to his controversy

with Eybeschütz also yields the conclusion that the struggle against Sabbatianism did not occupy a major place in his thinking up until that time. By 1751, Emden had already authored a substantial corpus of rabbinic material including a commentary on the first two orders of the Mishnah, a Siddur and a major ethical tract. In addition, he had delivered a number of major sermons, authored dozens of responsa as well as a commentary on Tur Orah Hayyim and a major grammatical treatise, all of which were published only later. It has already been pointed out that there exists an essential unity in Emden's total literary oeuvre. The monographs he wrote regarding Sabbatianism contain much information of great importance regarding Emden's biography, general intellectual issues relating to Kabbalah, philosophy, his attitude to Christianity and his conception of messianism while much important Sabbatian material is included in his rabbinic works.²²⁰ Indeed, those rabbinic works published after 1751 contain many attacks on various Sabbatian practices and in both volume and tone, reflect Emden's preoccupation with that movement.²²¹ In contrast, his pre-controversy rabbinic works contain some anti-Sabbatian material but not more than one would expect to find in the works of any leading rabbi of the time.²²² If Emden opposed Sabbatianism in general and Eybeschütz in particular for the reason mentioned above, one would expect much more anti-Sabbatian material in a sharper tone in these earlier works as well.

In addition, it is highly significant that, on several occasions, Emden conspicuously failed to take advantage of an obvious opportunity to attack Sabbatianism in general or Eybeschütz in particular. For example, in one of his letters to Emden written in 1729, R. Moses Hagiz made an

explicit reference to the accusations against Eybeschütz levelled just a few years earlier. After mentioning the controversy which took place in Prague as a result of the permission Eybeschütz received to print a new edition of the Talmud as long as he would omit all passages considered offensive to Christianity, Hagiz made reference to "other reports about him which were heard and verified by the authority of the rabbinical courts in the holy communities of Frankfurt-am-Main, Lisa and Mannheim."²²³ Yet, in the course of his long and elaborate response to Hagiz, Emden did not address himself to this at all and passed over a perfect opportunity to attack Eybeschütz for his role in either of these two events.²²⁴

A pejorative reference to Sabbatianism is also conspicuous by its absence at the beginning of the first volume of Emden's Siddur, printed in 1746. In the course of listing the reasons why he felt compelled to compose his own commentary on the prayerbook,²²⁵ there is one obvious possibility which he does not mention. In two of his later works, Emden printed a long list of those works which he accused of being Sabbatian and included Seder Tefillah Derekh Yesarah published by Yehiel Mikhel Epstein in 1697.²²⁶ This work, written by the author of Kizur Shelah which Emden also claimed contained Sabbatian heresy in its introduction,²²⁷ was extremely popular and was reissued six times before 1750.²²⁸ Emden additionally claimed there that a prayerbook entitled Keter Yosef was also tainted by Sabbatianism.²²⁹ Indeed, the Sabbatian movement had a major impact on the liturgy and a number of Sabbatian prayerbooks were available at that time.²³⁰ Given this fact, it would certainly have been reasonable for Emden to claim that, in addition to

all the other reasons he mentioned, he prepared his own edition of the Siddur in order to provide the public with a replacement for the Sabbatiann prayerbooks then being widely circulated. Yet, in what appears in retrospect as a striking omission, this motive is not mentioned.

Finally, in this context it is also interesting to note that, as a young man, Emden was invited to live and study in Zolkiew by someone who is known to have been a Sabbatian. Clearly, at that time Emden could not have had a reputation as an inveterate Sabbatian hunter.²³¹

As a result of this analysis which indicates the absence of any extreme anti-Sabbatianism on Emden's part before his controversy with Eybeschütz in 1751, one is forced to give greater credence to a consideration which links his virulent anti-Eybeschütz behavior to an event which occurred at that particular time.

In a letter to his students seeking their support, Eybeschütz accused the Emden forces of jealousy being that he had been chosen to succeed R. Kazenellenbogen as Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community over their mentor.²³² Emden repeatedly responded to this charge against him in many of his writings dealing with the controversy. In 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, for example, he explicitly noted that,

"the arrogant have accused me falsely (Ps. 119:69),
saying that my jealousy of R. J. (i.e. Eybeschütz)
because of the matter of the rabbinical position
caused the controversy between me and him."²³³

He went to great lengths to refute the charge and consistently asserted that he had no interest in that position whatsoever. He continued:

"In reality, both friend and foe will testify for me at this time whether I made any effort for this during the entire time that the rabbinic post of The Triple Community was open, from the beginning of Av until mid-Iyyar, more than three-quarters of a year.²³⁴ (They will testify) whether I said anything or uttered a word to seek glory for myself, although, in truth, by the righteous law, I was able and permitted to demand my share (both) in accordance with Jewish and secular law. Had I wanted it, I certainly would have merited legal priority. Had I only indicated that I was anxious for it, as mentioned above, no one²³⁵ would have rejected me. However, I did the reverse. I rejected with two hands all those people who turned to me and wholeheartedly interceded on my behalf. I cast them out with disdain. How then is there any room to accuse me of envy regarding the rabbinic post which I have long scorned?²³⁶ God is my witness that even when the former head of the rabbinical court (i.e. R. Kazenellenbogen) was confined to his sick bed with the illness from which he died, I very tearfully²³⁷ prayed to God to lengthen his days . . . for I feared lest he would die and the burdens of the community would fall upon me. All my

life I preferred to be free and at liberty to engage in the study of Torah and not to be enslaved to this difficult people . . . I therefore feared lest the circumstances would compel me²³⁸ to once again accept upon myself the rabbinic yoke, a matter which would be likely under the circumstances. I was concerned about the distractions inherent in it (i.e. the rabbinical post). The probable loss in my personal fulfillment would be greater than the reward for any benefit (I could bring) to others. For who knows whether they would accept my leadership and if they would obey me or, God forbid, they would not want me. I would (then) have brought upon me the curse of those involved in controversy (who cause) conflicts with those who lead the community for the sake of Heaven, who do not curry favor in judgment²³⁹ and who fulfill (the Biblical command of) do not be afraid of any man (Deut. 1:17). I never lost sight of all the hardships which afflicted the zadik, my revered father, who now dwells in the Garden of Eden. How can I, the worm Jacob (Isa. 41:14) withstand these (tribulations). Therefore, I have considered my ways (Ps. 119:59) (and concluded) that, for me, better a dry crust with peace than a house full of feasting with strife (Prov. 17:1). I did not seek wealth and glory."²⁴⁰

Emden returned to this charge later in that work and, in a lengthy passage, loudly proclaimed his lack of interest in that position for a number of reasons: "by nature" he hated the rabbinate, he was physically and intellectually unsuited for the position; he personally opposed many Ashkenazi customs and practices and therefore did not feel that it was appropriate for him to serve as a rabbinic leader in an Ashkenazi community; the rabbinate requires deceit, expressions of favoritism and sycophantry; it would divert his attention and energies away from the study of Torah.²⁴¹

Elsewhere, Emden offered yet another proof of his lack of interest:

"The Lord is my witness²⁴² that I never sought any illusory honors. I hated²⁴³ the little that I did taste of it and I did not move until I cast off its yoke from my neck and settled here (i.e. in Altona) as a single man, secluded in the land. I ran from prominence as (one would) from a serpent and I hated the rabbinate . . .

The obvious proof, clear to whomever has a good memory, is what happened when my revered father-in-law, the gaon, our teacher Mordecai Katz, the rabbi of Posen and its environs,²⁴⁴ commanded before he died (Gen. 50:16) that I succeed him.²⁴⁵ The entire community and its surrounding areas agreed. (The position could easily have been mine) especially because when my in-law, the prince, R. M. son of R. Y. was alive, he enjoyed great authority in the en-

tire area. My mother-in-law, the rabbanit, and my brothers-in-law who were rabbis urged me to accept it.²⁴⁶ (However), I did not wish to make any effort in this direction. The pious gaon, the honorable Gabriel, also wanted to appoint me to a rabbinic post in Moravia when I was still young in years and before my beard grew.²⁴⁷ I did not want it. Now too, you are my witnesses and the entire community knows of my attitudes and actions regarding the rabbinic post of The Triple Community when it was just now vacant. I did not seek glory for myself."²⁴⁸

It is in keeping with this sentiment that Emden repeatedly expressed himself with a play on the morning benediction of "shelo 'asani 'eved." Instead of spelling "'eved" with an 'ayin, i.e. thanking God for not having made him a slave, he spelled it with an 'aleph, thus creating an acronym for rabbi ('aved = 'av bet din) and blessing God for not having placed him in such a position.²⁴⁹

Nevertheless, it is fairly clear that, all his protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, Emden really would have liked to be the Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community or, at the very least, expected Eybeschütz to at least initially decline that position out of respect and deference to him. Writing about himself in the third person, Emden stated:

"If he (i.e. Eybeschütz) had even the slightest measure of piety and respect for scholars, he should have refrained himself from this even if they had asked him and pleaded with him to become the rabbi of

The Triple Community. He was obligated to refuse (them) out of respect for my master and teacher (i.e. Emden) who dwells there. His fine reputation and deeds are widely known²⁵⁰ and he has a presumptive family right ('hezkat 'avot') for three generations . . .²⁵¹ Even one of these reasons would have been enough to yield the honor to him and not usurp his right,²⁵² certainly the combination of them all. By Torah law, all appointments are bequeathed even if the sons do not completely measure up to the standards of the fathers. This is surely (the case here) in the case of a qualified rabbi like him (i.e. Emden) . . . He is dwelling here among us while the heretic had (already elsewhere) a place of adequate honor and glory. He should have been concerned with all this and not enter into an arena not his own . . .

Even if he heard any inkling of the aforementioned absolute truth that my revered master and teacher did not want (this) glory and preferred to be as he was and rejected with both hands all those who mentioned this to him, as is known in the Altona community, yet he (i.e. Eybeschütz) should have first consulted with him had there been within him a slight measure of Judaism and fear of Heaven."²⁵³

It is clear from this passage that if Emden was not actually jealous of

Eybeschütz, at the very least he was resentful of him for not having discussed the offer he received before having accepted it.²⁵⁴

Even if this is the case, Emden's repeated references to "shelo 'asani 'aved" need not be dismissed, as some have claimed, as a change of heart or sour grapes.²⁵⁵ In fact, they represent a real ambivalence on Emden's part which can best be understood in light of a commentary of his on a Mishnah in 'Avot. In discussing the Mishnaic teaching "...and hate the rabbinate" ("u-sena 'et ha-rabbanut"), Emden remarked: "More than what he gains from the accomplishment of the rabbinate and its benefit, he loses in his waning strength and weakened health . . . aside from the spiritual responsibilities."²⁵⁶ Indeed, it is this fear of undertaking responsibility that often appears as the explanation of why Emden was glad not to serve as a rabbi.²⁵⁷ On the one hand, he was genuinely relieved not to be a rabbi; yet, he harbored a grudge against Eybeschütz for occupying a position for which he felt he was worthy and should have been invited to occupy. Indeed, in spite of all of Emden's protestations, many of his contemporaries and those who followed in later generations believed that he was hurt at being overlooked to fill the vacancy created by the death of Kazenellenbogen and vented his anger against Eybeschütz who was chosen in his stead.²⁵⁸

Of course, one should not assume that one single factor can be suggested as the overriding consideration to explain Emden's behavior during his controversy with Eybeschütz. It is surely overly simplistic to suggest that only feelings of jealousy prompted Emden to behave the way he did. Clearly such extreme and complex behavior stemmed from many different sources. As indicated earlier, one must search for its roots in

Emden's personality, and maybe even in his theory of messianism. Furthermore, to be sure, Emden clearly saw himself as following in the footsteps of his father and may even have had a conscious desire to relive his father's life. In the very first letter he wrote after the outbreak of the controversy in February of 1751 he made reference to this fact. He introduced the letter by a reference to himself as "a zealot, the son of a zealot ("kana'i ben kana'i") and in the course of his remarks noted:

"I am no better than my forebears who suffered what they endured for the love of God, may He be blessed . . . How true is what they said, 'Whatever occurred to the father occurred to the son.'²⁵⁹ The story of Hayon, may the name of the wicked rot (Prov. 10:7), is exactly the paradigm for what happened here between that scoundrel and me."²⁶⁰

One must also never forget that Emden was absolutely convinced that Eybeschütz was a genuine enemy of Judaism and a real threat to its very survival. Emden felt he had to be most aggressive in hounding Eybeschütz precisely because he was considered to be the leading scholar of the generation and was so highly respected. Here was no second-rate scholar or itinerant preacher but nothing less than the gadol ha-dor! The greater he was, the more dangerous he was and the more extreme the tactics that were necessary to expose and hound him. In that case, can there possibly be any limit to what one must do to reveal and persecute him?

It is clear that many factors played important roles in determining Emden's activity against Eybeschütz. However, in light of the previous

discussion, substantial weight must also be ascribed to the charge of jealousy. Only this motivation can explain the specific timing of Emden's foray into the world of extreme anti-Sabbatianism.

And extreme he surely was. Emden penned over a dozen works in quick succession which dealt with Sabbatianism in general and his controversy with Eybeschütz in particular. They include: Torat ha-Kena'ot (1752), Sefat 'Emet u-Lashon Zehorit (1752), 'Akizat 'Akray (1753), 'Edut bi-Ya'akov (1756), Shevirat Luhav ha-'Aven (1756), Petah 'Einayim (1756), Kizur Zizit Novel Zevi (1757), Sefer Shimush (1758-1762), Sefer Hit'avkut (1762-69) and Bet Yehonatan ha-Sofer (1763). In addition, he wrote 'Iggeret Purim which was never published. Also related to the controversy are Mitpahat Sefarim (1768) and his autobiography, Megillat Sefer.²⁶¹ His struggle against Eybeschütz totally overwhelmed him and he devoted to it all the strength and energy he could muster.

It is difficult to determine which faction, if any, can be considered to have been the victor in this wrenching dispute. True, despite thirteen years of intense villification by Emden who wholeheartedly devoted himself to deposing Eybeschütz from his communal position in The Triple Community, the latter died as Chief Rabbi there. Indeed, it is a tribute to the greatness and stamina of Eybeschütz that he was able to withstand Emden's unrelenting pressure which, undoubtedly, would have broken a lesser personality. Furthermore, those who were in the forefront of the struggle against Eybeschütz paid a very high personal price for their involvement. After 1751, Emden's already difficult personal

life became more tenuous and insecure as a direct result of his anti-Eybeschütz activity. In addition to being forced to spend over a year exiled from his home, his livelihood suffered and his health deteriorated.²⁶² His brother-in-law, R. Aryeh Leib had been elected Chief Rabbi of Prague just prior to the outbreak of the controversy but when the leadership of Eybeschütz's former community saw how he had publicly attacked their revered teacher, they rescinded their offer. R. Aryeh Leib was forced to remain in Amsterdam as the Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi until his death in 1755.²⁶³ Rabbi Jacob Joshua Falk, an outstanding scholar and leading opponent of Eybeschütz, was forced by the Eybeschütz forces to relinquish his position as Chief Rabbi of Frankfurt-am-Main.²⁶⁴ However, while unsuccessful versus Eybeschütz in particular, Emden was successful in his struggle against Sabbatianism in general. Although he did not succeed in eliminating all vestiges of that movement from the Jewish community, crypto-Sabbatianism was driven further underground and would never again be a major force in Jewish life.²⁶⁵

Nevertheless, there is no question that this bitter, protracted conflict and the massive rabbinic and communal energies devoted to combating Sabbatianism which it represented had a most detrimental affect on eighteenth-century Jewish life. It has already been noted that the bitter contentiousness between rabbis and the nasty invectives they publicly hurled against one another led to a decline in respect for the rabbinate and an erosion of its authority.²⁶⁶ However, the failure of the rabbinate was even more profound. As a result of this intense preoccupation with anti-Sabbatian activity, it may very well have been the case that the rabbinic leadership became very suspicious of any new

expression of Judaism even when it was not at all Sabbatian in nature. They became so touchy and afraid of even the slightest deviation from traditional Judaism that they rejected anything that smacked of a change. It is this fear of change which may explain, to some extent, the reaction of the rabbinic establishment to the early manifestations of Hasidut and Haskalah, the two movements which were to dictate the agenda of Jewish life into the nineteenth century. Neither Hasidism nor Naftali Hirtz Wessely's Divrei Shalom ve-'Emet, for example, were heretical from a traditionalist perspective and neither warranted the kind of negative reaction they received from rabbinic authorities.²⁶⁷ Invested in expending so much of its limited resources and energies in defending traditional Judaism, the rabbinate viscerally reacted against any new trends in Judaism without objectively assessing them. In fact, they were unable to creatively confront the new realities taking place in the Jewish community around them.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. The classic work on the Sabbatian movement until Shabbetai's death remains G. Scholem, Shabbetai Zevi ve-ha-Tenu'ah ha-Shabbeta'it bi-Yemei Hayav, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv, 1957), trans. into English by R. J. Z. Werblowsky as Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah (Princeton, 1973). For an analysis of Sabbatian attempts to deal with the Messiah's conversion, see the sources cited below, n. 33.

For general information about Sabbatianism in the eighteenth century, see idem., "Shabbetai Zevi," EJ XIV, 1247-53; reprinted in idem., Kabbalah (New York, 1974), 277-84. For different types of eighteenth century Sabbatian theology, see idem., Halomotav shel ha-Shabbeta'i R. Mordekhai 'Ashkenazi (Jerusalem, 1938); idem., "Baruhyah, Rosh ha-Shabbeta'im bi-Salonika," Zion, VI (1941), 119-47, 181-202; idem., "Seder Tefillot ha-'Donmeh' mi-kat ha-'Izmirim," Mehkarim u-Mekorot le-Toledot ha-Shabbeta'ut ve-Gilqulehah (Jerusalem, 1974), 370-421; M. Balaban, le-Toledot ha-Tenu'ah ha-Frankit (Tel Aviv, 1934); Y. Liebes, "ha-Yesod ha-'Idi'ologi she-bi-Polmos Hayon," Divrei ha-Kongres ha-'Olami ha-Shemini le-Mada'ei ha-Yahadut III (Jerusalem, 1982), 129-134 and the articles cited below, n. 11, 33, 44, 55, 70, 74, 130, 134.

2. In MS, 7, Emden wrote that as a young boy his father arrived in Buda together with his father, R. Jacob, and grandfather, R. Ephraim ha-Kohen. For the date of arrival of the latter (1666), see the introduction to his She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim, beginning.

Most scholars accept the date of 1660 as the year of Hakham Zevi's birth, based on the assertion of his son that he was fifty-eight years old when he died, in 1718 (J. Emden, Yeziv Pitgam, op. cit., 16b; for Hakham Zevi's date of death, see ibid., 19b, 26b; MS, 47). For example, see D. Kahana, Toledot ha-Mekubbalim, ha-Shabbetai'im ve-ha-Hasidim, I (Odessa, 1913), 130, n. 4; A. H. Wagenaar, op. cit., 4; E. Duckesz, 'Ivah le-Moshav, op. cit., 12; M. Grunwald, Hamburgs deutsche Juden, op. cit., 66; EJ III (1929), 483; L. Geldwirth, op. cit., 218; EJ III, 733; ha-Enziklopedia ha-'Ivrit VII (1954), 418.

Other years have also been suggested as Hakham Zevi's birth date. For 1658, see Wagenaar, ibid., n. 21*; JE II (1903), 201; L. Greenwald, "Rabbanei 'Ungariyah she-'Alu le-'Erez Yisrael," Sinai XXVI (1949-50), 222, n. 13; S. Rosanes, Korot ha-Yehudim bi-Turkiyah ve-'Arazot ha-Kedem IV, op. cit., 249. For 1656, see S. Buber, 'Anshei Shem (Cracow, 1895), 188; J. Winter and A. Wünsche, Geschichte der Rabbinischen Litteratur (Berlin, 1897), 572; S. Wininger, Grosse jüdische national-Biographie I (Cernăuți, 1925), 167. According to M. Balaban, le-Toledot ha-Tenu'ah ha-Frankit, ibid., I, 61, Hakham Zevi was born in 1655.

The names Ofen and Buda were often interchanged. See She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, introduction; MS, 4. It was known as Buda in Hungarian, Ofen in German and Budin in Turkish. See A. Freimann, 'Inyanei Shabbetai Zevi (Berlin, 1912), 65; S. Rosanes, ibid., 135. In addition, see Y. Margalit, Seder ha-Get, ed. by Y. Satz (Jerusalem, 1983), 311, n. 8, end; Y. Satz, "Seder Get bi-Kehillot Hungariyah," Moriya XIV (1985), 9, n. 1.

3. See J. Sasportas, Sefer Zizat Novel Zevi, ed. by I. Tishby (Jerusalem, 1954), 129, 131, 209, 215. These texts are also found in Emden's edition of that work, Sefer Kizur Zizat Novel Zevi (Altona, 1757), 26a, 36a; (Odessa, 1867), 29a, 29b, 40a. See also the various sources cited by G. Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi, op. cit., 230, n. 88, 565, 629, 637, 843-46.

For other references to Sabbatianism in Ofen, see S. Rosanes, ibid., 427; D. Kaufmann, Die Erstürmung Ofens und ihre Vorgeschichte (Trier, 1895), 19; reprinted in idem., Gesammelte Schriften II (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1910), 301; idem., Die letzte Vertreibung der Juden aus Wien und Niederösterreich (Vienna, 1889), 91; S. Büchler, A Zsidók Története Budapesten (Budapest, 1901), 155; L. Greenwald, "le-Toledot ha-Mekubbalim bi-'Ungariyah," Sinai XXIV (1949), 193-95.

For Sabbatianism in Hungary at large, see idem., "le-Korot ha-Shabbetai'im bi-'Ungariyah," ha-Zofeh me-Erez Hagar II (1912), 147-64; printed as a separate monograph (Waitzen, 1912).

4. J. Emden, Torat ha-Kena'ot (1752), 5a. Sabbatians claimed that a fragrant odor exuded from Shabbetai Zevi's body which they identified as the smell of Gan 'Eden. See G. Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi, op. cit., 139.

5. J. Emden, ibid.; G. Scholem, ibid., 636-37.

6. See above, p. 271.

7. See She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, #7; J. L. Puhvitzer, Divrei

Hakhamim (Hamburg, 1692), 28b; cited by A. Yaari, Ta'alumat Sefer (Jerusalem, 1954), 21. For evidence of R. Straimer's Sabbatianism, see J. Emden, Torat ha-Kena'ot, 27a.

8. See She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, # 41. A responsum by Hakham Zevi is included in Almosnino's collection of responsa, 'Edut bi-Yehosef (Constantinople, 1733), II:27. See R. Margoliot, "le-Toledot 'Anshei Shem be-Lvov," Sinai XXXI (1952), 88. For Almosnino's Sabbatianism, see below, pp. 377-80.

9. See Leib b. Ozer, Beshraybung fun Shabsai Zevi, ed. by Z. Shazar, S. Zucker and R. Plesser (Jerusalem, 1978), 166-67. On this whole issue and Hakham Zevi's central role, see Y. Ben-Zvi, "Makom Kevurato shel S. Z. ve-ha-'Edah ha-Shabbetai'it bi-'Albaniah," Zion XVII (1952), 75-78; G. Scholem, "Heichan Met Shabbetai Zevi," Zion, ibid., 79-83; idem., Sabbatai Sevi, op. cit., 921; M. Benayahu, ha-Tenu'ah ha-Shabbetai'it bi-Yavan (Sefunot XIV), op. cit., 247-51.

10. See A. Danon, "Kat Yehudit-Muslamit bi-'Erez Togarmah," Sefer ha-Shanah I (Warsaw, 1900), 178; idem., "Documents et Traditions sur Sabbatai Cevi et la Secte," REJ XXXVII (1898), 104. Danon also cited an anecdote regarding the anti-Sabbatianism of Hakham Zevi's wife as well.

11. J. Emden, Torat ha-Kena'ot, 26b-27a. On these figures, see G. Scholem, "Likutim Shabbetai'yim," Zion X (1945), 146-47; idem., "'Iggeret Me'et R. Hayim Malakh," Zion XI (1946), 168-74; idem., "ha-Tenuah ha-

Shabbeta'it bi-Polin," Bet Yisrael bi-Polin, ed. by I. Halperin (Jerusalem, 1953), II, 53, 57 - 58, (reprinted in idem., Mehkarim u-Mekorot [above, n. 1], 93-4, 102-04); I. Tishby, "Bisurat ha-Ge'ulah shel R. Zadok mi-Grodno," Zion XII (1947), 88; M. Benayahu, "ha-'Hevrah Kedoshah' shel Rabi Yehudah Hasid ve-'Aliyatah le-'Erez Yisrael," Sefunot III-IV (1960), 133f., esp. 133-40; idem., "'Eduyot Rabi 'Elyah 'Ashkenazi mi-Zefat 'al ha-Shabbeta'iut shel R. Hayyim Malakh ve-R. Yehudah ha-Hasid," Erez Yisrael X (1971), 67-71; EJ XI, 818-19 and the bibliography cited there.

For references to H. Malakh in Emden's works, see 'Edut bi-Yaakov, 51a; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 46a; Sefer Hit'avkut, 1a, 18a.

12. J. Emden, Torat ha-Kena'ot, ibid. See also M. Benayahu, ibid., 141-57.

13. See above, pp. 31-2.

For an earlier treatment of Hakhm Zevi's contacts with Sabbatians prior to the Hayon controversy, see J. Bleich, op. cit., 18-21.

14. See A. L. Frumkin-E. Rivlin, Toledot Hakhmei Yerushalayim II, op. cit., 73; G. Scholem, "Parshiyot bi-Heker ha-Tenuah ha-Shabbeta'it," Zion VI (1941), 87-89; idem., "le-She'eilat Yaahasam shel Rabbanei Yisrael 'el ha-Shabbeta'ut," Zion XIII-XIV (1948-49), 59-62; idem., Sabbatai Sevi, op. cit., index, s.v. Yishaki, David; I. Sonne, Sefunot III-IV, op. cit., 47-8; M. Benayahu, Sefer ha-Yovel Likhevod Shalom Baron, op. cit., 48f; idem., "Mafte'ah li-Havanat ha-Te'udot 'al ha-Tenuah ha-Shabbeta'it

bi-Yerushalayim," Mehkarim bi-Kabbalah u-be-Toledot ha-Datot Mugashim le-Gershom Scholem (Jerusalem, 1967), 40-1; idem., Sefunot XIV, op. cit., index; EJ XVI, 840 and the bibliography cited there.

15. M. Friedman, Sefunot X, op. cit., 490-91, 515, 517; A. Almaliyah, ha-Rishonim le-Zion: Toledoteihem u-Pe'ulatam (Jerusalem, 1970), 76-80; EJ XVI, 839-40 and the bibliography cited there.

R. Abraham Yizhaki's daughter married R. Yedidya, a cousin of Hakham Zevi. See J. Emden, MS, 4; A. L. Frumkin-E. Rivlin, Toledot Hakhmei Yerushalayim, op. cit., II, 84-5, 153; M. Benayahu, Sefunot II, op. cit., 137.

16. G. Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi, op. cit., index, s.v. "Galanté, R. Moses;" EJ VII, 259-60.

17. See Dr. Elisheva Carlebach's recently completed biography of Hagiz highlighting his decades-long anti-Sabbatian career, Rabbi Moses Hagiz: The Rabbinate and The Pursuit of Heresy, Late Seventeenth - Early Eighteenth Centuries (unpublished doctoral dissertation: Columbia University, 1986).

18. See Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi, op. cit., index, s.v. Pinheiro, Moses; EJ XIII, 536-37; J. Sasportas, Sefer Zizit Novel Zevi, ed. by I. Tishby (Jerusalem, 1954), index, s.v. "Pinheiro, Moses."

19. See M. Friedman, Sefunot X, op. cit., 618, #20, 21; EJ VI, 839-41.

On the irony of this fact, see G. Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi, ibid., 890. It is alluded to by I. Tishby, op. cit., 4, n. 7.

20. M. Benayahu, "Ma'amadah shel ha-Tenuah ha-Shabbeta'it bi-Yerushalayim," Sefer ha-Yovel Likhevod Shalom Baron (Jerusalem, 1975), 66-7.

21. Primary sources of information about R. Ephraim are his She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim (Sulzbach, 1689; Lemberg, 1886); his son's introduction to that work and J. Emden, MS, 3-5, 7-8. He is also the subject of a biography by L. Greenwald, Toledot Hakhmei Yisrael, Kolel Toledot ha-Gaon R. Ephraim ha-Kohen mi-Vilna (Cluj, 1924).

In addition, see S. Fuenn, Kiryah Ne'emanah (Vilna, 1915), 78-80; L. Greenwald, Pe'eirei Hakhmei Medinateinu (Maramaros-Sziget, 1910), 15-17; idem., ha-Yehudim bi-'Ungaryah I (Vácz, 1912), 25-7; idem., Liflagot Yisrael bi-'Ungaryah (Deva, 1929), 3-4; S. Büchler, A Zsidók Története Budapesten (Budapest, 1901), 147-53; A. Fuerst, "Budapest," 'Arim ve-'Immahot bi-Yisrael II (Jerusalem, 1948), 126-28; L. Geldwirth, "Hagahot ha-Hakham Zevi le-She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim," ha-Darom LXIV (1977), 215-7.

22. She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim, #24, 103; introduction to that work by R. Ephraim's son, R. Judah.

23. Vilna was unaffected by the Chmielnicki massacres in 1648-49 and its Jews remained there until the summer of 1655. See R. Moses Rivkis, Be'er ha-Golah commentary on Shulhan Arukh, introduction; R. Menahem

Mendel Krochmal, She'elot u-Teshuvot Zemah Zedek, #101, beginning; R. Hillel b. Naphtali Zevi Hirz, Bet Hillel commentary on Yoreh De'ah 201:1.

24. For an excellent reconstruction of events during this period of R. Ephraim's life, see A. Shisha ha-Levi, "Parshat 'Eleh Mas'ei shel ha-Gaon R. Ephraim ha-Kohen zt"l Ba'al Mehaber 'Sha'ar Ephraim' me-Vilna le-Budun," Moriah XIII (145-46; 1984), 103-14.

25. She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim, introduction.

In ibid., #63, 67, R. Ephraim spoke highly of that community. In addition, a number of other responsa (#4, 33, 72, 112, 113) offer valuable information about Jewish life there. For general information about this community during this period, see D. Kaufmann, Die Erstürmung Ofens und ihre Vorgeschichte (above, n. 3), 296-327.

26. See above, n. 3.

27. Compare R. Ephraim's work with that of R. Hayyim Benveniste. See D. Tamar, "Remizot le-Tenu'at Shabbetai Zevi be-She'elot u-Teshuvot R. Hayyim Benveniste," Sinai LXXII (1972), 185 f.; S. Verses, Yavneh III (1942), 107-08; G. Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi, ibid., 514.

For the complex history of one rabbinic responsum regarding Sabbatianism, see J. Barnai, "le-Zihuyah ve-Gilgulah shel She'elah u-Teshuvah bi-'Inyanei Shabbetai Zevi," Mehkarei Yerushalayim bi-Mahshevet Yisrael II (1981), 118-31.

28. S. Rosanes, op. cit., 132; L. Greenwald, Toledot Hakhmei Yisrael, op. cit., 11-12.

29. Exodus 3:12. For information about Almosnino, see S. Rosanes, ibid., 26f; EJ II, 669.

30. Sanhedrin 38b.

31. Exodus 32:1.

32. Neither R. Almosnino's letter to R. Ephraim nor that of his opponent is extant. Only R. Ephraim's answer to each has survived (She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim, #64, 65). Nevertheless, the direct quotations from these letters which R. Ephraim cited as well as his own comments make it possible to accurately reconstruct their respective positions. In addition, a letter which R. Almosnino addressed regarding this matter to R. Moses Benveniste is printed in R. Almosnino's collection of responsa, Sefer 'Edut bi-Yehosef (II:32). A careful comparison between that letter and the quotes from R. Almosnino's correspondence to R. Ephraim cited in the latter's response leaves no doubt that R. Ephraim received a very similar letter. Almost every phrase cited by R. Ephraim from R. Almosnino's correspondence to him appears verbatim in the latter's missive to R. Benveniste. One may plausibly conjecture that R. Almosnino appealed for support to a number of prominent rabbis who he thought would be sympathetic to his cause.

For the great esteem in which R. Almosnino held R. Benveniste, see

R. Almosnino's introduction to 'Edut bi-Yehosef I:2; II:41. See also R. Benveniste's She'elot u-Teshuvot Penei Moshe III:24, 61. For other correspondence between R. Almosnino and R. Ephraim, see the list in S. Buchler, op. cit., 151, n. 1.

It is very difficult to determine the identity of R. Almosnino's opponent. He was never mentioned explicitly by name and R. Almosnino even noted (in the introduction to his letter to R. Benveniste in 'Edut bi-Yehosef II:32) that he deliberately concealed his identity. Nevertheless, in a moment of anger, R. Almosnino did reveal that his name was Moses (ibid., 68b). Also, R. Almosnino claimed that his opponent was himself guilty of habitually profaning God's name by publicly embarrassing Torah scholars and that, for this reason, had been excommunicated just two years earlier by the Constantinople rabbinate (ibid., 71b). It is also clear that R. Almosnino had been reconciled with his opponent by the time he wrote the introduction to this letter. There he referred to his former antagonist as a "hakham shalem ve-rav ve-azum," an honorific title which he bestowed elsewhere on the leading scholars of his generation. See 'Edut bi-Yehosef I:1, 5, 6, 51; II:5 (R. Hayyim Mevorakh Galipapa); II:6 (R. Moses Galante) and elsewhere. He also stated there that he refrained from identifying him publicly "mipnei ha-kavod." Also noteworthy is R. Ephraim's statement (She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim, #65, beginning) that he had not known this person prior to this incident.

R. Moses Hagiz made a reference to these responsa in his Leket ha-Kemah (Amsterdam, 1707) 106b-107a.

33. Different formulations of post-conversion Sabbatian ideology can be

found primarily in the works of Nathan of Gaza and Abraham Cardozo. See Nathan's letters printed in J. Sasportas' Sefer Zizat Novel Zevi, op. cit., 200-01, 160-62; A. Freimann, 'Inyanei Shabbetai Zevi (Berlin, 1912), 59-61; G. Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi, op. cit., 741-43. See also G. Scholem, "'Iggeret Natan ha-'Azati 'al Shabbatai Zevi ve-Hamarato," Kovez 'al Yad n.s. VI (16) (1966), 421-56; idem., "Shnei Seridim shel Kitvei Yad be-'Osef 'Adler ha-Noge'im le-Toledot ha-Shabbeta'ut," 'Erez Yisrael IV (1956), 191-92.

For the Cardozo material, see his letter to his brother Isaac printed in J. Sasportas, Sefer Zizat Novel Zevi, ibid., 289f (and in A. Freimann, ibid., 87-92); G. Scholem, "le-Yedi'at ha-Shabbeta'ut Mitokh Kitvei Cardozo," Zion VII (1941), 12-28; idem., "'Iggeret Avraham Mikha'el Cardozo le-Dayanei 'Izmir," Zion XIX (1954), 1-22; idem., "Shnei Mekorot Hodashim le-Yediat Torato shel Cardozo," Sefunot III-IV (1960), 243f. (Derush Zeh 'Eli ve-'Anveihu printed there was reprinted in G. Scholem, Mehkarim u-Mekorot, [above, n. 1], 335-69; see especially, Chapters 3-4); Y. R. Molkho and A. Amarilio, "'Iggerot 'Otobi'ografi'ot shel Cardozo," Sefunot III-IV (1960), 183f; Y. Liebes, "Mikha'el Cardozo-Mehabro shel Sefer 'Raza di-Mehemanuta' ha-Meyuhas le-Shabbetai Zevi ve-ha-Ta'ut bi-Yihusah shel 'Iggeret Magen 'Avraham' le-Cardozo," KS LV:3 (1980), 603-16.

Secondary literature on the subject includes the following: G. Scholem, "Mizvah ha-Ba'ah ba-'Aveirah," Knesset II (1937), 347-92; reprinted in idem., Mehkarim u-Mekorot, ibid., 9-67 and translated into English as "Redemption Through Sin" in G. Scholem, The Messianic Idea in Judaism (New York, 1971), 78-141, 346-53; C. Wirshubsky, "ha-'Ideologyah

ha-Shabbeta'it shel Hamarat ha-Mashiah," Zion III (1938), 215-45; idem., "ha-Teologiyah ha-Shabbeta'it shel Natan ha-'Azati," Knesset VIII (1943-44), esp. 232-39; G. Scholem, "Perush Mizmorei Tehilim me-Hugo shel Shabbetai Zevi bi-Adrionopel," 'Alei 'Avin (Tel Aviv, 1951-52), 176f.; idem., Sabbatai Sevi, ibid., 792-820, 828f.; Y. H. Yerushalmi, From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto (New York, 1971), 317f.

On Shabbetai Zevi's perception of his own conversion, see Y. Liebes, "Yahasos shel Shabbetai Zevi le-Hamarat Dato," Sefunot n.s. II (XVII; 1983), 267-307.

34. See Sanhendrin 102a.

35. "Shin" = 360; "Dalet" = 434; "Yod" = 20. The sum total, 814, equals the gematriya of "Shabbetai" (712) "Zevi" (102). See J. Emden, "Hali Ketem," Derush Tefillat Yesharim, op. cit., 29b; J. Sasportas, Sefer Zizat Novel Zevi, op. cit., 178; G. Scholem, "Parshiyot bi-Heker ha-Tenuah ha-Shabbeta'it," Zion VI (1940-41), 97; idem., Sabbatai Sevi, op. cit., 234-35.

Another equivalent often suggested was "bi-tiferet 'uzo" (1083 + 89) = "Shabbetai Zevi (814) Mashiah (358)." See J. Emden, 'Akizat 'Akray, (1753) 3b; idem., Sefat 'Emet, op. cit., 41. They also pointed out that "u-shenat ge'ulay" (Isa. 63:4) = "Shabbetai Zevi." (See J. Emden, Torah ha-Kena'ot, op. cit., 8b and that so does "mashiah ha-'amiti.") (See M. Perlmutter, R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz ve-Yahasos 'el ha-Shabbeta'ut [Jerusalem, 1947], 174 and Y. Liebes, "'Sefer Zaddik Yesod 'Olam' - Mitos Shabbeta'i," Da'at I [1978], 109).

36. See, for example, J. Sasportas, Sefer Zizat Novel Zevi, ibid., 179;
J. Emden, Kizur Zizat Novel Zevi, op. cit., 29b.
37. Ibid.
38. J. Emden, Sefer Shimush, op. cit., 60.
39. See, for example, J. Emden, 'Akizat 'Akrav, 2b; idem., Torat ha-Kena'ot, 27a, 71a; idem., Zizim u-Perahim, 16b; idem., "Hali Ketem," Derush Tefillat Yesharim, op. cit., 29a; idem., Sefer Shimush, op. cit., 60, 61, 71, 90, 153.
40. See, for example, J. Emden, Torat ha-Kena'ot, 1b, 21a.
41. Ibid.
42. "Hali Ketem," Derush Tefillat Yesharim, op. cit., 29a; Sefer Shimush, 91, 153.
43. Ibid. See also ibid., 21a that "keshar resha'im" has the same numerical value as "Shabbetai ve-Natan."
- Emden already explicitly noted that one can play the gematriya game either way. See Torat ha-Kena'ot, 67b-68a and especially 70b-71b for a long list of possibilities.
- For "rashei tevot" relating to Shabbetai Zevi, see Sefer Shimush,

115, 153.

44. See, for example, J. Emden, Zizim u-Perahim, op. cit.; Torat ha-Kena'ot, 71a.

For a general discussion of this issue including some of these specific examples, see Y. Liebes, "Meshihiyuto shel R. Ya'akov Emden ve-Yahas le-Shabbetai'ut," Tarbiz XLIX (1979-80), 127f.; idem., "Hibbur be-Leshon ha-Zohar le-R. Volf ben R. Yehonatan Eybeschutz 'al Haburato ve-'al Sod ha-Ge'ulah," KS LVII (1982), 170.

45. This hypothesis may even be strengthened by noting that, after his conversion, Shabbetai Zevi signed his name in a way that could be kabbalistically read as "the mountain of God." See G. Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi, op. cit., 835. Scholem, ibid., speculated that perhaps Shabbetai considered himself mystically equal to Mt. Sinai. It is even possible that the word "'elohim" could be interpreted as a direct reference to Shabbetai himself because, as Scholem pointed out (ibid.), "Sabbatai had already previously applied to himself the words of the Midrash to the effect that the messiah would be called by the name of God, and so had several of his believers." See Scholem, ibid., 247, 361; EJ VII, 260.

R. Almosnino's interpretation of this verse becomes more striking when compared with all the classical commentators, none of whom shared his point of view.

46. G. Scholem, ibid., 232, 636.

47. M. Hagiz, Mishnat Hakhamim (Wandsbeck, 1733), #624, 119d. See M. Benayahu, "le-Toledot Batei ha-Midrash bi-Yerushalayim be-Me'ah ha-17," HUCA XXI (1948), 8; idem., ha-Tenuah ha-Shabbeta'it bi-Yavan (Sefunot XIV), 249, n. 138; G. Scholem, ibid., 199.

48. D. Kahana, Toledot ha-Mekubbalim, ha-Shabbeta'im ve-ha-Hasidim I op. cit. (n. 2), 89, n. 3; M. Benayahu, Sefunot XIV, ibid.

49. She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim, #64. "Ariel" is used in Biblical literature as a reference to Jerusalem (see Isa. 29:1; 2, 7) and to the Altar in the Temple (see Ezek. 43:15, 16).

50. Ibid., #65.

51. Ibid., #64.

52. This is a composite of the following verses: Daniel 10:11; Job 21:6; Esther 7:5; Jer. 23:36; Psalms 106:20.

53. Ibid., #65.

54. L. Greenwald, Korot ha-Torah ve-ha-'Emunah bi-'Ungariyah (Budapest, 1921), 16.
 A. Fuerst, "Budapest," 'Arim ve-'Immahot bi-Yisrael II (1948), 127 also maintains that R. Ephraim adopted a publicly passive position on Sabbatianism.

55. See Y. Leibes, "Meḥaber Sefer Zaddik Yesod 'Olam - ha-Navi ha-Shabbeta'i R. Leibele Prosniz," Da'at II-III (1978-79), 159-73 for an example of a later figure, R. Meir Eizenstadt.

56. The fact that there is no explicit mention of the Sabbatian nature of this issue could easily be due to the general tendency to eliminate all such references from the rabbinic literature of the period. Those scholars who were Sabbatian continued to function as such only privately and their opponents were invested in eliminating all traces of an episode they considered to be most sordid and embarrassing. See D. Tamar, op. cit., (n. 27), 185; J. Barnai, (ibid.), 118.

57. The major primary source of information about R. Jacob is the autobiography of his grandson who bore his name, R. Jacob Emden. In addition to the text of Megillat Sefer printed by Kahana, there is a very important passage from the original Oxford ms. (Neubauer #1723) which was not included by Kahana in his edition. It was first printed with the selection from MS published in ha-Me'assef (1810), 89 and was reprinted in the edition of MS published by A. Bick (Jerusalem, 1979), 28-29. See also A. L. Frumkin-E. Rivlin, Toledot Hakhmei Yerushalayim II (Jerusalem, 1928), 81.

In addition, see the brief references of his brother-in-law, R. Judah, in his Kuntres Aharon to She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim, #4 (Lemberg, 1886), 99b-c; some references in the responsa of R. Ephraim himself (ibid., #68, 111, 112) and the introduction of his son to his She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi.

For secondary literature on R. Jacob, see EJ IX, 1216; L. Greenwald, "Rabbanei 'Ungariyah she-'alu le-'Erez Yisrael," Sinai XXVI, op. cit., 225-26; A. Wagenaar, op. cit., 5.

At the beginning of his autobiography (MS, 3), Emden wrote:

"I shall commence with my paternal grandfather, may the righteous man's memory serve as a blessing, whose name I bear, the eminent scholar, our master R. Jacob, son of our master R. Benjamin Ashkenazi . . . My aforementioned grandfather was one of the distinguished scholars of Vilna in those days, prior to the evil decree of Chmielnicki. He was a disciple of the eminent master R. Jacob, head of the rabbinical court in Lublin, the father of the eminent master, R. Heschel, in whose yeshiva he studied and who gave him his daughter to be his wife."

The identity of this "aforementioned grandfather" has been the subject of wide dispute. A. Wagenaar, op. cit., 4, n. 12, interprets this as a reference to R. Jacob Zak. As a result, he explains that R. Jacob was married twice: first to the daughter of his teacher, R. Jacob of Lublin, and later to the daughter of R. Ephraim, author of the She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim. See also I. Gurland, 'Ozar ha-Safrut IV (1872), 436, n. 3; H. N. Dembitzer, Kelilat Yofi I, op. cit., 91b and EJ IX, 1216. On the other hand, some scholars claim that the reference here

is to R. Benjamin Zak, father of R. Jacob Zak and greatgrandfather of R. Jacob Emden. See S. J. Fuenn, Kiryah Ne'emanah (Vilna, 1860), 85, 88; J. M. Zunz, 'Ir ha-Zedek (Cracow, 1874), 113, n. 55; J. Loewenstein, "Rabi Heschel mi-Krakow," ha-'Eshkol IV (1902), 186, and D. Kahana in the notes to his edition of MS (Warsaw, 1896), 3, n. 5, 6 and p. 223.

58. See She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim #68 (Lemberg ed., 35d); #111 (ibid., 63a). There is a possibility, however, that this responsum refers to R. Jacob as judge while he was still in Vilna, a position which L. Greenwald (Sinai XXVI, 225) claims R. Jacob held there without citing any source. Nevertheless, R. Jacob is referred to by this title in another responsum (#112, Lemberg ed., 63d, 65b [correct pagination]) in the context of an event which took place in 1672, by which time he was certainly in Ofen-Buda.

S. Fuenn's reference to She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim #48 in this context (Kiryah Ne'emanah, op. cit., 92; Kneset, op. cit., 547) must be corrected to #68.

See also below, n. 64.

59. The capture of Buda by Austrian forces in 1686 brought to an end the century and a half of relative growth and security which the Jews enjoyed there under Turkish rule. The Jews who sided with the Turks were severely punished by the victorious Austrians and their quarter was pillaged and destroyed. R. Ephraim's immediate family was terribly affected by this calamity, as were undoubtedly other Jewish families as well. His daughter Esther was killed; her husband, R. Isaac Schulhof, was captured

and their seven-year-old son was abducted and died some three months later. Nehamah and her husband, R. Jacob Zak, were captured. Their son, R. Zevi Ashkenazi, managed to escape to Sarajevo at the beginning of the siege, but his wife and daughter were killed. For the fate of R. Judah, the only surviving son of R. Ephraim, see below, pp. 387-88.

Primary sources of information about the siege of Ofen include: R. Judah's introduction to She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim; She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, introduction and #61; I. Schulhof, Megillat Ofen, ed. by D. Kaufmann (Trier, 1895) and reprinted by L. Greenwald, Toledot Hakhmei Yisrael, op. cit., 34-48; J. I. Kabak, Yeshurun VI (1868), 134-43 (corresponding to Ginzei Nistarot III [1872], 14-23); J. Emden, MS, 8-9.

Secondary literature on this event includes D. Kaufmann, Die Erstürmung Ofens und ihre Vorgeschichte (Trier, 1895); reprinted in idem., Gesammelte Schriften II (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1910), 296f.; idem., "Les Victimes de la Prise d'Ofen, en 1686," REJ XXI, 133f.; A. Fuerst, "Budapest," 'Arim ve-'Immahot bi-Yisrael II, op. cit., 128-31; A. Neubauer, Israelitische Letterbode VI, 144; M. Brann, "Zum Ofener Judenmord 1686," MGWJ XXX (1881), 540-53; idem., "Gezeirat Tamu bi-Ofen," "Ozar ha-Hokhma," Beit Ozar ha-Sifrut I (1887), 50-8; L. Lewin, "Aus Maximilian Missons 'Reise nach Italien', Leipzig, 1713," JJGL XXI (1918), 110.

60. There is some question as to the date of R. Jacob's death. His grandson, R. Jacob Emden, stated that he was named after this grandfather (MS, 3, 18). Given that R. Emden was born in 1698 (above, pp. 21-22)

and assuming that the family followed the Ashkenazi custom of not naming a newborn after a living relative, it is fair to conclude that R. Jacob had died by that time.

A. L. Frumkin-E. Rivlin, Toledot Hakhmei Yerushalayim, op. cit., II, 82, n. 2 claims that R. Jacob died during or before 1695. They base their conclusion on the fact that all references to R. Jacob by his son in his She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi after that date are followed by the traditional Hebrew phrase which appears after the name of a deceased, "may his memory be for a blessing, for life in the world to come." This "proof" is clearly untenable because this phrase also appears in a responsum (#95) written by Hakham Zevi in 1680, when his father was certainly alive. It is clear that R. Zevi changed some of these references to his father as he prepared his responsa for publication in 1713, by which time his father had certainly died.

61. This parenthesis is in the text. See above, n. 2, end.

62. ha-Zad Zevi (Amsterdam, 1714), n. p., 2b-3a. For more on the Hayon controversy, see above, pp. 31-2.

63. See H. Graetz, Geschichte der Juden X (Leipzig, 1868), 238-39; Graetz-Shefer, Sefer Divrei Yemei Yisrael VIII (Warsaw, 1899), 256, n. 2. Graetz was followed by D. Kahana, L. Greenwald, S. Buchler and others. See D. Kahana, 'Even ha-To'im (Vienna, 1873), 34, n. 4; reprinted in ha-Shahar III (1877), 490, n. 4; idem., Toledot ha-Mekubbalim, ha Shab-beta'im ve-ha-Hassidim I (above, n. 2), 90, n. 4; L. Greenwald, "le-Korot

ha-Shabbetaim bi-'Ungaryah," ha-Zofeh me-'Erez Hagar II (1912), 149; also printed as a separate monograph (Waitzen, 1912), 5; idem., "le-Korot ha-Hasidut bi-'Ungariyah," ha-Zofeh li-Hokhmat Yisrael V (1921), 267; idem., "Rabbanei 'Ungaryah she-'alu le-'Erez Yisrael," Sinai XXVI, op. cit., 225-26; S. Buchler, A Zsidók Története Budapesten (above, n. 3), 154-55; EJ IV, 1449; A. Fuerst, "Budapest," 'Arim ve-'Immahot bi-Yisrael II, op. cit., 127; G. Scholem, Sabbetai Sevi, op. cit., 565.

Cf. L. Greenwald, Korot ha-Torah ve-ha-'Emunah bi-'Ungaryah (Budapest, 1921), 15 and idem., Toledot Hakhmei Yisrael, op. cit., 9 when this text is cited with some qualification. See also EJ IX, 1216: "According to an opinion which has, however, been disputed, Jacob was for a time an adherent of Shabbetai Zevi."

64. This objection was raised by A. L. Frumkin in his point by point refutation of some of Graetz's assertions regarding the Sabbatian movement. See his Toledot Hakhamei Yerushalayim, op. cit., 152.

Frumkin also raised another, less serious, objection. He claimed that only someone with a great deal of authority in the Ofen Jewish community could have the power to make such a ruling. Since R. Jacob became the Rabbi there only in 1678 after the death of his father-in-law, this event would have to have occurred at that time and it is unlikely that such a blessing on behalf of Shabbetai Zevi would still be recited publicly as late as two years after his death and twelve years after his apostacy. This argument can be dismissed because it is entirely possible that R. Jacob may have issued such a ruling in his capacity as judge in the Ofen community, a position which, as has been noted above, (n. 58) he

occupied prior to 1678.

In addition, it is not clear that he became Rabbi in Ofen as late as 1678, after his father-in-law's death. J. Emden, MS, 5-6 referred to R. Jacob as head of the rabbinical court in Ofen but did not mention when he assumed that position. A. L. Frumkin-E. Rivlin, ibid. and S. Fuenn (Kiryah Ne'emanah, op. cit., 91 and Knesset, op. cit., 547) assume that R. Jacob's rabbinical career commenced in that year. Cf. L. Greenwald, Toledot Hakhmei Yisrael, op. cit., 24.

Note also that Ḥayon did not refer to R. Jacob as Rabbi Jacob. Cf. Scholem, Sabbetai Sevi, op. cit., 565 who writes that R. Jacob was a "rabbi" in Ofen when this story took place.

65. ha-Zad Zevi, op. cit., 3a.

66. Ibid., 5a.

67. For an example of credence given to an allegation made by Ḥayon against his other major opponent, R. Moses Ḥagiz, see M. Benayahu, "le-Toledot Batei ha-Midrash bi-Yerushalayim be-Me'ah ha-17," HUCA XXI (1948), Heb., 15-16.

68. In Venice there was a dispute in the synagogue on the Sabbath and an anti-Sabbatian was almost killed. One of Shabbetai Zevi's followers who was present at the time wrote his leader and asked him whether it was sinful to kill a "non-believer" on the Sabbath. Shabbetai Zevi responded that, on the contrary, "there is no greater sanctification of the Sabbath

than this" and promised great rewards for such behavior. See A. Freimann, 'Inyanei Shabbetai Zevi, op. cit., 55-56; J. Sasportas, Sefer Zizat Novel Zevi, op. cit., 128-29, 150. See also G. Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi, 505, 511-12; M. Benayahu, "Yediot me-'Italyah u-me-Holand 'al Reshitah shel ha-Shabbeta'ut," 'Erez Yisrael IV (1956), 195.

See also, J. Emden, Torat ha-Kena'ot, 5b; R. Hayyim Benveniste, She'elot u-Teshuvot Ba'ei Hayyei III:228, G. Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi, op. cit., 514.

69. In addition to the sources cited above, see J. Sasportas, ibid., 3, 192-93 (for an incident in Hamburg); M. Benayahu, ibid., 199, n. 48; G. Scholem, ibid., 579-80; B. D. Weinryb, The Jews of Poland (Philadelphia, 1973), 218; M. A. Anat (Perlmutter), "ha-Sefer 'Zizat Novel Zevi' le-Rabi Ya'akov Sasportas," Tarbiz XXVI (1957), 341.

For examples of special prayers in the synagogue for Shabbetai Zevi, see G. Scholem, ibid., 262, 424-25, 533-34, 579-80.

70. In conclusion, it is important to note that the R. Jacob b. Binyamin Ze'ev of Vilna under discussion here is not to be mistaken for a younger well-known Sabbatian contemporary of his with the identical name who belonged to the group associated with R. Judah ha-Hasid and who spent much of his life travelling throughout Europe on behalf of the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem. On this latter R. Jacob, see M. Benayahu, "R. Ya'akov Vilna u-Beno ve-Yahaseihem le-Shabbeta'ut," Yerushalayim: Mehkarei Erez Yisrael I:4 (1953), 203-14; idem., Sefunot II, op. cit., 147; idem., "Halifot 'Iggerot bein ha-Kehillah ha-Ashkenazit bi-Yerushalayim

ve-R. David 'Oppenheim," Yerushalayim III (1950), 116; idem., Sefunot III-IV, op. cit., 138, 175; idem., Sefunot XIV (1971-1977), index; A. L. Frumkin-E. Rivlin, Toledot Hakhmei Yerushalayim II, op. cit., 85f.; A. Yaari, Ta'alumat Sefer (Jerusalem, 1954), 63-4, n.; idem., Sheluhei 'Erez Yisrael (Jerusalem, 1951), 337-40; D. Kahana, 'Even ha-To'im (Vienna, 1873), 61; G. Scholem, "'Iggeret me'et R. Hayyim Malakh," Zion XI (1946), 168f.; idem., "ha-Tenuah ha-Shabbeta'it bi-Polin," Bet Yisrael bi-Polin ed. by I. Halperin (Jerusalem, 1953), 57 (reprinted in idem., Mehkarim u-Mekorot, op. cit., 101); J. Barnai, ha-Yishuv ha-Yehudi be-Erez Yisrael bein ha-Shanim 1740-1777, unpublished doctoral dissertation (Hebrew University, 1975), 194, 199-200.

These two Rabbis Jacob b. Binyamin Ze'ev of Vilna have indeed already been mistaken for one another. See A. Z. Rabinowitz, Toledot ha-Yehudim bi-'Erez Yisrael (Yafo, 1921), 106; J. Schwartz, Tevuot ha-'Arez II (Jerusalem, 1900), 459; J. Goldman, "Hashkafah Kelalit 'al Mazav Benei Yisrael bi-Erez ha-Kedoshah," he-'Asif III (1886), 71. Their mistake has been pointed out by A. M. Luncz in his notes to Schwartz, ibid.; L. Greenwald, Korot ha-Torah ve-ha-'Emunah bi-'Ungaryah (Budapest, 1921), 15; idem., Toledot Hakhmei Yisrael, op. cit., 3-4, n. 6; idem., Sinai XXVI, 226, n. 18, 38; A. L. Frumkin-E. Rivlin, Toledot Hakhmei Yerushalayim II, op. cit., 85, n.

It is unlikely that Hayon was guilty of the same error and applied to R. Jacob, father of Hakhm Zevi, that which he heard in the name of the other R. Jacob. Firstly, there is no evidence that the latter held any communal office in Europe. Secondly, M. Benayahu (Yerushalayim I:4, 211) characterized this R. Jacob as a "moderate" Sabbatian who would have

been unlikely to behave in so extreme a way.

71. The major primary source of information about R. Judah is his introduction to his father's She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim. He also penned occasional notes on these responsa and added a lengthy postscript which contains important information about his life. In addition, see J. Emden, MS, 4; H. J. D. Azulai, Shem ha-Gedolim, s.v. Leib, #16; ibid., s.v. Yisrael, #402, end; ibid., s.v. Ephraim, #226; idem., Birkat Yosef, Orah Hayyim LV:4. For other citations of R. Judah by R. Azulai, see M. Benayahu, Rabbi Hayyim Yosef Azulai (Jerusalem, 1959), 314.

Secondary literature on R. Judah includes: S. Fuenn, Kiryah Ne'em-anah, op. cit., 90-91; A. L. Frumkin-E. Rivlin, Toledot Hakhmei Yerushalayim II, op. cit., 82-85; J. Mann, "Hityashvut ha-Mekubbal R. Avraham Rovigo ve-Haburato bi-Yerushalayim bi-Shnat (5)462," Me'asef Zion VI (1934), 64-5; L. Greenwald, Sinai XXVI, 222-25; idem., Toledot Hakhmei Yisrael, op. cit., 22-24; G. Scholem, Halomotav shel ha-Shabbetai R. Mordekhai Ashkenazi (above, n. 1), 35; M. Benayahu, "Kahal 'Ashkenazim bi-Yerushalayim bi-Shenot 1687-1747," Sefunot II (1958), 144-45; idem., "Halifot 'Iggerot ben ha-Kehillah ha-'Ashkenazit bi-Yerushalayim ve-R. David 'Oppenheim," (above, n. 70), 108, 115, 118-22; idem., "Ma'amadah shel ha-Tenuah ha-Shabbeta'it bi-Yerushalayim," (above, n. 20), 62-63, 65; L. Geldwirth, ha-Darom XLIV, op. cit., 217.

R. Judah's date of birth is uncertain. L. Greenwald, Sinai XXVI, 222 suggests c. 1658 based on the fact that R. Judah himself wrote (Introduction to She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim, beginning) that he was the same age as his nephew Zevi Ashkenazi who, Greenwald claims, was born

in that year. Greenwald's conjecture was accepted as fact by M. Benayahu in Sefunot II, op. cit., 144 and Yerushalayim III, op. cit., 115. Cf. A. L. Frumkin-E. Rivlin, ibid., 82 from where it emerges, without any evidence, that R. Judah was born in 1651. In fact the birthdate of R. Zevi Ashkenazi is itself unclear. See above, n. 2.

R. Judah's halakhic oeuvre has recently begun to receive attention. See J. Buksbaum, "ha-Gaon Rabi 'Aryeh Yehudah Leib Katz ztz"l, ha-Rishon mi-Gedolei Hungariyah she-'alah le-'Arzenu ha-Kedoshah," Moriah XIV:5-8 (161-64) (1985), 30-39.

Those who have noted that R. Judah was a Sabbatian include G. Scholem, Halomotav, op. cit., 35 and I. Sonne, "'Ovrim ve-Shavim bi-veto shel Rabi Avraham Rovigo," Sefunot V (1961), 284. Neither of them, however, noted the close family connection between him and Hakham Zevi. Their view has been opposed by M. Benayahu, Sefunot II, op. cit., 145 and idem., Sefunot III, op. cit., 157, n. 102.

72. See R. Judah's introduction to She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim, beginning.

73. See above, n. 59.

74. The following is a chronological summary of information available on Rovigo's Sabbatianism, no longer a matter of debate (Cf. J. Mann, Me'asef Zion, op. cit., 65; A. L. Frumkin-E. Rivlin, Toledot Hakhmei Yerushalayim II, op. cit., 151-52; I. Sonne, "Kol Kore me-Reggio le-Temihat Yeshivat Yerushalayim," Zion IV (1938), 86-87).

The earliest reference that Rovigo was a Sabbatian is a letter he wrote to Nathan of Gaza in 1675 in which he explicitly identified himself as such. See I. Sonne, "le-Toledot ha-Shabbeta'ut bi-'Italyah," Sefer ha-Yovel likhvod Professor Aleksander Marks (New York, 1943), 89-93; G. Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi, op. cit., 891-92. Between 1675-1680, Rovigo corresponded with the well-known Sabbatian R. Meir Rofeh who kept Rovigo, living in Italy at the time, abreast of the latest developments in Shabbetai Zevi's inner circle of which he was a member. He also made available to Rovigo copies of Nathan's Sabbatian writings. See I. Tishby, "'Iggerot Rabi Meir Rofeh le-Rabi Avraham Rovigo," Sefunot III-IV (1960), 71-130. These letters also reflect the fact that there was a Sabbatian "maggid" active in Rovigo's circle between 1677-1680. See also idem., "'Hamagid' ha-Shabbeta'i ha-Rishon be-vet Midrasho shel R. Avraham Rovigo," Zion XXII (1957), 21-55 (reprinted in I. Tishby, Netivei 'Emunah u-Minut [1964], 81-107).

Furthermore, Rovigo kept a diary from 1674-1694 in which he entered the Sabbatian teachings he received from visitors to his home in Italy. This was analyzed and partly published by I. Sonne, "'Inyanei Shabbetai Zevi bi-Pinkaso shel R. Avraham Rovigo," Sefunot III-IV (1960), 39-69; idem., "'Ovrim ve-Shavim bi-veito shel Rabi Avraham Rovigo," Sefunot V (1961), 275-95; M. Benayahu, "Shemu'ot Shabbeta'iyot me-Pinkaseihem shel Rabi Binyamin ha-Kohen ve-Rabi Avraham Rovigo," Michael I (1973), 9-87 (reprinted with a few additions in Sefunot XIV [1971-1977], 449-525). This pinkas also served as an important source for a number of articles by M. Benayahu on Sabbatianism. See Sefunot XIV, 257-305 (especially 259, n. 4); ibid., 361f.; idem., "'Eduyot Rabi 'Elijah 'Ashkenazi mi-

Zefat," (above, n. 11), 67-71; idem., "Ma'amadah shel ha-Tenuah ha-Shabbeta'it bi-Yerushalayim," (above, n. 20), 41f. There was also a "maggid" in the school of Rovigo between 1696-1699, analyzed in detail by G. Scholem, Halomotav shel ha-Shabbeta'i R. Mordekhai Ashkenazi, op. cit.

Other information about Rovigo's Sabbatianism is available in G. Scholem, "Perakim 'Apokaliptiyim u-Meshihiyim 'al R. Mordekhai me-Eizenshtat," Sefer Dinaburg (Jerusalem, 1949), 237f.; M. Benayahu, "ha-'Hevrah Kedoshah' shel Rabi Yehudah Hasid," Sefunot III-IV, op. cit., 133-36, 153, 157; idem., Sefunot XIV, op. cit., 307f.; I. Tishby, Netivei 'Emunah u-Minut, op. cit., index, s.v. Rovigo.

75. See I. Sonne, "'Ovrin ve-Shavim bi-Veito shel Rabi Abraham Rovigo," op. cit., 283-84, #18. This may be the trip to which R. Judah referred in his postscript to his father's She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim (Lemberg, 1886), 99a. The absence of Rovigo's usual code words for a Sabbatian (see Sonne, Sefunot III-IV, 42, and n. 6; idem., Sefunot V, ibid., 278) from this brief reference to R. Judah proves nothing because Rovigo, in fact, did not always use such phrases with regard to people who he probably knew were Sabbatians. See the entries shortly thereafter, Sefunot V, 284, #20, 21; 290, #33; M. Benayahu, Michael I, op. cit., 17-18.

76. Scholem, Halomotav, op. cit., 34-5. R. Judah himself may even have been in Italy during this time. See also M. Benayahu, Sefunot II, op. cit., 144.

77. An account of this journey was printed by J. Mann in Me'asef Zion VI (1934), 59-84 and reprinted by A. Yaari, 'Iggerot 'Erez Yisrael (Tel Aviv, 1943), 223-42. See, especially J. Mann, 64, 71; A. Yaari, 226.

78. J. Mann, ibid., 71; Yaari, ibid. R. Judah continued to assist the group throughout their difficult trip. See J. Mann, ibid., 76, 79, 81; Yaari, ibid., 231, 236, 238.

79. J. Mann, ibid., 64, 81; Yaari, ibid., 239.

80. J. Mann, ibid., 64, 68, 84; Yaari, ibid., 241.

For another link between R. Judah and Rovigo, see M. Benayahu, Michael I, op. cit., 24, 57; reprinted in Sefunot XIV, op. cit., 464, 502.

81. See M. Benayahu, "Rabi Ya'akov Vilna u-Beno ve-Yahaseihem le-Shabbeta'ut," (above, n. 70), 205; A. Ya'ari, Sheluhei Erez Yisrael, op. cit., 337.

82. I. Sonne, Sefunot V, op. cit., 284.

83. See G. Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi, op. cit., 297f. It was published by G. Scholem, bi-'Ikvot Mashiah (Jerusalem, 1944), 9-52. For the particular significance of this work in the school of Rovigo, see G. Scholem, Leket Margoliot (Tel Aviv, 1941), 18.

84. I. Sonne, Sefunot V, op. cit., 284.

85. J. Emden, MS, 4.

86. Cf. M. Benayahu, Sefunot II, op. cit., 145, who adduced this quote as proof that R. Judah was never a Sabbatian.

Benayahu's other proof against the Sabbatianism of R. Judah, i.e. that he signed a proclamation against the followers of that movement in 1704, can easily be challenged by the case of R. Jonathan Eybeschütz who was attacked as being a Sabbatian in spite of the fact that he publicly condemned and excommunicated that movement's adherents (see below).

87. J. Emden, Torat ha-Kena'ot, 72b.

88. See L. Greenwald, Toledot Hakhamei Yisrael, op. cit., 34, n. 4.

Cf. this statement of Emden's to the suggestion of Y. Liebes that Emden would cover up the Sabbatianism of a family member. See Y. Liebes, "Meḥaber Sefer Zaddik Yesod 'Olam," (above, n. 55), 165.

89. See above, p. 387, n. 72.

90. See She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'ar Ephraim, "Kuntres Aharon," (Lemberg, 1886), 99a-b.

91. See EJ VI, 549-50 and the bibliography cited there.

For his anti-Ḥakham Zevi position in a major halakhic controversy,

see below, n. 142.

92. For biographical information about R. Eybeschütz, see Graetz-Shefer, Divrei Yemei Yisrael VIII *op. cit.*, 458-70, 520-23; H. N. Dembitzer, Kelilat Yofi I (Cracow, 1888), 117a-125b; E. Duckesz, 'Ivah le-Moshav (Cracow, 1903), 29-52. For book length studies, see G. Klemperer, Rabbiner Jonathan Eibenschütz (Prague, 1858); D. L. Zinz, Sefer Gedulat Yehonatan (Pietrkov, 1930-34); L. Greenwald, Bet Yehonatan (Sighet, 1908) and *idem.*, ha-Rav R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz (New York, 1954). For Eybeschütz as an international Jewish leader, see "Einige handschriftliche Briefe von Jonathan Eibeschütz," MGWJ XVI (1867), 421-30, 460-67; B. Brillling, "Zwei Briefe von Rabbi Jonathan Eibenschütz and die Jüdische Gemeinde in Rotterdam," Studia Rosenthaliana II (1972), 204-14; S. Schwarzfuchs, "Kehillot Drom Zarefat, Gerush Prag ve-R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz," Pe'amim XXIII (1985), 111-26.

For the date of Eybeschütz' election and arrival in The Triple Community, see J. Emden, Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 34a.

93. For the role of this claim in both Sabbatian controversies involving Eybeschütz (1725-26 and the one beginning in 1751), see M. A. Perlmuter, R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz ve-Yahasו 'el ha-Shabbeta'ut (Jerusalem, 1947), esp. pp. 26-55. For more information on the earlier controversy, see below, pp. 413-21.

94. A complete description of this controversy remains a major historical desideratum. For a list of printed primary sources, see below.

Important material is still in manuscript, most notably Gahalei 'Esh presently in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. See A. Neubauer, Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1886), 755, #2189. For a preliminary description of the manuscript, see idem., MGWJ XXXVI (1887), 201-14, 257-68. Also, many German documents relating to the controversy are found in the archives of the Hamburg City Council. Some were used by M. Grunwald (see below) in his reconstruction of its events.

Secondary literature includes H. Graetz, Geschichte der Juden X (1897), 375f.; M. Grunwald, Hamburgs deutsche Juden (Hamburg, 1904), 89-124; D. Kahana, Toledot ha-Mekubbalim, ha-Shabbeta'im ve-ha-Hasidim II (Tel Aviv, 1927), 26-64; D. L. Zinz, ibid., 31-78; M. J. Cohen, Jacob Emden: Man of Controversy (Philadelphia, 1937), 118-257; B. Brillling, "Der Hamburger Rabbinerstreit im 18. Jahrhundert," Zeitschrift des Vereins fur Hamburgische Geschichte LV (1969), 219-44.

For a description of the controversy in Poland, see M. Balaban, le-Toledot ha-Tenu'ah ha-Frankit (above, n. 1), 72-78. See also I. Halperin, Pinkas Va'ad Arba 'Arazot (Jerusalem, 1945), index, s.v. "Yehonatan ben Nata Eybeschütz" and "Ya'akov ben Zevi Emden." For the involvement of a Palestinian rabbi, see A. L. Frumkin-E. Rivlin, Toledot Hakhmei Yerushalayim, op. cit., III, 30.

On the banning of books during the controversy, see M. Carmilly-Weinberger, Sefer ve-Sayaf (Jerusalem, 1967), 137-44; idem., Censorship and Freedom of Expression (New York, 1977), 86-92.

95. That R. Ezekiel Landau also held Eybeschütz to be a Sabbatian has

recently been conclusively proven by Sid Z. Leiman in his, "R. Ezekiel Landau's Attitude Toward R. Jonathan Eybeschütz," a paper prepared for discussion at a conference on "Jewish Thought in the Eighteenth Century" at Harvard University in the Spring of 1984. The others mentioned were publicly identified as opponents of Eybeschütz during the controversy.

96. H. Graetz, Geschichte der Juden X (3rd edition: Leipzig, 1897), 346-77, 495-508. For earlier opinions on the matter, see ibid., 495f; S. Werses, "ha-Riv Ben Emden le-Eybeschütz bi-'Eyney Maskilim bi-Me'ah ha-19," Haskalah ve-Shabbeta'ut: Toledotav shel Ma'avak (Jerusalem, 1988), 43f.

97. Ibid., 496; H. Graetz-Shefer, Divrei Yemei Yisrael VIII (1899), 615.

98. H. Graetz-Shefer, ibid., 457-95, 614-29.

99. D. Kahana, Toledot ha-Mekubbalim, ha-Shabbeta'im ve-ha-Hasidim II (above, n. 2), 41-2, 54-55. See already idem., "Mahari Eybeschütz: Zakkai o Hayyav," ha-Shahar VI (1875), 232, 281-88, 338-44.

100. D. L. Zinz, Gedulat Yehonatan (Piotrkow, 1930-1934), 31-78.

101. I. Bettan, "The Sermons of Jonathan Eybeschütz," HUCA X (1935), 558. He considered this an example of "when professional historians . . . err so egregiously." See ibid., n. 14.

102. G. Scholem, "Kabbala," Encyclopedia Judaica IX (1932), 666.
103. Idem., "Mizvah ha-Ba'ah ba-'Aveirah," (above, n. 33), 363, n. 1; trans. into English as "Redemption Through Sin," (ibid.), 346, n. 11.
104. Ibid., 367; English trans., ibid., 107.
105. G. Scholem, Halomotav shel ha-Shabbeta'i R. Mordekhai Ashkenazi (above, n. 1), 49.
106. M. J. Cohen, Jacob Emden: A Man of Controversy (Philadelphia, 1937). For the quotes, see ibid., 32, 62. Cohen's thesis will be discussed below at greater length.
107. Ibid., 253.
108. G. Scholem, KS XVI (1940), 324-37. In his review of Cohen's book, Salo Baron also took issue with Cohen's conclusion about Eybeschütz. See S. Baron, JSS I (1939), 485.
109. G. Scholem, "Parshiyot bi-Heker ha-Tenu'ah ha-Shabbeta'it," Zion VI (1940-41), 96-100.

Scholem later published the text of Nathan's Derush Taninim. See his Be-'Ikvot Mashiah (Jerusalem, 1944), 9-52.

He had already touched on the question of R. Landau's attitude to

Eybeschütz in KS, ibid., 328.

110. M. Grunwald, "R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz ve-Kameya Shelo," Tarbiz XIII (1941), 67-8.

111. G. Scholem, "'al Kameya 'Ehad shel R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz u-Perusho 'Alav," Tarbiz XIII (1942), 226-44.

112. See Y. Verfel (= Y. Rafael), "Hassagot u-Temihot," ha-Zofeh, 3 Shevat, 5701; A. ha-Shiloni (= Y. Rafael), ba-Mishor, 28 Nissan, 5701; R. Margoliyot, ba-Mishor, 12 Iyyar, 5701; M. Brawer, "Sod ha-Razim," ha-Hed XVI (9-12) (1940-41), 21.

113. R. Margoliyot, "le-ha-Kategoriyah Shenithadshah," Sibat Hitnagduto shel Rabbenu Ya'akov me-'Emden le-Rabbenu Yehonatan Eybeschütz (Tel Aviv, 1941), 11-16. For more information about Margoliyot, see EJ XI, 957-58.

114. G. Scholem, ha-Hed XVIII (1-2) (1941-42), 14. See D. Biale, Gershom Scholem: Kabbalah and Counter-History (Cambridge, 1979), 163.

115. G. Scholem, Leket Margoliyot (Tel Aviv, 1941).

116. I. Tishby, ha-'Arez, 23 Tammuz, 5701.

117. F. Lachover, "le-Hemsheikho shel Riv Histori," Moznayim XIII (1941), 177-86; reprinted in his 'Al Gevul ha-Yashan ve-ha-Hadash (Jeru-

salem, 1951), 9-27.

See also G. Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism (2nd edition: New York, 1946), 321, 421-22, n. 77.

118. Above, n. 112.

119. A. Hashiloni (= Y. Rafael), le-Polmos ha-Mehudash 'al Shabbeta'uto shel Rabi Yonatan Eybeschutz (Jerusalem, 1942).

120. Ibid., 27-33.

121. M. A. Perlmutter, R. Yehonatan Eybeschutz ve-Yahaso 'el ha-Shabbeta'ut (above, n. 93).

122. M. J. Cohen, "Was Eibeschuetz a Sabbatian?" JQR XXXIX (1948), 51-62.

123. L. Greenwald, ha-Rav R. Yehonatan Eybeschutz (New York, 1954). See p. 19.

On Greenwald as a reaction to Scholem and Perlmutter, see Y. Liebes, "Hibbur bi-Leshon ha-Zohar" (above, n. 44), 153, n. 30.

124. See above, n. 92. For a few passing references to Scholem and Perlmutter, see ibid., 6-18, 104-08.

125. See, ibid., 5-8, 20-44.

126. See, ibid., 68-80.
127. Another similar type of defense of Eybeschütz was also printed that year. See T. Y. Tavyomi (Gutentag), 'Imrei Tal (Tel Aviv, 1954), 100-109.
128. Y. Rafael, Rishonim ve-Aharonim (Tel Aviv, 1957), 227-43.
129. Idem., Lo Zakhiti bi-'Or Min ha-Hefker (Jerusalem, 1981), 330-31.
130. I. Tishby, "Bein Shabbeta'ut le-Ḥasidut," Netivei 'Emunah u-Minut (Ramat Gan, 1964), 220f. See also idem., "Hashlamot le-Ma'amari 'al Mekor ha-'Imrah 'Kudsha Berikh Hu 'Orayta ve-Yisrael Kulah Ḥad'," KS L (1975), 669-72.
131. A. Bick (Shauli), "Nizḥonah shel Sanigoriyah: Sofo shel Polmos Yashan," Sinai LXXIV (1974), 269-72.
- See also the brief note by D. Tamar, "'Od le-Polmos 'al Derush Taninim," Sinai LXXV (1974), 96 which attempted to disprove another argument raised earlier by Scholem in connection with this issue.
132. E. Kupfer, "le-Ma'amaro shel Avraham Bik, 'Nizḥonah shel Sanigoriyah'," KS XLIX (1974), 449-50.
133. A. Bick, Zoharei Yavez (Jerusalem, 1975), 128-32.

134. Y. Liebes, "Sefer 'Zadik Yesod 'Olam' - Mitus Shabbeta'i," Da'at I (1978), 73-120. See, especially, pp. 74-75.

135. See ibid., 115-19.

136. Y. Liebes, "Meḥaber Sefer Zaddik Yesod 'Olam," (above, n. 55), 159-73, especially 161-63, n. 3, 4; idem., "Meshiḥiyuto shel R. Ya'akov Emden," (above, n. 44), 122, n. 1; idem., "Ḥibbur be-Leshon ha-Zohar le-R. Volf ben R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz," (ibid.), 148-78, especially 152, 157-63.

137. See above, n. 95.

138. See for example, Y. S. Feder, Toledot ha-Dorot III (Bnai Berak, 1981), 131-33.

139. See above, p. 24.

140. She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi (Amsterdam, 1713), #74.

141. Yoreh De'ah XL:5. See She'elot u-Teshuvot Maharam Zusskind (1716), #33.

142. See J. Eybeschütz, Kreti u-Pleti (1736), Yoreh De'ah XL:4.

Other rabbinic authorities took positions on both sides of the

issue. R. Naphtali Katz, Chief Rabbi of Frankfort, defended Hakham Zevi (see She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, #76) while R. David Oppenheim (She'elot u-Teshuvot Nish'al David II [Jerusalem, 1972], Yoreh De'ah, #2) and R. Meir Eisenstadt (Panim Me'ivot I:23, 24; II:184) sided with R. Rothenberg.

Hakham Zevi's response to Oppenheim's arguments (She'elot u-Teshuvot Hakham Zevi, #77) prompted Oppenheim to further defend his position (She'elot u-Teshuvot Nish'al David [Jerusalem, 1982], Yoreh De'ah, #3).

For the impact of this debate on subsequent halakhic literature, see Darkei Teshuvah on Yoreh De'ah, XL:5, #23; for its relevance to the modern issue of heart transplants, see J. D. Bleich, Judaism and Healing: Halakhic Perspectives (New York, 1981), 131.

143. See R. Margoliot, Sibat Hitnagduto shel Rabbenu Ya'akov me-Emden le-Rabbenu Yehonatan Eybeschutz (Tel Aviv, 1941), 2-10. Margoliot reprinted this entire essay ten years later in his article, "le-Toledot 'Anshe Shem' bi-Lvov," Sinai XXIX (1951), 379-88. This suggestion was also accepted, albeit in a more tentative form, by L. Joseph, Rabi Yehonatan Eybeschutz: Hayav u-Pe'ulotav (Tel Aviv, 1954), 48-54.

144. See B. K. (=B. Z. Katz), "Rabi Ya'akov Emden u-Tekhunato," ha-Shiloah IV (1898), 451-52; Graetz-Shefer, Divrei Yemei Yisrael VIII (Warsaw, 1899), 523, n.

145. M. J. Cohen, op. cit., 9.

146. Ibid., 29-32, 62.
147. Ibid., 274-77.
148. Ibid., 50, 267-73, 62.
149. Ibid., 77, 80. See also ibid., 177 and Cohen's review of M. Perlmuter, JQR XXXIX (1948), 57-8. For a less extreme version of this suggestion, see L. Greenwald, ha-Rav R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz (New York, 1954), 8-9.
150. M. J. Cohen, ibid., 12-14, 24, 82, 95, 109-15, 148, 236-37, 240 and 305, n. 35.
151. See H. N. Dembitzer, Kelilat Yofi, op. cit., I, 92b; E. Duckesz, 'Ivah le-Moshav, op. cit., 18; D. Simonson, "Chacham Zewi und seine Gegner in Altona," Judische Literaturblatt VIII:4 (January 22, 1879), 14-15; EJ III, 734.
152. See J. Emden, MS, 22-23; D. Oppenheim, She'elot u-Teshuvot Nish'al David, ed. by Y. Feld (Jerusalem, 1982), "Mador ha-Nispahim," #23; Pinkas Kehillat AHW, Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, AHW/14, 142a. This event occurred in 1708, one year before the great "chicken" debate. This objection was already raised by L. Greenwald, ha-Rav R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz, op. cit., 66-7.

153. MS, ibid.
154. See below, n. 240.
155. See pp. 425-31.
156. See J. Emden, SY I:121; Margoliot, op. cit., 10 and n. 22.
157. Eybeschütz' Kreti u-Pleti was published in 1763, over a decade after Emden's She'elat Yavez from which Emden accused Eybeschütz of copying. See Emden's handwritten notes in the margins of his own personal copy of Eybeschütz' Kreti u-Pleti, presently in the British Library. The book was sold by Emden's daughter Hanah to H. Michael (See M. Steinschneider, Ozrot Hayyim [Hamburg, 1848], #1952) who, in turn, sold it to the British Library. See J. Zedner, Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Library of the British Museum (1867), 238, 339 (#1924.b.5); Wagenaar, op. cit., 32. Some of the notes were printed, albeit selectively, by Y. Rafael, "Hagahot ha-R. Yavez le-'Kreti u-Pleti' le-Rabi Yehonatan Eybeschütz," Sinai LXXIV (1973), 37-41, especially 41.
158. SY II:146, end; Sefer Hit'avkut (1764), 64.
159. See also L. Greenwald, Harav R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz, op. cit., 65-68 for other objections to Margoliot's hypothesis, i.e. Eybeschütz was too young in 1709 to have exercised great influence.

160. See above, pp. 55-7.

161. MS, 82.

162. J. Emden, 'Iggeret Purim, 42a. A garbled version of this passage was printed by A. Bick at the end of his edition of MS (Jerusalem, 1979), 277-89.

163. Lit., "the wife of my bosom." Cf. Deut. 13:7.

164. Cf. Gen. 31:29.

165. J. Emden, "Shevet le-Gav Kesilim," Sefer Shimush, 47a.

166. See Sukkah 52a: "The greater the man, the greater his Evil Inclination."

167. Sefer Shimush, op. cit.

It is this obscure passage which provides the context from which to understand Emden's well known liberal position on pilegash expressed in his celebrated responsum on the subject (SY II:15; see L. Epstein, "The Institution of Concubinage Among the Jews," PAAJR VI [1934-35], 187-88). There he ruled that it is necessary in order "to distance one from the sin of promiscuity and harlotry and to minimize immorality (which results in) the wasteful emission of semen by those unmarried as well as by those married men during the period when their wives are not available to

them."

His conclusion is also familiar: "Scholars have a greater need for this for 'whoever is greater than his friend the greater is his evil inclination.'" There is no doubt that the objective tone of this response masked the inner personal need reflected in the text cited here.

168. J. Emden, Bet 'El, 'Amudei Shamayim (Siddur I), 355b and on. This translation is from D. Feldman, Marital Relations, Birth Control and Abortion in Jewish Law (New York, 1975), 96.

For other significant passages in this context, see G. Scholem's review of Cohen's book, op. cit., 321-22.

169. S. Baron, JSS I:4 (1939), 485. See also idem., JSS II (1940), 122. G. Scholem, ibid., 338 pointed out that even if all this was true about Emden, Cohen was guilty of overlooking the fact that he was also endowed with greatness.

170. G. Scholem, KS XVI (1940), 322-24; S. Baron, JSS I:4 (1949), 485-86.

171. See above, pp. 203-04.

172. See Shevirat Luhav ha-'Aven, 39b, 42a; Sefer Hit'avkut, 4b-5a; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 15b; MS, 172-73.

In his refutation of Baron's review (JSS II [1940], 121), Cohen claimed that Emden's apology led to a reconciliation between him and the

local bankers. As the texts cited above indicate, this was simply not the case.

173. G. Scholem, Leket Margoliot, op. cit., 5; M. J. Perlmutter, op. cit., esp. 19, 54-5.

174. Ibid.

175. See Y. Liebes, "Meshihiyuto shel R. Ya'akov Emden ve-Yahas le-Shabbeta'ut," (above, n. 44), 124-35.

176. Ibid., 135-160, especially 141-42. The two works analyzed by Liebes are Emden's Kabbalistic dictionary, Zizim u-Perahim (1768) and Zimrat ha-Arez, his commentary on Pirkei Shirah printed in the first volume of his Siddur. See Bet 'El; 'Amudei Shammayim I (1745), 42b-58b; above, p. 279.

177. Y. Liebes, "Hibbur bi-Leshon ha-Zohar le-R. Volf ben R. Yehonatan Eybeschutz 'al Hiburato ve-'al Sod ha-Geulah," (above, n. 44), 157-60.

178. See J. Schacter, "Rabbi Jacob Emden's 'Iggeret Purim,' " op. cit., 441-46; above, pp. 5-7.

179. For the state of the Sabbatian movement in Poland at this time, see G. Scholem, "ha-Tenu'ah ha-Shabbeta'it bi-Polin" (above, n. 11): reprinted in idem., Mehkarim u-Mekorot (above, n. 1), 108f.

For information about R. Leibele, see Y. Liebes, "Meḥaber Sefer Zaddik Yesod 'Olam - ha-Navi ha-Shabbeta'i R. Leibele Prosniz" (above, n. 55).

The documents regarding this controversy can be found in Gahalei 'Esh (above, n. 94) and in J. Emden, Torat ha-Kena'ot, 36b-44b. It was briefly discussed by M. A. Perlmutter, R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz ve-Yahasō 'el ha-Shabbeta'ut, op. cit., 26-47 and was recently fully treated by E. Carlebach (above, n. 17), 295-336.

180. See M. Hagiz, Lehishat Saraf (Hanau, 1725), 3b.

181. Gahalei 'Esh, cited by E. Carlebach, op. cit., 592, n. 16.

182. Ibid., 71a. Reference there is also made to "the Sabbatian writings of R. Jonathan." See also ibid., 75a for a letter by Leibele regarding Eybeschütz. Liebes (above, n. 179), 161-63 refers to Leibele as Eybeschütz' teacher in Sabbatianism.

183. For Eybeschütz' role in the controversy, see Carlebach, op. cit., esp. 303-12; Perlmutter, op. cit.

For references to the 1725-26 controversy in Emden's writings, see Torat ha-Kena'ot, 36b-44b; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 61b, 63a-b; Sefat 'Emet, 4, 37, 39; Bet Yehonatan ha-Sofer, 1b, 2a, 3b, 4b, 5b; Sefer Hit'avkut, 1a, 18a, 27b, 87a; Petah Einayim, 5b, 8b, 9b, 11b, 12a; 'Akizat 'Akraḇ, 6b, 13a, 14a, 18a; Shevirat Luḥat ha-'Aven, 7a, 12a, 24b, 43b, 57a.

184. See below, n. 187.

185. Lit., "impure."

186. In Torat ha-Kena'ot, 42b, and Sefer Hit'avkut, 1b, Emden identified him as the son of R. Leib Shidlov.

187. R. Moses Harif, head of the yeshiva in Lvov, son-in-law of R. Leib Mokhiah who lived in Pressburg. See MS, 88. Later, R. Moses himself became Chief Rabbi of Pressburg. See 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 54a (should read "R. L. Mokhiah").

188. There is an empty space at this point in the manuscript.

189. Cf. Gen. 41:13; Jud. 7:17.

190. This beginning parenthesis appears in the manuscript.

191. Emden often noted that, as a young man, he had no beard. See also MS, 63.

192. Torat ha-Kena'ot, 42b-and on.

193. See the end of Lam. 3:10.

194. Cf. Gen. 37:11.

195. MS, 88-89. The translation reflects the correct text of the Oxford ms., 159a-b.
196. Cf. Ps. 95:10.
197. Cf. Pesahim 99a.
198. Cf. Ex. 13:7.
199. Lit., "impurity."
200. Torat ha-Kena'ot, 42b. A few lines later Emden repeated the fact that he was responsible for R. M. not publicizing this matter.
201. Ezek. 19:9.
202. See above, n. 187.
203. Lit., "a voice from the heights;" cf. Jer. 31:(14)15.
204. Lit., "the sound of words;" Deut. 4:12.
205. Lit., "their horns have been cut;" cf. Ps. 75:11.
206. Bava Mezia 83b.

207. Torat ha-Kena'ot, 43a-b. For the last phrase, cf. Deut. 17:7.

208. Cf. II Chron. 13:20.

209. Ibid., 43a. For the last phrase, cf. Esther 9:4.

It is significant that this explanation, which reflects Eybeschütz' growing stature in the community, is absent from Emden's reconstruction of the event in his autobiography, above, n. 195.

210. See above, n. 95.

211. Torat ha-Kena'ot, 43b. Emden went ahead and quoted verbatim from ve-'Avo Hayom 'el ha-'Avin, ibid., 43b-44b.

212. See Carlebach above, n. 179.

This distinction between Emden's behavior in 1725 and 1751 was already made briefly but not fully developed by L. Greenwald, ha-Rav R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz, op. cit., 68, n. 26.

The reason why Emden did not attack Eybeschütz in 1725 is not because he wasn't sufficiently familiar with him (Graetz, op. cit., 503) but because he genuinely felt that a more moderate approach would be more effective.

It is most striking that, in the heat of his controversy with Eybeschütz, Emden got so carried away that he even attacked those who did not publicly censure Eybeschütz in 1725, obviously overlooking the fact that

he himself was among those to blame. See Sefer Hit'avkut, 1b-2a; Perlmutter, op. cit., 38-40.

213. See S. Ginzburg, R. Moshe Hayyim Luzzatto u-Venei Doro, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv, 1937) for a collection of letters dealing with the controversy. See also idem., The Life and Works of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto (Philadelphia, 1931), 37f; M. Benayahu, "ha-Maggid shel Ramhal," Sefunot V (1961), 299-336. Some primary sources were also printed by J. Emden, Torat ha-Kena'ot, 44b-58a.

On the question of whether or not Luzzatto was, indeed, a Sabbatian, see I. Tishby, "Yahasos shel R. Moshe Hayyim Luzzatto 'el ha-Shabbeta'ut," Sefer ha-Yovel Likhevod Gershom Scholem (Jerusalem, 1958), 208-31; reprinted in idem., Netivei Emunah v-Minut (Jerusalem, 1964), 169-85; M. Benayahu, "ha-'Magid' shel Ramhal," Sefunot V (1961), 297-336; esp. 320f.

Y. Liebes, "Sefer 'Zaddik Yesod 'Olam" (above, n. 35), 75, n. 17; idem., "Meshihiyuto shel R. Ya'akov Emden" (above, n. 44), 126.

The controversy has been recently described in detail by E. Carlebach (above, n. 17), 337-462.

214. Torat ha-Kena'ot, 55b. For the text of this ban, see S. Ginzburg, R. Moshe Hayyim Luzzatto u-Venei Doro, ibid., II, 289-91.

215. See 'Arakhin 20a.

216. Lit., "to extend a finger."

217. See SY I:78; above, pp. 95-97.

218. Torat ha-Kena'ot, ibid. On Emden's later attitude to Luzatto, see Y. Leibes, "Meshihyuto shel R. Ya'akov Emden" (above, n. 44), 162-63.

219. Ibid., 55b-56a. It was reprinted by S. Ginzburg, ibid., 311-13. In the herem by the rabbi of Venice publicized in the Fall of 1735, Emden's name is listed among those who supported their position. See Kerem Hemed III (1838), 157, n. 94; reprinted by Ginzberg, ibid., 327.

220. See above, p. 412 and n. 178.

221. See for example, 'Ez 'Avot (1751), 33b (on 'Avot III:18), 41b-42a ('Avot IV:11); SY II:15 (end), 23, 83, 124, 126, 196; "Hali Ketem," postscript to Derush Tefillat Yesharim (1775), 23b (part of the passage was removed from the second printed edition of this work [Cracow, 1911], 25b).

Emden claimed that he began working on Mor u-Keziyah already after his marriage in 1715 (see above, pp. 45-47) but it was not published in 1761. As a result, it is impossible to date the references in it to Sabbatianism. See, for example, Mor u-Keziyah I:49d (on Orah Hayyim #116), 52c (#128), 103 (postscript); II:2a (introduction), 27c (#330), 28a (#334), 51a-b (#489), 54d (#512).

222. See for example, Siddur I:342a; Birat Migdal 'Oz (1748); Bet

Midot, 'Aliyat ha-Teva, 121b, 'Aliyat Yihud ha-Ma'aseh, 127b; 'Aliyat ha-Yir'ah, 144a.

L. Greenwald, ha-Rav R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz, op. cit., 100, overstates the case when he claims that no anti-Sabbatian material is forthcoming at all in any of Emden's pre-controversy works.

223. SY I:33. For a more elaborate discussion of this responsum, see above, pp. 103-06.

224. See L. Greenwald, Ha-Rav R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz, op. cit., 100-01, n. 5.

In this responsum, Emden also showed great respect for a book by R. Elijah Olianow who was later to incur the full measure of his wrath when he sided with Eybeschütz in the controversy.

225. See above, pp. 260-62.

226. See 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 50b; Torat ha-Kena'ot, 71b.

In Torat ha-Kena'ot, ibid., Emden noted that this work is Sabbatian because of something included in it "at the end of 'Alenu," but the exact statement to which this refers has been the subject of debate between S. Noble and H. Lieberman. S. Noble, "R. Yehiel Mikhel Epstein--A Derziner un Kemfer far Yiddish in 17ten Jahrhundert," YIVO Bletter XXXV (1951), 136-37 (trans. into English as "Rabbi Yehiel Mikhel Epstein, an Educator and Advocate of Yiddish in the 17th Century," YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science VI [1951], 318) claimed that Emden referred to the phrase

"hu 'elohenu 'eyn aher" which Epstein and other Sabbatians recited, as opposed to the standard text of "hu 'elohenu 'eyn 'od." Noble then rejected Emden's claim by showing that Epstein's version has precedents in other accepted prayerbooks and need not be identified as Sabbatian. In a review of Noble's article, H. Lieberman correctly noted that this phrase does not appear "at the end of 'Alenu" as Emden indicated and therefore could not be what he had in mind. Lieberman suggested that Emden's reference was to the twenty-first Psalm which Epstein printed immediately after 'Alenu and which, as Lieberman showed, was strongly identified with the Sabbatian movement. See H. Lieberman, "Discussiya," YIVO Bletter XXXVI (1952), 310-11. An English summary of Lieberman's argument was printed in YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science VII (1952), 296-304 (see especially p. 300); the entire original article in Yiddish is reprinted in H. Lieberman, 'Ohel RaHeL (= R. Hayyim Lieberman) II (New York, 1980), 201-30 (see especially pp. 209-10) and a Hebrew translation was printed in idem., 'Ohel RaHeL III (New York, 1984), 340-64 (see especially pp. 346-48). See, however, Y. ha-Kohen, Sefer Korot ha-Zevi (Jerusalem, 1986), 108-11, who questions Lieberman's suggestion.

For another reference to R. Epstein as a Sabbatian, see Torat ha-Kena'ot, 16a.

For Epstein in general, see EJ VI, 832-33; I. Zinberg, A History of Jewish Literature VII (1975), 372-73.

227. Torat ha-Kena'ot, 71b. The reference here is also debated in the literature cited above.

Emden's changing attitude towards this work also serves an another

example of the difference between his pre- and post-1751 works. In his first volume of She'elat Yavez, printed in 1749, Emden twice opposed views expressed in this work (SY I:107, 134) but was far from invoking the same level of invective he later used against Sabbatian works. This was already noted, in part, by H. Lieberman, 'Ohel RaHeL III (New York, 1984), 614-15 but Lieberman attributed it to the fact that Emden was concerned that perhaps he was wrong in judging Epstein to be a Sabbatian. I believe that the issue goes far deeper than that. Although fully aware of Epstein's Sabbatianism, Emden did not feel it necessary to totally denigrate and ridicule him for that prior to his controversy with Eybeschütz in 1751 which really sensitized him to this issue.

228. It was first printed in Frankfort-am-Main, 1697 and reprinted in Frankfort-am-Oder, 1703; Frankfort-am-Main, 1707, 1714, and 1723 and Amsterdam, 1748. Parts of it were also incorporated into Seder Tefillot Mi-kol ha-Shanah (Jessnitz, 1720). See M. Steinschneider, Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana (Berlin, 1852-1860), 336, #2219; 340, #2248; 350, #2326; 353, #2347; 354, #2355; J. Zedner, Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Library of the British Museum (1867), 459, 460; M. Roest, Catalog der Hebraica und Judaica aus der L. Rosenthal'schen Bibliothek (Amsterdam, 1875), 715; A. E. Cowley, A Concise Catalogue of the Hebrew Printed Books in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1929), 541, 542, 544, 547, 548, 549.

229. Torat ha-Kena'ot, 71b; Edut bi-Ya'akov, 50b.

This prayerbook seems to have been published only once, in Berlin,

1700. See M. Steinschneider, ibid., 338, #2231; J. Zedner, ibid., 459; A. E. Cowley, ibid., 541-42.

For Emden's accusations against both Derekh Yesarah and Keter Yosef, see L. Zunz, Die Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes (Berlin, 1859), 168, n. a; S. Krauss, "Zur Literatur der Siddurim," Soncino-Blätter II (1927), 12, #76.

230. See Zunz, Die Ritus, op. cit., 167-68; S. Krauss, ibid.; A. Yaari, "Sifrei Tikkunim u-Tefillot lefi Sefer 'Hemdut Yamim'," KS XXXVIII (1962-63), 97-112, 247-262, 380-400.

In a different work, Emden also warned against using the prayerbook of M. Poppers. See his Mitpahat Sefarim (1768); cited by S. Krauss, ibid.

231. See G. Scholem, "'Iggeret me-'et Hayyim Malakh," Zion XI (1946), 169, n. 9.

232. J. Eybeschütz, Luhot 'Edut (Altona, 1755), 43b.

233. 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 16b. See also ibid., 29a; Sefat 'Emet, 43 (in a letter from R. Joshua Falk of Frankfurt-am-Main to R. Samuel Hilman in Metz); 'Iggeret Purim, 4a: "They spread rumors about me that my sole intention is only to wreak revenge from him because of the matter of the rabbinate," 10a; Sefer Hit'avkut, 12a: "They slandered the 'quiet man' (i.e. Jacob Emden; see Gen. 25:27) . . . as if he sought only his own honor because he (i.e. Eybeschütz) robbed the rabbinic position from

him."

234. Chief Rabbi Kazenellenbogen died on July 9, 1749, and Eybeschütz was chosen as his successor on May 14, 1750. See above, p. 390.

235. Lit., "all the people to the last man;" Gen. 19:4.

236. See Exod. 4:10.

237. Lit., "with great measures of tears;" Ps. 80:6.

238. A play on, "the snake beguiled me;" Gen. 3:13.

239. Cf. Deut. 10:17.

240. 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, ibid. See also ibid., 14b-15b, 30a (= Sefat 'Emet, 36; Emden twice printed a letter of his to R. Samuel Hilman of Metz), 45b; 'Iggeret Purim, 3a; Sefer Hit'avkut, 5a. On a number of occasions Emden noted that he really did have a right to the position by virtue of the fact that it was held by his father and grandfather but that, nevertheless, he refused it. See, ibid., 15a and 'Iggeret Purim, 4b, 10a: "They urged me to strongly assert my demand for the share which is rightfully mine also by virtue of the inheritance of my fathers . . ."

In Mor u-Keziyah I:96d (#227), Emden ruled that it is "the law of the Torah" ("din Torah") that a son inherits his father's communal position. For more on this in other periods, see A. Grossman, "Yerushat

'Avot bi-Hanhagah ha-Ruhanit shel Kehillot Yisrael bi-yemei ha-Beinayim ha-Mukdamim," Zion L (1985), 189f; S. Hoenig, "Filial Succession in the Rabbinate," Gratz College Annual of Jewish Studies I (1972), 14-22.

In 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 29a, Emden added another consideration, i.e. that he deserved priority by virtue of the fact that he lived in the community: "Even though according to the laws of inheritance and also by the Talmudic principle of 'bar mezra' (geographical closeness), the rabbinic post of "The Triple Community should have been mine."

In fact, with his own situation clearly uppermost in his mind, Emden censured Ashkenazi communities for always favoring foreigners for rabbinic positions and overlooking local candidates: "Whenever Ashkenazim are engaged in appointing a new rabbi, they specifically pursue a rabbi from a distant place whom they never knew or met. (They do this) because, as a rule, those closer to them are not important in their eyes." (MS, 125).

For other evidence of Emden's proprietary feelings towards The Triple Community, see 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 15a; MS, 122.

241. See 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 29a-b.

242. Lit., "an enduring witness in the sky;" Ps. 89:38.

243. Lit., "it amused my anger and my wrath;" Jer. 32:31.

244. See above, p. 35; pp. 75-76, n. 48.

245. Lit., "to seat me at the front;" cf. I Kings 21:9, 12.

246. Lit., "to bend my shoulder;" cf. Gen. 49:15.

247. See above, n. 191.

248. 'Iggeret Purim, 4a-b. A similar argument can be found in 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 14b; Torat ha-Kena'ot, 64a. See also MS, 92.

He also claimed that the community of Emden did not seek a successor for him for many years hoping that he would return, but that he refused. See 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 13b-14b, 29a; Torat ha-Kena'ot, 55b; above, pp. 126-27.

For statements by Emden against the rabbinate in general, see SY II:71; 'Ez 'Avot on 'Avot VI:5, 63a; VI:6, 66b (the rabbinate is for sale); Sha'agat 'Aryeh, 6a (the rabbinate is for sale); Derush Tefillat Yesharim (Cracow, 1911), 8b, 16b; Mor u-Keziyah I:96b-97a (#223); Siddur I:111b; MS, 125 (trading of rabbinical positions).

Emden also attacked some of the practices of contemporary rabbis. See Mor u-Keziyah, ibid., II:11b (#306); SY I:13, 32; II:53 (they improperly take money for their efforts), 179 (collect a fee for performing weddings where their presence and participation is not necessary); Migdal 'Oz, 16b, 95a; LS IV:28-30 (Bekhorot IV:6); Sha'agat 'Aryeh, 6b (they collect money for their efforts).

249. See, for example, 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 46a; 'Iggeret Purim, 9b, (below, n. 257); SY II:61, 153, 168, 197; Derush Tefillat Yesharim, 24b.

250. Lit., "are prominent in the gates;" cf. Prov. 31:23.

251. Both Emden's father and grandfather served as rabbis in The Triple Community. See above, pp. 23-24.

252. Lit., "to encroach upon his possession" ("lehasig gevulo").

253. J. Emden, Bet Yehonatan ha-Sofer, 7a-b. That Emden himself wrote this is clear. See below, n. 261.

This text is cited as proof of Emden's real feelings by M. J. Cohen, op. cit., 78; E. Duckesz, Hakhme AHW, op. cit., 56 and L. Greenwald, ha-Rav R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz, op. cit., 81.

Cf. Sefer Hit'avkut, 5a where Emden noted that, after having arrived, Eybeschütz sent a messenger to him informing him that he realized that he should not have accepted the Chief Rabbinate "which was (really) appropriate for him (i.e. Emden)" and that, to make up for his error, will publicly recommend that every family in The Triple Community should buy a copy of Emden's Siddur. Emden recalled that he thanked Eybeschütz for his good wishes and, insofar as the rabbinate was concerned, "He need not defend himself for this. It is known to all the inhabitants of this city (cf. Gen. 23:10) that I hated the rabbinate and fled from the prominence. It is therefore that I settled here and loved to be alone. Hence, I have no argument against him for this at all."

254. In Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 60a, Emden described his anger at the

lay leadership of The Triple Community for not offering him the position, even though he claimed that he would have declined it had they done so. See too H. Graetz, Geschichte der Juden X, op. cit., 359.

It also appears that Emden was even interested in the position of Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community when it became available after Eybeschütz' death ten years later, in 1764. See MS, 209 (cited by M. J. Cohen, ibid., 79; E. Duckesz, ibid., and L. Greenwald, ibid., 81-2).

According to S. P. Rabinowitz (Shefer), Emden was also interested in other rabbinic positions as well. See Shefer, Divrei Yemei Yisrael VIII, op. cit., 472, n. 1.

255. See E. Duckesz, ibid., who quoted the Talmudic statement in Sanhedrin 22a: "when strength fails the thief, he pretends to be honest."

256. 'Ez 'Avot 10a (on 'Avot I:10).

257. See SY II:61: "Blessed be He who has relieved me from its punishment;" 'Iggeret Purim, 9b: ". . . even though I am among those who fear rendering halakhic decisions and I bless (God) every day that he did not ordain that I be a rabbi ('shelo 'asani 'aved, with an aleph) and I fled from being a slave ('eved) so that the responsibility of others should not be on me . . . ; "Derush Tefillat Yesharim, 24b: "I said, Blessed be God who did not ordain that I be a rabbi ('shelo 'asani 'aved); their responsibility is not on me." See also SY II:153, 168, 197; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 46a.

258. See, already, the comment of a major anti-Sabbatian of the following century, R. Eliezer Flekeles, a leading student of R. Ezekiel Landau, printed by S. Halberstam, "Notizen," Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums IX (1882), 173-74. The manuscript is reproduced in B. Wachstein, Hebräische Autografen von Gelehrten und Schriftstellern in Faksimile (Wien, 1927), #34.

This is cited by E. Duckesz, 'Ivah le-Moshav, op. cit., 40; L. Greenwald, op. cit., 28-29, n. *; idem., Sinai XXIX, 379, n. 1; R. Margoliot, Sibat Hitnagduto, op. cit., 2, n. 2; idem., "le-Katigoriyah she-Nithadshah," op. cit., 13-14.

With one exception (Wagenaar, op. cit., 13 and n. 124), all later scholars assert that Emden really did want the Chief Rabbinate. See H. Graetz, Geschichte der Juden X, op. cit., 359; S. P. Rabinowitz (Shefer), Divrei Yemei Yisrael VIII, op. cit., 472, n. 1; 475; E. Duckesz, Hakhmei AHW, op. cit., 55-56: "In accordance with human nature it is logical that Yavez was angry at their giving precedence to Rabbi Jonathan;" H. N. Dembitzer, Kelilat Yofi I, op. cit., 122b; L. Greenwald, ibid., 32, 64-65 (Rabbis Aryeh Leib of Amsterdam and Hilman of Metz joined Emden against Eybeschütz because they too had been nominated for the Chief Rabbinate of The Triple Community and were overlooked in favor of Eybeschütz), 80-82; M. J. Cohen, op. cit., 77-80, 113. See also G. Scholem, EJ VI, 1074; H. R. Rabinowitz, "R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz mi-Prag," Sinai LVI (1964), 82; reprinted in idem., Diyukna'ot shel Darshanim (Jerusalem, 1967), 118; Y. Liebes, "Meshihiyuto shel R. Ya'akov Emden" (above, n. 44), 148, n. 215. Even M. A. Perlmutter, op. cit., 315, also concludes that while the controversy was essentially ideological, it was fanned by

feelings of jealousy. See also ibid., 15-16, 317-18.

259. Cf. Midrash Tanhuma, Lekh Lekha, 12; S. Buber ed. (New York, 1946), 35b.

260. This letter from Emden to R. Samuel Hilman, Chief Rabbi of Metz, is dated February 8, 1751, and was printed twice by Emden. See Sefat 'Emet, 36-38; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 30a-31a. This passage is from Sefat 'Emet, 37; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 30b.

These two phrases "a zealot, the son of a zealot" and "whatever happened to the father happened to the son" serve as constant refrains in Emden's writings throughout the controversy. For examples of these, see above, p. 41, n. 73, 74. In fact, not only was Emden influenced by his father's struggle with Hayon to challenge Eybeschütz, but his own adversary (i.e. Eybeschütz) himself was also influenced by his father's adversary (i.e. Hayon). See L. Greenwald, ha-Rav R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz, op. cit., 52-3, n. 25-6; M. A. Perlmutter, R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz ve-Yahasu 'el ha-Shabbeta'ut, op. cit., 120-22, 262, 294, 312, 314; I. Tishby, "Hashlamot le-Ma'amari 'al Mekor ha-'Imrah 'Kudsha Berikh hu Orayta ve-Yisra'el Kulah Had'," KS L (1975), 669; Y. Liebes, "Meḥaber Sefer Zaddik Yesod 'Olam" (above, n. 55), 162.

For this consideration motivating Emden, see H. Graetz-Shefer, Divrei Yemei Yisrael VIII, op. cit., 473; M. J. Cohen op. cit., 31, 133-34. See too G. Scholem, Leket Margolyot, op. cit., 5, who cautioned against looking for one consideration to explain Emden's behavior in the controversy.

261. Although some of these works are attributed to Emden's students, (e.g. Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, Sefat 'Emet and 'Akizat 'Akrav), it is clear that he authored them all. See 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 45b: "I did not put my name on several of my works;" 'Iggeret Purim 43b: "It is I who authored the first volume of the book 'Akizat 'Akrav, with the help of God, in the name of my disciple who speaks for me," (printed in my "Rabbi Jacob Emden's 'Iggeret Purim," op. cit., 446).

The fact has also already been noted in the secondary literature. See H. Graetz-Shefer, Divrei Yemei Yisrael VIII, op. cit., 470, n. 1; 485-86, n. 2; 523, n. 1; 616, n. 1; G. Scholem, "'al Kameya 'Ehad shel R. Yehonatan Eybeschutz u-Perusho 'Alav," Tarbiz XIII (1942), 228, n. 14; M. J. Cohen, op. cit., 153, 293, n. 56; L. Greenwald, ha-Rav R. Yehonatan Eybeschutz, op. cit., 81, n. 31; Y. Liebes, "Meshihiyuto shel R. Ya'akov Emden" (above, n. 44), 146-48, n. 215; idem., "Hibbur bi-Leshon ha-Zohar" (ibid.), 149, n. 5; 157-58, n. 64; J. Schacter, ibid., 443.

For additional works regarding the controversy, see H. Graetz-Shefer, op. cit., 634-36; Wagenaar, op. cit., 21-27; Rafael, op. cit., 273-76; M. Carmilly-Weinberger, Sefer ve-Sayaf (above, n. 94), 138.

For information regarding 'Iggeret Purim, see my "Rabbi Jacob Emden's 'Iggeret Purim," op. cit., 441-42. I plan to fully analyze Megillat Sefer and its place within the controversy in the introduction to my new Hebrew and English editions of that work (above, p. 19, n. 14).

Other letters by Emden written during the controversy were not included in any of his published works. See, for example, Y. Rafael, "Iggeret Haryavez le-Giso Rabi Aryeh Leib me-'Amsterdam," Sinai LXXIII

(1973), 1-5.

262. See below, pp. 748-50.

263. In the eulogy he delivered for him a few weeks after he died, Emden alluded to the difficulties faced by his brother-in-law as a result of his stand in the controversy. See J. Emden, Sha'agat 'Aryeh (Amsterdam, 1755), 6b.

264. He lived in Mannheim and Worms and died in Offenbach in 1756. See EJ VI, 1155-58 and the bibliography cited there.

265. See, also, M. A. Perlmutter, op. cit., 22, 318-19.

266. See H. Graetz-Shefer, Divrei Yemei Yisrael VIII, op. cit., 457, n., 632; L. Greenwald, Ha-Rav R. Yehonatan Eybeschütz, op. cit., 3; C. Abramsky, "The Crisis of Authority Within European Jewry in the Eighteenth Century," Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History (Presented to Alexander Altmann) (Alabama, 1979), 16.

267. See C. Abramsky, ibid., 17-21.

V I

C O N F R O N T I N G T H E M O D E R N W O R L D

The second half of the eighteenth century brought with it fundamental changes in Jewish life in Western and Eastern Europe. The traditional character of Jewish society began to be transformed with the spread of the Enlightenment or Haskalah movement in the West and Hasidism in the East. Scholars have long discussed the various economic, political, social and cultural forces which gave rise to both of these fundamental departures in Jewish life -- the weakening of the power of the super-kehilla communal organizations; the restriction of the autonomy of the community from without and the disintegration of communal cohesiveness from within; the development of new European philosophies which stressed humanity, universalism and religious tolerance; the phenomenon of the court Jew and a growing industrial middle class which was able to take advantage of the new social and economic opportunities; the emergence of a "semineutral" or "neutral" society which transcended religious differences and where it was possible to function neither as Jew nor Christian; changes in the structure of the state and the class system and

widescale population shifts -- all of which played a significant role in the transition from the medieval to the modern period of Jewish history.¹

Of the two movements, Haskalah was geographically closer to Emden's hometown of Altona. It was a group of Jews in another German city who shaped the contours of this movement and set the tone by which other expressions of it were measured and evaluated. While Haskalah spread to many other countries like Italy, Russia, Galicia, Hungary, France and Holland, its major center was in Berlin and it was from there that it found its way to other parts of Europe.²

While Haskalah's geographical origin in Berlin is clear, its chronological origin has long been the subject of heated dispute. Heinrich Graetz identified the beginning of Haskalah with the seminal personality of Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786) and, in fact, associated the beginning of modern Jewish history with that figure.³ In the view of Yehezkel Kaufmann, Mendelssohn represented "an entirely new approach to Judaism" which differed fundamentally from that which preceded him.⁴ In contrast to this position which viewed Mendelssohn as a major turning point in Jewish history, other historians, like Ben Zion Dinur, Bernard Weinryb, Isaac E. Barzilay and, most recently, Azriel Shochat have claimed that, "a closer acquaintance with the pre-Mendelssohnian era shows the exaggeration of the role attributed to Moses Mendelssohn in the process of ushering in the age of Haskalah. Rather than the creator of a new period in Jewish history, he was one of its outstanding products, who lent it strength and impetus."⁵ Their analysis of intellectual trends in the first half of the eighteenth century led these later scholars to conclude that Haskalah had already existed prior to Mendelssohn's birth. The

strongest proponent of this position has been Azriel Shochat who wrote an entire book to prove that, "Mendelssohn was not 'the father of the Haskalah' nor 'the harbinger of the Haskalah;' not even 'the creator of the Haskalah movement.'" The Haskalah began among German Jews before the publication of Kohelet Mussar by Mendelssohn" in 1758.⁶

Rabbi Jacob Emden, an older contemporary of Moses Mendelssohn, lived precisely during this transition period, in the first half of the eighteenth century. If it can be shown that he reflected Haskalah tendencies then it would be fair to conclude that the movement indeed predated Mendelssohn. In fact, A. Shochat considered Emden a crucial link in the chain of pre-Mendelssohnian Haskalah and as clear proof that this movement was already highly developed prior to the last part of the century.⁷ He argued that some of the central components of Mendelssohn's thought were not only already found in Emden's works but were consciously taken from him by Mendelssohn. Shochat maintained that, "It is not for no reason that Mendelssohn called R. Jacob Emden 'my teacher'."⁸

There are two critically important issues that must be addressed before determining Emden's place in the historical continuum between medieval Judaism and its more modern expressions. It is obviously of primary importance to first identify those criteria which characterized the Haskalah movement and then determine whether or not they were shared by Emden. However, even if it can be proven that Emden's thought did contain elements which were later identified with the Haskalah, this does not necessarily turn him into a mid-eighteenth century Mendelssohn or even a "forerunner" or mevasser to Mendelssohn. Recent scholarship has addressed itself to defining the criteria that are necessary in order to

identify someone as a "forerunner" or "precursor" to a movement. In a recent article describing "an inclination toward the Haskalah" in eighteenth century Eastern Europe, Emmanuel Etkes considered a number of rabbinic scholars who lived at that time as "forerunners of the Haskalah in Russia." He wrote that,

"My assumption in using a concept such as forerunner is that a given cultural and social phenomenon, before emerging in mature form, takes shape gradually over a long period of time. Hence, between an old and a new reality an intermediate phase can be discerned which is distinct from the new but points toward it. Clearly, any discussion of forerunner is retrospective and becomes possible only after the new phenomenon has taken its place in our historical consciousness, when we seek to determine how it emerged."⁹

Although underscoring the differences in the thought of these figures from the Gaon of Vilna (most traditional) to R. Menahem Mendel Lefin ("a thoroughgoing maskil"), Etkes considered them all "forerunners" because they served as a bridge "between the traditional way of life and the mature Haskalah movement."¹⁰ For Etkes, "timing" is critically important. "Even though the Gaon (of Vilna), Rabbi Shlomo (of Chelm), and others like them did not deviate from traditional norms, the very fact that they expressed elements taken from the medieval-Renaissance heritage at their time and place made them serve as a bridge between that heritage and the new trends that had begun to develop in Poland and

Lithuania."¹¹

In an earlier article dealing with the origins of Zionism, Jacob Katz argued for a much more limited application of the term "forerunner" and maintained that one cannot be considered as a "precursor" to a movement simply because his ideas may be analogous to those later expressed by adherents of that movement. Precursorism, for Katz, demands far more than a similarity of thought with the movement that will later arise. It requires, instead, that the person being considered a mevasser share also the same personal and objective factors that motivated the later phenomenon. "The identification of such 'forerunners' cannot be made on the basis of analogies in the content of the idea alone," argued Katz. "It is only in analyzing the historical process as a whole that we can decide whether we are indeed dealing with a 'forerunner' or simply with a chance similarity in thought. Such coincidental similarities are common enough, and there is no modern idea for which analogies have not been discovered, even in totally alien cultural and intellectual contexts."¹²

The relevance of this argument to an assessment of Emden is clear. Even if Emden was to have shared certain ideas in common with later Haskalah, one must also determine if he also shared the same factors which motivated and informed their way of thinking. Coincidence of chronology is not enough to establish directness of influence.¹³

What were the components that can be identified as characterizing the Haskalah movement? In another work, Jacob Katz defined a maskil as one "who added to his knowledge of the Torah a command of foreign languages, general erudition and an interest in what was happening in the non-Jewish world."¹⁴ Using as his model the Berlin Haskalah of the

1780's, Emmanuel Etkes recently expanded this definition to include other factors which together formed a fundamentally new approach to Judaism as well, e.g. a more rationalistic interpretation of Judaism and criticism of the Kabbalah; awareness of an historical process which influenced and even shaped the development of halakhah; a critical attitude to various minhagim; an emphasis on Bible study over Talmud, peshat over derash and straightforward interpretation over pilpul; the de-sacralization of the Hebrew language; a humanistic outlook which stressed the common universal elements of both Jew and non-Jew and, finally, concerted efforts at reforming Jewish educational, economic and communal structures.¹⁵ Although each of these components existed in the Jewish community prior to the eighteenth century to a greater or lesser extent, it was the accumulation of these concerns which characterized the Haskalah movement and which galvanized its traditionalist detractors to oppose it.¹⁶

A careful analysis of Emden's work would provide substantial material for an assessment of each of these factors. He too, for example, was critical of minhagim and pilpul and advocated Jewish educational reform. However, the clearest issue which can serve as the basis for a comparison between his view and that of the later Maskilim is that relating to the general area of secular studies. What was the degree of Emden's openness to and level of respect for secular knowledge? How much extra-Talmudic information did he have and, even more importantly, what was his attitude towards such knowledge?¹⁷

Before entering into a detailed discussion of this issue, one important point must be raised which is of utmost significance to this analysis. Even if a careful study of the evidence will yield the conclusion

that Emden himself was not a maskil nor even a precursor of Haskalah, it would still be important to determine how this classical, traditionalist, non-maskil confronted the changing Jewish world of his time. Unlike some of his even more traditionalist contemporaries, Emden was very much aware of and sensitive to the shifting emphases in Jewish religious and intellectual life that were beginning to affect the Jewish community as he knew it. Indeed, he was affected by them even while attempting to reject them. As will become repeatedly obvious from the various sources presented throughout this chapter, Emden was full of unresolved intellectual contradictions, conflicts and tensions as he confronted "modernity." While he argued for the importance of secular studies by adducing some of the traditional justifications for it, he also introduced the notion that it was important for developing and maintaining social relationships with the general society, liheyot me'urav 'im ha-beri'ot. This was a new argument which represented a departure from previously presented formulations of this issue. In a very subtle way and perhaps without even being fully aware of it, Emden was sensitive to something in his general environment which influenced him to acknowledge the need to study secular literature. At some level he recognized that the lack of such knowledge was an unwelcome barrier between him and the world at large in which he lived. Apparently feeling somewhat estranged from his broader society, Emden felt the need to break out of the mold of the traditional Jewish curriculum to feel more socially a part of it. But while he was drawn to secular knowledge and repeatedly asserted his mastery over it, being the classical, traditionalist, non-maskil that he will be shown to have been, he could not bring himself to fully embrace it. He felt constrained to publicly proclaim how embarrassed he was by his interest in these areas

and how ultimately it was really only a waste of time. While arguing in favor of secular knowledge, he repeated the age-old assertion that any study other than Torah should be limited only to the time spent in the bathroom. By use of this argument, he was able to allow himself continued involvement in this material while simultaneously denying it any real value.

Furthermore, Emden's polemic against secular studies in general and philosophy in particular had a very real and immediate relevance for him. He was acutely aware of what he considered to be the negative results of the new involvement in that discipline by his own contemporaries. He recognized that something had changed in his own time and, as a result, all the old anti-rationalist arguments took on for him a new and practical significance. At the same moment he acknowledged the social importance of secular studies, he railed against his contemporaries who used philosophy for that very purpose and who thereby, he claimed, ended up rejecting God's Torah. Their behavior reminded him of the excesses and antinomianism of Jewish life in pre-expulsion Spain which were ultimately responsible, in his mind, for the downfall and destruction of that once outstanding community. Also, as a pious, traditionalist Jew, he evinced the highest respect for Maimonides but, perhaps because he was more directly aware of the dangerous impact of philosophy among his co-religionists, was prepared to attack him more than some of his fellow traditionalists could tolerate. Paradoxically, perhaps, his attack on Maimonides stemmed from his desire to safeguard the traditional community from an emerging danger, something his more traditional contemporaries could not see and therefore not appreciate. He was aware of the fact that the implications of Maimonides' philosophical system posed a real threat to

Jewish life at that time. He knew full well that Maimonides wrote the Guide of the Perplexed but yet found it necessary to repeatedly deny the Maimonidean authorship of that work because he was more acutely cognizant of the dangers it could effect in the community. Conscious of the fact that the Jewish world was changing because "the heresy of philosophy has reasserted itself," even the standard arguments he used against philosophy were presented with an urgency born out of a recognition of how immediately relevant they had become. Quite apart from the question as to whether Emden was "medieval" or "modern," then, is the question of how he confronted the modern world, regardless of what his own personal orientation may have been. All this will be developed in the course of the next two chapters, but let us first start in the beginning.

There is certainly no doubt that Emden had an insatiable curiosity about all forms of knowledge. In a long and remarkable passage in his autobiography, he described in detail his multifaceted and wide-ranging intellectual interests, while yet a young man, which he was able to pursue not without a small measure of difficulty:

"I yearned to know and to recognize the script of the German language in its own form, which my revered father never taught me, nor did I learn their handwriting from a teacher. It was necessary for me to learn by myself . . . My heart was always inclined to know (and) to examine worldly matters as well; the (various) nations and faiths, their characteristics and dispositions, their histories and sciences, all

of whose matters cannot be known from our sacred books.

This was also (necessary) in order to know how to respond (to a heretic),¹⁸ to mingle comfortably with people, to know the proper etiquette of each country, the nature of the lands and of their inhabitants, to reveal their secrets and to overcome any difficulties. All this I yearned to learn from their own books in the original. (Yet,) I found no way or manner to achieve this for I did not permit myself to hire a teacher for reading foreign books. I feared a great waste (of time from Torah studies). It was also abominable in my eyes to spend money for this (and), in addition to which, I was simply embarrassed to do so lest people find out.

Behold, I knew (that) a young lad from among the servants was learning to write and read the German language. I clandestinely took him aside and asked him to show me the shape of the printed letters in the foreign alphabet. He had just begun to learn from a Christian teacher who was a scribe and he still barely knew the shape of the separate letters, without knowing how to read the connected letters nor understand the meaning of their words. The lad showed me just once or twice to say this is A, this is B, this is C, etc. Nothing more. With the help

of God, may He be blessed, who endows man with wisdom, I immediately grasped the recognition of the letters in their forms. I then struggled by myself alone to put together the words; I applied myself¹⁹ and understood the matter without any assistance from any tutor or teacher whatsoever. Within a short time, I acquired the ability to read a German book well, as if I had a teacher for this for many years.

However, I succeeded in reading only their printed books and Latin script. But the German script, with its swift connected flourishes, I still cannot recognize because of my inadequate study. Even in the printed Latin script there remained certain forms and markings or changes in the image of the letters that I do not know to this day. For this matter I snatched surreptitiously and fleetingly. Even the lad who had shown me was not perfect. Afterwards, I was ashamed to ask anyone (to help me with) that which I failed to understand of their wisdom.

With it all, I hastened to read all their printed books immediately by myself until I acquired the skill to read even the Dutch language and gazettes and also to understand much of the Latin language. I read many of their books with all varied information about Europe,²⁰ to understand all the

views of people around the world in matters of their faiths and religious customs and to reveal their thoughts about us and our holy faith.

I also long, my soul yearns²¹ to know and to understand the arrangement of the terrestrial globe which is determined by the celestial movements as described in their books. Although it is explained in our literature, it is done in a very brief manner. I also wanted to know and to perceive matters of nature; the nature of minerals; the qualities of plants and grasses; especially the science of medicine; the practices of nations and kings, their wars and history; their unique tales and the annals of (their) generations; the original ideas of those who write about the lands, oceans, rivers and deserts and those who describe their condition; the designer's craft, skills, cunning, fraud and deception and foolish stories of fabricated contrivances. All of this my eyes saw in their books. I have expert knowledge of them and their deeds. All their thoughts, their frauds and their good qualities are known and revealed to me so as not to be ignorant²² of the wisdom of people the world over.

However, I am careful to read and study them only in a place where it is forbidden to meditate on words of Torah, nowhere else. Indeed, on several

occasions, I extracted the sweet from the strong.²³ The honey that I found in them I scooped into my hands²⁴ to use it in the pursuit of the sacred task (to reveal) various esoteric and sealed matters. Above all, I thus succeeded in knowing how to refute (a heretic)²⁵ and not to be considered a fool in their eyes. As mentioned above,²⁶ I studied their books in times of leisure especially those in the fields of medical science and health preservation which is the (very) life of all creation. I studied the science of nature which I felt to be absolutely essential for the survival of the human species."²⁷

Indeed, Emden made repeated references to his great curiosity about all aspects of human creativity. In the winter of 1737, a medical student from Göttingen by the name of Benjamin Wolf Ginzberg had written to him inquiring as to what procedures he should follow regarding surgery on the Sabbath. After a very long and detailed response which dealt with this issue from a halakhic perspective, Emden entered into a highly significant discussion of the value of secular studies in general, which will be discussed below. He concluded the responsum in the following manner:

"Signed by one who, like you, yearns to establish a covenant ('likhrot brit') with secular sciences ('hokhmot'); from his youth did he cling to them with love.²⁸ My soul is consumed with longing (Ps. 119:20) to examine the fancies of their heart,²⁹ to

reveal the living waters from their cisterns³⁰ to quench my thirst for the delights of perfect joy (Ps. 16:11). (But) they disdain me (Job 19:18) and did not permit me to come to them after the manner of all the earth.³¹ They drove me out from their midst and pushed me away from having a share in their possessions.³² They rejected me with their two hands."³³

In the introduction to the second part of his Luah Eresh, Emden wrote how "great was my aching³⁴ from my youth ('mene'uray') for the love of wisdom ('hokhmot') and knowledge ('yedi'ot')." He went on to list those areas that interested him:

". . . to understand fully the ways of the world ('bi-derekh 'erez') and the behavior of people; to uncover the hidden treasures of nature, the form of the structure of the world and the divisions of the lands, seas, rivers, mountains and valleys; the (further) divisions between states, languages,³⁵ religious faiths and cultural patterns; the events of history, the generations of the past; the accounts of the secular rulers, geneology of the scholars and that which occurred to them . . . In all of these did my Creator favor me."³⁶

In commenting on the Mishnah in 'Avot which lists "derekh 'erez" among the "forty eight matters with which Torah is acquired," Emden first suggested that "derekh erez" means sexual relations. He then continued:

"Perhaps it includes also the study of worldly wisdom

which is necessary, e.g. mathematics, fractions and matters of nature. A minimal understanding of them is commendable in order to know the ways of the world which the Lord gave to mankind; how to behave therein (in fulfilling) the essential bodily needs, domestic matters, interpersonal human relations, and political administration. (All) so that one should be sociable with people."³⁷

Emden also clearly described his great desire to master all bodies of knowledge in his 'Iggeret Purim, an important polemical work which still awaits full publication. In the course of describing his reluctance to be involved in the study of Shemot, Emden claimed that:

"Even though I was able to acquire all the literature on this subject, . . . I did not want to take³⁸ even a copy of any of them. However, in any case, I did not restrain myself from looking into them when they came into my hand. (³⁹Such is my practice with regard to all areas of knowledge in the world, whether religious or secular, that come to my attention. (It is) to feast my eyes upon them (in order) to know the good and evil; to discern truth from falsehood; to understand and analyze the nature of the (different) faiths, opinions and religions and to reveal the origins and slightest bit of information in them.⁴⁰ Even mundane, frivolous and nonsensical matters I knew (and) I read."⁴¹

Before analyzing the degree of significance which Emden attributed to each of the subjects he mentioned, in particular, and to secular studies in general, it is important to first assess his level of knowledge in each of these areas.

In the passage quoted above from Emden's autobiography, he began his discussion about his multifaceted secular interests by describing the lengths to which he went to learn foreign languages, referring specifically to having achieved a reading knowledge of German, Dutch, and to some extent, Latin. In fact, in some of his works, Emden did make some references to Latin⁴² which he claimed derived from Greek⁴³ and, in one case, maintained that Maimonides erred in his commentary on a Mishnah because he lacked knowledge of that language.⁴⁴ On occasion, Emden also displayed some knowledge of Greek⁴⁵ for which, following Talmudic precedent, he had a very high regard and which he claimed had its origins in Hebrew.⁴⁶ Nevertheless Emden's knowledge of these languages reflected the superficiality of the autodidact and when it came to Aristototele's Ethics, for example, he was forced to read it in a Hebrew translation.⁴⁷

Emden did seem to have some familiarity with Dutch, translating a document in that language into Hebrew for one of his works.⁴⁸ However, he himself admitted that he knew neither French⁴⁹ nor Spanish⁵⁰ and it is clear that his linguistic facility was considerably less than that of his father who, he informed us, could not only read but also speak Spanish, Italian, Turkish, Hungarian and German.⁵¹ Perhaps this was the case because he had not travelled as extensively in the East as did his father.

Emden's knowledge of German was also limited. While he did make

some periodic references to German words,⁵² he lacked a fluency and proficiency even in his national tongue. Towards the end of his life, Emden informed Moses Mendelssohn in a letter that he had declined to send a letter in German on behalf of the Jewish community of Schwerin to the local Duke because "I did not know how to speak, organize and compose (a letter) in German."⁵³ At a time when the success of an important matter depended upon the persuasive power of stylistic German, Emden preferred to defer to his junior colleague, "who has a reputation⁵⁴ in the courts of princes and kings and who has a considerable measure of fluency⁵⁵ in this language (i.e. Hebrew) and German. He knows how to explain and pleasantly present the matter so that it should be acceptable to them⁵⁶ . . . Surely he will accomplish and succeed more than a person like myself who has no experience with these."⁵⁷

Emden also noted that he was interested in the "characteristics, dispositions . . . and wisdoms" of other faiths. Indeed, his knowledge of other religions is also reflected in his writings. He enjoyed great familiarity with the New Testament which he quoted extensively⁵⁸ and even defended the plausibility of the virgin birth.⁵⁹ He was familiar with the basic tenets of Christianity and often presented them in a favorable light.⁶⁰ He also made a number of references to Islam⁶¹ which, like Christianity, he praised for spreading belief in God in the world.⁶² Emden also made reference to other religious groups in China⁶³ and primitive religionists in Turkey, Asia and North Africa.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, once again one gets the impression that he did not have a systematic knowledge

of this subject and only gleaned whatever information he could from an unstructured and limited access to literature about it.

When it came to the field of history, Emden's knowledge was more extensive and his theoretical justification more substantive although, here too, he lacked the critical sense and perspective of the serious historian.⁶⁵ Emden made a strong programmatic statement stressing the importance of this discipline. He rejected the opinion of R. Obadya Bartinoro who included the study of Gentile history in the category of "one who reads 'external' books ('ha-kore bi-seforim hizonim')" who have no share in the world to come. While recognizing that preoccupation with it should not lead one to neglect Torah study, he insisted that,

"the scholar is obligated to know at least those works composed in Hebrew. It cannot be otherwise. It has significant implications for the explanation of Biblical verses and rabbinic statements as well, as I brought to your attention in my commentary on Seder 'Olam and that appended to it (i.e. Megillat Ta'anit),⁶⁶ as well as in many places in the Talmud. However, those composed in a foreign language as well should be studied by the intelligent person ('adam maskil') in the bathroom for the reason that I wrote above regarding the work of Aristotle."⁶⁷

Emden referred here to the reason he had given in the immediately preceding passage to justify involvement in secular studies in general,

i.e. to provide information to help respond to challenges posed to faith in religious polemic and debate.

An elaborate passage in Emden's Mor u-Keziyah reflected his intimate familiarity with most of the major classics of the Jewish historiographical tradition:

" . . . Nevertheless, it is possible to differentiate in this matter, for the narratives of the Israelite kings are certainly permissible to be read even on the Sabbath. (³⁹Surely the accounts of the sages of old such as the first volumes of Zemah David and Sefer Yuhasin are considered as actual holy books for they deal only with Biblical and Talmudic matters. So too is the book of Yosippon the Hebrew (whose first parts deal almost entirely with Jewish matters and with the miracles that occurred for them). (These books may not be read, however,) on a regular basis where it may cause neglect of Torah study for they are no more important than Ketuvim whose reading was forbidden on the Sabbath lest it leads to neglect of the bet midrash).

(Yosippon may be read) except for the foolish stories that were included in it, like the tale of Nactanebor and those events which followed Alexander of Macedonia. For this entire narrative is not the words of Yosippon himself but, rather, an addition incorporated into it by its copiers to make it more

attractive.⁶⁸ They filled it with the nonsense of the Egyptian magicians.) This is surely forbidden for regular reading ('bi-keva') even on a weekday, as mentioned above.

However, it is a mizvah to read his sixth book (³⁹which he called, 'The Wars of the Lord'), which is the best and the finest (section) of the work, in the days between the seventeenth of Tamuz and the ninth of Av but not on the Sabbath because it is painful for us. I also totally forbid the reading of Divrei ha-Yamim by R. Yosef ha-Kohen on the Sabbath for this same reason. For the basic issues which he cites from Jewish history and which are appropriate to be known are matters concerning the decrees of forced conversions, and the rest is unimportant trivia.

For this same reason, one should forbid the reading of the book Shevet Yehudah on the Sabbath, even though the stories of many miracles that occurred to our forefathers are mentioned in it, because of the things that sadden and pain the souls of its readers. However, on weekdays it is correct and proper for every Jewish person to look into it and know its contents for he will benefit from its several wise matters. Above all, he will merit through it the recounting of the wonders of the Lord for our holy people, which has been persecuted since

the eyes of the Lord have been on us, Who (in spite of it all) has not abandoned us to destroy us. He firmly upheld our feet upon a rock⁶ opposite all who would rise up against us.

Therefore I say it is a mizvah for every Israelite to become an expert in this lovely book, to remember the kindnesses of God to us in all the generations, for we have not yet completed all the many persecutions . . . Incidentally, he will learn sweet and precious things from it, the mind of an intelligent man acquires knowledge (Prov. 18:15) in the method of (Jewish-Christian) polemics and refutations of those men of evil who lead Israel astray . . .

However, the book Divrei ha-Yamim of R. Yosef ha-Kohen has very little in it about that which occurred to our forefathers that is needed by us and proper for us to know. One should look into those matters only during the weekdays. Almost all of the work is the history of Gentile kings of the past and there is no need at all for us to know about them. It is forbidden to read them with regularity, as mentioned above. (³⁹The same is true regarding the second volumes of Sefer Yuhasin and Zemah David, they have one and the same fate [Eccles. 3:19]).

However, (they may be read) while relaxing, when the heart is tired of studying, and on days when the

rabbis declare a holiday, in order to learn from them a precise literary style (and) also in order that the rabbinic scholar should not be devoid of (any) knowledge of history and the changing times. (He must possess this information) in order to know how to provide his questioner with an answer and not be considered a fool and simpleton in worldly matters.

In addition, on occasion there are significant implications from the (secular) historical narratives that relate to our people (to enable him) to learn from these (i.e. secular history) to these (i.e. Jewish history). Or, we can extract from them lessons, guidance and understanding in worldly matters that are needed by us as well, especially in the matter of intercession and seeking satisfaction from kings and princes."⁷⁰

Indeed, Emden's works reflect a major interest in Jewish history and a substantial, although uncritical and unstructured, knowledge of that area. He reprinted Megillat Ta'anit, Seder 'Olam Rabbah and Seder 'Olam Zuta and included his own commentaries on each of these works.⁷¹ His writings, in general, are replete with information about the history of Jews in ancient times⁷² and during the medieval period.⁷³ He was especially interested in rabbinic chronology, determining which rabbis, both ancient and medieval, preceeded others.⁷⁴ The Siddur, in particular, contains a great deal of historical information.⁷⁵ Emden also made great use of the medieval Jewish historical literature to which he referred in

the previously cited quote from Mor u-Keziyah, e.g. Yossipon,⁷⁶ Solomon ibn Verga's Shevet Yehudah,⁷⁷ Gedalya ibn Yahya's Shalsholet ha-Kabbalah,⁷⁸ David Ganz's Zemah David,⁷⁹ Abraham Zacuto's Sefer Yuhasin,⁸⁰ and, in addition, Azaryah de Rossi's Me'or Einayim.⁸¹

Of particular significance is the fact that while, on occasion, Emden made explicit reference to non-Jewish works,⁸² almost all of his historical information came from Jewish sources whether or not he made direct mention of them. In the epilogue of his Siddur, he explicitly noted that he utilized "the Bible, tradition ('masoret'), Megillat Ta'anit, Seder 'Olam and Midrashim" for historical information.⁸³ His extensive use of rabbinic sources is well illustrated in the following comment on a Mishnah in Tractate Kil'ayim which quotes a statement by R. Eliezer b. Ya'akov in the name of Hananya b. Hakhina'i. Commented Emden:

"This is a wonderful innovation ('hiddush nifla'), for R. Eliezer b. Ya'akov lived during the period of the Second Commonwealth as is evident (from) the first and last chapters of Middot.⁸⁴ R. Hananya b. Hakhina'i, (however,) was a colleague of Rabbi Shimon b. Yoḥai as is evident from Chapter 'Af 'Al Pi,⁸⁵ Chapter 'Ba Siman'⁸⁶ and other places. They, (in turn,) were disciples of Rabbi Akiva. When the latter studied with students, a long time had elapsed after the destruction of the Temple. He (i.e. Rabbi Akiva) lived for one hundred and twenty years as is found in the Sifre. At the age of forty he began to study, for forty years he served scholars and for

forty years he taught others and led all Israel after R. Gamliel of Yavneh. R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai exercised his leadership only in the forty years after the destruction of the Temple, after R. Shimon b. Gamliel the Elder was killed. After him (came) R. Gamliel of Yavneh who, together with R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, his brother-in-law, and R. Yehoshua b. Ḥananya were disciples of R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai. R. Akiva was the student of these three as is well known in the Talmud in many places. R. Shimon b. Yoḥai and Ḥananya b. Hakhina'i were his students, as mentioned above. It apparently seems that they lived some hundred years or more after the destruction of the Temple. That R. Eliezer b. Ya'akov should relate a teaching in the name of someone one hundred years younger than he is a remarkable innovation ('hiddush gadol') . . . aside from the extended longevity of R. Eliezer b. Ya'akov."⁸⁷

It is striking that Emden's references here are limited exclusively to Jewish sources, in the Mishnah, Talmud and Midrash. Clearly we do not have here a serious historian with a critical historical sense. Also, even on those other occasions where Emden did explicitly cite a Gentile source, it was rare for him to claim that he had actually seen it in the original.⁸⁸ It was often the case that he did not quote it directly from the original source but rather cited it from a secondary Jewish one.⁸⁹ It is entirely possible and very likely that such indirect knowledge was

the case in other instances as well. It is thus clear that the many historical references liberally strewn throughout almost the totality of Emden's literary oeuvre are more a reflection of his great interest and curiosity in the subject and more a tribute to his prodigious memory than a function of a broadly based, wide-ranging erudition and competence in this area.

In summary, Rabbi Hayyim Ozer Grodzenski's characterization of pre-nineteenth century interest in history among rabbinic scholars perfectly describes the case of Emden:

"Torah scholars of old did not devote their attention to delving deeply into a knowledge of Jewish history, even to write the biographies of the great scholars of Israel of each generation. Behold, the words of our earlier and later scholars are alive and preserved in the mouths of bearers of Torah . . . 'We do not build monuments to the righteous; their words are their memorials.'⁹⁰

Even the few great scholars who were involved in history, did so only by chance and in passing. They dedicated their choicest time to the knowledge of Torah whose measure is broader than the Earth and deeper than the sea.⁹¹ They placed all their concentration upon all its areas and from there drew also the(ir) knowledge of history, from the words of our rabbinic masters."⁹²

In addition to an interest in history, Emden stressed the historical accuracy of the texts and reports that he cited about current events as well. In presenting the story of the rise of the Frankist movement, for example, Emden prefaced his remarks with the following note to the reader:

"I will present the matter here from its origin, selected briefly from all the documents and letters coming from there (i.e. Poland) from prominent people. We will present only a few, those that are pre-eminent in importance. (³⁹For to copy all the letters emanating from there regarding this shameful matter in their own script and language (Esther 8:9) would require many pages and would be very difficult for us. However . . . the essence of the event that emerges from them all (must be known. This) together with the very careful investigation that I (personally) made, to follow up, ask and inquire in writing from our prominent friends in Poland to inform me of the root of the matter and that which was written uprightly, even words of truth (Eccles. 12:10).

With our ears we also heard from wholesome people . . . Also, many men of stature and reliable scholars always pass by us. I investigated and inquired⁹³ of them with seven investigations and examinations regarding every single detail, none in the presence of the others, no one known to another.

They came here at different times and, behold, I found in their mouths exactly the same language and the same words (Gen. 11:1), except that one relates in great detail the praise of the miracle and its strength . . . while the other is brief. Nevertheless, all are directed to one point and share a similar style."⁹⁴

He also wrote, in that context, how he did not accept the testimony of a witness at face value but made an extra effort to independently ascertain its validity.⁹⁵ His presentation, he assured his reader, will be based on nothing less than original documentation, written reports and reliable oral evidence.

This tendency of citing as many different kinds of sources as he could to prove the historical veracity of an event even led him to sometimes cite a Gentile source as further verification of the accuracy of a rabbinic account. For example, after having just completed a long description of the Pascal sacrificial procedure in the Temple based solely on rabbinic sources, Emden continued:

"To further clarify the order of the Pascal sacrifice during the time of the Temple, I will cite here from the author of Shevet Yehudah the testimony of a Gentile Roman commissioner who was an eyewitness in Jerusalem and who confirms and verifies all that is written . . . by our rabbis with elaboration and ornate language . . . From him can be seen the beauty and glory of the house of our Lord. We will know

what we have lost by our sins and will pray to God, may He be blessed, with a full heart (that) He restore the service of his Temple speedily, in our days."⁹⁶

Later on, Emden cited another eyewitness Gentile report quoted in Shevet Yehudah describing the preparation of the High Priest before Yom Kippur as a supplement to the rabbinic sources, and again concluded:

"Thus far for that story. We have presented it here in order to know what we have lost by our sins, to cry and to plead, to return to our God. He will take us back in love (Michah 7:19), gather in our dispersed and restore the service to its rightful place. He will choose our heritage for us."⁹⁷

Clearly Emden felt that these eyewitness accounts, even by Gentiles, added a measure of verification to the rabbinic accounts of these events in the Temple and therefore were important for providing yet additional motivation to Jews to pray for its rebuilding.⁹⁸ Parenthetically, it is also significant to note once again that he was aware of the Gentile account only by way of a Jewish source.

Emden's sensitivity to history is also evident in his Zohar criticism. As part of his polemic against Sabbatians who based a number of their antinomian practices on statements found in that work, Emden published a book towards the end of his life, entitled Mitpahat Sefarim, denying the traditional ascription of the entire Zohar to the revered Tanna, R. Shimon bar Yohai. Among the some three hundred proofs he presented that this was a medieval work, were some that reflected a sen-

sitivity to historical anachronisms. For example, he claimed that the Zohar utilized sources that chronologically followed R. Shimon bar Yoḥai, like those from the Amoraic period;⁹⁹ the Mavo le-Talmud of R. Shmuel ha-Nagid "whose author was a late Sephardi scholar (who lived) some seven hundred years before our time, some two hundred years before R. M. de Leon and one thousand years after the Tanna, R. Shimon b. Yoḥai,"¹⁰⁰ Halevi's Kuzari,¹⁰¹ Bahya's Hovot ha-Levavot¹⁰² and Maimonides' Mishneh Torah.¹⁰³ He also pointed out linguistic anachronisms, arguing that the Zohar employed medieval Spanish words¹⁰⁴ and later medical, grammatical, philosophical and scientific terminology.¹⁰⁵ In addition, Emden noted how the Zohar made reference to historical realia like the rise of Islam and the existence of "Geonim" which followed R. Shimon b. Yoḥai by several centuries.¹⁰⁶

In general, Emden was very concerned with leaving an accurate historical record, particularly of the Sabbatian movement, for posterity and printed a number of books with that in mind. He devoted entire works like Torat ha-Kena'ot, Kizur Zizat Novel Zevi, 'Edut bi-Ya'akov and Sefer Shimush to presenting primary sources relating to the movement in addition to preserving different primary texts dealing with Sabbatianism in some of his other works. In a very revealing statement, Emden expressed the concern with which he approached this entire enterprise. He noted that, for most Jews, Sabbatianism was not worthy of their attention and therefore did not deem it necessary to save any documents relating to it.

"For the enlightened intelligent person considers it to be a matter of great mockery and derision.¹⁰⁷ It did not occur to most people in the world that it

would be worthwhile to speak or relate (anything) about him (i.e. Shabbetai Zevi) since he converted to Islam. Behold, the hope of him is in vain (Job 41:1). None is so fierce that dare stir him up (ibid., 41:2).

In my youth I too held this thought. I therefore did not pay attention to collect and to gather all the scattered writings and reports that I saw and heard in my childhood regarding this evil and difficult event which caused my father to be disturbed and frightened . . . Thereby, fear came upon me, I was seized with trembling.¹⁰⁸ The twilight that I had longed for hath been turned for me into trembling (Isa. 21:4).

I then felt very badly that I was not careful this way, to keep all the details of all that happened in this bitter matter, to be in my hands for safekeeping, a model and remembrance for generations that they not treat lightly hidden adversaries, enemies of the religion . . .

I now searched for them and behold there remained in my hand gleanings as when one beats an olive tree (Isa. 17:6), scattered and dispersed¹⁰⁹ documents and several stories that I heard from my revered father and from reliable people. They are engraved and captured in my memory. And they became

an example (Num. 26:10). And I will beat out that
which I have gleaned."¹¹⁰

It is important to note that particularly in this area of history, Emden did not lag behind his contemporary maskilim. Although it has recently been shown, contrary to earlier perceptions, that early proponents of Haskalah did express an interest in the study of this subject,¹¹¹ Emden's level of knowledge of that particular area, as haphazard and unstructured as it was, may not have been any less broad than theirs.

Another subject with which Emden had claimed some familiarity was geography. Indeed, a great many of Emden's works do contain a great deal of geographical information although, again, in an unstructured and haphazard way. For example, Emden took issue with the opinion of R. Obadya Bartinoro who identified "the great sea" ("ha-yam ha-gadol") in a Mishnaic text as referring to the Mediterranean Sea and not the "Ocean" ("Yam 'Okiyanus") and also rejected the view of R. Avraham Gumbiner who claimed, in the name of Sefer ha-Terumah, that it refers to the sea which surrounds England:

"This too is not (correct) for that is not the sea through which one travels to Erez Yisrael, which is the view of Maimonides. This also is not in accordance with the view of the Rosh. For only the northern side of the waters of the Ocean surround the land of England, north of Scotland. It is possible that the waters of the Ocean are found there, although those waters are many, in the four directions of the

world, as can be seen from looking at a geographical map.

However, the German Sea, call the South (Sea), is that which separates between Germany and England and surrounds the British Isles . . . and which must be traversed in order to reach them, is surely not the Ocean. Certainly those who cross the short sea which flows between the land of England and France (know) that this (body of water) does not have the legal status of Yam ha-Gadol at all, even though both are extensions of the Ocean."¹¹²

Another passage also reflects detailed geographical knowledge. In his Mitpahat Sefarim, Emden became involved in discussing the shape of the globe and continued:

"While I am discussing the matter of the circular nature of the globe and the possibility for a person to traverse it by foot, encircling it from end to end, I will mention that this fact has been already made clear by the personal experience of those who travel by sea to the land of East India. For the Sephardim who dwell in the Phillipine Islands, on the eastern end, differ in the number and names of the days of the week from people from Holland who dwell near them in India. While the former consider (a given day) as the first day (of the week), for the latter it is the seventh day. The reason for this is

because the Sephardim came to the land of India over the sea from the west, while those of the lower lands of the globe, as mentioned above, went and circled around to there from the east, passing over the Southern ocean ('okiyanus ha-deromi'). They circled around all of the African lowland until they arrived there so that the inhabitants of both these lands met one another after encircling the globe, these from the west and these from the east. It thus occurred that, when they met one another, they completed between them a full circle (while travelling) in opposite directions. Therefore, of necessity, they differed and were separate from one another regarding the days of the week."¹¹³

Other examples of geographic information in Emden's works include the following statements: the Euphrates lies on a diagonal northeast of Palestine;¹¹⁴ all of Arabia separates the Jordan River from the Euphrates;¹¹⁵ a list of place names and islands in the Mediterranean basin;¹¹⁶ an assertion that most of the world's population lives in the northern hemisphere;¹¹⁷ a reference to the island of Cyprus;¹¹⁸ the location of Germany, Poland and Italy vis-a-vis Palestine;¹¹⁹ references to the cold climates of Norway and Siberia¹²⁰ and a volcano in Iceland close to the North Pole;¹²¹ earthquakes are common in Naples and Sicily;¹²² the distance from Palestine to Hamburg and Izmir;¹²³ landlocked bodies of water, e.g., the Dead Sea, Caspian Sea and Kinneret¹²⁴ and the lack of habitation in the North or South Poles.¹²⁵ Much information, in par-

ticular, is forthcoming about Palestinian geography¹²⁶ and the area around the city of Jerusalem.¹²⁷

Once again, while Emden did, on occasion, make reference to general works¹²⁸ and maps,¹²⁹ his sources were primarily Jewish. He consistently referred to passages in the Bible, rabbinic literature and, specifically, to the medieval geographic work entitled Kaftor va-Ferah¹³⁰ as the basis for his geographic knowledge.

Emden additionally professed to a knowledge of astronomy which is also apparent in some of his works. One of the most well known of his statements in this field is his acceptance of the heliocentric theory of the Copernican school. In his commentary on the verse in Genesis (1:10) cited in the Ma'amadot for Tuesday printed in his Siddur, "And God called the dry land, 'Earth' ('erez')," Emden wrote:

"There are those who interpret (the word 'erez') from the term 'run' ('raz'). Thus do the Rabbis explain 'that it runs to fulfill the will of its Creator.' (Bereishit Rabba V:8). This would also serve as a support for the opinion of the recent astronomers that the earth revolves ('she-ha'arez sovevet')."¹³¹

He also made another reference to a recent astronomical discovery. In commenting on the verse, He reckons the number of the stars (Ps. 147:4), Emden noted,

"It is impossible for a person to calculate their (exact) number, as it is written in the Torah.¹³²

Even though early astronomers thought that they did establish their number, the truth is known in our generations that there are an infinite number of little ones as they saw in the Milky Way ('bi-'igul ha-halavi').¹³³

Emden also discussed different types of lunar and solar eclipses,¹³⁴ the movement and phases of the sun,¹³⁵ and made reference to shooting stars and comets¹³⁶ and the orbit of the earth.¹³⁷ In addition, he held the wisdom of astronomy in high regard, considering those non-Jews who mastered it within the category of "Gentile scholars" ("hakhmei 'umot ha-'olam").¹³⁸ But once again, as has been already repeatedly demonstrated, Emden's knowledge of contemporary astronomy was haphazard and rudimentary. In fact, it is fair to conclude that Emden drew his knowledge about all extra-Talmudic disciplines almost entirely, if not exclusively, from traditional rabbinic sources, medieval Hebrew writings and Hebrew translations of classical secular works. In general, his knowledge was lacking in depth and sophistication.¹³⁹

Even more significant than the level of Emden's knowledge of extra-Talmudic subjects was his attitude towards them. There is only one place in Emden's entire corpus where he clearly justified involvement in secular studies as an act of value, as a means of providing useful information not otherwise forthcoming in Jewish sources. After noting how rabbinic scholars sometimes invoked the Palestinian Talmud or Tosefta to supplement the standard Babylonian Talmud, Emden continued:

"This too we saw and more than this did we find among later authors who are helped even from secular books ('sefarim hizonim'). They gather assistance from whatever comes into their hands, two fistsful of labor (Eccles. 4:6), in those areas where they could not acquire a handful of satisfaction¹⁴⁰ from the sweet honey of the Talmud to quench their thirst.

This should be done according to the law because, so did our Sages teach, 'Learn from every person.'¹⁴¹ Regarding this did the wise one (i.e. King Solomon) say: A thief is not held in contempt for stealing to appease his hunger (Proverbs 6:30),¹⁴² not hunger for bread but for seeking the word of God.¹⁴³ They will wander about (and) behold, they will find. They would steal no more than they needed (Obad. 1:5) for the work necessary for (understanding) the essence of the lengthy Torah . . .

Therefore, the Sages also permitted the use even of those secular books, the reading of which was severely punished. Upon this they already commented, 'Good statements found in them may be expounded.'¹⁴⁴

Elsewhere Emden claimed that Gentile wisdom also contained truth and therefore should be studied. Although he included Gentile ethical literature as part of "sefarim hizonim" which Rabbi Akiva disallowed, he claimed that,

"they subsequently permitted one to learn from them

the good matters (they contain). Rabbi J(oseph) taught, 'good statements found in them may be expounded.'¹⁴⁵ Therefore I brought you every good portion from the ethical teachings of the Gentiles who are known for wisdom. Our rabbis also already stated, 'He who says a wise word even among Gentiles is (called) wise'¹⁴⁶ and 'Who is a wise man? He who learns from all people.'¹⁴⁷

This notion of justifying secular studies as being of value is also found, albeit on a more limited basis, at the end of Emden's famous responsum to Benjamin Wolf Ginzberg, discussed above.¹⁴⁸ Emden concluded his remarks by offering an unsolicited bit of advice directly addressing the whole enterprise of non-Torah studies. After noting the dangers of studying in a secular environment and rejecting philosophical study in particular, a matter which will be discussed below in greater detail, Emden continued:

"The scholars among the Christians, Moslems and other nations must look closely at the secular sciences ('ha-hokhmot ha-hizoniyot') because they have no knowledge other than those. If, in truth, it is not good that man should be¹⁴⁹ totally bereft and devoid of them, then in these deteriorating generations (when) people have engaged in too much reasoning (Eccles. 7:29) (which) confuse true knowledge and the contaminations are strengthened daily to darken the bright light¹⁵⁰ (and) to blind the eyes of clear intelligence, (they should be studied). It would be

a bit beneficial, for this reason, so that the children of Israel should know, to teach them to do battle in order to be saved from the sword of the tongue and not leave room for the 'apikorus to reign. However, while a little bit is good to temper the intellect, to spice the mind and to be intermingled with people,¹⁵¹ much of it is harmful and a waste of precious time."¹⁵²

In this letter to Ginzberg, Emden justified involvement in secular studies on two grounds: it would allow a person to combat distortions of Judaism among his contemporaries and it is also independently valuable, "to temper the intellect, to flavor the mind and to be intermingled with people," albeit on a limited basis. Elsewhere, Emden formulated a defense of secular knowledge by making reference only to the motive of providing the individual with the knowledge to "know how to respond to a heretic" without acknowledging any inherent value to such knowledge at all. The Mishnah in Sanhedrin (X:1) had considered "one who reads 'external' books ('sefarim hizonim')" as included among those who are denied a share in the World to Come. In his commentary on this rabbinic statement, Emden assumed that it referred to secular literature and qualified the nature of this prohibition:

"Consult the fourteenth Mishnah of the second chapter of 'Avot ('. . . and know what to respond to a heretic') and you will know the need for this knowledge. The rabbis themselves commanded this. Therefore, the term 'reading' here refers only (to that done) on a

regular basis ('derekh keva'), considering them essential, similar to the reading of the Torah. However, studying and analyzing them is certainly necessary so that their words and ideas should not be hidden from the Torah person. The believer need not be concerned that he will be harmed from the poison of (their expression). Verily, from bitterness will emerge sweetness and a nose under pressure produces . . . strife (Proverbs 30:33) on behalf of God against heretics. No weapon formed against Him shall succeed and every tongue that contends with Him at law, you shall defeat¹⁵³ . . . to conquer his adversary with greater strength and greater force¹⁵⁴ letting it be known onto what its bases were sunk (Job 38:6) to (succeed) against all contradictory opinions. Especially during the time spent in the bathroom is it proper for a scholar to study frivolous works ('miras') to know how to counter their silly notions, to answer a dullard in accord with his folly.¹⁵⁵ Let them be desolate because of their frustration (Psalms 40:16), let their disgrace cover them."¹⁵⁶

It is most interesting that in Emden's own commentary to the Mishnah in 'Avot (II:14) where the obligation to "know what to respond to a heretic" is presented, he explicitly rejected his earlier assertion that this requirement could be invoked as a justification for the pursuit of secular wisdom. In a long and important passage, he claimed that the two

phrases in this Mishnah, "be diligent in the study of Torah and know what to respond to a heretic" are conceptually related to one another. The latter simply supplies an additional reason for the former and cannot be extended at all to include any type of non-Torah study. He stated:

"It appears to me that this is its meaning: the motive for my urging you to be diligently involved in Torah is not only for the love of its study and observance, to know how to fulfill and observe it, which is the ultimate purpose of Torah study, to lead us to proper fulfillment. But you must also pay attention, while studying, to learn how to answer in all areas where the heretics have abandoned (their belief) . . . When you will come across a statement which the non-believers and heretics found as an opportunity to mislead many in Torah (by distorting its meaning), you should know how to refute them . . . However, you may not study the views of the nations with any regularity ('bi-kevi'ut'). For this is forbidden to all. The wise man (King Solomon) declared, A loving doe, a graceful mountain goat. Let her breasts satisfy you at all times . . . Why be infatuated, my son, with a stranger (Proverbs 5:19-20), for we must be concerned with heresy, which is enticing. For so is it written, Do not come near the doorway of her house (Proverbs 5:8). Therefore, this explanation which we offered in our Mishnah is very

compelling and correct. It is similar to the commentary of Rabbenu Yonah (and) unlike the words of those commentators who stumbled in their understanding from being able to achieve the true interpretation. According to this (i.e. our interpretation) we are able to maintain the textual reading, 'and know,' meaning that (in addition to studying Torah for its own sake, spelled out in the first half of this phrase) it is also necessary for you to know how to respond etc. (from a knowledge of Torah itself). Even though this is not the essential intention of the purpose of (Torah) study, nevertheless one must also learn it to avoid errors and pitfalls. This is the clearest explanation.

I already wrote (in my commentary) on the beginning of Perek Helek regarding that which they wrote, 'and those who read sefarim hizonim (are not vouchsafed a share in the world to come)' to explore a slight sanction ('heter'), (to allow) a casual study of them (derekh 'ara'i) in order to know how to respond (to the heretic), as I noted there and referred to the passage here. There I tended to agree with the words of Maimonides here. The truth is (however), I do not accept it. I do not agree with his interpretation of our Mishnah for he did not expound on the significance of the juxtaposition (between the

two phrases in it, i.e. study Torah and respond to the heretic) . . . What have we to do with their alien ideas? . . . What is a priest doing ¹⁵⁷ a kingdom of priests and a holy nation [Ex. 9:16]) in a cemetery¹⁵⁸ to seek knowledge of the living God from the dead? Who can permit us that which our sages explicitly prohibited, not to learn anything from the heretics?"¹⁵⁹

In one of Emden's last works he returned to this subject and, in a highly significant passage, once again presented a negative approach to secular knowledge. In a long aside in his Mitpahat Sefarim printed in 1768, Emden attacked the author of a recently published commentary on Abraham Ibn Ezra's Bible commentary who had strongly advocated the study of secular literature. In the course of his remarks, Emden referred to some of the previously cited sources in arguing against the legitimacy of such a systematic ongoing study. After justifying Maimonides' involvement in these areas in terms which will be analyzed below in greater detail, Emden continued:

"However, the rest of the Talmudic scholars who were knowledgable also in secular subjects did not study them at all with any regularity ('bi-kevi'ut'). They resorted to them only in a case of absolute necessity, utilizing them only when vitally essential, as can be seen from Nahmanides. He too had a great reputation¹⁶⁰ for great proficiency¹⁶¹ in all disciplines ('hokhmot'), as is well known. Yet, he never composed any treatise, large or small, about them

while, in matters of Talmud and religious law ('hora-ah') he was prolific.¹⁶² He authored books to no end; through them he merited a glorious reputation and an eternal crown.

However, God forbid that any Jew should be involved in secular subjects with any regularity ('derekh keva'). This is in the category of (one) who has spurned the word of the Lord (Num. 15:31) which, according to the Sages, (refers to) whoever is capable of involvement in Torah study and does not do so. They did not permit even one who learned the entire Torah to study Greek wisdom except at an hour which is neither day nor night.¹⁶³ Certainly (was it forbidden) to diligently study ('le-hatmid') their books written in a foreign tongue and, it goes without saying, to attend their schools, to come early to their gates.¹⁶⁴ For, as a result of this, the time for the loving doe (Proverbs 5:19) (i.e. Torah) is automatically suspended. The end result will be that he will forsake her completely and be infatuated with a forbidden one.¹⁶⁵ And in the end he will roar when his flesh and body will be consumed in the house of a stranger.¹⁶⁶ This has been proven by the experience of many who came near to the doorway of her house¹⁶⁷ and who cast off the wife of their youth,¹⁶⁸ without being intimate with her again.¹⁶⁹ From the permis-

sible they came to the forbidden. The more they increased, the more they sinned (Hosea 4:7), becoming frivolous with the commandments. They did not desist until¹⁷⁰ they denied Torah and prophecy. Consult what I had written in my book, She'elat Yavez (end of #41), (for) an open rebuke¹⁷¹ in this matter.

The correct thing is that it is proper for a rabbinic scholar to study worldly knowledge necessary (¹⁷²for a man who is social by nature ['medini bi-teva']) in a place where it is forbidden to meditate upon words of Torah, as I also wrote in my aforementioned work (i.e. She'elat Yavez) (#10).

I have still not cooled my anger over the conclusion of the would-be wise person in his aforementioned booklet to suggest to the reader that he should turn his attention to study Gentile books (¹⁷²for that knowledge is not written in the Hebrew language) which are neither beneficial for the body nor save the soul; neither do they grant success not in this (world) nor the next. Upon him I invoke (the phrase), why wake and why arouse¹⁷³ hatred between Israel and their Father in Heaven? Israel was exiled from its land, and from the other lands within which they dwelt with honor, only because of this matter, as it is written, They mingled with the nations and learned their ways (Ps. 106:35). Even if a bit of

honey is found in their words, floating on the surface, behold the poison is hidden beneath them . .

.¹⁷⁴

This last passage is particularly significant because of the context in which it was written. The book against which Emden was polemicizing was Sefer Megaleh Sod, a discussion of Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Five Megillot written by Aaron Emmerich Gumpertz. Born in 1723, Gumpertz studied astronomy, mathematics and medieval Jewish philosophy with Israel Zamoscz, who later became the teacher of Moses Mendelssohn as well. In fact, Mendelssohn himself came under the influence of Gumpertz who served first as his teacher and role model and later became his personal friend. In 1751, Gumpertz received a degree in medicine from the University of Frankfort-an-der-Oder and practiced as a physician in Berlin. Ten years later he moved to Hamburg where, in 1765, he published this work.¹⁷⁵

At the conclusion of his commentary, Gumpertz appended the essay which aroused Emden's ire. Entitled "Ma'amar ha-Mada," it argued for the justification and pursuit of many areas of secular learning and polemicized against those who denied their validity. In brief outline form, Gumpertz sketched a curriculum of study of the three major disciplines of mathematics ("limudiyot"), nature or "physics" ("tiv'iyot") and metaphysics ("'elohiyot").

A close analysis of this work justifies the assessment of A. Altmann who considered it to be "permeated with the spirit of traditional piety" while, at the same time, emphasizing "the need to recognize the importance of the sciences."¹⁷⁶ Indeed Gumpertz repeatedly argued that in-

volvement in those disciplines is "safe" and will not lead its adherents astray. For example he wrote that:

"There is no doubt that whoever decides to become involved in matters of (secular) wisdom in this manner will not, God forbid, come to error or perversion. For, at the outset of his analysis, he will acknowledge his weakness and will take it upon himself not to affirm nor deny any statement solely on the basis of this wisdom. However, (he will agree) to analyze (it) in order to better understand those matters which are acceptable and grounded in the Torah . . . For intellectual analysis in such lofty matters is not certain and absolute. However, it serves as a foundation and handle to attain an understanding of the Torah and the accepted religion."¹⁷⁷

What is true for all disciplines, he continued, is certainly true for mathematics ("limudiyot"),

"which does not contain any threat at all to one who analyzes (it), just as there would be no threat to his beliefs and opinions if he were to study a trade. On the contrary, they would improve the human intellect . . . For this reason, the great that are in the land (Ps. 16:3) such as the Rashba and his followers did not forbid any person, whether young and of tender age or venerable, old and advanced in years¹⁷⁸ to become involved in and study these mathematical wis-

doms."179

Gumpertz expressed his unequivocal opposition to the free and untrammelled intellectualism practiced in some philosophical circles out of concern for the anti-traditionalism which often followed in its wake:

"Now you will comprehend and understand that with the proliferation of opinions, inquiries and debates in matters eminent and lofty as these, based on the weak intellect which cannot grasp but a portion of them (Num. 23:13), there increased misinterpretations and errors in matters of Divine wisdom (i.e. metaphysics; 'hokhmat ha-'elohiyot') by those would-be-philosophers ('mitpalsifim') in every generation. Among them were those who rejected and totally denied some of the principles and fundamentals (of our faith) because they were in contradiction to the intellect, according to the foundations and premises upon which they built their analyses. Among these sects is the sect of heretics ('apikorsim') named for the preacher (i.e. Epicurus) who taught in public, who totally denied the matter of Providence and Divine omniscience, declaring that God does not see and that there is nothing better for man than to eat and drink. It is forbidden to utter such words. May his bones be ground up . . . "180

In light of the "piety" and traditionalism which clearly suffused this text, Emden's vehement opposition to it stands out in even sharper

relief. It is apparent that Emden was clearly opposed to the formal inclusion of these secular subjects in the educational curriculum of Jewish life even when the proposal to do so was not extreme nor radical and was couched in strictly traditional terms.

It is worth noting at this point that Emden's strongly negative attitude towards Gumpertz' work stands in stark contrast to another assessment of it by his younger contemporary, Moses Mendelssohn. In the second edition of his Hebrew commentary on Maimonides' Millot ha-Higayon, also printed in 1765, Mendelssohn included a passing reference to this literary product of his friend and former teacher:

"Should your soul, O reader, long to know the nature and object of every science in the way in which it has been augmented by later scholars (who) established new, precious and delightful matters from the days of the Rabbi, of blessed memory (i.e. Maimonides) until today, turn please to (the) Ma'amar ha-Mada composed by the rabbi, the all encompassing scholar, the doctor, our master R. Aharon Emmerich, and knowledge will delight you (Proverbs 2:10) . . . All that is said there are pleasant words like a honeycomb (ibid., 16:24) for this booklet is small in quantity but precious in quality."¹⁸¹

This sharp difference in orientation between Emden and Mendelssohn was to become clearer a few years later when they directly engaged one another in discussion and debate. Their correspondence, beginning in 1766, was a very important one and will be analyzed below in great detail.

The fact that Emden relegated the pursuit of secular knowledge to "a place where it is forbidden to meditate upon words of Torah," as has already been noted,¹⁸² also clearly indicates the great ambivalence he felt when it came to such activity. Although possessing great intellectual curiosity and although sensing that such knowledge was important, he simply could not bring himself to wholeheartedly endorse any non-Torah study. After describing his interest in secular wisdom in his 'Iggeret Purim, cited above,¹⁸³ Emden concluded, "However, only in a place where it is forbidden to meditate on Torah matters, so as not to waste time appropriate for the study of Torah."¹⁸⁴ Indeed, in one of his anti-Sabbatian polemics, Emden boasted how even his time in the bathroom was well spent in secular study, something in which he did not otherwise allow himself to become engaged:

"I fully declare . . . that even my hours in the bathroom were not wasted by me. For during that time when it is forbidden to meditate on words of Torah, I turned my thoughts to see 'madness and folly' ('holilot vesikhlut'),¹⁸⁵ to look into profane matters ('divrei hol') and secular books ('sifrei ha-hizonim'). (¹⁸⁶ For otherwise, the Lord forbid that I should (I Sam. 24:6; 26:11; I Kings 21:3) look at them and read them even in passing, in a place and at a time that is proper for the study of holy matters. Heaven forfend! There is an enduring witness in the

sky, selah (Ps. 89:38)."¹⁸⁷

In one of his early responsa, Emden indicated that this was also his father's practice, in addition to his own:

"I was unsure whether it is permissible to study the grammatical forms of (Hebrew) nouns and verbs in the bathroom. It would seemingly appear that it is permissible because of the principle that secular matters may be spoken in the holy tongue. (186) I relied upon this and, in fact, did study in the bathroom works of philosophy that were translated into the Hebrew language, such as Aristotle's Ethics and similar works . . .

I heard about Nahmanides, of blessed memory, that he studied foreign language books of Gentile scholars in the bathroom so as not to think of words of Torah . . . and this was the practice of my revered father, the Gaon, of blessed memory."¹⁸⁸

It is this tension on Emden's part -- personal interest in and curiosity about secular wisdom on the one hand as opposed to adherence to the traditionally accepted primacy of Torah wisdom to the exclusion of any other body of knowledge on the other, a tension which is persistent and unresolved -- that underscored his attitude towards this issue throughout his many writings.

Central to an assessment of Emden's attitude towards secular wisdom

in general is an analysis of his complex and multifaceted attitude towards the study of philosophy, in particular.

While Emden's negative attitude towards that discipline was already expressed in some of the passages cited above, there are a number of places where Emden fully and explicitly stated his position. In sum, his argument ran as follows: Philosophers lack any heteronomic awareness, deny God's role in the governance of the universe and consider the world "hefker," attributing every occurrence to chance. As a result, they feel bound to follow only that which their logic accepts as reasonable, a position which allows them to justify a life of hedonism and a concomitant rejection of Torah laws. In fact, it is adherence to philosophy which led to the destruction of both Temples, the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and other major Jewish tragedies down through the ages.

Before analyzing the specific relevant texts in detail, two important points must be made. As will become abundantly clear, Emden's opposition to philosophy stemmed not so much from his conceptual opposition to some of the basic ideas he attributed to them, e.g., an emphasis on autonomy as opposed to heteronomy and a denial of both Divine Providence and the existence of miracles. Rather, Emden was much more concerned with what he considered to be the unacceptable, practical implications of those ideas, e.g., hedonism and antinomianism, in the everyday lives of those who espoused them. Emden did not engage philosophy in a debate on conceptual, theoretical grounds as much as he decried the practical behavioral distortions to which it gave rise. It was the antinomian implications of adherence to philosophy which aroused his ire more than the basic tenets of philosophy themselves. In a word, Emden only opposed the

beliefs of philosophy to the extent that he considered them responsible for what he saw as the resultant behavior of philosophers.¹⁸⁹

It must also be made clear that Emden's opposition to philosophy did not reflect an objective reasoned reaction to a conceptual, theoretical discipline. His debate with philosophy was not conducted in the rarified world of academic, intellectual discourse. Rather, there was a passionate immediacy and practical relevance to Emden's opposition because, together with Sabbatianism, he considered the evils of philosophy to be one of the most dangerous features of the Jewish community of his times as he viewed it. He saw a number of his own eighteenth century contemporaries distorting Judaism as a result of their affinity for philosophy and therefore felt compelled to attack them. In fact, in one passage which will be cited below in detail, he went so far as to consider philosophers to be of even greater danger to Jewish survival and continuity than Sabbatians! The contemporary context of Emden's position must be clearly understood in order to appreciate the passion which underlay his remarks and to help assess his intellectual place in a world in which, indeed, many of his contemporaries were showing an increasing openness to all secular disciplines, not the least of which was philosophy.

Emden's earliest full-scale attack on philosophy appears in the first volume of his Siddur, printed in 1747. In commenting on the verse, "the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord" (Ps. 111:10) cited in a Talmudic passage (Berakhot 17a) included as part of the Ma'amadot for Thursday, Emden launched into an attack against,

"the philosophers' fear of God. They are not (motivated to perform) good deeds as a function of their fear of God who commanded them but only in accord with what their reason dictates to be the proper and appropriate behavior to insure the existence of mankind and the preservation of his nature. To this end, they set for themselves religions and modes of behavior as they choose, behavior patterns and arrangements designed by man, as an expression of self-love, to maintain their group and out of fear of their losing it. It is not as if they were afraid that a punishment from God, may He be blessed, would affect them by neglecting those actions. If they were to choose the life of freedom ('haye ha-hofshiyut') and abandonment (of mizvot), no one could restrain them. For they are devoid of the fear of Heaven. They are not afraid of heights,¹⁹⁰ the watchman, caretaker and commander over the face of the habitable world (Job 37:12). They will not subject themselves to God, except for that which their would-be-philosophizing ('hitpalsefutam') dictates and (only) according to that which they can grasp with their rationalizing . . . This is the goal ('takhlit') of their wisdom. With this they intend to achieve their ultimate perfection; not through any normative act."¹⁹¹

One example he cited of "the extent to which their silliness ('sikhlu-tam') has extended" is the notion attributed to Plato that all men and women in a given society should engage in indiscriminate sexual relations with one another and, consequently, share all the offspring of those unions.¹⁹² He continued by denouncing them as "worse than all the idolatry in the world" and by insisting that:

"it is appropriate to drive them from the civilized world to the desert, even unto Hormah (Num. 14:45) . . . They who consider the world to be without an owner ('hefker') will (themselves) be open prey to the beasts of the field, to cut them down and destroy them, to set them up as a target¹⁹³ for the targets of revenge."¹⁹⁴

Even this was not enough and Emden continued his relentless attack on philosophy by attributing a myriad of Jewish tragedies to its diabolical influence, again noting the hedonistic impulse which underlie the behavior of its proponents:

"They were the sinful stumbling block for the house of Israel at the beginning of its flowering. They pursued idolatry only to permit themselves (involvement in) public immorality, to the utter ruin of moist and dry alike (Deut. 29:18). All the evil of the days of the First Commonwealth emerged from this stock sprouting poison weed and wormwood (ibid., 29:17), the source of the filth . . .

It is this that was the peg upon which was

fixed¹⁹⁵ the evil throughout the entire period of the Second Commonwealth whose turbulence ('mehumah') did not rest from beginning to end. From it sprouted all the opposing sects, who rivalled one another and were the cause of the war (against Rome). Indeed it was the accursed Greek wisdom ('hokhmah yevanit') which was the cause of our trouble,¹⁹⁶ that destroyed the Temple and despoiled the Land of Israel. It was this that caused 'the dispersion of Jerusalem that was in Sefarad'¹⁹⁷ to be expelled and uprooted from the country of Spain where they had been on a very high level of wealth and wisdom until their hearts became arrogant to exchange the honor of their distinguished, rich and pleasant Torah, which gave birth to them, for the harlot, naked maidservant which is philosophy."¹⁹⁸

After pressing his attack still further, Emden concluded with a word of advice for his reader:

"And now, children of the living God (Hosea 2:1), let not your hearts envy these sinful souls.¹⁹⁹ Be strong and resolute.²⁰⁰ Rejoice in the Lord your God and in His perfect Torah. You have no greater principle ('mida') than it. Enduring wealth belong to it;²⁰¹ abundant is the good which is hidden²⁰² in the storage places of its many colored carpets.²⁰³ She is understanding; unto her is wisdom.²⁰⁴ In her

shall you live . . ."205

Emden returned to this theme once again in the second volume of his Siddur, completed also in 1747, eight months after the first. After presenting the laws and customs of the Ninth of Av, Emden bemoaned the fact that Jews neglect their obligation to mourn for the destruction of the Temple, a fact which, he claimed, is responsible for their prolonged stay in Exile. Emden related this neglect to the interest of Jews "to learn the ways of the Gentiles" and, in particular, castigated his contemporaries for their desire to copy Gentile dress and fashion and to study philosophy, "the accursed Greek wisdom."²⁰⁶ He referred to this discipline as "abhorrent unto God . . . malignant leprosy is in her right hand, a sword for great carnage that presses (Ezek. 21:19). In her left hand are stored death and destruction."²⁰⁷ Once again, he blamed philosophy for a succession of Jewish tragedies, claimed that the motivating factor of philosophers was their desire for hedonism and antinomianism and stated very clearly that the combination of Torah and philosophy is "a grafting that can never take hold." Note, however, that this time he did not consider the destruction of the Temple as a punishment for their sins but attributed it to the internecine warfare due to the sectarianism which, in turn, was caused by interest in philosophy. He wrote:

"From it (i.e. philosophy) did emerge all the families of the heretics by their lands, according to their nations (Gen. 10:31). It is this which begat alien children²⁰⁸ to our nation. All of those many evil sects (were as) scorpions and lepers. Ever since the poison of their wisdom entered our land,

they turned away the hearts of the nation²⁰⁹ from Torah and Divine service. They began grafting words of the Divine Torah onto their fabricated wisdom, a grafting that can never take hold. Verily, they plotted to tear out its (i.e. the Torah's) roots and cut her branches for there are many who break through, who want to cast off its yoke from upon themselves and lead a life of freedom ('u-le-hitnaheg bi-hayei ha-hofshiyut').²¹⁰ Because of their differing opinions and divisiveness, they did not rest and were not silent²¹¹ until they brought upon themselves the rulers of the (Gentile) nations who destroyed the Second Temple and exiled them from their land (into) this bitter dispersion.

And that seducer still dances among us. It is he that also caused the feet of our people in Spain to stumble,²¹² to exterminate them from there because they delved deeply²¹³ into that wisdom. That was the source of their trouble,²¹⁴ to teach them to be lighthearted with prohibitions (of Jewish law), as mentioned above. They distorted ('hafkhu panim') Torah, contrary to Halakhah. They violated the covenant; they nullified the law.²¹⁵ However, their wisdom is of nought; most of their words increase the vanity ('hevel') of sin. They have no foundation nor root whatsoever; from the pit of philosophy were they

dug.²¹⁶

It seems to me that the destruction of the Jews from the land of the Ukraine, where they grew and became wealthy, was also for this (reason). The extent of their prosperity was the extent of their fall and uprooting from that entire land. Although there were also highly pious people then, it is nevertheless apparant that the scab of philosophy spread²¹⁷ also in that generation as can be understood from the responsa of Maharshal to our master, the Rama (in his responsa, #7). God does not act unjustly."²¹⁸

In a later addendum to his Siddur, Emden added that the expulsions of Jews from France and Provence in the fourteenth century were also the result of philosophical inquiry:

"It is this (i.e. philosophy) which uprooted and destroyed the remnant of Israel from the entire land of France and especially from the area of Provence. Rashba and his sacred group (of associates) became embittered about it. They excommunicated all who studied secular wisdom ('hokhmot hizonyot'). The curse of a sage, even if conditional, is realized,²¹⁹ and fulfilled. It made an impression (and) immediately in the following year the entire seed of Israel was expelled from there.²²⁰ No footstep of theirs remained in that entire refined land wherein they

enjoyed prominence and praise on the highest and greatest level."²²¹

Just one year later, Emden returned to many of these themes in his ethical work entitled, Birat Migdal 'Oz. In a statement strikingly reminiscent of his comment in the first volume of the Siddur, quoted above, Emden wrote:

"Verily, the complete and perfect wisdom, insured from all obstacles and falsehood, is the true fear of Heaven. There is none other than this. It is this and no other which bestows the desired traits of character ('ha-midot ha-hamudot') . . . As it is written, He said to man, 'See! Fear of the Lord is wisdom' (Job 28:28). In other places it (i.e. the fear of the Lord) is referred to, as the beginning of wisdom (Ps. 111:10) (or) the beginning of knowledge (Prov. 1:7).

This is verily true, for without the fear of the Lord any wisdom and knowledge is absolutely inconceivable. For the function of both is to distinguish between the good and the evil and between the true and the false. If man's mind could possibly imagine that there is no need for the fear of Heaven, as the heretics contend, God forbid, then why do they need all this bother and for what do they trouble their souls with these investigations? What benefit can they find in them? Behold it would be sufficient for

them to live like beasts of the wild (Michah 5:7), as their beastly soul ('ha-nefesh ha-bahamit') would teach them. Who would tell them what is proper and what is indecent? There are many people like the Tartary dwellers and whole nations at the edge of India who consider robbery, adultery and similar acts to be fine and proper activities! With them they lived on, prospered and grew wealthy, their seed established before them (Job 21:7-8).²²² Their species will survive (²²³ by chance and happenstance which are pillars of the study of philosophy) as the beasts of the field (Gen. 2:20)."²²⁴

Once again, note Emden's insistence upon heteronomy as the basis for morality and his assumption that unbridled hedonism implicitly results from an autonomously grounded moral system.²²⁵

A few pages later, Emden inserted the text of the first seven chapters of Bahya ibn Pakuda's Hovot ha-Levavot, interpolating his own comments on it throughout the text. At the beginning of the seventh chapter of his tenth treatise, entitled Sha'ar 'Ahavat Hashem, Bahya had noted that a true lover of God recognizes "that all their affairs and movements are conducted by the decree of the Creator, may He be blessed, and His will." After citing this, Emden added as follows:

"That is, that they did not fabricate the Torah and the rational commandments ('mizvot sikhliyot') out of their heart as did the philosophers who made commandments and a Torah for themselves in keeping with the

discipline of ethics, such as in the Book of Ethics (by Aristotle) that is known to them, as elsewhere. They chose the good from the bad as they subjectively determined its benefit to the social welfare of the world. They did not believe that God has any desire for the fulfillment of Torah and mizvot arranged by Him, may He be blessed. Lovers of God, however, did not accept upon themselves anything dictated by their own intellect, only that which the Lord, may He be blessed, decreed to be done or to refrain from doing, without adding or subtracting."²²⁶

Emden further elaborated on this theme, albeit from a somewhat different perspective, in his commentary on Pirkei 'Avot printed only some three years later, in 1751. Given Emden's emphasis on the indispensability of "fear of God" as a prerequisite to "wisdom," repeatedly noted above, one would have expected him to underscore this idea once again in a rabbinic statement in that tractate which essentially makes that very same assertion: "Rabbi Hanina b. Dosa says: "Anyone whose fear of sin takes priority over his wisdom, his wisdom will endure; but anyone whose wisdom takes priority over his fear of sin, his wisdom will not endure."²²⁷ Surprisingly, and somewhat inexplicably, Emden passed over this passage in relative silence and failed to take advantage of what would have been a golden opportunity for him to advance his position. Nevertheless, he did forcefully articulate his stand against secular studies in general and philosophy in particular in commenting on those passages in 'Avot which traditionally had served as points of departure

for such a type of discussion. For example, in addition to his comment on "and know how to respond to a heretic" ('Avot II:14), cited above, Emden elaborated in his commentary to the Mishnaic statement cited in the name of ben Bag Bag; "Delve into it (i.e. the Torah) and continue to delve into it for everything is in it. Look deeply into it, grow old and gray over it and do not stir from it, for you can have no better portion than it."²²⁸ After indicating how all wisdom is included in the Torah and that a careful analysis of Torah texts alone is sufficient "in order to sharpen the intellect," Emden quoted from Yosef Yavez's fifteenth century 'Avot commentary which used this text as a justification for attacking the legitimacy of any non-Torah discipline and concluded:

"I have already discussed at length the great harm that extends to those who occupy themselves with philosophy. Ultimately they become corrupted ('yoz'im le-tarbut ra'ah') and cast away the entire Torah behind their backs²²⁹ . . .

Consider please, what was accomplished by the early nations ('umot ha-kedumot') who rose mightily, a hundredfold, on the ladder of philosophy? They almost conquered the entire world with their wisdom (yet) what was their end and their result? Who does not know of the wisdom of Egypt (²²³mentioned even in Scripture) which attained such great prominence in the world . . . and now it is an abode of robbers. The land of the Chaldeans which had been full of wise sages is now an abode of shepherds (Jer. 33:12) . . .

Where is the lair of the philosophical lions²³⁰ of Greece who were full of the wisdom of the ancients? The reputation of Greek wisdom prevaded the entire land, to subdue all the inhabitants of the world under it. Before it bowed every nation and language. Now, (it is) a haunt of jackals (Jer. 10:22). Even though they were not commanded to study Torah, they were uprooted from the world and their wisdom was to no avail. Certainly we, who have a true and reliable wisdom given to us on condition that we involve ourselves with it exclusively all our days, how can we hope to achieve any spiritual or physical success through it (i.e. secular wisdom)? Behold, experience has proven the opposite. For wherever and whenever they (i.e. Jews) pursued it, it has become their troubler²³¹ and uprooted them from the places they had rested with universal honor."²³²

In a comment on yet another Mishnah in 'Avot, Emden repeated his previously mentioned attack on philosophers who accept only that which they can justify through their own logic. He warned:

"Do not be concerned over the approval of the naturalists ('tiv'iyim) and philosophers ('ba'alei ha-hakirah') (²²³who consider as false everything that their eyes did not see with a clear vision). Moreover, some deny even what their eyes do see (²²³consult what I wrote, with the help of Heaven, in

'Aliyat ha-Teva),²³³ what the measure of their intellect is unable to grasp, to conceive its plausibility. Of them does Scripture say, do not make yourself wise to excess; why should you destroy yourself? (Eccles. 7:16)."²³⁴

Emden continued his battle against philosophy until the very end of his life. On Shabbat Shuvah in 1775, some seven months before he died, Emden delivered a sermon in his private synagogue in Altona in which he rebuked his listeners for various deficiencies he claimed to have observed in the community:

"Now, in a situation where there is no leader,²³⁵ I considered it a personal obligation, out of my love and affection for my people, to awaken (them) a bit, to prevent and save them from the four major categories of damages.²³⁶ For the plague has begun to be seen at the edge of the camp (II Kings 7:8) as a result of the violators . . ."²³⁷

He first attacked those contemporaries of his, including current Sabbatians in this category, who manipulate the Divine Names ("Shemot") for their own personal benefit without fully understanding or appreciating the gravity of what it was in which they were engaged. His second objection was directed against "philosophy, the accursed Greek wisdom" whose followers refuse to believe anything they cannot logically understand, a charge found repeatedly elsewhere, as indicated above. In fact, continued Emden, there are a great deal of natural phenomena, let alone metaphysical realities, which are impossible to justify purely on the

basis of logic. Among his many examples, Emden made reference to the existence of gold and silver in cold climates "as is known in the country of Norway, in the land of Siberia;" the phenomenon of a volcano "in the islands of Iceland near the North Pole;" the properties of a magnet; why all rivers flow towards the ocean and the extraordinary ingenuity of the spider, fly, bee, ant and caterpillar/butterfly.²³⁸

It is important to quote this passage at length because, more than any other, it reflects the sharpness of the immediacy of Emden's preoccupation with philosophy. This text makes it very clear that Emden's opposition to that discipline did not simply emerge out of some kind of calm, reasoned, detached objective analysis. It was very real to him, reflecting his extreme distaste of what he considered to be a major contemporary danger. Indeed, the first half of the eighteenth century saw a renewed interest in philosophy in the Jewish community. In 1742, a new edition of Maimonides' Guide of the Perplexed together with the commentaries of Shem Tov, Efodi and Crescas was published for the first time in almost two centuries. The appearance of this work was a major event and it made a great impact in a number of Jewish circles.²³⁹ As will be shown below in greater detail, Emden thoroughly opposed the philosophy of the Guide and saw it as epitomizing the dangers of the philosophical approach against which he so bitterly railed. The extent to which he considered philosophy of real immediate danger to Jewish life can be gauged from the fact that he considered philosophy to be an even greater threat to Jewish life than Sabbatianism, as the following text illust-

rates:

"This is not the place to elaborate at greater length, only to mention a whisper of it (Job 4:12), to know and to understand that the human intellect is incapable of grasping (even) one iota of the myriads²⁴⁰ of wonders in the creations of this basic world of ours. (Just as you do not know . . .) the limbs within the womb of a pregnant woman, so you cannot understand the actions of God, who causes all things to happen (Eccles. 11:5). Certainly, no human being can gather up (enough) strength to understand and to examine all the works of God in the upper world, the location of his throne and glory for He is awesome (Ex. 34:10). And Job declared, Can you discover the mystery of God? (Job 11:7).

Therefore, if already for the first (i.e. manipulating Divine names) my heart quakes and leaps from its place (Job 37:1), then now, the second (i.e. the spread of philosophy) makes the hair of my flesh bristle (Job 4:15), panic has overwhelmed me (Isa. 21:4), my eyes fail from vexation (Job 17:7) for the evil tidings which have come.²⁴¹ For poisonous snakes were found among our people; scoundrels have come forth from among us. They denied the Lord above. They said to God, 'Depart from us. What is God that we should serve Him? What will be gained by

praying to Him?' (Job 21:15). The clouds screen Him
(ibid., 22:14).

There are those who deny and reject the essence
('kofrim bi-'ikar'), and consider the world to be
ownerless ('hefker'). They believe that a major city
(can exist) without a ruler. They walk contrarily
('bi-keri'), ascribing all to chance and happen-
stance. They do not believe in Divine Providence.
Initially, Satan opened for them a small aperture to
ridicule the words of the Sages and they mocked the
masters of the traditions, angels of God. They cast
off the yoke of the Oral Law from their shoulders .

. . .

After they had uprooted a whole section from the
Torah where it is written, You must not deviate from
the verdict which they shall declare unto you either
to the right or to the left (Deut. 17:11), the gap
now widened for them like a spreading breach that
occurs in a lofty wall (Isa. 30:13).²⁴² They also
cast the entire Written Law behind their backs.²⁴³
They did not believe in marvels and miracles. They
take no part in mizvot and deeds. (²²³I will mention
only [a few of] the customs of the licentious ones
['pokrim']). At the time when Jews enter their
synagogues for prayer²⁴⁴ . . . these people go to
circuses and theaters, offering their bodies and

souls in the worship of their impulses, to satisfy their lusts . . .

They waste most of their time preoccupied with frivolous books ('sifrei hamiras'),²⁴⁵ with words of sexual desire, sensual lust (and) heresy, new licentiousness²⁴⁶ which comes forth every day from the printing press. In them they seek their summum bonum ('hazlahatam ha-'aharonah') while our holy Torah is not even considered (as important) as their idle chatter . . .

Thus they behave as the beasts of the forest, a man (copulating) with the wife of his friend. They neighed (like) well fed lusty stallions (Jer. 5:8), to stroll with the wives of their friends. They have removed the veil of shame.

These then are but a few of the ways of these wild ones. They are surely not of the seed of Israel, only descendants of the mixed multitude (''erev rav'). We are not responsible nor guarantors²⁴⁷ for them, although Jews are responsible for one another.²⁴⁸ Nevertheless one must be careful to separate oneself from them and their murmuring so that the holy and pure seed of Israel not stumble through them. (We) should not have any business dealings with them and they should not come (for burial) in Jewish graves.

All this was caused for them by their involve-

ment in frivolous books ('bi-sifrei hamiras'). They have considered the alien ways to be sufficient.²⁴⁹ They forsook the Torah of their mothers and the discipline of their Father above.²⁵⁰ Woe, woe. This is what destroyed the first and second Temples and led us into captivity now close to two thousand years. This was also the cause of the expulsion of Israel from Spain. It is still galloping among us. And all this evil sprang forth from the poisonous interpretation(s) of the aforementioned philosophy."²⁵¹

In addition to a number of passing references in some of his other printed works to the contemporary threat of rationalism,²⁵² Emden squarely addressed this issue in his 'Iggeret Purim, an anti-Sabbatian monograph which has great importance for understanding many of Emden's other, non-Sabbatian related interests.²⁵³ After once again noting how philosophy was responsible for the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, Emden noted how its dangers continued to be real even in his own days:

"Verily, I am the man that has seen the affliction of my people²⁵⁴ in my time, when the heresy of philosophy has reasserted itself. Many of the people of the land are boastful ('mityaharim').²⁵⁵ They spoke with arrogance (Ps. 17:10) to renew the honor of the heresy and shame which destroyed their forefathers. They set their mouths against heaven, and their tongues range over the earth (Ps. 73:9) in the image of the venom of a snake (Ps. 58:5), like crawling things

of the earth (Michah 7:17). They have considered the alien ways to be sufficient²⁵⁶ . . .

Especially in those cities, the inhabitants of the land of Germany (?)²⁵⁷ pursue the stubbornness of their hearts²⁵⁸ and seek to make up wanton charges against the maiden of Israel,²⁵⁹ the betrothed of the Congregation of Jacob,²⁶⁰ to turn away from our God. I saw in my affliction²⁶¹ that neither bound up nor free at large is left (Gen. 32:36), therefore the law has failed (Habakuk 1:4)."²⁶²

All of this negativism towards philosophy notwithstanding, it would be a distortion of Emden's position to brand him as an anti-intellectual who treated the entire philosophical tradition with disdain and distrust. Although he clearly opposed philosophy, as was indicated, Emden must be included in a long line of illustrious predecessors who, although critical of the philosophical approach to Judaism, were nevertheless familiar with its sources, terminology and mode of argumentation and even went so far as to incorporate some of it into their own writings. History had long since shown that anti-philosophy need not be equated with ignorance of philosophy and anti-rationalism need not be equated with the rejection of reason as a source of truth.²⁶³ Indeed, Emden's opposition to philosophy, described above, was by no means total and unilateral. A careful analysis of the texts cited earlier indicates that he did not attack the philosophical tradition in its entirety, but rather limited his negativism, as forceful and intense as it may have been, to the specific type of

philosophy he claimed to have confronted among his contemporaries, i.e., an autonomous position which directly resulted in antinomianism. As was repeatedly indicated above, what specifically upset Emden was the kind of philosophy which rejected the binding authority of Divine legislation and consequently allowed for subjectivity in moral behavior. Emden never attacked the ideational content of philosophy without directly linking it to the antinomian behavior which, he claimed, naturally followed from it. It is this practical or behavioral distortion of Judaism which aroused his considerable ire. On the other hand, there were, in fact, elements of the philosophical tradition with which he was intimately familiar and which he incorporated approvingly into many of his writings.

First of all, Emden felt that it was important to have a basic knowledge of some philosophical notions:

"Regarding the distancing (of oneself) from the study of philosophy, it is in our Mishnah, 'One who reads sefarim hizonim. (²²³The wisest of all men [i.e. King Solomon] undoubtedly hinted to it when he said, why be infatuated, my son, with a strange woman, etc. [Prov. 5:20]²⁶⁴ and many other [verses] like it. It refers directly²⁶⁵ to the issue of strange wisdoms). However, only a regular ('bi-keva') study of it was prohibited. But not only was it permitted on a temporary basis ('bi-derekh 'ara'i'), it is indeed obligatory in order to know what to respond to the heretic,²⁶⁶ as I wrote in Lehem Shamayim at the beginning of Chapter Helek²⁶⁷

and in the second chapter of 'Avot.²⁶⁸ Consult also She'elat Yavez, end #41.²⁶⁹ For especially now when philosophical texts have increased and have been intermingled with the works of Jewish scholars, it is essential to know the essence of that which is found in them²⁷⁰ and to sift the fine from the refuse."²⁷¹

In an earlier work, Emden also justified the study of philosophy "in order to temper the intellect ('le-mazeg ha-sekheh'), to spice the mind ('le-vasem ha-da'at') and to be intermingled with people."²⁷²

No only did Emden ascribe theoretical value to select philosophical inquiry, but he noted explicitly that he personally engaged in it as well. In addition to the sources cited earlier regarding Emden's involvement in general secular studies, Emden informed the readers of his commentary on the Siddur that he too studied philosophical works in his youth. He pronounced himself an expert in them ("baki 'ani bahem u-vema-'aseihem"), although only selectively accepting their conclusions: "I extracted their honey and sweetness and discarded their shell."²⁷³ In fact, he knew and quoted from classical philosophical literature, was well acquainted with the major representatives of the medieval Jewish philosophical tradition and frequently used philosophical terminology.²⁷⁴ Also, while Emden opposed certain fundamental assumptions of philosophy as being contrary to Jewish tradition, he did favorably cite and incorporate into his writings certain philosophical teachings with which he agreed.²⁷⁵ Most significant of all is Emden's utter rejection of "undemonstrated faith" and his insistence on the use of reason to buttress his own personal religious commitment. In a striking statement,

he wrote:

"Do not think, my master, that I acquired my faith by tradition alone. But, from my youth, I examined and analyzed ('hakarti ve-darashti') to arrive at the truth with all my strength and might, regarding that which is intellectual, natural, sensed and felt by man ('bi-muskal u-be-mutba u-muhash u-murgash le-'adam). For man is an understanding being. Therein is he different from animals . . ."276

That Emden was not totally opposed to philosophy in general but rather utilized philosophical notions to combat what he considered to be the ills of Greek wisdom in particular was also recognized by his brother-in-law, R. Aryeh Leib, in his approbation to Emden's Siddur. In a list of all of Emden's achievements in that work, R. Aryeh Leib included the fact that, "he builds a foundation and a pillar in . . . philosophy to refute Greek wisdom."²⁷⁷ Nevertheless, this relative openness towards philosophy and limited knowledge of it does not detract from Emden's fundamental opposition to that discipline. And, as will be seen below, a wide gap separated Emden from early Haskalah, both in his attitude towards as well as in the level of his knowledge of philosophy.

No discussion of Emden's attitude towards philosophy can be conceivably complete without analyzing his attitude towards Maimonides. Emden, in the eighteenth century, was forced to confront the same serious dilemma which faced many of those since the thirteenth century who were opposed to the absolute primacy of philosophical inquiry in Judaism. How

could they justify the obvious and intense emphasis on rationalism in Judaism on the part of this outstanding, towering and influential personality? How could they possibly deny major significance to philosophy when the great Maimonides, who had achieved "heroic" proportions already shortly after his death in 1204, clearly considered rational investigation of Judaism to be a crucial religious imperative and an indispensable component of the religious experience? Anyone who came after Maimonides found it necessary to reckon with the powerful stature and authority of the Maimonidean position.²⁷⁸

A series of approaches to this dilemma had already been well established by the time Emden was forced to face it five hundred years after it became an issue. One suggestion was to see Maimonides as a unique and exceptional phenomenon which could never be duplicated. Because he was blessed with an exceptionally powerful and overwhelming intellect, he was able to safely engage in the kind of philosophical speculation he espoused without endangering the purity and wholesomeness of his faith. All others, however, with more ordinary and conventional minds, would be obligated to avoid that kind of philosophical inquiry which would only confuse and mislead them. Another approach was to differentiate between the Maimonidean position, per se, and subsequent, more extreme formulations of it. There were some who argued that Maimonides should be totally disassociated from his later followers, translators and commentators who distorted, misrepresented and radicalized his position. Still others focused on Maimonides' intention. Yes, what he did was not optimally appropriate but his motive was pure for he engaged in philosophical speculation only in order to counter the heresies being

perpetuated by many of his contemporaries who had already been misled by it. Still another possibility was to separate between Maimonides the halakhist and Maimonides the philosopher, limiting respect for Maimonidean authority only to the former while being harshly critical of the latter. Finally, some Kabbalists solved the problem by claiming that, at the end of his life, Maimonides realized his error and became one of their own.²⁷⁹

While Emden explicitly rejected the last of these options, questioning the truth of the Kabbalistic tradition that Maimonides "converted" to Kabbalah late in life,²⁸⁰ shades of almost all the other approaches can be found throughout his writings. Primarily it is the penultimate view described above which is most forcefully presented in Emden's works. On a number of different occasions, Emden differentiated between the halakhic and philosophical parts of the Maimonidean oeuvre. He held Maimonides' halakhic achievement in highest regard, regularly cited his opinions and consistently treated him with the greatest of respect. For example, in a halakhic context, Emden wrote:

"The great Rabbi, pillar of the Torah, the glory of Israel, crown and splendor of the diaspora, the distinguished sage, the marvelous person, Maimonides, already stood in this breach and enclosed it in many places in his awesome books and marvelous works. It is fitting to bless him and to glorify his Creator. Blessed (be He) that such (people) exist in His world."²⁸¹

Elsewhere he noted,

"Verily, the man who enlightend the eyes of Israel with fundamental halakhot in his great work ('bi-hiburo ha-gadol') is to be remembered for good.²⁸² By means of several logical opinions ('de'ot yesharot') he strengthened and fortified hands that are slack and tottering knees (Isa. 35:3), weary of the dispersion. May his compensation be full from the One who rewards."²⁸³

Indeed, in one of his last works, Emden noted how his respect for Maimonides pervaded many of his halakhic works:

". . . the well known Maimonides, prince and great scholar in Israel of old, as he is also always (described) by me throughout my writings for prominence and praise, in many places in my works. Many times I fought on his behalf with all my strength as one can find often in the book Lehem Shamayim, Kuntres Binyan Bet ha-Behirah, She'elat Yavez, 'Iggeret Bikkoret, Mor-u-Keziyah, 'Ez 'Avot and in my Siddur, besides very many others . . . If I were worthy, I would say that Maimonides is my teacher."²⁸⁴

Throughout his halakhic writings, Emden referred to Maimonides as "the distinguished rabbi ('ha-rav ha-muvhak'), luminary of Israel,"²⁸⁵ "the pillar of decision ('amud ha-hora'ah') upon whom rests the house of Israel,"²⁸⁶ "the most blessed of the sages,"²⁸⁷ and ". . . a righteous man ('zadik') who is holy unto his Lord and faithful to Israel."²⁸⁸ Although he often questioned some of Maimonides' halakhic rulings,²⁸⁹

Emden expressed confidence that, "Moses is true and his Torah is true, (one) within which there is no blemish. Whenever he diverted from the path trodden by many, he chose for himself a correct path due to profound reasons and arguments."²⁹⁰ He also often noted how important it was to make an effort to justify Maimonides' opinions²⁹¹ and, on two occasions, even went so far as to claim that "I am to be commended²⁹² for when I will die, Maimonides will come forth to greet me because I explained his teaching correctly."²⁹³ He was a careful student of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah, citing not only its opinions but also underscoring some of its salient characteristics, e.g., comprehensiveness,²⁹⁴ logically organized system of classification²⁹⁵ and concise, clear literary style.²⁹⁶

Nevertheless, while Emden's assessment of Maimonides' halakhic contribution was highly favorable, he rejected his philosophical achievement as a distortion of Judaism. Although at times Emden did claim that Maimonides' intention was an honorable one, he repeatedly asserted that he was misled by philosophy and that even he, and certainly his followers, could not survive its dangers:

"It is with justification that our Sages already prevented the study of 'higayon',²⁹⁷ as I have written on occasion in Bet 'El and in 'Ir 'Elohit',²⁹⁸ for it is very, very dangerous.

Please note that the two great masters, R. Abraham ibn Ezra and Maimonides, could not stand up against it with all the strength of their wisdom.

They were not protected from the sword in its hand. For in their fleeing and escaping from the trap of anthropomorphism with all their strength, they utilized instruments of the study of philosophical logic. They became ensnared in the trap of the fowler (Ps. 91:3) of the eternity of the world into which stumbled and fell many fools who did not understand their words and advice (i.e. of Ibn Ezra and Maimonides) for (in truth) their intention was for good, for they were imbued with a different spirit.²⁹⁹

However, in the generation that came after them, they took their words literally and rejected the Torah in its entirety. This became for them a snare and an obstacle, a stumbling block for the household of Israel."³⁰⁰

In his commentary on the Mishnah in 'Avot', already cited above, which states ". . . and know how to respond to a heretic ('apikorus')," Emden noted:

". . . not to set aside time to study with them and in their heretical works, as did Maimonides. He became attached to them and was engaged with them in (the study of) philosophy and logic with great diligence (²²³as he testified about himself that he studied with the Moslem heretic, Abubacher b. Alzaig, as is written in the book, Guide of the Perplexed. May

his Master (i.e. God) forgive him. That which he did, he brought upon himself.

It is, however, possible to judge him favorably because (he responded to) the need of the hour. In his days, the land was filled (Isa. 11:9) with the heresy of philosophy. The heretics in his generation pressured and compelled him to engage in Greek wisdom so that he could stand up against them, as I wrote with the help of Heaven, in She'elat Yavez, end #41. See, however, how successful he was. For he plunged into the majestic waters³⁰¹ and came up with (only) a potsherd in his hand. In the book, Guide of the Perplexed in which he walked in darkness (Isa. 50:10), he did not stride freely.³⁰² His ankles stumbled on the slippery foreign beliefs and opinions . . . The danger is very great. Is it insignificant that the Sages included 'and he who studies sefarim hizonim ' among those who have no share in the World to Come!"

In conclusion, Emden assured his readers that although Maimonides was involved in philosophy, it is for his substantive halakhic achievement that he is to be remembered for posterity. "Even though Maimonides' intention was undoubtedly for the sake of Heaven, and he surely deserves that we seek his merit, he is nevertheless to be remembered for good³⁰³ as the man who illumined the eyes of Israel with his great work, the Yad ha-Hazakah."³⁰⁴

In one of his last works, Emden again justified Maimonides' interest in philosophy as a necessary reaction to the heresy rampant in his days and then continued:

"... and, in spite of this (223 although it appears that he was involved with them on a regular basis ['derekh keva']), his major preoccupation was certainly only with the Talmud and rabbinic rulings ('hora'ah'). This is (as) clearly revealed to the eye (as) the sun from the greatness of his achievements; his work the Yad ha-Hazakah, his commentary on the six orders of the Mishnah aside from his commentary to the Talmud (223 as the writers in his time testified). They offer their testimony that he was involved with Torah for its own sake and that he toiled in it a great deal. Therefore, it is certain that he treated other wisdoms only as of secondary importance"305

Emden's clearest formulation distinguishing between Maimonides' halakhic achievement and philosophic enterprise is found in the first edition of his commentary on 'Avot, in which he compared Maimonides to King Solomon:

"It is possible to speak favorably about him (i.e. Maimonides) in the manner written about King Solomon. Even though he was beloved by God (306 as Nehemiah wrote, and as [is indicated by] the name God gave him), he too was brought to sin by the foreign women

about whom he repeatedly warned in the Book of Proverbs. Behold, so it is found written in the name of Maimonides in a letter that he said of himself that he took the strange secular wisdoms ('ha-hokhmot ha-hizoniyot ha-nokhriyot') as cooks and perfumers.³⁰⁷ (³⁰⁶ He appropriately called them by these names for surely they are cooks to the insensitive man ('adam hasar lev') who is lured after them like an ox going to the slaughter (Prov. 7:22), like the word of the wise man (i.e. King Solomon) in his parables (ibid.); and they are as perfumers, for the lips of a strange woman drop honey (Prov. 5:3). It is therefore no wonder that they caused him (i.e. Maimonides) to sin as well, for he was lured by the smooth tongue of an alien woman (Prov. 6:24). He was not better than Solomon . . .

Even though Maimonides was responsible for an obstacle (for Jews) for he left over a stumbling stone for generations, the Guide of the Perplexed, as is well known . . . However, as for me, I do not think so, as I have revealed my opinion.³⁰⁸ This is not the work of the great author among the Jews³⁰⁹ but of one of the philosophers of his generation . . . Since he benefitted the masses (³⁰⁶with his work, the Yad ha-Hazakah [written] by him), for this reason I cannot believe that he was responsible for the

aforementioned sinful striking stone.³¹⁰ (After all,) he accomplished good for Israel with several books of his Talmudic works in which he strengthened the pillars of the faith. Therefore he is remembered for good and for a blessing for eternity while the lawless wicked ones who make of the book, Guide of the Perplexed an ax to cut off the branches of the Torah and mizvot, to chop down the roots of Prophecy and Providence, will be to everlasting abhorrence (Dan. 12:2). The name of the wicked shall rot (Prov. 10:7). May God save us³¹¹ from them and from any part of them."³¹²

This separation between the teacher and his students who utterly distorted and radicalized his position is also a commonplace in Emden's writings.³¹³

This source is significant not only for the sharpness of Emden's distinction between Maimonides' halakhah and his philosophy, but also because it is the earliest work where Emden goes one step further in separating between the two. In his desire to reject the philosophy of Maimonides without impugning his universally recognized greatness, Emden was prepared to go so far as to deny, on occasion, the Maimonidean authorship of the Guide. Although sometimes Emden did cite that work approvingly,³¹⁴ far more often he was opposed to many of its ideas and considered it to be the epitome of what he considered to be evil about philosophy. As a result of this assessment, he sometimes made the claim that Maimonides who achieved such great heights in the realm of halakhah

could not possibly have written what he considered to be such a distorted and damaging work. It is important to note that often, in the course of a general discussion, Emden did simply assume, without question, that Maimonides was the author of the Guide.³¹⁵ It is only when he specifically addressed the issue of the deleteriousness of Maimonidean philosophy or pointed to the dangers of the Guide itself that he was moved, on occasion, to deny the fact.

Emden's most elaborate and forceful expression of this point of view can be found in his 'Iggeret Purim, one of the works he wrote in connection with the Sabbatian controversy. In addition to denying the Maimonidean authorship of the Guide, he traced the history of opposition to that work and blamed its influence for the Spanish Expulsion. Responding to his critics during the controversy with Chief Rabbi Eybeschütz who accused him of disrespect of Maimonides, Emden wrote:

"Regarding that which they further sought to ascribe to me an iniquity which is a sin³¹⁶ in my pen, in that I criticized even the early masters ('kadmonim') like Maimonides and Radak to provoke arguments, new as well as old (Song of Songs 7:14), to move the lips of those that are asleep,³¹⁷ this too I will not deny that I spoke against the book Guide of the Perplexed which, in my opinion, was never authored by the same Maimonides who created the book Yad ha-Hazakah in which we glory. Unless we say that as rich as he surely was in wisdom, at that time (when he wrote the Guide) he was poor. (³⁰⁶Or, perhaps, there were two

Rambams. Even though in "Sefer Mada" there are also found some of the mistaken notions of the Guide of the Perplexed, perhaps it [i.e. the Guide, was written by] someone who wanted to choke and hung himself on a big tree). I cannot imagine that such a great stumbling block could come forth from the hand of a man great among the Jews³¹⁸ in Torah and good deeds as R. Moses, famous for his good name, flawless in beauty (Ezek. 28:12). For that book, the Guide, is full of blemish. In truth, it contradicts Torah and faith, more than could be believed, were it to be told³¹⁹ . . .

Verily, it is true³²⁰ that I did not invent the slander about this book. For immediately after its birth it acquired a bad name that it was born with a blemish. All the true scholars of that generation hated it, despised it, considered it abominable, erased it and some burned it. No one selected it except for the heretics, deserted and forsaken like the wilderness,³²¹ who choose a profligate life.³²² They will take from it withered proofs and reasons and fragile conjectures to ridicule Torah, prophecy, deeds, reward and reverence . . .

In any case we have not found in the records of the wise men of the generations anyone who permitted becoming involved in it. Rather, the great scholars

unto whose hands it came first, like Ramah, Nahmanides, Rashba and the French scholars, men of greatness,³²³ all immediately repudiated it and revealed its nakedness in the presence of all her lovers³²⁴ .

. .

Experience proved that this book was a stone of striking and a rock of stumbling³²⁵ to the house of Israel and a cause of damages. Especially, it caused the destruction of the Jewish communities in Spain . . . That land was formerly like the Garden of Eden, its dwelling almost as important as the land of Israel. It grew mightily in wealth, generosity, wisdom and significance. And from the day they became involved in philosophy, they became grievously corrupt (Hosea 9:9). They cast the teachings of their mother behind their backs.³²⁶ They continually decreased (Gen. 8:5) until they were exiled from that land; nothing was left behind.³²⁷ The involvement (with) this book was the cause of their troubles.³²⁸ Without any doubt in the world, it is the direct cause, as the pious ones of that generation rebuked them for their shame. (³⁰⁶Study in detail the works of the great admonishing preacher among the exiles from Spain, our Master R. Yosef Yavez)."³²⁹

It is most interesting that, at one point, Emden actually claimed to have proven that Maimonides could not possibly have authored the Guide.

He wrote:

" . . . I therefore spoke correctly and publicized in Bet Middot³³⁰ that the book, Guide of the Perplexed did not emanate from this great author. There cannot be (such) a ruin under his responsibility.³³¹ He who will direct his intellect to what he wrote in the Laws of Kings that one who fulfills the seven Noahide laws based on a reasoned conclusion alone is neither from the pious ones of the nations of the world, nor from their scholars,³³² is forced to admit that I said the truth.

Aside from (this), one can prove this from several places in the book, Yad (ha-Hazakah), which point with a finger to the disgrace of the would-be philosophers ('mitpalsifim'), wise men (only) in their own eyes, with whom he had no portion. His opinion was far from theirs for their wisdom amounts to nothing (Jer. 8:9).

This is not the place to elaborate. Rather, one of the philosophers who has no portion and inheritance with us³³³ hung on a big tree (i.e. attributed the work to a great scholar) to improve his bad business . . ."³³⁴

One can argue that neither of these "proofs" should be considered definitive. Isadore Twersky has noted in his discussion of this passage in the Mishneh Torah, that a requirement of an heteronomic awareness for

Gentiles is no contradiction to philosophic rationalism:

"For Maimonides, laws are true by divine sanction, but reason discovers their wisdom and intelligibility. Reason does not replace divine authority but convinces man of the utility and rationality of the laws which he would obey even if they were peremptory prescriptions . . . It is man's duty -- and if he is wise, his aspiration -- to rationalize revealed truths."³³⁵

As for his second "proof," contrary to Emden's assertion, numerous passages in the Mishneh Torah do reflect the same kind of philosophical emphasis as that expressed in the Guide.³³⁶ In any case, even if there were bonafide contradictions between the two works it would still not "prove" that they must have been written by two different people. There is no doubt that Emden was independently uncomfortable with attributing the Guide to Maimonides for the reasons outlined above and, after having come to that conclusion, sought some degree of post-facto rationalization and put forth these arguments to buttress his position.³³⁷

All of the preceeding analysis proves, once again, that while Emden was somewhat familiar with philosophy, his knowledge was limited to what he read in medieval Jewish philosophical literature or in a few Hebrew translations of ancient philosophical texts. It is clear that both his unstructured and superficial knowledge of philosophy and the generally negative attitude he displayed towards it in general and Maimonidean

philosophy in particular, two issues that must be considered separately from one another, stood in great contrast with men like Moses Mendelssohn and other early maskilim.

Mendelssohn's prominence as one of the leading philosophers of his day is well known as is also his specific debt to Maimonides. Already prior to the age of Bar Mitzvah, Mendelssohn became involved in the study of the Guide and, according to his first biographer, Isaac Euchel, enjoyed the work immensely and studied it day and night. In fact, Euchel noted that Mendelssohn later attributed the curvature of his spine to the many hours he spent poring over the Guide which lowered his resistance and made him susceptible to weakness, adding, however, that he benefitted enormously from that intense involvement.³³⁸ Already Mendelssohn's earliest works, Kohellet Musar and Commentary to Millot ha-Higayon betray an unmistakable Maimonidean influence, and he remained preoccupied with Maimonidean philosophy for the rest of his life.³³⁹ Furthermore, the centrality of that philosophy was not limited to Mendelssohn but was a standard feature of early Haskalah in general. Indeed, many early maskilim were great admirers of Maimonides and acknowledged the influence of his philosophy on their thinking.³⁴⁰ Once again, the gap between them and Emden was very wide and very significant.

It is now possible to more clearly determine Emden's position in the continuum between medieval and modern Jewish history and to appreciate how he confronted the modern world. While Emden was clearly interested in and somewhat familiar with the extra-Talmudic disciplines of history,

geography, astronomy, comparative religions and medicine, this itself is not sufficient to consider him a maskil or even a precursor to or forerunner of Haskalah. There is a long and rich history of highly respected rabbinic scholars who were not only interested in extra-Talmudic wisdom but were also intimately familiar with it and incorporated substantial segments of it into their writings. In just the last two centuries prior to Emden, a list of such scholars would include R. Moses Isserles, Maharal of Prague, R. Yom Tov Lippman Heller, R. Yair Hayyim Bacharach³⁴¹ and, in fact, Emden's own father, Hakham Zevi Ashkenazi. In his autobiography, Emden recorded how secular subjects were part of the curriculum in the klaus headed by his father in Altona at the end of the seventeenth century:

"There gathered unto him there great scholars and rabbis from the land of Poland and Lithuania who were involved there in Torah (study) with great diligence. Day and night they did not cease (Gen. 8:22) from learning Gemara with the commentaries of Rashi and the Tosafot, the decisors ('poskim'), halakhot and aggadot. They also became proficient³⁴² in other (i.e. secular) knowledge until they achieved perfection in Torah and wisdom."³⁴³

Emden continued, in a description of his father, "Therefore he grew and became proficient in Torah and wisdom ('hokhmah') which he studied and taught."³⁴⁴ A few pages later he returned to this theme and, in a description of the intellectual achievements of his father, noted that, "He had an understanding of all wisdoms ('u-mevin bi-khol hokhmah') . . .

Books on Kabbalah, grammar and philosophy were his share . . . In free time ('bi-sha'ot penuyot') he would study secular books."³⁴⁵

Hakham Zevi was not unique in this respect and in one of his last works, Emden recorded his father's assertion that Jewish philosophy was studied in the Polish yeshivot of the previous generations, probably prior to the Chmielnicki massacres of the mid-seventeenth century:

"I heard from my revered father that of the great scholars who were in the Poland of yore, in the former days that were better than these,³⁴⁶ the heads of the yeshivot compelled their students who were studying in their schools to learn and examine at least the books of Ikkarim³⁴⁷ and 'Akedah³⁴⁸ to know upon what were the foundations of the faith established. In truth, these books are close to rewarding and far from damaging. (³⁴⁹ albeit if not everything they wrote on their own accord is necessarily so; after all, a wise man will bear in mind that there is a time and a judgement (Eccles. 8:5).³⁵⁰ Others like them and even more so are the Kuzari,³⁵¹ the works of R. Saadya Gaon and the Hovot ha-Levavot.³⁵² They contain great rewards for the one who looks into them at fixed times."³⁵³

Interest and involvement in secular studies alone cannot possibly serve to identify someone as a maskil or even a precursor of that movement. Neither selective intellectual openness to secular culture nor even religious tolerance marked the turn towards modernity. What distin-

guished the Haskalah from previous involvement in secular knowledge was that, by the end of the eighteenth century, such involvement moved from the purely theoretical or intellectual realm and adopted a social component as well. New social groupings including both Jews and non-Jews were formed emerging out of a common respect for mastering the totality of human knowledge. In the words of Emmanuel Etkes:

"The particularistic self-conception that had characterized the traditional attitude towards surrounding cultures was replaced by a humanistic outlook expressing the common human element in the Jew and in all mankind. That new outlook necessitated a reevaluation of the culture of the surrounding non-Jewish society which was no longer seen as an expression of an alien religious and national tradition but rather as the fruit of human creative powers and thus as part of a common universal heritage. Consequently, Jewish participation in European culture was not merely permissible but actually desirable.

The belief that humanism had become the guiding principle of the political leadership and educated classes of European society led to the conclusion that there could be a new basis for the relations between Jews and their surroundings. Jewish cultural, political, and social involvement in their surroundings now appeared to be a desirable and feasible goal."³⁵⁴

Furthermore, the agenda of the Haskalah also included a radical re-orientation of social, cultural and institutional priorities within the Jewish community as well. Already early maskilim were advocating changing traditional Jewish communal structures and educational systems and were beginning to insist upon altering long accepted Jewish modes of behavior in manners, language and even dress.

There is no question that Emden shared neither the external nor internal goals of the Haskalah, at least one of which would be essential to have been considered as a "forerunner" of that movement according to the definition suggested by J. Katz cited at the beginning of the chapter. At most, Emden reflected a striking degree of intellectual openness and a desire for some degree of educational reform. But even in these areas the gap between him and Haskalah remained a substantial one. His repeated justification of the permissibility of being engaged in secular knowledge purely for the sake of "knowing how to respond to the heretic" and his constant limiting of the time spent on extra-Talmudic subjects to those occasions and places where, in any case, "it is prohibited to think about words of Torah" is a far cry from the positive attitude towards secular literature and culture unabashedly and enthusiastically expressed by the early proponents of Haskalah. True, Emden may have shared certain elements in common with early Haskalah, but, unlike even the earliest maskilim, his frame of reference was squarely within the contours of the tradition. His entire approach, whether it was openness towards secular studies, educational reform or in other areas as well, was always couched in traditional terms and was consistently measured by the system of traditional values. There is no question that Emden must be perceived as one

of the last great medieval Jewish figures rather than as one of the earliest modern ones.

Nevertheless, Emden is significantly different from other traditional Jews of his as well as previous generations. While espousing the same value system they did, he was very much aware of what was taking place around him in the Jewish world of his time. He was fully involved in engaging that world and although he did not share its assumptions, was affected by his encounter with it. This tension between adherence to the old and awareness of the new is most fully spelled out in Emden's relationship with Moses Mendelssohn, his younger contemporary who, in the eyes of all, represented the full flowering of the newly emerging phenomenon of modernity.³⁵⁵

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. For discussions of this transition period, see J. Katz, Die Entstehung der Judenassimilation in Deutschland und deren Ideologie (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1934); reprinted in idem., Emancipation and Enlightenment, Studies in Modern Jewish History (Westmead, 1972), and in idem., Zur Assimilation und Emanzipation der Juden (Darmstadt, 1982); D. Weinryb, "Gormim Kalkaliyim ve-Soziali'im ba-Haskalah ha-Yehudit bi-Germanyah," Knesset III (1948), 416-36; idem., "ha-Me'ah ha-Sheva 'Esreh ki-Hakdamah le-Tekufat ha-Haskalah," Perakim IV (1966), 113-42; B. Z. Dinur, bi-Mifneh ha-Dorot (Jerusalem, 1955); I. E. Barzilay, "The Background of the Berlin Haskalah," Essays on Jewish Life and Thought Presented in Honor of Salo Wittmayer Baron (New York, 1959), 189-97; B. Z. Katz, Rabbanut, Hasidut, Haskalah I (Tel Aviv, 1956); II (Tel Aviv, 1958); F. L. Carsten, "The Court Jews: A Prelude to Emancipation," LBIYB III (1958), 140-56 (summarizing the works of S. Stern and H. Schnee on this subject); M. Eliav, ha-Hinukh ha-Yehudi bi-Germanyah bi-Tekufat ha-Haskalah ve-ha-'Emansipazyah (Jerusalem, 1960); A. Shochat, 'Im Hilufei Tekufot (Jerusalem, 1960); J. Katz, Massoret u-Mashber (2nd edition: Jerusalem, 1963), 262 f.; idem., Out of the Ghetto (Cambridge, 1973); M. A. Shulvass, From East to West (Detroit, 1971); M. Meyer, The Origins of the Modern Jew (Detroit, 1979); T. Tsamriyon, Moshe Mendelssohn ve-ha-'Idi'-ologyah shel ha-Haskalah (1984), 20-23.

For the various views on the beginning of modernity in Jewish history, see M. Meyer, "When Does Modern Jewish History Begin," Judaism XIV (1975), 329-38. For a discussion of the problems of periodization in

Jewish history in general, with reference to the modern period as well, see the symposium featuring B. Mazar, B. Z. Dinur, Y. Baer and R. Mahler printed in Divrei ha-Kongres ha-'Olami ha-Revi'i le-Mada'ei ha-Yahadut I (Jerusalem, 1967), 45-63; M. Shulvass, "Tekufot Shalosh," Hagut 'Ivrit ba-'Amerika III (1974), 9-22.

On problems of periodization, in general, see "Periodization in History," Dictionary of the History of Ideas III (New York, 1973), 476-81; G. Alon, Toledot ha-Yehudim bi-'Erez Yisrael bi-Tekufat ha-Mishnah ve-ha-Talmud (Tel Aviv, 1967), 12-13; trans. as The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (Jerusalem, 1980), 18-19.

2. For the most recent discussion of these different centers of Haskalah activity and their collective debt to the movement in Berlin, see J. Katz, ed., Toward Modernity, The European Jewish Model (New Brunswick, 1987).

3. H. Graetz, Geschichte der Juden XI (Leipzig, 1900), 3. For discussions of Graetz's position, see M. Meyer, op. cit., 33; B. Z. Dinur, "ha-Zemanim ha-Hadashim bi-Toledot Yisrael, Avhanatam, Mahutam u-Demutam," Zion XIII-XIV (1948-1949), 63-5; reprinted in idem., bi-Mifneh ha-Dorot (above, n. 1), 19-21.

Graetz was followed by other nineteenth and twentieth century historians like, for example, Sigismund Stern, David Cassel and Marcus Brann. For the references in their works, see B. Z. Dinur, Zion XIII-XIV, ibid., 64, n. 5; reprinted in idem., bi-Mifneh ha-Dorot, ibid., 20, n. 5.

4. Y. Kaufmann, Golah ve-Nekhar II:1 (Tel Aviv, 1930), 28. See also J. Katz, Die Entstehung der Judenassimilation (above, n. 1), 32-46.

For a discussion of the perception of Mendelssohn's role in Jewish historiography until the middle of the twentieth century, see A. Shochat, op. cit., 12-14, 242-46. See also A. Altmann, Moses Mendelssohn (Alabama, 1973), 346.

5. I. E. Barzilay, "The Background of the Berlin Haskalah," op. cit. (n. 1), 183. See also B. Z. Dinur, Zion XIII-XIV, op. cit., 65f; idem., bi-Mifneh ha-Dorot, op. cit., 21f; idem., "She'elat ha-Ge'ulah u-Dera-khehah bi-Yemei Reishit ha-Haskalah u-Polmos ha-'Emanzipazyah ha-Rishonah," Sefer ha-Ziyonut I:1 (Mevaserei ha-Ziyonut) (Tel Aviv, 1938), 91; reprinted in idem., bi-Mifneh ha-Dorot, ibid., 254; D. Weinryb, op. cit. (above, n. 1).

For an earlier expression of this position, see J. Eschelbacher, "Die Anfänge allgemeiner Bildung unter den deutschen Juden vor Mendelssohn," Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Juden: Festschrift zum siebenzigsten Geburtstage Martin Philipppsons (Leipzig, 1916), 168-77.

See also Y. Baer, Galut (New York, 1947), 114; S. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews II (New York, 1937), 164-65; S. Dubnow, "Talmidim Yehudim bi-'Universitah she-bi-Padua," Sefer ha-Shanah le-Yehudei Amerika I (1931), 216-19; P. Hurgin, "ha-'Anusim - Haluzei Milhemet ha-Shihzur," ibid. (1938), 102-12; H. M. Graupe, Die Entstehung des modernen Judentums (Hamburg, 1977), 70-92; trans. into English as The Rise of Modern Judaism (New York, 1978), 51-70 ("The Pre-Enlightenment in

Germany," "Breakthrough to Enlightenment").

6. A. Shochat, op. cit., 259. Shochat continued to argue his case in a later article, "Reishit ha-Haskalah bi-Yahadut bi-Germanyah," Molad XXIII (1965), 328-34. See also, T. Tasmriyon, op. cit., (n. 1), 12-23 and the sources cited there; 79-80, n. 13.

7. Ibid., 8, 220-37, 249-50, 253, 259. See too B. Z. Dinur, Zion XIII-XIV, op. cit., 66, n. 13; idem., bi-Mifneh ha-Dorot, op. cit., 22, n. 13.

8. Ibid., 249. See also H. M. Graupe, Die Entstehung, op. cit., 87; The Rise of Modern Judaism, op. cit., 66. Graupe considers Emden, "the first great figure of the Jewish Enlightenment . . . the Saadia of the Jewish Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, the man who - it seems to me - was the first to express this new attitude." See, also, Die Entstehung, 80-81; The Rise of Modern Judaism, 60-61.

9. E. Etkes, "Imminent Factors and External Influences in the Development of the Haskalah Movement in Russia," Toward Modernity: The European Jewish Model, op. cit. (above, n. 2), 25. A more elaborate Hebrew version of this essay will appear in a forthcoming issue of Tarbiz. My thanks to Dr. Etkes for making a copy of that article available to me.

For an earlier, very similar discussion of precursorism by Etkes, see his "ha-Gra ve-ha-Haskalah - Tadmit u-Mezi'ut," Perakim bi-Toledot

ha-Hevrah ha-Yehudit (Jerusalem, 1980), esp. 201-01. There Etkes distinguishes between a "genuine precursor" ("mevaser muvhak") and a "distant precursor" ("mevaser rahok").

See also I. Barzilay, "The Background of the Berlin Haskalah," op. cit. (above, n. 1), 187-88. Etkes' "forerunner" is Barzilay's "pre-Haskalah" tendency.

10. E. Etkes, ibid., 16.

11. Ibid., 17. But Etkes is not precise in his terminology. He deems the Gaon of Vilna and R. Shlomo of Chelm as already being "representative of this intermediate phase" (ibid., 16) but then refers to R. Israel Zamoscz and R. Barukh of Shklov who followed them as representing a "transition to this intermediate phase" (ibid., 17) although he clearly considers them to have taken "a more significant step toward the Enlightenment" (ibid., 20).

12. J. Katz, "le-Birur ha-Musag 'Mevasrei ha-Ziyonut'," Shivat Zion I (1950), 95-6, 98. This article was reprinted in idem., Le'umiyut Yehudit (Jerusalem, 1983), 263-84. The quote is from an English translation entitled "The Forerunners of Zionism" which appeared first in The Jerusalem Quarterly VII (Spring, 1978), 15 and was reprinted in J. Katz, Jewish Emancipation and Self-Emancipation (Philadelphia, 1986), 108.

For an earlier similar, albeit more limited, discussion of precursorism by Katz, see his "Nisu'im ve-Hayei 'Ishut bi-Moza'ei Yemei ha-Beinayim," Zion X (1945), 49, n. 175.

Katz's more limited perspective on precursorism was accepted by E. Simon, "ha-Filantropizm ha-Pedagogi ve-ha-Hinukh ha-Yehudi," Sefer ha-Yovel li-khvod Mordechai Menahem Kaplan (New York, 1953), 149-50 and n. 12.

13. In the more elaborate Hebrew version of his essay (above, n. 9), Etkes seems to come closer to Katz's more narrow definition of "forerunner." Etkes claims that "forerunners of the Haskalah," were influenced by a combination of the medieval Jewish philosophical tradition and by ideas of the general European enlightenment. Although the relative weight of each of these factors changed from one individual to the next, both played a role in the intellectual weltanschauung of the "forerunner."

14. J. Katz, Tradition and Crisis (New York, 1971), 246. See also idem., Massoret u-Mashber, op. cit. (n. 1), 285; A. Shochat, op. cit., 198f.

15. E. Etkes, "Imminent Factors and External Influences," op. cit. (above n. 9), 14-15. In identifying some of these as the salient features of the Haskalah movement (i.e. the centrality of reason, the common humanistic tradition shared by Jew and non-Jew alike, economic as well as educational reform, the new attitude towards the Hebrew language for secular purposes, a return to an emphasis on Bible, and a positive attitude towards secular learning), Etkes was preceeded by I. Eisenstein-Barzilay, "The Ideology of the Berlin Haskalah," PAAJR XXV (1956), 1-37; idem., "National and Anti-National Trends in the Berlin Haskalah," JSS

XXI (1959), 165-92; idem., "The Italian and Berlin Haskalah," PAAJR XXIX (1961), 17-54.

16. See J. Katz, Out of the Ghetto, op. cit. (n. 1), 145-46.

17. For previous, highly incomplete treatments of this matter, see A. Shochat, op. cit., 220-35; A. Bick, Rabi Ya'akov Emden (Jerusalem, 1974), 92-8; S. Biderman and A. Kasher, "Yahadut u-Fundamentalizm - 'al Haguto shel R. Ya'akov Emden," Da'at V (1980), 31-5.

18. See Avot II:14.

19. Lit., "I bound myself up."

20. I accept the note of D. Kahana, MS, 97, n. 1.

21. Cf. Ps. 84:3.

22. Lit., "naked." For the significance of this formulation here, see D. Ruderman, "Science, Medicine and Jewish Culture in Early Modern Europe," Spiegel Lectures in European Jewish History VII, ed. by L. Gartner (Tel Aviv, 1987), 17-19.

23. Cf. Jud. 14:18.

24. Cf. ibid., 14:9.

25. See above, n. 18.
26. See MS, 96.
27. Ibid., 96-98.
28. Cf. I Kings 2:2.
29. Cf. Ps. 73:7.
30. Cf. Isa. 30:14.
31. Cf. Gen. 19:31.
32. Cf. I Sam. 26:19.
33. SY I:41, end.
34. Cf. Job 2:13.
35. The 1912 printing of LE I must be corrected in light of the first edition. It should read "ve-ha-leshonot."
36. 'Ez 'Avot (1912), 76b.

37. Ibid., 65a ('Avot V:6:20). For the last phrase, see Ketubot 17a.

See also Emden's introduction to the second volume of Mor u-Keziyah, 1b.

38. Cf. Deut. 25:8.

39. This paranthesis is in the original text.

40. Cf. Job 26:14.

41. 'Iggeret Purim, ms., 3a; printed in my "Rabbi Jacob Emden's 'Iggeret Purim," op. cit., 444.

42. See, for example, Siddur I:134b; I:251a - the Latin root of the word gardom found in Tractate Shabbat and included as part of the Ma'ama-dot for Thursday; Mitpahat Sefarim, 71. See also below, n. 45.

43. See LS IV:133a (Nega'im XIV:1).

44. See LS IV:122a (Nega'im II:1).

45. See, for example, 'Ez 'Avot III:18 (32a) - the Greek understanding of the word gematriya as opposed to its meaning in Rabbinic Hebrew; Mor u-Keziyah II:66a (#589) - the Greek etymology of the word androgynus, i.e. in Greek andro is male and gynus is female; Siddur I:134b - a reference to the Latin and Greek root for the word ligyonot found in the

"Nahem" prayer recited on the Ninth of Av; I:197b - a note that hyle is the Greek word for the earliest form of matter ("homer ha-rishon"); LS III:128b (Sanhedrin VI:10) - hedyot is Greek for "idiot." See also Lehem Nikkudim on 'Avot I:3 (5a), I:10 (9b), II:8 (16b), IV:11 (40a); Sefer Shimush, 57.

46. See, for example, 'Ez 'Avot III:18 (32a): "He who knows and recognizes the origin and source of languages knows that Greek too is, in truth, a derivative of Hebrew;" LS III:66b (Gittin IX:9): "In truth, the Greek language is taken from Hebrew and so did the language scholars from among the nations also conjecture." See also Lehem Nikkudim on 'Avot II:14 (20a); Migdal 'Oz, 157b, 158a: "This (i.e. Greek) was the most beloved by the Rabbis. They declared, 'The beauty of Yefet should be in the tents of Shem' (Megilla 9b) and permitted to write the Torah in it. It is also found in the Mishnah in Shekalim (III:2) that it was used in the Holy Temple during the Second Commonwealth."

47. See 'Ez 'Avot I:1 (4a); SY I:10 (cited below, p. 548).

See Mitpahat Sefarim, 71, where Emden wrote regarding Latin, "I am lacking in it; I heard a language that I knew not (Ps. 81:6)." His few scattered references to Latin should not indicate a real knowledge of that language.

48. In Torat ha-Kena'ot, 13b-16a, Emden printed a Hebrew version of a Dutch account of the early spread of the Sabbatian movement. In the table of contents of this work, printed at the end of the first edition

of Kizur Zizat Novel Zevi (Altona, 1757), 60a, Emden indicated that he was himself the translator.

A. Shochat, op. cit., 220 speculated that Emden may also have known English because he quoted the work of an English Christian. See Emden's 'Ez 'Avot, introduction.

49. See, for example, Mitpahat Sefarim, 74; 'Iggeret Purim, 22b; SY II:21 - Emden noted how he inquired of a Frenchman how to translate a word into that language.

50. Mitpahat Sefarim, 8.

51. MS, 16. See also ibid., 25: "He would also speak to them (i.e. the Sephardim in Amsterdam) in their language, a clear Spanish, as did they;" ibid., 50: "He was an expert in several languages;" ibid., 51; Mitpahat Sefarim, 9: "Although my revered father was an Ashkenazi, he spoke Spanish ('leshon Sefardi) like one of the Sephardim born in that country." See also SY I:10 where Emden noted that his father studied, "in the foreign language books of Gentile scholars, in the bathroom." On the level of Hakhm Zevi's secular knowledge, see below, pp. 587-88.

52. See, for example, SY I:62; II:21. In Sefer Shimush, 39, Emden printed a Hebrew translation of a confession of a repentant Sabbatian made in German but it is unclear if he was himself the translator.

53. See M. Mendelssohn, Gesammelte Schriften XVI (Berlin, 1929), 158,

#134. The issue which served as the focus of this correspondence will be discussed below in great detail.

54. Lit., "a monument and a name." See Isa. 56:5.

55. Lit., "ten shares." See II Sam. 19:44 and Daniel I:20.

56. Lit., "so that it should enter their ears."

57. M. Mendelssohn, op. cit., 158.

M. J. Cohen, op. cit., 289, n. 39, was clearly wrong when he wrote that in this letter, "Emden states he is entirely ignorant of German." He simply meant that he lacked the stylistic flourishes that would be indispensable in such a case.

58. See, primarily, the essay which he appended to his commentary on Sefer Seder 'Olam Rabah ve-Zuta u-Megillat Ta'anit (Hamburg, 1757), 32b-35b and reprinted in a more elaborate form in his Sefer Shimush, 29-41. Emden cited passages from Acts, Luke, Matthew, Galatians, Corinthians and even attempted to resolve contradictions in the New Testament.

This text was partially translated into English by O. Fasman, "An Epistle on Tolerance by a 'Rabbinic Zealot'," Judaism in a Changing World ed. by L. Jung (New York, 1939), 128-36 and by H. Falk, "Rabbi Jacob Emden's Views on Christianity," Journal of Ecumenical Studies XIX (Winter, 1982), 107-11.

In one case Emden recorded how he actually posed a question he had

on a text in Luke to a "very learned Christian who, incidentally, could not suggest an answer." See Sefer Shimush, 68. For another example of a conversation with a "learned Christian," this time regarding the Frankist movement, see ibid., 15.

59. 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 25a-b.

60. See, in addition, SY I:41 and 'Ez 'Avot IV:11 (40b-41a). This last source was cited approvingly by Rabbi S. R. Hirsch, Judaism Eternal, ed. by I. Grunfeld (London, 1959), II:169-70.

Emden also was aware of various sects within Christianity (see Sefer Shimush, 77, 168; LS IV:17b (Menahot XII:10); A. Shochat, op. cit., 23).

For treatments of Emden's attitudes towards Christianity, see J. Katz, Exclusiveness and Tolerance (New York, 1969), 167; idem., "Shloshah Mishpatim 'Apologetiyim bi-Gilguleihem," Zion XXIII-XXIV (1958-1959), 181-82; B. Greenberg, "Rabbi Jacob Emden: The Views of An Enlightened Traditionalist on Christianity," Judaism (Summer, 1978), 351-63; A. Shochat, ibid., 231.

Various aspects of Emden's attitude towards Christianity found in these references must be integrated with a discussion of his use of hasidei 'umot ha-'olam cited below, p. 696f. A full analysis of Emden's level of tolerance for Christianity remains to be written.

61. See, for example, 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 23b, 24b-25a; Mitpahat Sefarim, 13; Sefer Shimush, 40; Zoharei Yavez, 3.

62. 'Ez 'Avot IV:11 (40b).

Emden also noted how contemporary Moslem rulers protect Jews. See Mor u-Keziyah II:15b (#306) and 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 23b.

63. Sefer Shimush, 38.

64. Miqdal 'Oz, 47a, 49a.

65. For superficial and incomplete treatments of this issue, see Shochat, op. cit., 228-29; Bick, op. cit., 96-7.

66. See J. Emden, Sefer Seder 'Olam Rabah ve-Zuta u-Megillat Ta'anit (Hamburg, 1757).

67. LS III:134a (Sanhedrin X:1).

68. For this story, see I. Halevi, "Sefer Toledot Alekhsander," Kovez 'al Yad II (1886), 1f. The authenticity of this tale is discussed by D. Flusser, "'Ma'ase Alekhsandrus' lefi Ketav Yad Parma," Tarbiz XXVI:2 (1956), 165-84; idem., Sefer Yosippon II (Jerusalem, 1980), 48-51, 216-52.

In all likelihood, Emden learned about it from Azaryah de Rossi. See his Sefer Me'or Einayim, ed. by D. Cassel (Vilna, 1866), 234.

69. Cf. Ps. 40:3.

70. Mor u-Keziyah II:18a-b (#307).

For later citations of this passage, see Z. H. Chajes, "Ma'amar Minh'at Kena'ot," Kol Kitvei Maharaz Hayot II (Jerusalem, 1958), 101b; idem., "Responsa Mahoraz," #12; ibid., 648-49; D. Gross, ed., Yosef ha-Kohen, Sefer Divrei ha-Yamim III (Jerusalem, 1955), 88-89, n. 52; Y. H. Yerushalmi, Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory (Seattle, 1983), 126, n. 31. Gross (ibid.) did not print the full version of this text and therefore C. Berlin, who knew of Emden's position only by way of Gross' citation, distorted it. See C. Berlin, "A Sixteenth-Century Hebrew Chronicle of the Ottoman Empire: The Seder Eliyahu Zuta of Elijah Capsali and Its Message," Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature in Honor of I. Edward Kiev (New York, 1971), 24.

71. See above, n. 66. These were reprinted separately in the twentieth century. See Y. Rafael, "Kitvei Rabi Ya'akov Emden," op. cit., 270-71.

72. See, for example, Mor u-Keziyah II:12d, 14d (#306; territorial conquests of Herod and the Hasmonean kings); LS I:113b (Shevi'it VIII:10; at which point were the early Christians rejected from the Jewish community); 163b (Ma'aser Sheni V:15; Jewish powerlessness in the Second Commonwealth period prior to the days of Yohanan the High Priest and Hyrcanus I); 171a-b (Bikkurim III:4; characterization of King Agrippa); LS III:65b (Gittin VIII:5; reference to Alexander the Great); Mishneh Lehem, in LS IV:281a-282a (Pesahim V:7; population explosion during the Second Commonwealth period); SY I:46 (the early Romans descended from the

Edomites); Hagahot ve-Hiddushim 'al Masekhet Megillah, 9a (cites the Letter of Aristeas); Sefer Shimush, 169 (conversion of Adiabene during the Second Commonwealth period); Luah 'Eresh I:38a (the Hasmonean family).

73. See, for example, Mitpahat Sefarim, 22 (date for the rise and spread of Islam); SY I:46 (the Egyptians were never expelled, en masse, from their country); Commentary on Megillat Ta'anit, 24b, n. 1 (Crusader fortress in Palestine); SY I:168 (German and Spanish scholars who traveled to Palestine during the Middle Ages); SY I:85 (there were three scholars known as "Rabad": 1 - the chronicler; 2 - the mystic who wrote a commentary on Sefer Yezira; 3 - the "ba'al hasagot" on Maimonides' Mishneh Torah); SY II:21 (Rabbi Joseph Karo lived in Palestine and the East); 'Iggeret Purim, ms., 19a-b (the controversy between Maharik and E. Capsali); LS III:118b (Sanhedrin I:3; the sixteenth century Semicha Controversy between R. Levi ibn Haviv and R. Yaakov Berab).

74. See, for example, LS I:42a (Pe'ah III:6; who came first, R. Judah b. Beteirah or R. Akiva?); LS III:43b (Nazir VII:4; two rabbis with the initial "M," the famous R. Meir and a lesser well known R. Miasha); ibid. (the relationship between R. Eliezer and R. Joshua); LS III:53a (identity of Elazar in Sotah IX:9); LS III:53b (Sotah IX:10; when did Yohanan the High Priest live?); LS III:149a-b (Shavu'ot I:4) and 'Ez 'Avot III:7 (23b; R. Meir and R. Siomon were contemporaries); LS III:170a (identity of a Rabbi S. mentioned in Horayot I:2); LS IV:45a (Temurah III:3) and 108a ('Ohalot III:5; does the order of names in a Mishnah also reflect their chronological sequence?); LS IV:48b (identity of R. Simon b. Gam-

liel mentioned in Keritut I:7); LS IV:137a-b (Parah III:5; was Ezra the Scribe a High Priest?); Mishneh Lehem in LS IV:199b, 217b, 233a (identity of R. Gamliel in Berakhot I:1, Pe'ah II:6 and Shekalim III:3; see also Derush Tefillat Yesharim, 22a); ibid., LS IV:200a-201a (Berakhot I:3; identity of Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel); ibid., LS IV:202a (identity of R. Judah in Berakhot II:1); ibid., LS IV:202b (identity of R. Jose in Berakhot II:3); ibid., LS IV:232a-233b (Kil'ayim IV:8; who came first, R. Eliezer b. Ya'akov or Hananya b. Hakhina'i?); ibid., LS IV:282b (Pesahim VII:2; relationship between R. Zadok and R. Gamliel); ibid., LS IV:289a (Shekalim V:1; when did Nehunya Hofer Shihin live?); SY I:80, end (identity of various rabbis named Eliezar and Elazar); SY I:89 and Derush Tefillat Yesharim, 12a (was R. Gamliel the nasi while the Temple was still standing?); Derush Pesah Gadol, 7a-b (information about the Benei Beteira).

Rabbinic chronology was also the subject of many of his short notes on the margins of his own edition of the Talmud. Many of these marginalia were printed in the back of the standard editions of the Talmud as either "Hiddushim ve Hagahot" or "Hagahot ve-Hiddishim" on various tracts. See, for example, Emden's comments on Berakhot 7a, 48a, 56a; Shabbat 15b, 24a, 31b, 32b, 33b, 37b, 38b, 110a; Eruvin, 11b, 25a, 30a, 54a, 61b, 63a, 64b; Pesahim 53b, 102b, 115a; Rosh Hashanah 18a; Yoma 39b, 53b, 79a; Sukkah 50a, 53a; Bezah 12b, 21b; Ta'anit 5b, 10a, 21b, 29a; Megillah 5b, 10a, 27b; Mo'ed Katan 20a, 27a; Yevamot 45b, 58b, 83b, 102a, 104a; Ketubot 8a, 12a, 17a, 23a, 26b, 35b, 50a, 50b, 62b, 102b, 111a; Nedarim 23a; Nazir 29a, 56b, 60b, 66a; Gittin 6b, 15a, 18a, 34a, 39a, 56a, 58a, 69a, 81a, 88a; Kiddushin 46a; Baba Kamma 19b, 112b; Baba Mezia

64a, 66b, 85a, 119a; Baba Batra 11b, 25b, 45a, 83b, 135a, 139a, 155b, 165b, 167b; Sanhedrin 11a, 14a, 20b, 28a, 36a, 67b, 101a, 107b, 108a; Shavu'ot 35a; Makkot 4b, 5b; Avodah Zarah 11a, 17b, 34b, 36b, 38b, 60b; Horiyot 10a, 14a; Bekhorot 5b, 11a, 42b; Temurah 18a, 19a, 19b, 31a, 33a; Keritut 15a, 27a; Me'ilah 3b, 11b, 15b, 17b; Tamid 18b; Zevahim 18b, 55b, 88b, 90b, 94a, 102a, 113a; Menahot 17a, 18a, 19b, 21b, 54b, 88b, 93b; Hullin 13a, 14a, 76a, 124b, 137b; Nidah 21a, 24b, 63a, 65b, 66a; Parah III:8.

In many cases Emden would make sure that the biographical information about a certain figure was consistent with that known about him from other sources and would also often change the spelling of a name cited in the Talmudic text (e.g. Rava to Rabbah or R. Ashi to R. Assi) in order to make it conform historically.

Emden's interest in this subject extended to medieval times as well. See, for example, Mor u-Keziyah II:53b (#505; Ramban was a teacher of Rashba); SY II:112 (Rosh and Rashba were contemporaries); SY II:119 (R. Meir of Rothenberg was the leading scholar after the Tosafists); Migdal 'Oz, 32b-33a (Sefer Tashbez was written by a student of R. Meir of Rothenberg who was the teacher of Rosh); Mor u-Keziyah II:14a (#306; Radbaz lived one generation before Maharit); Mor u-Keziyah II:7b (#263; Rama was a teacher of Levush).

He also traced influences of an earlier scholar on a later one. See, for example, LS III:86b (Baba Kamma VIII:6; Rif was the teacher of Rambam); SY II:20 ("Ri the Elder was the teacher of all the Tosafists"); 172 ("Rif was the teacher of Rosh"); Mor u-Keziyah II:35b (#409; "Rambam was the teacher of Rosh").

75. In the Epilogue to the second volume of his Siddur (II:158a) and in MS, 167, Emden noted that he included in his Siddur a reference to all the historical events which occurred on any given day of the year, both ancient and medieval. In addition to numerous Biblical events, references can be found to the status of Torah learning in the days of R. Israel Isserlein (I:32b); Yom Tov Lipmann Muelhausen who lived three hundred years earlier and was a contemporary of Maharil (I:176b); the German halakhic tradition being more reliable than that of Spain (I:411b-412a; cited above, pp. 273-74); the destruction of Jewish communities during the Crusades (II:57a); the Chmielnicki massacres of 1648 (II:57a, 66b, 77b); the Spanish Expulsion (II:76b, 77a; see more below); the death of Yehosef ha-Nagid on the ninth of Tevet and the subsequent destruction of the Granadian Jewish community (II:149b); the Castillian Jewish community being saved from the danger of Martin Gonzolo and Frankfurt Jewry being saved from Vinschanz (?) (II:155a); the expulsion of Jews from France in Av of 1306 (II:157b).

Emden's additional notes to his Siddur also contain a variety of historical references. See M. Bick's edition of the Siddur II, op. cit., 84 (pogroms in Germany); 87, 88, 90, 91, 97 (destruction of Jewish communities during the Crusades); 88 (anti-Jewish activity in Prague in 1389); 94-95 (martyrdom of the Cologne community); 96 (massacre of Blois Jewry in 1171); 97 (Chmielnicki massacres); 100 (impact of the Spanish Expulsion); 103 (expulsion of the Jews from Provence in 1306).

76. See, for example, LS I:171a (Bikkurim III:4; LS II:155b (Hagigah

III:5); LS III:145a (Makkot II:6); LS IV:59a (Tamid III:8); Mishneh Lehem in LS IV:200b (Berakhot I:3; ibid. in LS IV:311a (Rosh Hashanah I:3); Mor u-Keziyah II:13a-c (#306); 76b (#670); Sefer Shimush, 169; Siddur I:51b; SY I:87, 132; marginalia commentary on the Talmud, Megilla 5b; Yoma 9a; Avodah Zarah 11b. Although in one case Emden explicitly referred to "Yossipon ha-'Ivri" (Mor u-Keziyah II:18a, #307), it is fairly certain that whenever he cited Yossipon the reference was to the medieval chronicle by that name and not to the historical work of Josephus in the first century C.E. On occasion, however, he did make reference to "the reliable author Yosippon (of the Romans) in his seventh book of the wars of the Jews." See Migdal 'Oz, 120a; also Mishneh Lehem in LS IV:281b (Pesahim III:8).

See also SY I:41 for a reference to Yosef b. Gorion's Contra Apion.

77. See, for example, 'Ez 'Avot IV:22 (44a); Siddur II:19b-20b, 105a-b (see below); Sefer Shimush, 36, 66, 96; Mitpahat Sefarim, 84.

78. See, for example, Torat ha-Kena'ot, 50a where Emden cited the passage regarding the child prodigy named Nahum popularized by R. Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi in the sixteenth century. For more background on this, see D. Ruderman, "Three Contemporary Perceptions of a Polish Wunderkind of the Seventeenth Century," AJS Review IV (1979), 143-63, esp. p. 152.

79. See, for example, Migdal 'Oz, 13a (below, n. 89).

80. See marginalia commentary on the Talmud, Baba Mezia 117a, Sanhedrin

67b, Avodah Zarah 8b, Horiyot 14a, Nidah 63a; Mitpahat Sefarim, 90, 92-3. Emden was also familiar with different editions of the work, noting that Zacuto's discussion regarding the authorship of the Zohar was included in the Constantinople edition of his work but was missing from the later Cracow edition. See Mitpahat Sefarim, 7.

Emden added a great deal of marginalia to his own personal copy of Sefer Yuhasin, often inserting names overlooked by the author and sometimes disagreeing with him. Some of these comments were printed together with notes on Sefer Yuhasin by Emden's nephew, R. Zvi Hirsch of Berlin, in Yeshurun II (1856), 7-16; III (1857), 5-8. Many more were printed by H. Filipowski in his edition of Sefer Yuhasin (London and Edinburgh, 1857).

81. Emden strongly opposed Azaryah's critical historical methodology (see Migdal 'Oz, 19b) and, in one case, made reference to Maharal's attack on Azaryah (SY I:33; 29b). See also LS III:123b (Sanhedrin 4:3), Mitpahat Sefarim, 54 and Emden's commentary on Seder 'Olam Rabbah, 19a, (1952 ed., 44b-45a), where Emden's attacked Azaryah's dating of the Persian kings, without mentioning him by name (see A. Shochat, op. cit., 229).

For other, more positive, references to Azaryah in Emden's works, see, for example, Mitpahat Sefarim, 83; Migdal 'Oz, 156b, 158a; 'Ez 'Avot I:2 (5a).

Emden made reference to the Letter of Aristeas in his marginalia commentary to the Talmud, Megillah 9a.

For a previous discussion of Emden's attitude towards Azaryah, see

A. Shochat, ibid., 207-08, 228-29.

82. See, for example, Mor u-Keziyah II:13b (#306): "So can be found in the Chronicles of the nations" ("be-sefer divrei ha-yanim le-'umot"); Migdal 'Oz, 162b.

In some cases, it isn't clear if Emden's reference to a chronicler is to a Jewish or Gentile source. See, for example, 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 31b; Sefer Shimush, 76; Emden's additional notes to his Siddur, ed. by M. Bick, op. cit., 128; marginalia commentary on Megilla 6a, 18a; Migdal 'Oz, 13a.

83. Siddur II:158a.

For examples of the use of Megillat Ta'anit, see Mor u-Keziyah II:13a (#306), marginalia commentary on Sanhedrin 91a; for use of Seder 'Olam, see LS IV:189b (Yadayim IV:4), marginalia commentary on the Talmud, Shabbat 87b, Ta'anit 29a, Gittin 6b, Baba Kamma 82a, Baba Batra 121b, Sanhedrin 100a.

84. See Middot I:2, 9; V:4.

85. Ketubot 62b.

86. Nidah 52b.

87. Mishneh Lehem, LS IV:232a-233b (Kil'ayim IV:8).

For R. Eliezer and R. Yehoshua as students of R. Johanan b. Zakkai,

see Gittin 56a.

88. See, for example, Sefer Shimush, 112; Emden's additional notes to his Siddur, ed. by M. Bick, op. cit., 30.

89. See, for example, Migdal 'Oz, 13a: "I will demonstrate for you the truth of the words of our rabbis, confirmed by Gentile authors who testified that such an event actually occurred in the days of Rabbi. The (author of the) Zemah David quotes this;" 45a; 120b where it appears that Emden was familiar with the ancient Roman source to which he referred by way of Manasseh b. Israel's Mikveh Yisrael (see A. Shochat, op. cit., 229); Siddur II:19b-20b and 105a-b where Emden cited Gentile descriptions of various Temple rituals as found in Solomon ibn Verga's Shevet Yehudah (see below, pp. 525-26).

In fact, in one place (Sefer Shimush, 89) he accused secular history books of elaborating "worthless matters."

For Emden's attitude towards contemporary history, see his pronouncements about the halakhic permissibility of reading newspapers during the week and on the Sabbath. See, for example, SY I:162; Mor u-Keziyah II:18b (#307); Siddur I:393a. He did often refer to newspaper accounts ("gazettes") of Sabbatianism. See, for example, Sefer Shimush, 15, 16, 27, 158, 170; Sefer Hit'avkut, 18b, 32b (Dutch newspaper). In Mor u-Keziyah II:91d he made reference to a 1766 newspaper reporting the recent appearance of an unusually tall person in Amsterdam.

90. See Yerushalmi, Shekalim II:5; Bereishit Rabbah 82:10.

91. Cf. Job 11:9.

92. See R. Grodzenski's approbation to Judah ha-Levi Lifshitz's Sefer Dor Yesharim (Pietrokov, 1907), 8.

93. Cf. Deut. 13:15.

94. Sefer Shimush, 156. See also, ibid., 157, 164, 168; Torat ha-Kena'ot, 16a.

95. Ibid., 159.

96. Siddur II:19b. For the passage see A. Shochat's edition of Shevet Yehudah (1946), 138-39.

97. Siddur II:105b. For this passage in Shevet Yehudah, see A. Shochat, ibid., 139-41.

For the last phrase, cf. Ps. 47:5.

98. For another example of a non-Jewish source confirming a rabbinic statement, see Miqdal 'Oz, 13a (above, n. 89).

99. See, for example, Mitpahat Sefarim (Lvov, 1870), 20, 21, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 35.

100. Ibid., 10.

101. Ibid., 10, 30.

102. Ibid., 35.

103. Ibid., 11, 33, 34.

104. Ibid., 8-9.

105. Ibid., 27, 31-34, 38.

106. Ibid., 13, 22, 31, 33-34.

These arguments were all found in earlier examples of Zohar criticism. See, for example, B. Safran, "Leone da Modena's Historical Thinking," Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century, ed. by I. Twersky and B. Septimus (Cambridge, 1987), 386-87. For a general history of Zohar criticism, including brief descriptions of da Modena and Emden, see I. Tishby, Mishnat ha-Zohar I (Jerusalem, 1949), 44f.

107. Cf. Ezek. 23:32.

108. Cf. Job 4:14.

109. Cf. Esther 3:8.

110. Torat ha-Kena'ot, 72b. For the last phrase, cf. Ruth 2:17.
111. For a discussion of the positive attitude of early Haskalah to history and a review of the literature on the subject, see T. Tsamriyon, "Tipuah ha-Haskalah ve-ha-Hinukh be-Hame'asef," 'Iyunim bi-Hinukh XXVIII (1980), 8-12 and the notes, 38-41.
112. LS I:33a (Berakhot IX:2). See also LS III:56b (Gittin I:2); Mor u-Keziya I:99b (#228) for a long elaboration on this; Siddur I:225a.
113. Mitpahat Sefarim, 54.
114. LS II:133a (Ta'anit I:3).
115. Ibid.
116. LS III:56b (Gittin I:2). Among other areas, Emden made reference to Greece, Rhodes, Sicily, Naples, Majorca, Minorca and Malta.
117. LS III:123a (Sanhedrin IV:3).
118. Mor u-Keziyah I:56a (#133).
119. Ibid., I:60b (#150).
120. "Hali Ketem," Derush Tefillat Yesharim, 26a.

121. Ibid.

122. 'Ez 'Avot V:6 (51b).

123. Siddur I:35a; Torat ha-Kena'ot, 16b.

124. Siddur, ibid., 230b.

125. Siddur II:2b. For other geographical information, see also SY II:124.

126. See, for example, LS II:50b (Shekalim I:1) and SY I:127 - how long it takes to travel across Palestine; LS IV:119a ('Ohalot XVIII:9) - area north of Acre; LS IV:142b (Parah VIII:10) - the Jordan River connects the Kinneret with the Dead Sea; Mishneh Lehem, LS IV:234a (Kil'ayim IX:7)- Acre and Jaffa are port cities; ibid., LS IV:237a (Shevi'it VI:1) - location of Acre; ibid., LS IV:241a-b (Shevi'it IX:1) and SY I:132 - location of the towns of Lod and Yavneh; ibid., LS IV:252a-253a (Ma'aser Sheni V:1) - the borders of Palestine. See also Derush Shemesh Zedakah, 6a.

Emden also penned a long essay on Palestinian geography entitled "Geder Yishuv 'Erez Yisrael" which he incorporated into Mor u-Keziyah II:12a-16a.

127. See, for example, LS IV:136a (Parah III:2) - the spring of Shiloah; LS IV:138a, 140b (Parah III:6, 11) - the stream of Kidron; LS IV:140b

(Parah III:11) - the Mt. of Olives; Mishneh Lehem IV:281b (Pesahim III:8) - Mt. Scopus. See also Mor u-Keziyah II:60b (#561) and Siddur I:218a, 233a.

128. See, for example, LS IV:35a (Bekhorot IX:2): "I saw in the words of those who wrote of lands, seas and rivers;" Mishneh Lehem, LS IV:237b, 238a (Shevi'it VI:1), Mor u-Keziyah II:60b (#561): ". . . and so did I read in the words of those who write of states and (various) places;" SY I:32 (25b); Siddur I:218a; Mitpahat Sefarim, 23.

129. See, for example, LS I:33b (Berakhot IX:2): "as seen by one who looks at the geographical map;" LS II:133a (Ta'anit I:3); Mor u-Keziyah I:99b (#228); SY I:32 (25b); 127, end; Derush Shemesh Zedakah, 6a.

In fact, on two occasions, Emden himself printed his own maps of Palestine. See Mishneh Lehem, LS IV:239 (Shevi'it VII:1) and Mor u-Keziya II:97b (relating to a passage in ibid., 16a). Compare them to other maps of Palestine printed in the eighteenth century. See D. Magid, "ha-Gaon mi-Vilna u-Mapat 'Erez Yisrael," Hadoar VII:37 (August 31, 1928), 589-90; Z. Vilnay, ha-Mapah ha-'Ivrit shel 'Erez Yisrael (Jerusalem, 1944), esp. 16-25.

130. This work was written by the fourteenth century geographer, Eshtori Parhi.

Emden's references to Kaftor va-Ferah include LS III:123b (Sanhedrin IV:3); LS IV:38b ('Arakhin III:2); Mishneh Lehem in LS IV:237a (Shevi'it VI:1); Mor u-Keziyah II:14a, b (#307); 60b (#561); SY I:30

(23b), 87, 89, 132 (63b); Derush Shemesh Zedakah, 6a.

Emden owned a copy of this work and wrote notes in the margin. They were incorporated by H. Edelman in his "Kuntres Tikkunei ha-Shegi'ot" at the beginning of his edition of Kaftor va-Ferah (Berlin, 1852), xxxvi f. They were also reprinted in J. F. Grosberg's edition of Kaftor va-Ferah (Jerusalem, 1959), 16f. For other references to Emden there, see pp. 11, 13.

For a previous discussion of the level of Emden's geographical knowledge, see A. Shochat, op. cit., 227-28.

For information about the level of geographical knowledge among earlier Ashkenazic Jews, see L. Zunz, "Geographische Literatur der Juden von dem ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1841," Gesammelte Schriften I (Berlin, 1875), 146-216; translated into English as, "Essay on the Geographical Literature of the Jews from the Remotest Times to the Year 1841," in A. Asher, The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela II (London, 1841), 230-317. For specific references to knowledge of geography in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see ibid., 280-93. See also M. Shulvass, "ha-Yedi'a bi-Ge'ografiyah 'ezel ha-Yehudim bi-Teḥum ha-Tarbut shel ha-Yahadut ha-Ashkenazit bi-Yemei ha-Beinayim," Sefer Yovel likhevod ha-Rav Dr. Avraham Weiss (New York, 1964), 529-51.

131. Siddur I:224b. Emden's position on this matter was cited in M. Kasher, "ha-'Areẓ o ha-Shemesh Merkaz ha-'Olam," Talpiyot II (1946), 402-03. Emden explicitly referred to Copernicus in 'Ez 'Avot III:18 (32b) and to the constant revolving of the Earth in Mor u-Keziyah I:2a (#1).

For Jewish reactions to this theory in the two centuries prior to

Emden, see A. Neher, "Copernicus in the Hebraic Literature from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," Journal of the History of Ideas XXXVIII (1977), 211-26; H. Levine, "Paradise Not Surrendered: Jewish Reactions to Copernicus and the Growth of Modern Science," Epistemology, Methodology and the Social Sciences, ed. by R. Cohen and M. Wartofsky (Boston, 1983), 203-25. For Jewish knowledge of and attitude towards science in general during that time, see D. Ruderman, "Science, Medicine and Jewish Culture in Early Modern Europe," op. cit. (above, n. 22).

132. See, for example, Gen. 15:5.

133. Siddur I:101a. For other references to contemporary astronomy, see also Emden's additional notes to his Siddur, printed by M. Bick, op. cit., 50 regarding the recent discovery of sunspots by "hokrim in our time" and SY II:112 (35a).

134. See Siddur II:14a; Derush Sha'agat 'Aryeh, 7a.

135. See Siddur II:67a, 150a; LS I:8a (Berakhot I:2), 21a (IV:1); Mor u-Keziyah II:43a-b (#443); Derush Shemesh Zedakah, 5b-6a.

See also Emden's brief essay on birhat ha-hamah printed at the end of his Sefer Seder 'Olam Rabbah ve-Zuta u-Megillat Ta'anit (Hamburg, 1757), 31b-32b. The essay was occasioned by the fact that the cycle of birhat ha-hamah fell during that year.

136. See Mor u-Keziyah I:98b (#227).

137. See Mitpahat Sefarim, 54.

See also LS II:49a-b (Pesahim X:5). For other information about astronomy, see 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 24b; Zoharei Yavez, 63.

138. See Mor u-Keziah I:97b (#224).

For a previous discussion of Emden's knowledge of astronomy, see A. Shochat, op. cit., 226.

139. For other examples where Emden made reference to non-Jewish works, see 'Ez 'Avot, introduction 2a; V:22 (58b); Siddur I:15a, 24b; Migdal 'Oz, 19a, 48a ("listen to that which I read in one of the books . . . from the land of China"); Mitpahat Sefarim, 75; Zoharei Yavez, 123; A. Shochat, ibid., 220-21.

Regarding issues relating to medicine, see below, Chapter VII.

It is interesting to note that some of Emden's contemporaries were struck by what they considered to be his wide-ranging non-Talmudic knowledge. See the salutation of a letter written to him by R. Meir Eger (SY II:111): "Jacob's (i.e. R. Jacob Emden's) measure ('midato) is complete in physics, sciences, logic and metaphysics. His hand is in all (Gen. 16:12) . . ." The first phrase is a play on "the bed ('mitato) of Jacob is complete."

Already in 1724, Emden was referred to as, "ha-hakham ha-kolel bi-khol mada." See SY I:23; also SY II:74 (dated 1727).

140. This is a play on the words of the verse in Eccles. 4:6. The com-

plete text reads as follows: "Better is a handful of gratification than two fistsful of labor, which is pursuit of wind." Emden here identified the Talmudic source as providing only a "handful" while the secular source contains "two fistsful."

141. Cf. 'Avot IV:1: "Who is a wise person? He who learns from all people."

142. Citing this verse from memory, Emden was not fully precise (he wrote "'al" instead of "lo," for example) but there is no question that this is what he had in mind.

143. Cf. Amos 8:11.

144. 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 19a-b. For the last phrase, see Sanhedrin 100b.

145. See Sanhedrin 100b, commenting on the Mishnah outlawing sefarim hizonim.

146. See Megilla 16a.

147. Migdal 'Oz, 107b. For the last phrase, see 'Avot IV:1.

For a similar argument, see 'Ez 'Avot 58b ('Avot V:22).

For a discussion of the meaning of "sefarim hizonim" in the statement of R. Akiva in Sanhedrin X:1, see L. Ginzberg, "Some Observations on the Attitude of the Synagogue Towards the Apocalyptic-Eschatological

Writings," JBL XLI (1922), 124f.

148. See pp. 511-12.

149. Cf. Gen. 2:18.

150. Cf. Job 37:21.

151. Ketubot 17a.

152. SY I:41, end. H. Pollack, Jewish Folkways in Germanic Lands (1648-1806) (Cambridge, 1971), 79 is wrong in stating that in this responsum "Emden advises a medical student to desist from his secular studies, as it can only bring confusion."

For the significance of Emden's reference to his contemporaries who distort the truth of Judaism, see below.

153. Cf. Isa. 54:17 where the verse is formulated in the second person.

154. Gen. 49:3; Lit. "exceeding in rank and exceeding in honor."

155. Cf. Proverbs 26:5 where the verse is in third person singular.

The phrase "sifrei miras" or "hamiras" is an enigmatic one. I follow the definition of Pnei Moshe on Talmud Yerushalmi, Sanhedrin X:1, 28a and Azaryah de Rossi, Me'or Einayim, op. cit., 84 (Chapter 2) which I believe fits best into this context as well as that below, p. 566. See

M. Ish Shalom, "Gilgul Tum'at Yadayim Bikhlah ve-'al Yedei Maga bi-Kitvei ha-Kodesh bi-Frat," ha-Goren III (1902), 33, n. 1; L. Ginzberg, "Some Observations . . .," op. cit. (n. 147), 127-28; R. Gordis, "'Homeric' Books in Palestine," JQR XXXVIII (1948), 359-68.

Cf. the commentaries of Maimonides and R. Samson of Sens to Yadayim IV:6 who translate it as "heretical works." R. Hai Gaon, ad. loc., identifies it with the "sefarim hizonim of hokhmat Yevanim." In addition, cf. S. Lieberman, "The Alleged Ban on Greek Wisdom," Hellenism in Jewish Palestine (New York, 1950), 105-14; trans. as "ha-De'ah ha-Mekubelet 'al 'Issur Hokhmah Yevanit," Yevanit ve-Yevanut bi-'Erez Yisrael (Jerusalem, 1962), 229-35 who suggests that it refers specifically to the works of Homer.

For other references to "sifrei hamiras" in Emden's writings, see below, pp. 566; Derush Sha'arei 'Azarah, 1a; Sefer Hit'avkut, 88b.

156. LS III:134a (Sanhedrin X:1). For this last phrase, cf. Jer. 3:25.

157. This paranthesis is in the original text.

158. See Exodus Rabbah V:14.

159. 'Ez 'Avot II:14. For the use of the verse from Proverbs 5:20 as referring to secular studies in general, see M. Bick's edition of Emden's marginalia to his Siddur, op. cit., 104 and below, n. 165; for the verse as a specific reference to philosophy, see Mitpahat Sefarim, 79. See also 'Ez 'Avot V:22 (58b).

See too Emden's introduction to the second volume of Mor u-Keziyah, 1b, where he stated that study of Torah will enable someone to be in a position to respond to an 'apikorus. Cf. Siddur I:236a where Emden wrote that a scholar is permitted to study Greek wisdom in order to be able to respond to a heretic.

A comprehensive study of Avot commentaries on this Mishnah as well as on the statement in the name of Ben Bag Bag, "Delve in it (i.e. the Torah) and (continue to) delve in it for everything is in it" ('Avot V:27) will reveal the full range of attitudes towards secular studies. For other commentaries on 'Avot who share Emden's opinion that the second part of the Mishnah (responding to a heretic) is an extension of the first (study of Torah) and should not be used as a justification for secular studies, see R. Isaac Yavez, Hasdei 'Avot (Constantinople, 1582) and R. Hayyim Yosef David Azulai ("Hida"), Petah Einayim (Jerusalem, 1959). R. Eliyahu b. Amozeg reacted negatively to Hida's rejection of secular knowledge in his commentary on 'Avot, 'Avot u-Gevurot, where he listed a number of great rabbinic scholars who were involved with those disciplines. Compare this approach to those who did use this as a basis for encouraging secular study like Shimon b. Zemah Duran, Sefer Magen 'Avot II:14 and V:23 (Leipzig, 1855), 36a-b, 94a; Israel Israeli, cited in Perushei Rabbenu Yizhak b. R. Shlomo me-Tolido 'al Masekhet 'Avot (Jerusalem, 1965), 75; Judah ibn Matka, Midrash Hokhmah (Parma MS 421), 37. For the latter two sources, see B. Septimus, Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition (Cambridge, 1982), 85, 98. For other sources, see ibid., 158, n. 79.

This issue in general has been discussed most recently by M. Shmid-

man, R. Joseph ibn Shoshan and Medieval Commentaries on Abot Including an Edition of the Abot Commentary of R. Shem Tob b. Joseph ibn Shem Tob (unpublished doctoral dissertation; Harvard University, 1980), 95-6 and D. Rappel, "Hevay Shekod Lilmod . . . ma she-Tashiv le-'Apikorus," Tehumin III (1982), 477-84.

160. Lit., "a monument and a name;" cf. Isa. 56:5.

161. Lit., "ten shares;" cf. II Sam. 19:44, Dan. 1:20.

162. Cf. Proverbs 31:29.

163. See Menahot 99b.

164. Cf. Proverbs 8:34.

165. Cf. Proverbs 5:20. Once again Emden used this verse as a reference to secular studies.

166. Cf. Proverbs 5:10-11.

167. Cf. ibid., 5:8.

168. Cf. Isa. 54:6.

169. Cf. Gen. 38:26.

170. Lit., "they did not move from there until," a common phrase in rabbinic literature.

171. Cf. Proverbs 27:5.

172. This parantehsis is in the text.

173. Cf. Song of Songs 8:4.

174. Mitpahat Sefarim, 72-3. It is interesting that in this text (p. 72) Emden referred approvingly to his LS commentary (cited above, pp. 536-37) on the Mishnah enjoining the study of "sefarim hizonim" in which he did allow unsystematic study of those texts "for the sake of responding to the heretic."

For another pejorative reference to the study of "hokhmot hizoniyot bi-kevi'ut," see 'Ez 'Avot VI:2 (60b).

175. On Gumpertz's life, see D. Kaufmann and M. Freudenthal, Die Familie Gomperz (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1907), 164-200; J. Eschelbacher, "Die Anfänge allgemeiner Bildung unter den deutschen Juden vor Mendelssohn," op. cit. (n. 5), 174-76; H. Borodiansky's introductory notes to M. Mendelssohn, Gesammelte Schriften XVI (1929), XXXVII, Brief 3; A. Altmann, Moses Mendelssohn, op. cit., 23-25.

For the place of Sefer Megaleh Sod in Ibn Ezra scholarship, see J. L. Fleischer, "Perushim le-Perush R. Avraham ibn Ezra le-Mikra," Ozar

Hayyim XII (1936), "Banti bi-Sefarim," 28 and N. Ben Menahem, "Meforshei Ibn Ezra 'al ha-Mikra," 'Inyanei Ibn Ezra (Jerusalem, 1978), 158-59.

This work was reprinted in Vilna, 1836, and Lvov, 1910. All pagination below refers to the first edition. The references to other specific passages of this work attacked by Emden appear, in order, in the introduction (n. p.), 3a; commentary on Kohelet, 10b and 1a; commentary on Esther, 8b.

176. A. Altmann, Moses Mendelssohn, ibid., 25; 767, n. 62.

Cf. J. Eschelbacher, ibid., 176, who considered this work to be much more of a significant departure from previous formulations of this issue. According to Eschelbacher, Gumpertz was proposing "a program for a new time."

177. "Ma'amar ha-Mada, op. cit., 15a.

178. Cf. Gen. 24:1.

179. "Ma'amar ha-Mada, op. cit., 15a; see also ibid., 15b.

180. Ibid., 14b.

181. This was reprinted in M. Mendelssohn, Gesammelte Schriften XIV (1938). See pp. 111-12. See also S. Fuenn, Safah le-Ne'emanim (Vilna, 1881), 91, n.

182. MS, above p. 510; LS III:134a (Sanhedrin X:1), above, p. 537; Mitpahat Sefarim, 73; above, p. 542.

183. See p. 513.

184. 'Iggeret Purim, 3a; J. Schacter, "Rabbi Jacob Emden's 'Iggeret Purim," op. cit., 444.

185. Cf. Eccles. 2:12. The original text reads, "My thoughts turned to appraising wisdom ('hokhmah'), madness and folly."

186. This paranthesis is in the text.

187. Sefer Shimush, 25b. See also Mitpahat Sefarim, 75: ". . . as I now saw with my own eyes in one of the foolish ethical works (that come to my hand to read in a place where it is forbidden to meditate in words of Torah)"; 80: "However, they only permitted the actual works of Gentile secular wisdom to be studied in the hours spent in the bathroom, as I noted in She'ilat Yavez (#41, end). Consult our Shulhan Arukh, Orah Hayyim #307. Nevertheless, in any case, one must first fill his belly with the meat and wine of Torah, as I wrote in Ozar ha-Tov." For the references cited in this passage, see Mor u-Keziyah II:18a; Migdal 'Oz, 25b.

188. SY I:10. See also 'Ez 'Avot II:14 (20b) where Emden noted that even those "great scholars who filled their bellies with the bread and

wine of Torah," were permitted to study secular subjects," only in passing ('bi-'akra'i) at an hour which is neither day nor night, or in the bathroom, as is our custom with them in accordance with (the practice of) my revered father. See She'ilat Yavez #10." For other people, however, continued Emden, such study is only a disgrace ("genai") and, certainly, should not take place in a Gentile setting.

Cf. MS, 17 where Emden did not seem to limit his father's study of secular literature to the bathroom. He wrote about his father, "In free time ('bi-sha'ot penuyot') he would study secular books." For Hakham Zevi's secular knowledge see below, pp. 587-88.

189. This, of course, is not a new nuance in the centuries old battle against philosophy. Indeed, anti-rationalists had long based their opposition to that discipline on the antinomism which they felt was implicit in it. See, already, a statement attributed to R. Hai Gaon in the eleventh century: "And he who will turn his heart away from this (i.e. Torah) and will be occupied only with those matters (i.e. philosophy) will remove from himself Torah and the fear of Heaven . . . And such a removal will result in the fact that his thought will be confused and he will no longer be concerned with not praying . . ." For a discussion of the authenticity and variants of this text, including as to whether or not the underlined word "only" above is authentic, see T. Preschel, "'al Teshuvah 'Ahat le-Rav Hai Gaon," Sinai LXVIII (1970), 180-81. In addition to the sources cited there, see R. Abba Mari, Minhat Kena'ot (Pressburg, 1838), 166-67, #90; H. Graetz, "Ein pseudepigraphisches Sendschreiben, angeblich von Hai Gaon an Samuel Nagid," MGWJ XI (1862), 37-40; M.

Margoliyot, Sefer Hilkhoh ha-Nagid (Jerusalem, 1962), 58; A. Hershman, Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet Perfet and His Times (New York, 1943), 90, n. 4; trans. as Rabi Yizhak bar Sheshet (ha-Rivash) (Jerusalem, 1956), 58, 175, #31.

This argument also figured prominently in the thirteenth century controversy over the philosophical writings of Maimonides. See, for example, B. Septimus, op. cit., 93-95.

190. Cf. Eccles. 12:5; i.e. God.

191. Siddur I:247b-248a.

192. Ibid., I:248a-b.

193. Cf. I Sam. 20:20.

194. Siddur I:248b-249a.

195. Cf. Isa. 22:25.

196. Cf. Jud. 11:35.

197. See above, p. 332, n. 111.

198. Siddur I:249a.

199. Cf. Proverbs 23:17.
200. Cf. Joshua 1:7.
201. Cf. Proverbs 8:18.
202. Cf. Ps. 31:20.
203. Cf. Ezek. 27:24.
204. Cf. Proverbs 8:14.
205. Siddur I:249a.
206. Siddur II:75b-77a.
207. Ibid., II:77a. For the last phrase, cf. Job. 28:22.
208. Cf. Hosea 5:7.
209. Cf. Num. 32:9.
210. Note that this hedonistic motive appears almost verbatim in Siddur I:247b, above, p. 46 ("livhor hayei ha-hofshiyut"). See also Siddur II:76a: "le-hasbi'a ha-koah ha-ta'avani."

211. Cf. Job 3:26.
212. Cf. Job 12:5.
213. Cf. Hosea 9:9.
214. Cf. Judges 11:35.
215. Cf. Isa. 24:5.
216. Cf. Isa. 51:1.
217. Cf. Lev. 13:7.
218. Siddur II:77a-b. See too Siddur I:31a.
219. See Tobias b. Eliezer, Midrash Lekah Tov (or Pesikta Zutrata), Vayetze XXXI:32; (Vilna, 1884), 80a.
See also Beraḥhot 56a, Makkot 11a.
220. Rashba's herem was promulgated in 1305 and the expulsion took place in 1306.
221. See Emden's additions to his Siddur published by M. Bick at the end of his reprint of Emden's Siddur (Tel Aviv, 1966), 103.
See also Mitpahat Sefarim, 62, regarding, specifically, the impact

of The Guide of the Perplexed: "Who knows how many hundreds and thousands left the faith because of this. It is the direct cause for the destruction of many great and mighty Jewish communities and their total eradication from the land of Spain and France." See too ibid., 84.

For other references to philosophy as being responsible for the destruction "of our Temple and land" as well as for the Spanish expulsion, see Migdal 'Oz, 158a; Emden's marginalia to his Siddur, op. cit., 100; "Hali Ketem," op. cit., 26b; Iggeret Purim, 33a-b.

222. In the context of the verse, "nakhon" means established. Here Emden used it in the sense of "proper" or "appropriate," i.e. although they engage in illicit sexual relations, they see no problem with the children of these unions.

223. This paranthesis is in the text.

224. Migdal 'Oz, 47a. This passage is cited by A. Shochat, op. cit., 223.

225. For more on the dangers of autonomy, see Migdal 'Oz, 49a-b, cited by Shochat, ibid., 223-24.

For another example of Emden's use of the verse, "the beginning of wisdom is the fear of God," see 'Ez 'Avot III:9 (25b).

226. Migdal 'Oz, 54a. For other anti-philosophical passages in this

work, see also ibid., 36a: would be philosophers ("mitpalsifim") incorrectly deny the power of Shemot, "because of their crude mind ('sikhlam ha-gas'), for they have no conception of these matters;" 51a; 191a (cites Albalag); 155b; 158a (philosophy "certainly destroyed our Temple and land").

227. 'Avot III:9.

228. 'Avot V:22.

229. Cf. I Kings 14:9.

230. Cf. Nahum 2:12.

231. Cf. Judges II:35.

232. 'Ez 'Avot V:22 (58b-59a).

233. See Migdal 'Oz, 119a.

234. 'Ez 'Avot II:4 (14a). A. Shochat, op. cit., 221-22 claims that this is a polemic against Descartes. I am not convinced that Emden knew Descartes and would prefer to see this in the context of other, similar statements in Emden's corpus (see especially Siddur I:247-49).

It is also not surprising that Emden did not accept those interpretations of various statements in 'Avot which were adduced by some to

justify secular studies. For example, in his commentary on 'Avot, R. Samuel de Uzeda entertained the possibility that the Mishnaic statement in the name of R. Yose, "apply yourself to study Torah, which is not yours by inheritance" ('Avot II:12), could mean that one must study the kind of "Torah which is not yours by inheritance," i.e. secular studies, in order to know how to respond to the heretic. (See his Midrash Shmuel [New York, 1948], II:14; 40a). In his own commentary, Emden simply accepted the interpretation of R. Obadya Bartinoro who explained this statement as a warning to children of scholars that they not consider Torah knowledge hereditary, i.e. "yours by inheritance," but apply themselves to it on their own. (See also Midrash Shmuel, ibid., 39a-b).

235. Cf. 'Avot II:5.

236. Cf. Baba Kamma I:1.

237. "Hali Ketem," printed at the end of Derush Tefillat Yesharim, 24b.

238. Ibid., 25a-26b. For another reference to the same argument from the animal world, see 'Ez 'Avot III:15 (30a). See also 'Iggeret Bikoret, 24a f.

239. See A. Shochat, op. cit., 196, 207, 221-22; idem., Molad XXIII, op. cit., 329, 330; A. Altmann, Moses Mendelssohn, op. cit., 10-12; I. Eisenstein-Barzilay, "The Ideology of the Berlin Haskalah," op. cit., (above, n. 15), 5-6; see too below, pp. 77-78; T. Tsamriyon, op. cit., (n. 1),

34-5, n. 144; Solomon Maimon: An Autobiography, trans. by J. C. Murray (Boston, 1888), 104-05, 123, 143; Hayei Shlomo Maimon (Tel Aviv, 1953), 266-331.

The Guide made such an impact that two years after it was reprinted a need was felt also to republish the medieval philosophical dictionary, Ruah Hen, attributed to R. Judah ibn Tibbon, in order to explain philosophical terms in the Guide which were being misunderstood. It was printed with a commentary of R. Israel of Zamocz in Jessnitz, 1744. See the preface of the printer, Israel b. Abraham.

The last time the Guide had been printed was in Sabionetta, 1553.

240. Lit., "of the thousands and tens of thousands."

241. Cf. Ezek. 21:12.

242. Emden reversed the order of two words in this verse but the meaning remains unchanged.

243. Cf. Neh. 9:26.

244. Lit., "enter their miniature sanctuaries to engage in service of the heart."

245. See above, n. 155.

246. Cf. Lament. 3:23.

247. Cf. the text of the standard marriage document.
248. See Sanhedrin 27b, Shavuot 39a.
249. This is a play on Isa. 2:6. See below, n. 256.
250. Cf. Prov. 1:8.
251. "Hali Ketem," op. cit., 26a-b.
252. See, for example, Siddur II:77a-b; SY I:4, end; Migdal 'Oz, 95a; Luah Eresh I:78b; II, printed in 'Ez 'Avot, 77a; Mitpahat Sefarim, 79 (cited below, pp. 569-70).
253. For the general significance of this work, see my "Rabbi Jacob Emden's 'Iggeret Purim," op. cit.
254. Cf. Ex. 3:7; Lam. 3:1.
255. This is a play on Esther 8:17.
256. This is a play on Isa. 2:6. See above, n. 249.
257. The manuscript here is unclear.

258. Cf. Jer. 3:17; 9:13.

259. Cf. Deut. 22:14, 17, 19.

260. A play on Deut. 33:4.

261. Cf. Gen. 29:32.

262. 'Iggeret Purim, ms. 33a-b; published by J. Schacter, op. cit., 445-56.

For other anti-philosophical statements in Emden's works, generally formulated as attacks on the opinions of "mitpalsifim," see Miqdal 'Oz, 2b-3a (philosophers are in no position to provide rationales for mizvot), 21b-26a (where Emden interpolated scores of comments on the first four chapters of Maimonides' Hil. Yesodei ha-Torah which he incorporated into his work), 117b-118b, 121a, 151a, 155b, 158a; Torat ha-Kena'ot, 69b; 'Ez 'Avot IV:22 (44b-45a); Siddur I:5a-6a (where Emden launched into a long polemic against the Epicurean notion of chance; see too ibid., I:133b, 260b), 11b, 17b (against those who deny the immortality of the soul), 24b (against the philosophical disdain for the sense of touch; see too ibid., I:352b), 27b-28a; Emden's marginalia on the Siddur, op. cit., 104 (where he approvingly cited the commentaries of Ibn Ezra and Radak on Isa. 55:2, "Why do you spend money for what is not bread" as a reference to "strange wisdoms" ("hokhmot nokhriyot").

See too Miqdal 'Oz, 23b and Mitpahat Sefarim, 56-57 where Emden claimed that "ma'ase merkavah" referred to Kabbalah, not philosophy.

A contemporary of Emden's, R. Isaac Kohen Blinpani of Amsterdam, described one of his no longer extant exegetical works, 'Em le-Masoret, as polemicizing, in part, against "mitpalsifim" who reject various rabbinic interpretations of the Biblical text. See A. H. Wagenaar, op. cit., Appendix X, xiii, n.; Y. Rafael, "Kitvei Rabi Ya'akov Emden," op. cit., 236.

263. A list of earlier scholars who fit into this category would include Judah Halevi, R. Meir ha-Levi Abulafia (Ramah), Hasdai Crescas and Joseph ibn Shoshan. For Halevi, see B. Septimus, Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition, op. cit., 62, who sees him as marking "the emergence of an articulate and philosophically sophisticated anti-rationalism." See also the sources cited ibid., 148, n. 10, 11. For "Ramah's philosophically knowledgable anti-rationalism," see Septimus, ibid. For Crescas, see H. A. Wolfson, Crescas' Critique of Aristotle (Cambridge, 1929), 124-27; idem., "Studies in Crescas," PAAJR V (1933-34), 172-73 (with references to Halevi and Gazzali as well); reprinted in Studies in the History and Philosophy of Religion II (Cambridge, 1977), 475-76. For ibn Shoshan, see M. Shmidman, op. cit., 60-62.

For a fifteenth century description of this type of "anti-philosophical rationalism," see Y. Yavez, Or ha-Hayyim (New York, 1958), 98. He explicitly mentions Crescas, Halevi and "the author of Sefer ha-Yashar," probably a reference to the thirteenth century anonymous ethical work by that name. See EJ XIV, 1099.

264. The verse concludes, "why clasp the bosom of an alien woman" which

elsewhere, Emden also interpreted as a reference to philosophy. See his marginalia to the Siddur, op. cit., 104.

265. Lit., "it points with a finger."

266. 'Avot II:14.

267. LS III:134a (Sanhedrin X:1).

268. 'Ez 'Avot, ('Avot II:14).

269. SY I:41, end. These last three references were all cited above.

270. Cf. Job 19:28.

271. Mitpahat Sefarim, 79.

272. Migdal 'Oz (Altona, 1748), 370b; cited by Shochat, op. cit., 200.

For a similar formulation, see also SY I:41, end; cited above, p. 536.

273. Siddur II:77b, cited by Shochat, op. cit., 221. See also 'Ez 'Avot V:22 (58b).

274. For some references to Aristotle, particularly to his Ethics, see Mor u-Keziyah II:91c (corrigenda); Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 55a; Migdal 'Oz, 22a, 42a, 42b, 51a; 'Ez 'Avot III:9 (25b); V:22 (58b). In Siddur

I:248a-b, Emden made reference to Aristotle, Plato and Averroes. For references to Mani, see Siddur I:133b, 260a-b.

Emden's knowledge of medieval Jewish philosophical classics included Saadya Gaon's 'Emunot ve-De'ot (Siddur I:256b; Migdal 'Oz, 66a-it is a greater work than both Bahya's Hovot ha-Levavot and the Moreh Nevukhim); Judah Halevi's Kuzari (for some examples, see Siddur I:4b-5a, 29a, 94a; SY I:171; Mishneh Lehem, printed in LS IV:200a [Berakhot I:3]; Migdal 'Oz, 82b-83b, 117b, 150b, 151a [referring to Halevi as "the crown of Jewish philosophers"], 155b, 156a, 157a); Joseph Albo's Sefer ha-Ik-karim (Siddur I:181a; Migdal 'Oz, 22a, 26b, 35a-36a ["a great philosopher"], 51b, 118a; the commentaries on the Guide by Crescas, Narboni and Efodi (Migdal 'Oz, 120b). In Sefer Shimush, 68 Emden made references to Saadya Gaon, the Kuzari, Abraham ibn Ezra's introduction to his Biblical commentary and Isaac Arama's 'Akedah.

For some examples of philosophical terminology, see Siddur II:2b (God is the First Cause; "sibah rishonah"); LS I:8 (introduction, "hokh-mah ha-'elohit . . . tiv'iyot ve-limudiyot"); 'Akizat 'Akray, 4b; ("homer, zurah, po'el, takhlit"), 11a ("muskalot rishonot," "derekh hekashi"); 'Ez 'Avot III:9 (25b).

275. See, for example, Siddur I:18b, 249b; Migdal 'Oz, 60a (philosophers' definition of shame), 103b ("philosophers stated that man is social ['medini] by nature"; 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 23a; Sefer Shimush, 47 (" . . . as is known to one who has even only some familiarity with the science of logic ['hokhmat ha-higayon'], 48, 170 ("The philosophers said, 'That which is well known requires no proof; because I did not see Rome or Constan-

tinople with my own eyes, can I deny their existence!'); 'Iggeret Purim, ms., 6a (Emden quoted "a statement often cited by philosophers, 'Love Socrates, love Plato (but) love the truth even more'").

276. Sefer Shimush, 24.

277. This was printed in Siddur II:159b.

278. For the use of the phrase, "heroic conception" or "heroic image of Maimonides," see B. Septimus, op. cit., 48, 63, 99-100. See also I. Twersky, Rabad of Posquières, op. cit., 181; idem., "Aspects of the Social and Cultural History of Provencal Jewry," Jewish Society Through the Ages, ed. by H. H. Ben-Sasson and S. Ettinger (New York, 1973), 206; idem., Introduction to the Code of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah), op. cit., 1; J. Guttmann, Philosophies of Judaism (New York, 1964), 183.

For the immediate impact of Maimonides' halakhic achievement, see above, p. 175.

279. All of these approaches as well as more refined formulations abound in the polemical literature of the Maimonidean controversies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They can also be found, in different nuances of expression and shades of emphasis, in the substantial anti-rationalist literature throughout the Middle Ages and early modern times.

A comprehensive history of anti-rationalist reactions to the stature and authority of Maimonides remains a major historical desideratum. In the interim, see A. Halkin, bi-'Ikevot Rambam (Jerusalem, 1979); B.

Septimus, Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition, op. cit. and the sources cited ibid., 147, n. 1; I. Twersky and M. Shmidman, Halakhah ve-Hagut: Kavei Yesod bi-Mishnato shel ha-Rambam (Tel Aviv, 1986), 15f. See also P. Bloch, "Der Streit um den Moreh des Maimonides in der Gemeinde Posen um die Mitte des 16. Jahr.," MGWJ XLVII (1903), 266-67 and the sources cited in the following articles: S. A. Horodetsky, "ha-Rambam bi-Kabbalah u-ve-Hasidut," Moznayim III (1935), 441-55; reprinted in idem., Yahadut ha-Sekhel ve-Yahadut ha-Regesh II (Tel Aviv, 1947), 199-219; Z. M. Rabinowitz, "Yahas ha-Kabbalah ve-ha-Hasidut 'el ha-Rambam," Rabbenu Moshe b. Maimon, ed. by J. L. Maimon (Jerusalem, 1935), 279-87; J. Dienstag, "ha-'Im Hitnaged ha-Gra le-Mishnato ha-Filosofit shel ha-Rambam?" Talpiot IV:1-2 (1949), 257-68; idem., "ha-Rambam le-'Or Hakhmei ha-Kabbalah," ha-Rambam: Torato ve-'Ishiyuto, ed. by S. Federbush (New York, 1956), 99-135; idem., "ha-Moreh Nevukhim ve-Sefer ha-Mada bi-Safrut ha-Hasidut," Sefer Yovel le-Khevod ha-Rav Dr. Avraham Weiss (New York, 1964), 307-30.

For a discussion of the Kabbalistic tradition, see J. L. Meises, Bikkurei ha-'Ittim XI (1831), 131-42; G. Scholem, "mi-Hoker le-Mekubal," Tarbiz VI (1935), 90-8; S. A. Horodetsky, ibid. (1935), 447-50; (1957), 207-12; M. Shmidman, "On Maimonides' 'Conversion' to Kabbalah," Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature II, ed. by I. Twersky (Cambridge, 1984), 383-86.

280. Mitpahat Sefarim, 73. See also below, n. 289.

281. 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 21b. See also ibid., 23b.

282. See Shabbat 13b, Avodah Zarah 8b.

283. Migdal 'Oz, 22b. For the last phrase, cf. Ruth 2:12.

284. Mitpahat Sefarim, 3.

285. LS I:9b (Berkhot I:2). See also LS I:introduction, 5; 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 8a: "teacher of all Israel ('raban shel Yisra'el').

286. 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 4a.

287. LS III:165a ('Eduyot VIII:6). See Gittin 26b, Ketubot 40a, Keritut 13b.

288. 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 19b.

289. For a general statement by Emden expressing his independence from Maimonides, see Mitpahat Sefarim, 3. For specific examples, see LS I:57a-b (Pe'ah VII:1), 68a-b (VII:7), 148b (Ma'asrot I:7), 155b (IV:4); 169b ('Orlah II:16); LS II:14a-b (Shabbat XIV:1), 24a (XXIV:1).

Emden also claimed that Maimonides was wrong historically. See, for example, LS I:171a-b (Bikkurim III:4) regarding his assessment of Agrippa the King.

In a very interesting statement, Emden also claimed that Maimonides distorted the meaning of a Mishnaic text because he was not familiar with

Kabbalah. See LS III:52a-b (Sota VII:6). For Maimonides' lack of knowledge of Kabbalah "which was not publicized in his days," see LS II:152a (Ḥagigah II:1) regarding the Mishnah of "ma'aseh bereishit" and "ma'ase merkava;" LE I:10b and Mitpahat Sefarim, 6, 73.

Generally speaking, there need not be an inconsistency between great reverence for a figure and criticism, even sharply worded, of his work; between accepting the authority of a predecessor and insisting on the right to be independent of him. For a number of medieval examples, see I. Twersky, Rabad of Posquières, op. cit., 191-92. For a specific example regarding the Mishneh Torah, see the attitude of Rashba briefly outlined by M. Shmidman, "On Maimonides' 'Conversion' to Kabbalah," op. cit. (n. 279), 380-81, n. 26.

290. LS II:151a (Ḥagigah I:2). Often Emden surmised that Maimonides had some kind of a source for his statement, either from the Palestinian Talmud, Tosefta or a Baraita. See, for example, LS I:58b (Pe'ah VII:1); 154b (Ma'asrot III:10); LS III:118a (Sanhedrin I:3). On Maimonides' positive attitude towards the Palestinian Talmud, see LS II:59b (Shekalim I:4).

Emden also claimed that whenever Maimonides was original, he prefaced his opinion with the phrase "it appears to me" ("vi-yir'eh li"); in any other case the statement had a source. See LS I:63b (Pe'ah VII:2).

291. See, for example, LS II:66a (Shekalim VIII:8): "We are compelled to interpret the words of the Rambam in such a manner that they will conform to the halakhah and to the truth. For it is impossible for the

great luminary to err in (such) a clear matter." See also LS I:57a (Pe'ah VII:1); LS II:4b (Shabbat VI:4); 152a (Hagigah I:2): "It is incumbent upon me to justify the Rambam in this matter, for who is as wise as the Rambam, whose strength is great;" 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 8b-9a.

292. See Shabbat 118b, 119a (Rashi s.v. "teiti li").

293. LS II:98a (Yoma VII:5); Mitpahat Sefarim, 3.

294. See, for example, LS II:95b (Yoma VII:5):

"He did not omit anything from his holy book, large or small, that is included in the two Torahs (i.e. both written and oral) in a proper order with great comprehensiveness ('bi-shlemut rav'). For him did God choose (Deut. 18:5) and want. He (i.e. God) assisted him to prepare an all-inclusive volume ('sefer kolel'), so that none of his words should be rejected (lit., "drop to the ground;" cf. I Sam. 3:19)."

See also SY I:24 (20d): "He did not omit anything, large or small, from all that is found in the Talmud, aside from that which he gathered from other sacred books, for his strong hand has attained plenty." The last phrase combines Job 31:25 with the name by which Maimonides' Mishneh Torah was popularly known, Yad ha-Hazakah.

See also Kuntres Binyan bet ha-Behirah II:8 (115a), IV:1 (117a):

"It is well known that all his words (i.e. Maimon-

ides') are intended (to serve as a usable guide) for practical decisions, whether for the halakhah in the Messianic era or for our times. It was not his practice to deal in this work with matters from which will not emerge a specific law, ethical teaching, proper conduct or necessary knowledge."

295. See, for example, LS II:95b (Yoma VII:5); Migdal 'Oz, 32b: "It is not the practice of the Rambam to cite matters totally out of their place ('huz lemekoman legamri'); Siddur I:316a; 'Iggeret Bikkoret', 19b.

296. See, for example, LS II:96a (Yoma VII:5): "the language of the Rambam is everywhere refined like pure silver, clean of all fault and blemish;" LS I:61b (Pe'ah VII:2): "the clear and lucid ('ha-zah ve-ha-barur') language of the Rambam is ten times better (see Dan. 1:20) than all the styles of the authors who arose in Israel after the completion of the Talmud;" 'Iggeret Bikkoret', 28a: "the clear and lucid ('ha-zah ve-ha-barur') language of the Rambam;" Kuntres Binyan bet ha-Behirah IV:1 (113b): "his language is very precise ('medukdak me'od');" LS I:155a (Ma'asrot IV:1): "The practice of the Rambam is to be as brief as possible."

See also LS I:7b (Berakhot I:1); 11a (Berakhot II:1); 50a (Pe'ah V:5); LS II:76d (Yoma III:4); 'Iggeret Bikkoret', 8a.

While referring to this work as the "Sefar ha-Yad" (LS IV:122b [Nega'im III:1]; 125b [Nega'im IV:7]; SY I:11; 'Ez 'Avot II:14 [20b; below, p. 578]; Mitpahat Sefarim, 72 [below, p. 578]), he also referred

to it by its given title of Mishneh Torah. See LS II:53b (Shekalim I:3). For the significance of this, see I. Twersky, Rabad of Posquières, op. cit., 131, n. 2; idem., "Beginnings of Mishneh Torah Criticism," Biblical and Other Studies, ed. by A. Altmann (Cambridge, 1963), 173, n. 55; idem., "'Al Hasagot ha-Rabad le-Mishneh Torah," Sefer ha-Yovel Likhevod Zvi Wolfson (Jerusalem, 1965), 184, n. 86; and, most fully, idem., "R. Yosef Ashkenazi vi-Sefer Mishneh Torah la-Rambam," Salo W. Baron Jubilee Volume III (Jerusalem, 1975), 185-91.

It is also interesting to note that Emden was sensitive to the different methodologies in Maimonides' Commentary on the Mishnah and in his Mishneh Torah. On one occasion he noted,

"It was not his (i.e. Maimonides') task in that commentary to copy into it the novellae ('hidu-shim') found in the Gemara which are not essential for the explanation of the Mishnah. (For the collection of the novellae added in the Gemara is the task of the work ['hibur']). All this is known."

See Mor-u-Keziyah I:50a (#117). The paranthesis is in the original text.

Many of these characteristics of the Mishneh Torah are discussed in I. Twersky, Introduction to the Code of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah), op. cit. These citations from Emden's works should figure prominently in Dr. Twersky's forthcoming "monograph on the study of MT (i.e., Mishneh Torah) through the ages." See ibid., 515, n.

297. See Berakhot 28b.

298. See Siddur I:235b-236a where Emden rejected various other interpretations given to "higayon" in medieval literature (e.g. as a reference to the Bible, childish talk, etc.) and concluded that it refers to philosophy. See also SY I:41, end; Migdal 'Oz, 23a.

For the exegetical history of this phrase, see M. Breuer, "'Min'u Beneikhem Min ha-Higayon'," Mikhtam le-David (Ramat Gan, 1978), 242-61.

299. Cf. Num. 14:24. The verse refers to Caleb who was held in high esteem by God.

300. Migdal 'Oz, 23a. For the last phrase, cf. Isa. 8:4.

See also ibid., 49a: "May his Master (i.e. God) forgive him, the Rambam, who said (in Chapter Two of the Eight Chapters) . . . He was pulled by the view of the philosophers . . . How deep did his intellect sink into Greek mire ('tit ha-yevani') . . .;" 'Ez 'Avot III:5 (49a).

Cf. Migdal 'Oz, 25b where Emden wrote about Maimonides, "Even though he loved many 'hokhmot' -- Aramaic, Greek, Moabite, Amonite, Egyptian, Moslem, Sidonite -- which he took as cooks and perfumers (cf. I Sam. 8:13), they did not, God forbid, turn his heart to deviate from the path of the Divine Torah. He stood in the breach (Ps. 106:23), on every side and corner."

Emden's difficulty in consistently accusing Maimonides of being misled by philosophy is manifestly obvious.

For Maimonides' consideration of secular studies as "perfumers and cooks" for Torah, see his letter to R. Jonathan ha-Kohen of Lunel.

301. Cf. Ex. 15:10.

302. Cf. Ps. 18:37.

303. A common Talmudic expression; see, for example, Shabbat 13b, Sanhedrin 13b.

304. 'Ez 'Avot II:14 (20a-b). See also Migdal 'Oz, 22a: "His intention was for the sake of Heaven. He spoke for his time when heresy prevailed in the world . . .;" 96b; Siddur I:236a; Mitpahat Sefarim, 72.

305. Mitpahat Sefarim, 72. See also SY I:41, end.

306. This paranthesis is in the text.

307. Cf. I Sam. 8:13; above, n. 300. See also SY I:41, end.

308. See below for a listing of those sources in Emden's writings to which he was referring here.

309. Cf. Esther 10:3.

310. Cf. Isa. 8:14.

311. See Shabbat 84b.

312. Mishneh Lehem on 'Avot II:14 (48b-49a). The commentary was printed only once, at the end of Emden's first edition of Lehem Shamayim II (Altona, 1768). His 'Ez 'Avot on 'Avot was printed earlier and is a totally different commentary.

313. See, for example, Migdal 'Oz, 23a, 23b: "The Rabbi, author of the Guide of the Perplexed did well . . . However his students, the philosophers, would not walk in his ways (Isa. 42:24); 25b-26a, regarding Maimonides:

"Note the venerable sweet words coming forth from the mouth of a great Torah master, a distinguished rabbi, great scholar, the (most) mighty of philosophers, paragon of his generation, crown of the pious, the ornament of Israel in the Diaspora . . .

Behold, those who call themselves his disciples should be ashamed because they wasted their days with foolishness and their years with the vanities of the philosophical ideas of the nations of the world. They thought they would achieve the perfection of their souls in this matter. They cast the normative mizvot of the Torah behind their backs (Cf. Neh. 9:26) and the study of the Talmud which was the bread and meat of the great rabbi (in whom they glory) was loathsome to them (Cf. Num. 11:20)."

See also ibid., 36a, 121b; 'Ez 'Avot V:22 (59a).

314. See, for example, Siddur I:4b, 11b; Migdal 'Oz, 23b; 'Akizat 'Akav, 3a, 5a; LS III:51a (Sota VII:6).

315. A long list of these sources would include Siddur I:189b, 191a; SY I:41, end; Migdal 'Oz, 2b-3a, 22a, 22b, 23b, 118a; 'Ez 'Avot II:14 (20b; above, p. 577); 'Akizat 'Akav, 3a, 5a; LS III:51a (Sota VII:6).

316. Cf. Hosea 12:9.

317. Cf. Song of Songs 7:10.

318. Cf. Esther 10:3.

319. Cf. Habakuk 1:6.

320. Cf. Gen. 18:13.

321. Cf. Isa. 27:10.

322. Once again Emden pointed to the behavior of these "heretics" and underscored the hedonism of their lifestyle. See above.

323. See Zech. 3:8.

324. Cf. Hosea 2:12.

325. Cf. Isa. 8:14.

326. Cf. Neh. 9:26.

327. Cf. Ex. 10:26; lit., "not a hoof remained behind."

328. Cf. Jud. 11:35.

329. 'Iggeret Purim, ms. 33a. This passage is printed in my "Rabbi Jacob Emden's 'Iggeret Purim," op. cit., 445.

For a similar statement, see Mitpahat Sefarim, 3.

For other sources where Emden denied the Maimonidean authorship of the Guide, see Migdal 'Oz, 121b; 'Ez 'Avot II:14 (20b); V:22 (60a); Mitpahat Sefarim, 56, 61-2, 64-5. For examples of Emden's ambivalence on this matter, see Mishneh Lehem on 'Avot II:14 (cited above, p. 579), and Mitpahat Sefarim, 6.

Other comments by Emden against the Guide can be found in 'Iggeret Purim, ibid., ms. 33a-b; printed in my "Rabbi Jacob Emden's 'Iggeret Purim," ibid., 445-46; Siddur I:236a; Emden's marginalia on the Siddur, op. cit., 18; Shevirat Luhat ha-'Aven, 48b; 'Ez 'Avot V:6 (49b-51a); Mitpahat Sefarim, 62, 80: "Surely it is not good (Ex. 18:17) to waste much time reading the book Guide of the Perplexed, unless it is in order to refute its delusions and fabrications."

330. See Migdal 'Oz, 121b; above, n. 329.

331. Cf. Isa. 3:6.

332. Hil. Melakhim VIII:11.

333. Cf. Deut. 12:12.

334. 'Ez 'Avot III:15 (30a).

335. I. Twersky, Introduction to the Code of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah), op. cit., 457-58.

336. This has been already definitively shown by I. Twersky, "Some Non-Halakhic Aspects of the Mishneh Torah," Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies, ed. by A. Altmann (Cambridge, 1967), 95-119; idem., Introduction to the Code of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah), ibid., 356-514 ("Law and Philosophy").

The passage from Hil. Melakhim cited by Emden figured prominently in his correspondence with Mendelssohn and will be discussed below in great detail.

337. It is interesting to note that Emden's rejection of the Maimonidean authorship of the Guide had a posthumous influence. Isaac Baer Levinson, the nineteenth century Russian maskil, noted that there were contemporaries of his, "despisers of wisdom and knowledge, who say that Maimonides did not author the distinguished work, Guide of the Perplexed. They said

that so did they find written in the book Mitpahat of the gaon, our master R. Emden, known as Yavez." See I. B. Levinson, Sefer Teudah bi-Yisrael (Vilna, 1828), 136-37, n.

It is also most striking that Emden's rejection of Maimonidean philosophy in general and the Guide in particular was opposed by one of the leaders of the Hasidic movement in the nineteenth century, R. Israel of Ruzhin (1797-1850). There is a tradition that after Emden's Migdal 'Oz, which was published with R. Israel's approbation, appeared in print (Berditchev, 1836; the approbation is dated January 5, 1835), it was brought to him. R. Israel perused its contents and is reported to have commented that had he known that its author opposed Maimonides and the Guide, he would never have consented to write an approbation to it. See S. A. Horodetsky, ha-Hasidim ve-ha-Hasidut (Berlin, 1922) III, 104; idem., "ha-Rambam bi-Kabbalah u-be-Hasidut," op. cit., (1935), 454; (1947), 218; Z. M. Rabinowitz, "Yahas ha-Kabbalah ve-ha-Hasidut le-ha-Rambam," op. cit., 286; Y. Y. Dienstag, "ha-'Im Hitnaged ha-Gra," op. cit., 259.

338. I. Euchel, "Toledot Rabbenu ha-Hakham Moshe b. Menahem," Ha-Me'asef IV (1788), 118-19; also reprinted as a separate book by that title in Berlin of that year. See pp. 6-7. See also M. Kayserling, Moses Mendelssohn, Sein Leben und Wirken (Leipzig, 1888), 5; A. Altmann, op. cit., 12.

339. See M. Brasch, Moses Mendelssohn's Schriften zur Metaphysik und Ethik (Leipzig, 1881), xiv-xv; A. Altmann, ibid., 890 (Index, s.v.

Maimonides, Moses).

340. For the impact of Maimonides on early Haskalah, see also I. Eisenstein-Barzilay, "The Ideology of the Berlin Haskalah," PAAJR XXV (1956), 6; J. Lehman, "Maimonides, Mendelssohn and the Me'asfim: Philosophy and the Biographical Imagination in the Early Haskalah," LBIYB XX (1975), 88-94; T. Tsamriyon, "Tipuah ha-Haskalah ve-ha-Hinukh be-ha-Me'asef," 'Iyunim bi-Hinukh XXVIII (1980), 9-10; above, n. 239.

341. For references to each of these figures, see E. Etkes, "ha-Gra ve-ha-Haskalah - Tadmit u-Mezi'ut," op. cit., 205. For Bacharach specifically, see I. Twersky, "Law and Spirituality in the Seventeenth Century: A Case Study in R. Yair Hayyim Bacharach," Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century, op. cit., 447-67.

See also S. Füenn, Safah le-Ne'emanim, op. cit., 28-29; I. B. Levinsohn, Sefer Teudah bi-Yisrael, op. cit. (n. 337), 114-152 and N. Shapira, "Sifrut ha-Matimatika u-Mada'ei ha-Teva bi-'Ivrit Kisolelet Derekh le-Haskalah," Korot II (1960), 319-34 for a listing of rabbinic scholars involved in extra-Talmudic disciplines since Mishnaic times. See, most recently the sources cited in N. H. Rosenbloom, ha-Malbim: Rabi Meir Leibush Malbim (Jerusalem, 1988), 207-12. This is also the subject of a forthcoming book I am editing which will include essays by Drs. Gerald Blidstein on ancient Jewish history (Hazal), David Berger on medieval times (rishonim), Shnayer Leiman on modern Jewish history (ahronim) and Rabbi Aharon Lichtenstein who is preparing a general conceptual overview of this subject.

342. Lit., "filled their hands unto the Lord." See Ex. 32:29.
343. MS, 11.
344. Ibid.
345. Ibid., 16-17. See too SY I:10, above, p. 548; p. 602, n. 51.
346. Cf. Eccles. 7:10.
347. Sefer ha-Ikkarim by Joseph Albo; fifteenth century Spain.
348. Akedat Yizhak by Isaac Arama; fifteenth century Spain.
349. This parenthesis is in the original text.
350. What Emden means here is that there is a "time" when their words are considered correct and a time they are "judged" to be incorrect.
351. Sefer ha-Kuzari by Judah Halevi; eleventh-twelfth century Spain.
352. By Bahya ibn Pakuda, eleventh century Spain.
353. Mitpahat Sefarim, 79.

354. E. Etkes, "Imminent Factors and External Differences in the Development of the Haskalah Movement in Russia," op. cit., 15. See, earlier, J. Katz, Massoret u-Mashber, op. cit., 292; idem., Tradition and Crisis, op. cit., 253-54.

355. My analysis confirms the previous assessments of B. Mevorach in his review of A. Shochat's, 'Im Hilufei Tekufot, KS XXXVII (1962), 153-55; J. Katz, Out of the Ghetto (Cambridge, 1973), 34-7. See too idem., Exclusiveness and Tolerance, op. cit., 167, where Katz notes that Emden "represented the mental attitudes of the old school of Jewish tradition. Emden lived to see the beginnings of the Haskalah movement, and became its vehement opponent." While I think that this last phrase is an overstatement, there is no question that Katz is correct in seeing Emden as belonging to "the old school." See also P. Rosenblitt's review of Shochat's book, Molad XVIII (1960), 489-91; E. Schweid, Toledot ha-Hagut ha-Yehudit bi-'Et ha-Hadashah (1977), 108-10; I. Tishby, Mishnat ha-Zohar I, op. cit., 57.

For similar assessments of slightly later transitional figures, see E. Etkes, "ha-Gra ve-ha-Haskalah," op. cit., 192-217; D. Fishman, "A Polish Rabbi Meets the Berlin Haskalah: The Case of R. Barukh Schick," AJS Review XII:1 (Spring, 1987), 95-121.

V I I

THE EMDEN - MENDELSSOHN CORRESPONDENCE

Moses Mendelssohn was born in Dessau, Germany, on September 6, 1729. As a child, he studied traditional Jewish texts and also began to develop an interest in medieval Jewish philosophy. At the age of fourteen, young Moses moved to Berlin and, in addition to continuing his Talmudic studies, he deepened his knowledge of the Judeo-Arabic philosophical tradition under the guidance of two of the intellectual leaders of Berlin Jewry at the time, Israel b. Moses ha-Levi Zamoscz and Aaron Gumpertz. Mendelssohn also became exposed to the works of the general philosophers Locke, Leibnitz, Wolff and Spinoza and was greatly influenced by them. Slowly he began to venture into the Gentile intellectual as well as social world of mid-eighteenth century Berlin. There, Mendelssohn developed a wide circle of friends from among the intellectual elite of his time, including Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Friedrich Nicolai and Thomas Abbt. He became a member of several learned societies, and within a few years, developed a reputation in his own right as an accomplished critical philosopher, literary critic and poet. In 1763, Mendelssohn received great recognition as one of the leading writers and philosophers in Germany

when he was awarded first place in the essay competition of the Berlin Royal Academy, narrowly winning over another noted philosopher of the time, Immanuel Kant. During the 1760's, Mendelssohn was also involved in writing his Phaedon which catapulted him into international prominence as a foremost philosopher of his day when it was published in 1767.¹

Mendelssohn was also already known by then as having at least some measure of proficiency in Torah study as is evident from a letter of recommendation written for him by Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschütz in May, 1761. Mendelssohn had journeyed to Hamburg to make the acquaintance of his wife-to-be, Fromet Gugenheim, and, in the course of the month he spent in that city, paid his respects to the local Chief Rabbi. In his letter, Eybeschütz praised Mendelssohn highly as an accomplished scholar of mathematics, physics, metaphysics, reason, philosophy and rhetoric. "In addition to all the above," he continued, "I found that his intellect is full of Torah, Gemara and rabbinic reasoning ('sevarah')." Eybeschütz did not want to confer the title of "haver" on Mendelssohn, he wrote, because he considered him destined for more greatness than would be indicated by that appellation and, he continued, he withheld from him the more exalted title of "morenu" only because he was still unmarried.²

It was at this stage of his life that Mendelssohn came into direct contact with his fellow countryman, Rabbi Jacob Emden. Thirty-seven year old Mendelssohn, deeply involved and highly respected in the world of German enlightenment as well as a loyal follower of Jewish tradition began a correspondence with the well known rabbinic scholar and polemicist thirty years his senior. This correspondence, which lasted intermittently for seven years, is highly revealing and a careful, almost

exegetical, analysis of it is an excellent means of assessing Emden's awareness of and attitude towards the religious and social changes that were taking place in the Jewish community during the second half of the eighteenth century.³

The earliest piece of correspondence extant between them is a letter Mendelssohn wrote to Emden on September 30, 1766.⁴ It appears that Mendelssohn had earlier requested from Emden that he send him copies of his anti-Sabbatian works for an acquaintance in Berlin. After having received them, Mendelssohn acknowledged their arrival in a very flattering letter to Emden in which he commended him for his activities against that movement. In an expression of his own adherence to tradition, Mendelssohn noted how Emden "closes the fence and stands in the breach" against those who desecrate the name of God and "who scorn His words, those who seduce the heart of a Jew to deny (the validity of) the interpretations and traditions of our sages from whose lips we live." He began the letter in a very deferential tone: "O father, father! Israel's chariots and horsemen! (II Kings 2:12), do not consider it sinful⁵ that I did not introduce (my) remarks with bowing and genuflection from afar,⁶ as befits a student greeting the teacher, for I feared to draw nigh."⁷ He described Emden as "my teacher" and concluded the letter, "from me, the young one, his student who eagerly drinks his words." Of particular interest is the fact that he referred to the "precise and clear arguments, based upon the foundations of Torah and logic ('sekhel')" which Emden used to combat the Sabbatian heresy. It is already apparent by this subtle yet significant formulation that Mendelssohn respected Emden not only as a champion of Jewish tradition but

also as a rabbinic scholar whose emphasis on "sekhel" was similar to his own.⁸

In the brief introduction Emden wrote to this letter when he prepared it for publication in his Sefer Hit'avkut, he returned Mendelssohn's compliment and indicated the great esteem in which he held his younger correspondent. Although this text refers to Emden in the third person as if it were written by his student, there is no doubt that he wrote it himself:⁹

"I cannot avoid presenting here a beautiful letter written by the charming man ('ish hamudot'), the maskil, the religious philosopher ('ha-filosof ha-Torani'), R. Moses of Dessau from Berlin, may the Lord guard him and prolong his life . . . (I do so) in order that it be known that this wise man too has joined himself to the Lord¹⁰ and has embraced my teacher (i.e. Emden) and his works which illumine the eyes of the blind and awaken the hearts of the righteous."¹¹

Also especially significant is the fact that Emden appreciated not only Mendelssohn's support of his activities but also expressed his respect for him as "the maskil" and "religious philosopher," also indicating an awareness of Mendelssohn's position and orientation.

Almost three years elapsed before Mendelssohn again addressed a missive to his older colleague. In August of 1769, Johan Casper Lavater, a Swiss clergyman, published his German translation of a part of La Palin-

génésie philosophique by the Calvinist theologian, Charles Bonnet. Lavater dedicated this work to Mendelssohn and used the dedication as an opportunity to issue his famed public challenge to him to either refute Christianity or to embrace it.¹² Mendelssohn received a copy of the work with Lavater's dedicatory remarks in October of that year, at the same time he received from Emden copies of several of his Hebrew works. Once again it seems that Mendelssohn had requested that Emden send some of his books to him, this time of a halakhic nature, for someone in Berlin who would pay for them. In addition to responding to Mendelssohn's specific request, Emden included several copies of his multi-volume commentary on the Mishnah, Lehem Shamayim, as a donation to the bet midrash in Berlin as well as another unnamed community, requesting that Mendelssohn insure that they reach their intended destinations.¹³

On October 27, Mendelssohn informed Emden that he received the books and was in the midst of carrying out his request. Once again he exhibited great deference to Emden and described him in terms similar to those already expressed in his earlier letter, twice referring to him as a "prince" both in Torah as well as in "hokhmah."¹⁴

This time, however, Mendelssohn was not interested in simply sending Emden a friendly letter. After dispensing with the standard social amenities, he continued by suggesting a resolution to an apparent contradiction between two Mishnaic statements regarding the ritual immersion of ritually impure water on a festival which Emden had raised in his commentary on a Mishnah in Tractate Bezah.¹⁵ Mendelssohn entered into an involved halakhic discussion, throughout which his tone was extremely respectful. In keeping with his highly deferential attitude towards Emden,

he concluded by requesting a response not necessarily from Emden himself but even from one of his students.

It was Emden who personally responded five days later, on November 1. Once again, he referred to Mendelssohn as a "maskil," informing him that "my joy was increased as I saw his desire to enjoy my works and to engage in (the study of) Torah for its own sake ('Torah lishmah')." As for Mendelssohn's suggestion, Emden dismissed it for reasons which, he claimed, he already outlined in his previously printed discussions of this matter.¹⁶ He accused Mendelssohn of having only superficially analyzed those remarks for, had he studied them in depth, he would have realized the error of his own approach. Emden noted that he did not feel the need to repeat what he already asserted there and recommended to Mendelssohn that he review his words more carefully. It is, however, particularly interesting that Emden introduced for the first time an argument which did not appear in any of his previous treatments of this subject. In the course of his remarks to Mendelssohn, Emden wrote, " . . . as I explained to my original respondent and as is required by logic ('ve-khen yehuyav bi-darkei ha-higayon')." Emden's additional appeal to "logic" in this context is significant evidence that he was well aware of Mendelssohn's orientation and of the type of argument that would be appealing to him. Nevertheless, although he rejected Mendelssohn's approach, Emden included it, as well as his own reply, in the second volume of his collected responsa.¹⁷

What is the significance of the fact that this brief correspondence took place at the same time Mendelssohn had received Lavater's challenge to convert to Christianity? Alexander Altmann has suggested that,

"It is certainly not purely accidental that Mendelssohn displayed such gusto in discussing a completely non-philosophic talmudic theme with a champion of Jewish orthodoxy at the very moment that he received Lavater's challenge. One may even find some symbolic meaning in the fact that he chose as his topic of talmudic discourse one connected with the ritual of purification through immersion in water. It looks almost as if he wanted to mock Lavater's challenge to undergo baptism Far from drawing Mendelssohn towards Christianity, Lavater had only reinforced his anchorage in Judaism."18

While it is clearly impossible to disprove this conjecture, it should be pointed out that Mendelssohn may have chosen to comment on Tractate Bezah because it deals primarily with laws relating to the Jewish festivals, certainly an appropriate text for study during the holiday of Sukkot which had just ended. In addition, one should realize that the subject being analyzed in that halakhic discussion only tangentially related to the ritual immersion of a man in water. The major focus of discussion here is, rather, the ritual immersion of water in other water. In fact, a discussion of the ritual immersion of man in water is found in the Mishnah immediately preceeding the one under discussion here and was not chosen by Mendelssohn as the subject for his exchange with Emden.

However, more significant than the specific content of this correspondence is the question of why Mendelssohn chose to engage in it at all in light of the fact that a careful analysis of Emden's previously

printed comments on this matter does yield the conclusion that he was absolutely correct when he charged that had Mendelssohn studied them carefully he would easily have recognized that his own solution was untenable. As has been indicated, Mendelssohn enjoyed some level of Talmudic sophistication¹⁹ and could therefore himself have been aware of the tenuousness of his remarks.

One may suggest that this too can be understood against the background of Lavater's challenge to Mendelssohn. Immediately after having received it, Mendelssohn began to formulate his response which, in fact, appeared in print less than two months later. He already knew that, in the course of his argument with Lavater, he was going to make reference to works by Rabbi Emden and would seek his assistance.²⁰ Perhaps Mendelssohn artificially created a problem only to make contact with Emden and impress him with his involvement in traditional rabbinic learning, though knowing full well that his solution was really a weak one, so that Emden would be more amenable to help him when it would become necessary. If this is so, then Mendelssohn's letter to Emden represented more than an effort to "reinforce his anchorage in Judaism" by reaching out to establish contact with "a champion of Jewish orthodoxy."²¹ He chose Emden specifically because he knew that he was very shortly going to appeal to him for support in a totally separate and unrelated area. That he was eminently successful is indicated by the fact that Emden did, in fact, respond with gratitude to Mendelssohn's interest in his own halakhic works and hailed him for his involvement in "Torah lishmah."²²

After having penned this letter to Emden, Mendelssohn devoted much of

his energies to preparing a response to Lavater in which he expressed opinions that were to figure prominently in a further correspondence with Emden four years later which will be analyzed below. In the interim, a totally different matter brought these two figures together and led to another very important exchange of letters between them.

On April 30, 1772, Duke Friedrich of Mecklenburg-Schwerin issued an order prohibiting the Jews in his realm from immediately burying their dead and requiring that they rather wait for three days after death before interment. The Duke was influenced by the then current medical opinion that it was virtually impossible to determine the exact moment of death and therefore insisted that burial be postponed for a few days in order to avoid the possibility of inadvertently burying someone alive. Furthermore, Duke Friedrich was convinced by the well-known Hamburg Orientalist, Olaf Gerhard Tychsen (1734-1815) and by a Jewish apostate to Christianity whom he commissioned to research this matter, that the Jewish custom of early burial was not grounded in the classical sources of Jewish tradition but owed its origin primarily to commonly considered non-authoritative Kabbalistic works. The Jewish community felt threatened by this challenge to what they regarded as a central tenet of their religion and petitioned the Duke on May 15 to rescind this order, promising to forward to his attention the written opinion of learned authorities who would confirm their position. Upset and alarmed by what they considered a demand "to follow Gentile behavior ('hukat ha-goi')" and "to trample upon the religion of the ancients," they appealed to forty-two year old Moses Mendelssohn living in Berlin on May 18 and to seventy-four year old Rabbi Jacob Emden of Altona.²³

Although they sought a response within fourteen days, Mendelssohn's letter to the Jewish leadership of Schwerin was written over three weeks later, on June 9, 1772. He enclosed the German memorandum to the Duke which they had requested in which he argued that the edict was contrary to Jewish law and which he was confident would help their cause.²⁴ However, in his Hebrew covering letter to the leaders of the Schwerin community, Mendelssohn informed them that while he had acceded to their request, he personally supported the Duke's ruling that burial should not take place immediately after death. In typical rabbinic manner, he adduced a series of proofs to show that, contrary to their assumption and in opposition to what he himself argued in his German memorandum, the Duke's ruling did not represent any deviation from Jewish law. While he acknowledged that the rabbis considered one who left a body unburied overnight as having transgressed a Biblical prohibition, they did permit postponing burial in certain cases to avoid disrespect for the dead, e.g. to obtain necessary items (a coffin or shrouds) or to allow close relatives to attend the funeral ceremony. "And if for such a minor matter they permitted the body to lie overnight," claimed Mendelssohn, "then certainly if there remains the slightest doubt that it may still be alive it should not be buried." After all, all laws were superceded when it came to maintaining life. Furthermore, in an exact reversal of the argument made by the leaders of the Schwerin community, Mendelssohn claimed that the contemporary practice of immediate burial was contrary to authentic Jewish tradition. In support of his position, he adduced a Mishnah in Tractate Semahot which stated explicitly that the dead were not immediately interred but were placed in caves and catacombs where they

were watched for three days to insure that death had indeed occurred.

Finally, Mendelssohn's concluding argument reflected his respect for contemporary medical opinion: "Behold all medical scholars testify and state that they have no clearcut sign for death. Sometimes a person may faint, so much so that his heartbeat is totally silent and his breathing stops completely. Onlookers think that he is dead but this is not the case." Fully aware that this medical argument which led to the Duke's decree in the first place would not be accepted as authoritative by his correspondents, Mendelssohn cited two proofs from Talmudic literature that the rabbis also recognized that it is possible for someone to mistake a fainted person for dead. He concluded with the hope that his enclosed memorandum to the Duke would be effective but, if not, no real harm would be done. On the contrary, the procedure of deferred burial is the preferred approach in Jewish law. Mendelssohn advocated a return to this age old practice and in an ironic twist in support of his position piously invoked the importance of maintaining tradition:

"However, if he (i.e. the Duke) will not agree, there is no better course for them than to follow the practice of our forebears, may their memory be for a blessing, to build a cave in the cemetery to ritually purify the corpses there according to custom and to wait upon them for three days after which they shall be interred. In my opinion, this is incumbent upon all the holy communities so that they not deviate from the paths of the forebears, may their memory be for a blessing, neither to the right nor to the left²⁵ for their paths

are the paths of pleasantness."²⁶

Nevertheless, Mendelssohn himself realized the radical nature of his remarks and did not expect that they would be well received. He concluded his letter almost with a tone of despair:

"Even though I know that they will not listen to me for the power of the (accepted) custom is pervasive and strong, and perhaps I will appear in their eyes as a scoffer ('meta'ate'a'),²⁷ nevertheless I have saved my soul (''anokhi 'et nafshi hizalti') and let this be peace (Michah 5:4)."²⁸

Close to three weeks later, on June 26, Emden penned a letter to Mendelssohn regarding this matter. He informed Mendelssohn that the Schwerin community had approached him to write the Duke on their behalf, but because of his inexperience in dealing with royalty and his lack of fluency in German he had referred them to his younger colleague who was more proficient in these areas.²⁹ Nevertheless, he continued that he responded to the importuning of the Schwerin community and quickly penned a responsum on their behalf which he gave them without retaining a copy for himself. He had asked them either to return the original to him or to send him an accurate copy of it but, to date, despite his repeated requests, he had not yet heard from them. Emden concluded his letter to Mendelssohn with a request: since they had informed him that they forwarded a copy of his essay to Mendelssohn to incorporate into his own remarks to the Duke, could he trouble Mendelssohn to forward the text of his (i.e. Emden's) essay to him.³⁰

Mendelssohn's reply to Emden is dated four days later, on June 30,

1772. Professing no knowledge that Emden had been involved in this case at all, he informed Emden that he had never seen his essay and expressed surprise that he too had not heard from the representatives of the Schwerin community since mailing them what they requested some three weeks before. But after responding to Emden's immediate request, Mendelssohn took the opportunity to substantively engage him on this matter:

"Behold in truth I long and I yearn (Ps. 84:3) to see the answer of my revered master and teacher, how he can justify the Jewish custom with true arguments that cannot be refuted. For in my (intellectual) poverty I know of no basis for it;³¹ why have we deviated from the custom of our holy fathers, may their memories be for a blessing."³²

Once again, in terms very similar to those he used in the letter to the Schwerin community, he invoked the authority of current medical opinion:

"All the medical authorities will also testify and state that occasionally the pulse will cease, the heart will rest and breathing will stop for a short while without total and complete death; that it is impossible to clarify the difference between fainting and death."³³

After making reference to all the Talmudic passages he already cited in his letter to the Schwerin community in favor of postponing burial, Mendelssohn concluded:

"If so, I cannot understand³⁴ why we retreated from the practice of these holy ones. Who will restrain us from

building a cave in the cemetery in which to bring the corpses and wait on them for three days as our sages, may their memories be for a blessing, warned us."³⁵

While the basic argument, proof texts and reference to contemporary medical opinion was found in both Mendelssohn's letter to the Schwerin Jewish community and in his missive to Emden, significant distinctions exist between them. In the former case, Mendelssohn first cited the medical opinion and then added, "and it would seem from the words of our rabbis ('hazal') that they agree with the doctors ('ba'alei ha-refu'ah') in this matter." Here the medical proof took precedence and, as an additional argument, the rabbis were cited as being in agreement with them. In his letter to Emden, however, the order was reversed. More concerned here with presenting the elder rabbi with a traditional argument, Mendelssohn first cited the rabbinic statement in Tractate Semahot as proof of his position and then added, "and so will testify and state all medical authorities ('hakhmei ha-refuah') . . . " As will be noted below, in spite of this subtle formulation, Emden sensed Mendelssohn's real position and, in his response to him, treated his remarks as if he had argued that it is the rabbis who are agreeing with the doctors.

Another significant difference between Mendelssohn's two letters on this subject lies in his conclusion. Unlike his earlier missive to the Schwerin community where he forcefully stated his point of view and concluded that it is an "obligation incumbent upon all the holy communities" to accept it, the tone of his conclusion in his letter to Emden was much more tentative and deferential: "Behold I presented the doubts that

occurred to me in this matter before my revered master and teacher. In all humility I hope that I will not be a burden to him for I truly need to learn."³⁶ On the other hand, while Mendelssohn couched his argument to Emden in more traditional terms, he did expect him to substantively address the issue. Although he did not realistically expect either the Schwerin community or Emden to practically adopt his suggestion, at least in the latter case he felt that he would receive a reasoned answer as to why it would be considered inappropriate. Unlike the Schwerin community which Mendelssohn felt would defend immediate burial simply because it was current practice, Emden, he thought, would do so on the basis of a carefully presented objective analysis of the sources.³⁷ I don't believe he expected to be convinced by Emden but was curious to see what kind of an explanation he could muster in defense of the traditionally accepted practice.

Emden's response was quick in coming. In a letter dated July 3, 1772, he clearly rejected all of Mendelssohn's arguments.³⁸ First he referred Mendelssohn to the letter he wrote on behalf of the Schwerin community "where you will see that I substantiated the matter with attractive proofs, correct to he who is knowledgable." He explained that in that letter he specifically cited Biblical verses to prove the centrality of immediate burial in Judaism because the Schwerin community felt that the Duke would be more responsive to proofs from the Bible than from later rabbinic sources. However, in truth, such an exercise is not necessary, continued Emden, "for the ways of the Sages need no strengthening. It is impossible for a Jewish person to deviate from their words (even) a hairsbreadth. He who departs from them departs from his very life."³⁹ He then entered into a point by refutation of each of Mendels-

sohn's arguments.

It is clear that Emden's immediate reaction to Mendelssohn's proposal was not the kind of objective, dispassionate analysis that Mendelssohn had expected. On the contrary, his response is a highly charged and emotional one, indeed the kind of impulsive rejection and dismissal that Mendelssohn had rather expected would be forthcoming from the Schwerin communal leadership. Emden wrote:

"Heaven forfend! It is profane to question the custom of our fathers who are scattered in the four (corners of the earth) (⁴⁰ in spite of all the variations of their customs in areas that do not really matter that much). In this regard, Ashkenazim, Sephardim and those from the East and West are identical. It was neither known nor heard in the entire world, in those places where our fellow co-religionists are scattered, that they should practice another custom in the burial of their dead other than that which we practice in these countries . . . Now this practice has become established also in the Holy Land, as is known . . . In any case, God forbid and Heaven forfend ('has ve-shalom ve-halila') (for us) to entertain in our minds any possible doubtful thought that, in this matter, all the people of the Diaspora, from one end of the world to another, should have erred."

Emden did not present any rational explanation as to why Jews originally deviated from the ancient custom of deferred burial other than to say

that they no longer had enough property in Israel to do so and that outside of Israel the topology of the earth did not allow for caves and catacombs. Even though it obviously had become possible for the Jews now to revert to their original custom, Emden opposed doing so simply because it was no longer the accepted practice in any existing Jewish community. If the entire Jewish world followed the same procedure, that was itself a sign that it must be correct. He concluded:

"Trust the people of Israel, if they are not prophets, they are (at least) the sons of prophets.⁴¹ They were assured that the Torah will not be forgotten by them nor by their children forever."

Emden also argued that, because they all practiced immediate burial, it is apparent that no rabbinic scholar in any of these communities shared Mendelssohn's concern and it therefore had no basis. In any case, the possibility of someone regaining consciousness after premature burial was not real, he added, because the likelihood of this happening in normal cases, where the body is properly handled and carefully prepared for burial, is extremely rare. He therefore argued that, "We are not at all concerned with remote possibilities and with the minutest minimum in any matter."

Referring to Mendelssohn as "my son," Emden rejected the various Talmudic proofs he had adduced. In a paternalistic manner, he chided him for effectively rendering obsolete the Mishnaic statement that one who left a body unburied overnight was considered as having transgressed a Biblical commandment. Nevertheless, while firmly rejecting Mendelssohn's opinion, Emden was prepared to grant that he was motivated not by a con-

scious desire to deny the authority of the Talmudic text but by an erroneous interpretation of it: "How dare you, beloved to me like my son! Undoubtedly, an error emerged from your hand, without (previous) analysis and examination."

Mendelssohn's medical argument elicited a two-fold reaction from Emden. First, in the middle of his response, he flatly stated that medical opinion cannot be accepted in a case where it will undermine the accepted halakhah:

"Regarding your honor's reference to the consensus of the medical authorities, we dare not under any circumstances pay attention to them in matters relating to Torah Law for then, God forbid, its foundation would weaken and its pillars would quake (Job 9:6). It is for this purpose that I authored a critical work, true to Torah, called The Book The Letter (i.e. 'Iggeret Bikkoret')."⁴²

At the end of the letter he cautioned Mendelssohn: "My son, heed the rebuke of a father⁴³ and do not swerve from my words (Prov. 4:5) and pay no attention to the words of the idolatrous doctors."⁴⁴ He cited a Talmudic text which clearly indicated that the rabbinic criteria to determine the moment of death were at variance with current medical opinion and concluded: "Thus you have learned that there is no substance to the words of a doctor devoid of Torah; do not, my son, go along with him."⁴⁵

It should come as no surprise that Mendelssohn would be disappointed with Emden's response. Instead of the openness and objectivity on Emden's part which he had expected, he found the same stubborn adherence

to tradition for its own sake that he encountered already from the Schwerin community. Mendelssohn responded to Emden's missive in a letter which has, unfortunately, been lost. However, the intensity of Mendelssohn's reaction can be gauged from the return letter of Emden in which he alluded to Mendelssohn's feelings:⁴⁶ "You were a bit surprised by the words of my previous letter because I did not conceal the truth under my tongue." On the contrary, claimed Emden: "I do not understand why and for what reason (Esther 4:5) you are angry . . . what wrong have I done you? What hardship have I caused you? Testify against me (Micha 6:3). Behold all my words were spoken in a soft tongue." After all, he continued, "I sought your merit . . . I judged you favorably" by maintaining that Mendelssohn's suggestion to universally eliminate immediate burial was said in haste and without premeditated thought. After noting how he was always concerned with asserting the truth, he expressed his exasperation to Mendelssohn:

"Since I sensed in this second letter that it is difficult for you to bow your head to admit the truth, it would have been proper (for me) not to bother with you any more in this matter for all my words are good, correct and right to those who have attained knowledge (Prov. 8:9)."

Aware that Mendelssohn already expressed to him his opposition to pilpul in a previous correspondence,⁴⁷ Emden accused him of adopting precisely that method by engaging in forced argumentation to challenge the traditional position and by refusing to admit his mistake. He addressed the essence of the matter, asserting that deferred burial was absolutely

unacceptable and that even in ancient times in Palestine, when burial did take place in catacombs, the body did not lie uncovered but was totally surrounded by earth. Furthermore, Emden informed Mendelssohn that he was committed to the practice of immediate burial not simply because he blindly adhered to any accepted practice. On the contrary, he wrote, "It is not unknown to you that I do not favor faulty customs ('minhagim meshubashim'), especially those recently innovated." He supported it, he claimed, only because it was firmly grounded in classical traditional sources.⁴⁸ In conclusion, Emden warned Mendelssohn that it would be in his own best self interest not to continue to press this issue.

In the earlier stages of their correspondence, Emden and Mendelssohn evinced a high level of regard for one another. True, even then they recognized their differences in orientation. Emden understood that the younger Mendelssohn was a "philosopher" who would respond to arguments based on "logic" ("higayon") while Mendelssohn knew full well that his elder colleague could only be convinced by sound classical rabbinic argumentation. Nevertheless, each acknowledged and appreciated the combination between Talmudic learning and the readiness to deviate from strict traditionalism found in the other. They believed that what divided them were only nuances of emphasis which lacked real substantive consequences and they were convinced that the common ground between them was large enough to allow them to engage in meaningful, mutually respectful discourse. However, by the time Emden wrote Mendelssohn for the last time regarding early burial, each had clearly come to realize that the other's orientation was far more substantively different than they had

hitherto assumed. It became clear to Emden that, while Mendelssohn seemed to debate him on his own terms and couched his argument in classical Talmudic terminology, he was really being primarily motivated by non-traditional, non-halakhic considerations. Although Emden had already suspected this after his first exchange with Mendelssohn over early burial, he was still prepared to rationalize Mendelssohn's position as being the result of hasty and thoughtless judgment. However, after Mendelssohn's second attempt to press the issue with him, Emden was convinced that this was not the case. He correctly interpreted Mendelssohn's repeated attempts to justify his position as reflecting the fact that, for Mendelssohn, halakhah was not the only source of religious authority but that current medical opinion was also authoritative enough to determine Jewish practice even if it meant deviating from age old, traditionally accepted custom. Although Mendelssohn still couched his argument in the language of halakhic texts and rabbinic argumentation, Emden felt that he was distorting their meaning in order to achieve his desired, preconceived goal and thus accused him of engaging in pilpul (casuistry). By the end of this phase of their correspondence, Emden fully realized that Mendelssohn was not willing to dismiss current medical consideration under any circumstances and was prepared to repeatedly force the halakhic texts to conform with this non-halakhic criteria even where clearly unjustified. Although Emden knew that Mendelssohn argued all this only in theory and, in practice, did compose a successful memorandum to the Duke defending the traditional practice, he was still very troubled by what he considered to be the dangerous implications of Mendelssohn's position.

Mendelssohn, on the other hand, came to realize that, ultimately,

Emden was firmly anchored in only one world, that of traditional Judaism. Over and over again he found Emden forcefully articulating the traditional viewpoint on this matter without granting even the slightest legitimacy to any non-halakhic discipline like medicine to effect a reassessment of halakhic practice. Even after Mendelssohn challenged him to defend the almost visceral negative reaction to his proposal articulated in Emden's first letter, Emden repeated his remarks even more forcefully and only accused Mendelssohn of intellectual dishonesty and ingratitude.

Nevertheless, while Emden's position in contradistinction to that of Mendelssohn is clear, one should not assume that his was a simple traditionalist's approach. The fine shades that existed even within the traditionalist camp become highlighted when comparing Emden's correspondence with Mendelssohn to that of Rabbi Mordecai Jaffee, Chief Rabbi of the Schwerin Jewish community and one of the signatories of its original letter to Mendelssohn seeking his support.⁴⁹ In effect, both he and Emden argued strongly in favor of maintaining the custom as it was being practiced. Nevertheless, the differences between them are highly significant. Jaffee argued with Mendelssohn on purely straightforward rabbinic grounds, taking the various Talmudic texts adduced by Mendelssohn one by one and showing how he misinterpreted them all. He made only a passing reference to the medical opinion cited by Mendelssohn in support of his proposal and did not seem to realize, as did Emden, that Mendelssohn was really treating it as an independently authoritative source of knowledge. Jaffee's frame of discourse was strictly halakhic and his response was a purely standard, traditional, rabbinic one.

Emden's response, on the other hand, although sharing certain fun-

damental assumptions with that of Jaffee, was significantly different. Unlike his rabbinic colleague, Emden was keenly aware of the fact that what motivated Mendelssohn was not an objective analysis of the rabbinic texts but his high regard for current medical opinion. While, like Jaffee, Emden also addressed himself to Mendelssohn's halakhic argument and presented traditional points of view to refute them, unlike Jaffee, he squarely addressed Mendelssohn's medical argument, clearly recognizing how Mendelssohn was attempting to treat it as fully authoritative in its own right. He correctly understood that he could no longer simply engage Mendelssohn on purely halakhic grounds but that he would have to relate to him on his own terms. This awareness on the part of Emden is most clearly indicated in his striking conclusion to his last letter. He had earlier informed Mendelssohn that he had written to him "for his own good, to save him from the slander of the people ('dibat ha-'am')." Unlike the first letter where he was prepared to judge Mendelssohn favorably ("le-kaf zekhut"), here he eliminated all restraint and addressed him squarely and forcefully. Emden referred to his own words,

"which were spoken out of abundant affection and love .

. . in order to remove from you crooked speech and devious talk (Prov. 4:24) and to not give (people) an opportunity to chastize (you) (⁵⁰ for, even without this, those who complain against you have increased (saying) that you are raising a [dangerous] dog . . .).

I thought that you would increase your love for me as it is written, Reprove a wise man (and he will love you; Prov. 9:8). For I did not come to chide you nor

battle with you but only to enhance your welfare so that embittered men should not attack you⁵¹ when they hear that you turn to the futilities of strangers⁵² and are planning to change the custom of Israel . . . All your efforts in this matter are for nought. No one listens to you (II Sam. 15:3). I fear lest you become (the recipient of) scorn and derision (Ps. 44:14; 79:4), more than (you) can hold (Ezek. 23:32)."⁵³

Unlike Jaffee, Emden sensed the departure from traditional Judaism inherent in Mendelssohn's position and warned him about the dangers to his reputation that would result from it.

Other subtleties also distinguish Emden's reaction from that of Jaffee. Whereas the latter's response was a strictly halakhic one, Emden's first letter to Mendelssohn also reflected the wideranging knowledge of history and medicine so common in many of his other works. For example, Emden postulated that the original reason for the Gentile custom of deferred burial was based upon necromancy and also stated that "fainting is a common occurrence also among the healthy, especially those who are prone to discharges."⁵⁴

A careful analysis of the widely contrasting points of view of Mendelssohn on one side and Jaffee on the other makes it possible to sharply define Emden's intermediate position. In a real sense, he is a transition figure. Unlike Mendelssohn, his frame of discourse was purely a halakhic one. Yet, unlike Jaffee, he was aware of and very sensitive to the shifting intellectual currents swirling in the Jewish world around him.

The major issue which served as the point of departure for this exchange between Emden and Mendelssohn was the status accorded medical opinion in Jewish law. In both of his letters on the early burial issue, Emden repeatedly reaffirmed his clearly articulated assertion that no medical opinion can ever be accepted if it is at variance with the halakhah. It is important to clarify his point of view on this matter, especially in light of the fact that it has been recently misunderstood. It has been asserted that Emden's was not "a position consistently espoused. The same Jacob Emden who condemned Mendelssohn for ceding to the ways of the Gentiles and for citing medical authority in matters of Jewish law prided himself on his familiarity with matters of science, tried to reconcile Copernicus with Jewish cosmologies and wrote at length in his autobiography of the medical advice that he had received for his personal ailments."⁵⁵ An analysis of Emden's position on this matter will show that, in fact, it was both logical and consistent.

There are two places in Emden's corpus where he expressed the highest regard for the science of medicine. At the end of his well-known responsum to the medical student in Göttingen, written in 1737 and cited repeatedly in the last chapter, Emden differentiated between natural sciences and philosophy, a distinction with a long and venerable history. Whereas he reluctantly justified a limited involvement in the latter, he felt that natural sciences should be optimally studied as an important source of knowledge:

"Verily, natural sciences are different. They certainly constitute a permitted and commendable body of knowledge, necessary to observe the plan of the Lord and

His great deeds which are wonderful.⁵⁶ Particularly (valuable is) that aspect of it which is included in the field of medicine since it is the life of all creatures. The Torah testified to its existence and commanded its practice⁵⁷ . . . Even if the one who studies nature should quantitatively achieve only a minimal amount, it is qualitatively great and equal to much (knowledge) of other disciplines. Especially if it becomes clear through experimentation ('nisayon') that (the wisdom) will help and improve (human health), then his reward is great in this (world) and the next. It is therefore proper to work at it as we know especially from two giants of the world, precious men⁵⁸ of Torah and in the teaching of the fundamentals, Maimonides and Nahmanides, may their memories be for a blessing, whose reputation for wisdom has spread among the nations and the Earth was illuminated from their honor and Torah, aside from many other greats of the generations . . .
 ."⁵⁹

Emden repeated his great respect for natural sciences in general and medicine in particular as part of a long aside in his autobiography describing his passionate interest in general, secular knowledge, already cited above.⁶⁰ Also, Emden's respect for medical opinion is evident in the following unexpected source. In his Migdal 'Oz, Emden wrote how he originally decided to present in his Siddur only an abridged version of the fourth chapter of Maimonides' "Laws Relating to Moral Dispositions

and Ethical Conduct" in his Mishneh Torah dealing with medical matters, "because some of the words of Maimonides seem to contradict the words of the sages and some of them are also not acceptable to contemporary doctors."⁶¹ In keeping with Maimonides' own position, the opinion of "contemporary doctors" was also something to be reckoned with seriously.

Indeed, Emden elsewhere referred to the medical works he had read, sometimes by the names of their authors⁶² and, in general, reflected a great although unsystematic familiarity with details of medical knowledge. Throughout many of Emden's works, especially his Siddur, one finds much information regarding different diseases and their causes,⁶³ various types of cures,⁶⁴ numerous matters relating to food intake and digestion,⁶⁵ types of surgical procedures and their dangers,⁶⁶ various medical remedies⁶⁷ and how people respond differently to them⁶⁸ and the time, frequency and position of sexual intercourse and other matters relating to that activity.⁶⁹ His works contain references to liquid anesthesia,⁷⁰ the importance of exercise⁷¹ and proper sleep,⁷² the positive effects of defecation⁷³ and the benefits of an enema on a regular basis,⁷⁴ the negative side effects of a tooth extraction⁷⁵ and the dangers of suddenly moving from one extreme to another, be it with regard to temperature, diet or sex.⁷⁶ Emden claimed that unhealthy eating habits lead to the raising of body temperature which causes problems with blood circulation⁷⁷ and which is also responsible for involuntary nocturnal emissions of semen.⁷⁸ He presented a physiological description of what happens to a person's body when s/he is embarrassed⁷⁹ and cited practices suggested by doctors to enhance one's power of memory.⁸⁰ On occasion he took issue with medical opinion,⁸¹ noting that sometimes

doctors themselves disagree with one another⁸² or simply err in their treatment.⁸³ In particular, Emden's repeated graphic and detailed descriptions of his own various sicknesses, which fill his autobiography and which are described in many of his other works, reflect much more than the knowledge of an average patient.⁸⁴ Finally, as noted above, Emden indicated knowledge about medicine in this very correspondence with Mendelssohn when he noted that those who suffer from discharges are prone to fainting.⁸⁵

Emden's great respect for medical knowledge notwithstanding, he unequivocally insisted that it defer to rabbinic opinion in those cases where the two came into conflict. True, there are a number of areas where Jewish law actively seeks and incorporates medical advice. For example, Emden repeated the normative halakhic ruling which obligates someone to eat on Yom Kippur or take medication on the Sabbath, both normally proscribed by Jewish law, if a doctor insists that it is necessary for his or her health.⁸⁶ There are also many other areas where the opinion of the doctor is respected and seriously considered by Jewish law.⁸⁷ In those cases, however, where current medical opinion comes into direct conflict with Jewish law, like in the case of delayed burial, then the medical opinion is to be utterly rejected.

This position had already been stated by Emden's father, Hakham Zevi Ashkenazi in the following context. According to Jewish law, any flow of blood from the uterus, whether or not part of the regular menstrual cycle, causes a woman to become ritually impure and thereby enjoined from

sexual relations with her husband. Part of the ritual purification process in such a case requires the woman to examine herself by inserting a cloth into her vagina to determine that no blood is present.⁸⁸ The problem was raised with regard to a woman who always discovered blood after her internal investigations and therefore had great difficulty in carrying on a normal marital relationship. In one of his responsa, Hakham Zevi rejected an opinion which allowed the woman to resume relations with her husband on the basis of a doctor's opinion that the blood came not from the uterus itself but from irritations in the skin of the vaginal wall which Jewish law does not consider to be a source of impurity:

"I was amazed at how it could occur to him (i.e. the author of Sefer 'Avodat ha-Gershuni) to permit (the woman to cohabit with her husband) because of such nonsense, since there is no wound there nor even a pretext of a wound, no pain and no suffering. Even the doctor does not claim that there is a wound there but, rather, judges (the situation) on the basis of his own understanding, that this changed occurrence (i.e. the vaginal bleeding) is caused by veins in her inner sides."⁸⁹

The view accepted as normative in Jewish law held that internal bleeding caused by skin irritation would have to be accompanied by some sort of stomach pain or discomfort. A medical opinion which claimed that such bleeding is possible even without this pain could not be accepted as authoritative enough to override the rabbinic presumption and allow the woman to engage in what may well be a violation of Biblical law.

In his own discussion of a similar situation of a woman who consistently was unable to ritually purify herself to enable her to engage in marital relations, Emden cited his father's responsum and invalidated a doctor's assertion that an internal wound accounted for the blood she saw and that she therefore should be permitted to resume sexual relations with her husband. Had it been possible to prove the existence of such a wound or had the bleeding been accompanied by pain or other signs of illness, the doctor's testimony would have been accepted as valid. However, lacking this clear and independent verification, Emden also maintained that the doctor's claim is only conjecture and must be rejected. In his words, "Not everything that the doctor decrees, says and rules with his wisdom must we accept."⁹⁰

In the course of both this discussion as well as in his letter to Mendelssohn on the delayed burial issue, Emden referred his correspondents to one of his earlier works, 'Iggeret Bikkoret, where this entire matter was discussed in great detail and where his position was presented with absolute clarity.⁹¹ The issue there related to the question of whether the removal of a man's right testicle due to disease rendered him a pazua dakah, thereby prohibited by Biblical law from engaging in sexual relations with his wife. The rabbis in the Talmud stipulated that this prohibition applied only if the testicle was lost by human means ("bi-yidei 'adam"). However, if the man was born without a testicle or lost it by natural means ("bi-yidei shamayim"), for example as a result of being struck by lightning or hail, he is not enjoined by Jewish law from

having a normal marital relationship.⁹² What is the procedure, however, in the case under consideration where the testicle became diseased naturally ("bi-yedei shamayim") but was ultimately removed by man ("bi-yedei 'adam")?

One of the judges in the Altona community, R. Samson Bloch, had ruled that this individual need not be forced to divorce his wife and based his decision on two major considerations. Firstly, he followed the ruling of Maimonides and others who maintained that sickness is to be considered "bi-yedei shamayim" and extended it to apply even if the testicle was removed "bi-yedei 'adam".⁹³ Second of all, he cited the testimony of an eighty-three year old "expert and prominent" doctor and others whom he had consulted on this matter who had told him from their own experience that someone whose either right or left testicle was removed due to sickness was still capable of fathering a child. According to the doctor, this was the case because, "all the virility which usually is extended through there (i.e. both testicles) is now transferred to the one (remaining testicle) and it has a double strength. The same is true of all the limbs that are in pairs."⁹⁴ As a result, concluded R. Bloch, "why should we deny that which is apparent? . . . It is more correct to force our decision to be compatible with the views of the doctors wherever possible."⁹⁵

In the two responsa he penned on this subject, Emden sharply disagreed with R. Bloch. He argued that Maimonides considered the loss of a testicle due to sickness as "bi-yedei shamayim" even if removed by human means only if prior to its removal the testicle was so diseased that it could have been considered as if it no longer existed. In that case, the

doctor is not considered by Jewish law as having removed anything at all. However, how is it possible to know that this was, indeed, the case? Perhaps the doctors removed it prematurely, when according to Jewish law it was still considered to be healthy, and therefore the removal of the testicle by the doctor should really be considered "bi-yedei 'adam" which would require the man to divorce his wife? Since we are dealing here with a possible Biblical prohibition, averred Emden, absolute certitude is required to allow the couple to continue living together. However, he claimed, medical opinion is unable to furnish such certitude:

"What man is so wise that he understands this (Jer. 9:11) and (is able to) testify that it is certainly so? Often doctors are found to greatly differ in their consensus and judgements . . . If so, how can we depend upon them in this matter involving a Biblical prohibition?"⁹⁶

Returning to this point in his second responsum, Emden wondered how doctors can possibly know what level of sickness Jewish law deems to be "bi-yedei shamayim":

"Scholars of nature have no way of knowing what the law of our Torah considers to be "bi-yedei shamayim" in order to permit him (to his wife) even though he does not father a child. Whence would a doctor (have such knowledge) in this area in which he is totally uninvolved? He has no apportioned share⁹⁷ nor awareness in the laws of the Divine Torah from which he is totally removed."⁹⁸

It is in this second responsum that Emden squarely addressed R. Bloch's medical argument.⁹⁹ He pointed out that, contrary to medical opinion, the rabbis maintained that a man's reproductive capacity was irreparably affected even if one testicle was seriously damaged, let alone removed, and therefore insisted that a man with such a condition be prohibited from cohabiting with his wife. In such a case, where currently accepted medical opinion is directly contradicted by rabbinic perceptions regarding medicine which serve as the basis for normative law, Emden stated repeatedly, clearly and unequivocally that the former has no standing whatsoever: "Certainly we pay no heed to any of the doctors' rulings upon which we would decide the healing of every disease¹⁰⁰ relevant to Torah law."¹⁰¹ Emden went to great lengths, "to shut the mouths of the fools who think evil, as though the sages had no apportioned share in human wisdom."¹⁰² On the contrary,

"Nothing in natural science was hidden from them. They knew it as well, to the fullest extent possible¹⁰³ . . . To them alone was granted . . . the true wisdom (¹⁰⁴ which they received generation after generation as the law given to Moses at Sinai) in the nature of living creatures which was necessary for their (understanding of) the laws of the perfect Torah of the Lord (Ps. 19:8). (¹⁰⁴Nothing was lacking¹⁰⁵). The decrees of the Lord are enduring (ibid.) and do not need human analysis and verification. Therefore, we must follow that which our Sages have taught, whether to be lenient or stringent. One may neither add nor subtract from

them."¹⁰⁶

Compare the conjecture and uncertainty of the doctors, continued Emden, with the clarity and certitude of the rabbis who,

"did not follow the generally accepted assumptions of medicine in issues relating to our holy Torah. These matters are conveyed only to the Sages, receivers of the truth (revealed) as law to Moses at Sinai. The doctors, however, are not strong enough in their knowledge of illness and health to judge between the impossible and the possible. (They can do so) only on the basis of experience alone, not because of any incontrovertible proof. It was certainly not verified as such by the (Jewish) tradition in which they have no apportioned share. Their strength is only in what they say and see by estimate and conjecture."¹⁰⁷

In any case, claimed Emden, having obviously not witnessed the actual act of intercourse, the doctors must depend on the testimony of the woman that it is her husband who fathered her child, but her testimony is suspect:

"It is impossible for them to testify about this except on the basis of hearsay from the woman who says so to cover up for her children and for her own honor . . . On what basis can they testify as to the truth of these words? No one but the woman alone sees and knows . . . Therefore we cannot give credence to this testimony at all for it depends on nothing but on the wings of the

wind (II Sam. 22:11; Ps. 18:11, 104:3) and rests on the branches of conjecture alone."¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, Emden disputed the basic principle, cited approvingly by R. Bloch in the name of a doctor, that if one of the parts of the body that come in pairs is lost, all its "power" is transferred to the other which will now alone fill the function previously carried out by both. Emden wrote that "the words of these doctors are null and void and are intrinsically worthless"¹⁰⁹ for two reasons, one philosophical and one empirical. Firstly, he cited the old philosophical argument that God does nothing in vain and, therefore, if He created two of any given limb, it must have been because one alone would not have been sufficient. Secondly, Emden argued that experience has clearly proven this principle to be wrong; for example, two hands can carry a much larger load than one hand.¹¹⁰ Emden therefore concluded that:

"A thousand such doctors should be rejected and their words be eliminated rather than even one letter of the Torah and its classic interpretation and sacred tradition be rejected. Heaven forbid that our complete Torah should be considered like their idle talk,¹¹¹ that we should believe their teachings and trust much of their wisdom. Their wisdom amounts to nothing (Jer. 8:9). It cannot stand up against the independent wisdom of the sages, the scholars of truth. The breath of the Lord, that gives them understanding (Job 32:8).

The Divine spirit shines forth upon their sanctity."¹¹²

Given this background, it is possible to fully understand Emden's

position in his disagreement with Mendelssohn regarding delayed burial. Here too the halakhah requiring immediate burial was clearly based on a medical presumption that the person is completely dead. Therefore, given the principle Emden had already clearly established in 'Iggeret Bikkoret to which he referred Mendelssohn, any current medical opinion to the contrary had to be totally ignored and utterly rejected.¹¹³

Although no response from Mendelssohn to Emden's letter is extant, there is no question that he disagreed with Emden's position. It is, in fact, interesting to note that, when the editors of ha-Me'asef asked Mendelssohn in 1785 for a contribution to their new journal, he gave them copies of this exchange with Emden on the early burial issue.¹¹⁴

Fourteen months elapsed from the exchange between Emden and Mendelssohn on delayed burial until the last extant correspondence between them. The issue under discussion was the Jewish view of the eternal salvation of non-Jews and was occasioned by Lavater's challenge to Mendelssohn over four years earlier to either refute the truth of Christianity or convert to it.¹¹⁵ Central to Mendelssohn's response to Lavater was his assertion that Judaism flatly rejects the Christian notion of extra ecclesiam non est salus which motivated and underlay Lavater's overture to Mendelssohn. On the contrary, argued Mendelssohn, Judaism allows for eternal salvation even of those who do not share its faith:

"We believe that all other nations of the earth have been directed by God to adhere to the laws of nature and to the religion of the Patriarchs. Those who regu-

late their lives according to the precepts of this religion of nature and of reason are called virtuous men of other nations and are the children of eternal salvation."¹¹⁶

To these two sentences Mendelssohn appended three footnotes. In the first, he identified "the religion of the Patriarchs" as the Seven Noahide Laws which he enumerated. Secondly, Mendelssohn identified "virtuous men of other nations" as "hasidei 'umot ha-'olam" and then added the following: "Maimonides adds the clause here, provided that they do not observe them only as laws of Nature but as laws especially revealed by God. However, this addition has no source ('Autorität') in the Talmud." This matter will be discussed below in great detail.

In the third footnote, appended to the end of his statement that these hasidei 'umot ha-'olam "are the children of eternal salvation," Mendelssohn cited references to this principle from various medieval Jewish works, including those of Maimonides, and concluded: "Rabbi Jacob Hirschel, one of the most learned rabbis of our times, deals with this extensively in several of his works."¹¹⁷ This last reference is to none other than our own Rabbi Jacob Emden who was referred to as Rabbiner Jacob Hirschel (i.e. Jacob son of Hirsch or Zevi) in many German documents.¹¹⁸ Mendelssohn clearly held Emden in high regard and felt that invoking his name would lend support to his position.

While Mendelssohn was explicit in identifying all the other works to which he referred in this footnote, his reference to Emden's "several works" remained unclear and ambiguous. A number of attempts have been made to identify those sources in Emden's corpus to which Mendelssohn may

have been referring. In his notes on this statement of Mendelssohn's, S. Rawidowicz suggested several passages in Emden's commentary on the Mishnah, Ez 'Avot, printed over twenty years earlier, in 1752.¹¹⁹ However, none of the sources to which he draws attention deal directly with the issue of eternal salvation for hasidei 'umot ha-'olam. They rather reflect Emden's positive attitude towards Gentiles in general¹²⁰ and, for that matter, do not exhaust all of his pronouncements on this issue even in this work alone.¹²¹ Furthermore, these sources all are found in only one of Emden's books and Mendelssohn made reference to "several works" by Emden where this matter was discussed.

In suggesting what Mendelssohn may have had in mind, if, in fact, it was more than just simply an assumption, Jacob Katz made reference to an article by Azriel Shochat who cited statements from several of Emden's writings regarding his positive attitude towards Christianity.¹²² However, here too, while they all indicate a tolerance on Emden's part, none deal directly with the principle of "hasidei 'umot ha-'olam yesh lahem helek le-'olam haba." The same problem exists with the reference in Emden's Midgal 'Oz suggested by Alexander Altmann as at least one of the sources which Mendelssohn may have had in mind.¹²³

There are, in fact, a number of statements found in several works by Emden, already in print by December of 1769 when Mendelssohn penned his response to Lavater, which deal explicitly with the principle of eternal salvation for "hasidei 'umot ha-'olam" to which Mendelssohn may have been referring. The first volume of Emden's responsa includes the famous letter of his to a medical student described above which discussed, among other matters, whether or not autopsies could be performed on the bodies

of non-Jews. In the midst of a long and elaborate analysis of this issue, Emden wrote that the body of a slave is to be considered his master's private property and can therefore be used by him in whatever manner he wishes. However,

"This is not the case with a heathen who has not been acquired by a Jew as a slave. He is unlike an animal and has a legally recognized ancestry.¹²⁴ This is especially true of those nations who are religious and just and who believe in the Creator of the world and its Master who rewards and punishes, and in other appropriate fundamentals of faith . . . Therefore, their blood is precious in our eyes even if we were to rule over them and they were subjugated under our authority upon our land. In fact, they taught (¹⁰⁴even in relation to definite idolators) one does not 'cast down' Gentiles (i.e. endanger their lives).¹²⁵ It goes without saying (that), in the Diaspora, where we live under their protection, we are obligated to protect them as well with all our power, to save them from death and from all loss and damage. It must also be a priority for us to safeguard their money (¹⁰⁴surely robbing them is forbidden as has been established.)¹²⁶ Our teachers already taught that we are obligated to bury their dead, comfort their bereaved and support their poor for the sake of peace.¹²⁷ All this is obvious. Therefore, no benefit may be derived from

their corpses like the rest of the Noahides. For they are not inferior if they observe the Seven (Noahide) Laws. If they violate them they will be punished and ultimately they will achieve 'tikkun' after they accept their punishment. They do have a place and a share in the world to come as befits them. (Indeed), they have already taught, 'The pious of the nations of the world have a share in the world to come.'"¹²⁸

In 1757, Emden published a new edition of Seder 'Olam Rabbah ve-Zuta and Megillat Ta'anit with his own notes and commentary. He concluded this little work with an essay addressed to the leaders of the Polish Council of the Four Lands (Va'ad 'Arba 'Arazot) dealing with the Sabbatians in their community. In order to gain legitimacy among the Polish Gentiles, the Sabbatians there had claimed that they were being "persecuted by the Jews" because "they too believe in the Nazarene or are close to them (i.e. Christians) in their beliefs and opinions."¹²⁹ In response, the rabbis were prepared to argue that Sabbatianism was not a new version of Christianity but an entirely new religion. Since, however, a new religion was proscribed by secular law under penalty of death, they inquired of Emden whether or not they were permitted to pursue such a claim which may result in Sabbatians being killed. In the course of his letter in which he clearly affirmed that such behavior was not only permissible but recommended, Emden claimed that classical Christianity, represented by Jesus and his immediate disciples, had a very positive attitude towards Judaism. For Emden, the later Christian antagonism toward Judaism was a distortion of the position of true Chris-

tianity which held Judaism in high esteem. He clearly stated that Jesus never intended to abrogate Jewish law for Jews but only to reinstate the Noahide Laws for Gentiles which had by his time long been disregarded.¹³⁰ A few years later, Emden reprinted an expanded version of this essay as part of his Sefer Shimush, elaborating his remarks in response to some criticism he had received in the interim. At one point, again unfavorably comparing Sabbatianism to Christianity, Emden wrote:

"However, if Christians observe the Seven Noahide Laws as they are commanded and as I mentioned in this (essay entitled) 'Resen Mat'eh,' then surely not only is there no reason to denigrate them even a bit but they undoubtedly merit praise . . . Our sages have taught, 'The pious of the nations of the world have a share in the world to come.'"¹³¹

There is one final source to which Mendelssohn could very likely have been referring because it was printed only a few months before the Lavater Affair and, had Mendelssohn seen it, it would have been very fresh in his mind. Shortly after the appearance of Shlomo Zalman Hanau's Sha'arei Tefillah in 1725, Emden penned a long and elaborate critique of it entitled Luah Eresh.¹³² One of his criticisms took the form of a three-page excursus defending the text of "ve-le-meshumadim 'al tehi tikvah" in the Shemoneh Esreh, as opposed to "ve-la-malshinim . . ." In the course of his remarks, he defined a "meshumad" as a member of any faith community who converted to another religion out of insincere motives:

"We consider every apostate equally, whether he was a

Jew and became a Christian, Moslem, Indian or African or whether he was a member of one of these and became a Jew, if his heart is not firm with God,¹³³ whose spirit is not true to God (Ps. 78:8); if his sole motive is to rebel against his King and his Master or to seek revenge from his family with the intention of shaming them in this manner or for another reason, i.e. out of a desire for money . . . or to satisfy his lustful desire for women and the like . . .

However, he who serves his God because he knew and recognized none other than Him, if he follows (Him) with sincerity,¹³⁴ he is pure, without guilt. We do not deprive him of a just reward for his commendable intention, at the very least, for so did our rabbis explicitly teach, 'The pious of the nations of the world have a share in the world to come.'¹³⁵

Having identified those statements of Emden's regarding eternal salvation of non-Jews to which Mendelssohn may have been referring, it is important to clarify Emden's view on Mendelssohn's basic thesis. Did Emden agree with Mendelssohn that the only criteria necessary for the eternal salvation of all peoples is that they "regulate their lives according to the precepts of this religion of nature and reason" or did he insist on some kind of a concurrent heteronomic awareness on their part as well? An analysis of this issue will provide an important background for the position Emden was to take in his last correspondence with

Mendelssohn.

It was a commonplace for an eighteenth century Jewish author to include a disclaimer either at the beginning or end of his work noting that all references to "'Akum" found therein do not refer to contemporary Christians. Emden was no exception. At the very end of the second volume of his Siddur, printed in 1747, Emden provided this standard disclaimer in the following way:

"That which we have mentioned several times in our works is well known, that all those who believe in the Torah of Moses (¹⁰⁴be they from whatever nation) are not in the category of idol worshippers and the like even though they do not observe it fully because they are not commanded to do so. Our rabbis have already taught, 'The pious of the nations of the world have a share in the world to come'."¹³⁶

It would appear from this that, unlike Mendelssohn, Emden maintained that "belief in the Torah of Moses" even by non-Jews is a requirement for the designation of "a pious one among the Gentiles" who has a share in the World to Come.

Emden's rejection of a religion based solely on "nature and reason" is clearly articulated in the first volume of his Lehem Shamayim, a work with which Mendelssohn is known to have been familiar.¹³⁷ In his Tosafot Yom Tov commentary on Tractate Berakhot, R. Yom Tov Lipman Heller offered an explanation to account for the different versions of the Divine name found in the introduction to the Grace After Meals when a quorum is present ("nevarekh l'E-loheinu") and in the beginning of the blessing over

the Torah ("barkhu 'et 'A-donai hamevorakh"). R. Heller suggested that this is based on the fact that the Divine name "'E-lohim" represents the attribute of God's justice ("midat ha-din") and the name "'A-donai" represents the attribute of mercy ("midat ha-rahamim"):

"For with regard to food, logic ('din') compells that He sustain His creatures. Therefore, they instituted (the invocation of) this Name which signifies the attribute of justice ('midat ha-din'), its meaning being Divinity and Mastery. Torah, however, was revealed only by His loving kindness as it is written, 'for the sake of his righteousness, that he may magnify and glorify Torah' (Isa. 42:21).¹³⁸ For what logic compels Him to make known His ways and judgements to humanity? Behold He did not do so to all those who worship idols who are also His creatures. Therefore, the blessing for the Torah contains this Name which manifests the attribute of mercy ('midat ha-rahamim')."¹³⁹

Emden objected to this explanation and maintained that if, indeed, one wanted to pursue this line of reasoning, an exactly opposite conclusion should be forthcoming. Emden argued that sustaining creation is not an expression of "midat ha-din" but, on the contrary, is an act of kindness or "hesed", citing both the verse in Psalms (136:25), "Who gives food to all flesh, for his kindness ('hesed') is forever" and the passage in the Shemoneh 'Esreh: "He sustains living things with kindness ('mekhalkel hayim bi-hesed')." It is the Torah, however, which God was forced

to reveal, and not only to Jews but to non-Jews as well:

"Logic ('din') would sooner dictate that the law and Torah be conveyed¹⁴⁰ to humanity (so that) they behave in accordance with it and not be like insects that live without a rule.¹⁴¹ Society ('ha-kibuz ha-medini') could not function without law and Torah. It is for this purpose that they were created. The reason why he did not do so for any other nation (Ps. 147:20) is because they did not want it for He did offer it to them and they rejected it.¹⁴² In fact, He did give them a Torah. The seven (Noahide) laws for which they are liable is their Torah."¹⁴³

It is thus clear that Emden could not imagine a functioning social order if its blueprint had not been revealed by God in the form of Torah for the Jews and the Noahide Laws for the Gentiles. Left to their own autonomous rationalism or, in Mendelssohn's terms, "the precepts of this religion of nature and reason," the world could not possibly have been able to exist.

This total distrust of a morality based solely upon reason and the insistence on the indispensability of a Divinely revealed law is most clearly articulated by Emden in his commentary on the Siddur, as noted in the previous chapter. In explaining the Biblical verse, "The beginning of wisdom ('hokhmah') is the fear of God ('yir'at Hashem')" (Psalms 11:10), Emden clearly asserted in a three-page excursus that the fundamental fallacy of philosophers is that they lack "the fear of God" or an heteronomic awareness, and therefore, as the verse indicates, wisdom

("hokhmah") is impossible. Left purely to their own reason, it is conceivable for philosophers to be led astray and to consider even immoral activities as normative behavior.¹⁴⁴ In the course of his remarks, Emden made it perfectly clear that even Gentiles must be guided by the Divine Law (i.e. "fear of Heaven") without which no wisdom ("hokhmah") is ever possible. He insisted upon an heteronomic awareness even on the part of non-Jews and, in a later gloss on this passage in his commentary on the Siddur, explicitly invoked the Maimonidean statement with which Mendelssohn had disagreed in the previously cited footnote to his response to Lavater.¹⁴⁵

It was this ruling by Maimonides, rejected by Mendelssohn and affirmed by Emden, which was the focus of the last extant correspondence between them. In his Mishneh Torah, Maimonides stated:

"A heathen who accepts the seven commandments and observes them scrupulously is a 'righteous heathen,' and will have a portion in the world to come, provided that he accepts them and performs them because the Holy One, blessed be He, commanded them in the Law and made known through Moses our Teacher that the observance thereof had been enjoined upon the descendants of Noah even before the Law was given. But if his observance thereof is based upon a reasoned conclusion he is not deemed a resident alien, or one of the pious of the Gentiles, but one of their wise men."¹⁴⁶

Mendelssohn was clearly upset with this Maimonidean insistence upon

an heteronomic awareness on the part of Gentiles as a prerequisite for their eternal salvation. Such an insistence on the part of Maimonides ran absolutely counter to Mendelssohn's assertion that the universalism of Judaism allowed for the eternal salvation of anyone who would "regulate their lives according to the precepts of this religion of nature and of reason." Indeed, in his response to Lavater he had approvingly cited R. Joseph Karo's Kesef Mishneh commentary which affirmed that this Maimonidean passage had no source in rabbinic literature.¹⁴⁷

In fact, this notion was a central feature of Mendelssohn's thinking and, besides being a major component of his reply to Lavater, it appeared explicitly in a number of his works, written before, during and after his exchange with that Christian clergyman. In a letter to Duke Ludwig Eugen of Württemberg dated July 17, 1767, Mendelssohn defended a statement he made in his recently published Phaedon referring to the closeness of Socrates to the Creator "whom he knew in the most vivid manner by the purest light of reason." The Duke, who was a believing Christian, had taken offense by the use of this term which he understood to mean that, for Mendelssohn, it was possible for even a pagan to develop such an intense relationship with God, something which for him was simply unacceptable. In his response, Mendelssohn agreed to slightly change the wording of this phrase in a subsequent edition of this work, but he explicitly reaffirmed the principle of the matter: "I am not disinclined to attribute to the light of reason the capacity of leading man to true virtue . . . Can it be true that the majority of the human race is so God-forsaken that the means of attaining to true virtue are denied to it? . . . This is not what my religion teaches."¹⁴⁸

Some three and a half years later, at the height of the Lavater Affair, Mendelssohn expressed this same point of view on two other occasions. In his "Counter-reflections to Bonnet's Palingénésie," the work partially translated by Lavater whose dedication to Mendelssohn contained the challenge that precipitated the entire controversy, Mendelssohn once again clearly presented his position:

"Why should both Indies have to wait until it pleases the Europeans to send them some clerics who bring them the good news without which they cannot live either virtuously or happily in the hereafter? . . . The divine religion in which I was born teaches me that all nations of the earth attain to eternal felicity if they live by the laws of reason, i.e. practice virtue . .

. "149

Mendelssohn returned to this theme in a letter to the Duke of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, written less than two weeks after his reply to Lavater:

"Since logic compells that all human beings are destined by their Creator for eternal bliss, it is inconceivable that a religion that excludes others from this category should be a true faith . . . A revelation that claims to be the sole agency to grant a person a share in the world to come cannot be the true (religion) because it is not compatible with the Divine intention, for His mercy is upon all His creatures (Ps. 145:9). "150

Against this background it is possible to understand the last phase of the correspondence between Emden and Mendelssohn. As previously indicated, the lines between them on this issue had already been clearly drawn and they now engaged one another directly regarding it.

Mendelssohn addressed his last extant letter to Emden on October 26, 1773.¹⁵¹ Once again he began by informing Emden that a mutual acquaintance had expressed an interest in receiving some of his books and asked Emden to "forgo his high honor" and send them to him. The substance of the letter contained a most respectfully worded request from Mendelssohn that Emden provide him with Talmudic sources for Maimonides' view that even Gentiles needed to acknowledge Divine revelation as the compelling force behind their observance of the Seven Noahide Laws in order to be included in the category of hasidei 'umot ha-'olam who, according to Jewish tradition, are vouchsafed a share in the world to come. He noted that he had already addressed such a request to Emden sometime earlier, probably at the height of the Lavater controversy almost four years before,¹⁵² but that only recently had Emden "motivated me to mention it before him a second time." Once again Mendelssohn expressed his serious reservations about this Maimonidean ruling and passionately argued against it:

"For me, those words are as impenetrable as a hard rock.¹⁵³ Is it possible that all who dwell upon earth except us will be doomed to eternal perdition,¹⁵⁴ they shall be a horror to all flesh (Isa. 66:24) if they will not believe in the Torah that was revealed as the

exclusive heritage of the congregation of Jacob (Deut. 33:4)? This is especially true of matters that are not explicitly in the Torah at all (i.e. the Seven Noahide Laws) . . . All we have about this is a tradition from our ancestors. What should those nations do upon whom the light of Torah did not shine at all and whose tradition reached them only from unreliable ancestors upon whom one may not depend? Is it possible that the Holy One, blessed be He, acts imperiously with his creatures,¹⁵⁵ God forbid, to destroy them and to obliterate their name without their having done any evil?"¹⁵⁶

Mendelssohn proceeded to suggest a possible philosophical basis for Maimonides' statement but continued to insist that it was "very strange" and lacked a Talmudic source. He also made reference to a reply he had already received from Emden on this matter, no longer extant, in which Emden had indicated that, while he agreed with some of the points raised by Mendelssohn, he steadfastly insisted that Maimonides' position was correct and that it enjoyed the support of various Talmudic sources. Because Emden had not spelled out what these sources were, Mendelssohn was now turning to him for further clarification. He concluded his letter with an expression of deference and respect: "I am prepared at all times to run before him¹⁵⁷ like a servant. These are the words of his student, his loyal servant, the lowly ('ha-katan'), Moses of Dessau."¹⁵⁸

Emden's response came a few weeks later.¹⁵⁹ Totally consistent with his point of view presented earlier, Emden insisted that Maimonides' opinion was authoritative and well grounded in Talmudic texts. Not all

of his letter is extant but in the part available to us Emden devoted himself to providing a number of Talmudic sources for Maimonides' opinion and to interpreting those which seemed to contradict it. He based his first proof on a Biblical verse cited by the Talmud (Sanhedrin 105a) in its discussion of this very matter of eternal salvation for non-Jews, which reads, "Let the wicked be in Sheol, all the nations that forget God" (Psalms 9:18). Following the opinion of R. Joshua, Emden interpreted the second half of the verse as an explanation of the first, i.e. that Gentiles who forget God are the wicked who are doomed to eternal perdition and claimed that this is so even if they may be righteous in their practical behavior. He argued that the very same Talmudic text which posits the basic principle of eternal salvation for hasidei 'umot ha-'olam also indicates that such a reward is predicated upon not forgetting God, i.e. their accepting the authority of Divine revelation. Hence, concluded Emden, Maimonides was correct in asserting that an heteronomic awareness on the part of even righteous Gentiles is critical for their ultimate salvation.

The second Talmudic reference suggested by Emden as a source for Maimonides is the well-known rabbinic requirement that a Jew perform religious commandments "lishmah," which Emden interpreted to mean,

"because they are commandments from the mouth of God who desired them and decreed to fulfill His will by them . . . And if this is the case for Jews, certainly it is so for the nations of the world who, should they act without the proper intention ('shelo lishmah'), would not be considered pious ('hasidim') and not

receive any reward."¹⁶⁰

Finally, Emden entered into a long and detailed discussion about the Talmudic debate over whether or not the fulfillment of religious precepts was contingent upon proper intention to perform them ("mizvot zrikhot kavannah"). Emden averred that even the point of view which denied the indispensability of such intention maintained such a position only for Jews and not Gentiles and that therefore Maimonides was still correct in denying Gentile salvation for the mere performance of these religious statutes without the requisite "intention" or awareness of Divine revelation.

Despite Emden's repeated protestations as to the clarity and compelling nature of his "proofs,"¹⁶¹ it has long been noted that none is really convincing. After all, the verse from Psalms cited as the first "proof" only indicates that Gentiles need to remember God in order to be eternally saved. This is still far from the Maimonidean insistence that they must observe the Seven Noahide Laws "because God commanded them in the Torah and informed us via Moses that the Noahides had been charged with them." Emden's second "proof" is also faulty because it is predicated upon the definition he offers of "Torah lishmah," i.e. "because they are commandments from the mouth of God who desired them and decreed to fulfill His will by them." There are other definitions of this crucial rabbinic phrase which do not extend to include the notion of any heteronomic awareness at all.¹⁶² Finally, Emden's third "proof" is based on one very debatable assumption. Emden argued that even if one was to maintain that "mizvot do not require intention," one can still agree with Maimonides' position regarding the indispensability of "intention" for Gentiles,

"because, in this matter, a Jew is certainly different, as is generally stated, 'One should always occupy himself with Torah and good deeds even if not for their own sake ('shelo lishmah') for out of such an improper intention will come (the desire to do it) for its own sake.'¹⁶³ Therefore, the commandments which a Jew fulfills even not for their own sake ('shelo lishmah') are significant because of the ultimate positive result that emerges from them. This is not the case in relation to Gentiles who knew not God and who act only pro forma (¹⁰⁴to brag and boast before the masses). There is not even one whose behavior is good when he does not act as a result of God's command. (Therefore,) he will not achieve the desired purpose that would come as a consequence of them."¹⁶⁴

Emden here simply assumed as a matter of course that no credit at all is due a morally committed non-Jew who lacks an heteronomic awareness, the very point of view Mendelssohn had challenged him to prove.¹⁶⁵

It is thus once again clear from this final correspondence between Emden and Mendelssohn that both shared fundamentally different world views. Mendelssohn could not possibly accept Maimonides' limitations on the ultimate reward due Gentiles because of his passionate commitment to the universality of eternal salvation which he derived from the secular society in which he lived. He measured Judaism by the standards of the secular philosophical conceptions of his time and while he generally did not find it wanting, this time he did. What made it easier for him in

this case was that R. Joseph Karo had already asserted that Maimonides' position lacked a source in rabbinic literature, an opinion which Mendelssohn eagerly and gratefully embraced. Emden, on the other hand, felt independently committed to this Maimonidean position and was prepared to provide even a far-fetched source or two to legitimize it. As a matter of fact, in the extant portion of his response to Mendelssohn, Emden never addressed himself to Mendelssohn's underlying problem which forced him to reject Maimonides' opinion, i.e. is it fair for God to deny eternal salvation to those who could not possibly be aware of Mosaic legislation through no fault of their own. Emden discussed only the technical issue of the source for Maimonides' ruling and presented a standard, traditional response, couching his presentation in purely rabbinic terms. Given Emden's sensitivity to the world view of Mendelssohn which he accurately gauged in their previous correspondence, it is fair to assume that Emden did eventually address it in the part of his letter which has been lost. Nevertheless, it is significant to note how Emden recapitulated Mendelssohn's question at the beginning of his own response to it. Emden began his letter as follows:

"With regard to the question which your honor asked concerning the statement of Maimonides . . . You asked to know whence did the rabbi derive this statement that (they are denied eternal salvation) if they act only on the basis of 'a reasoned conclusion,' as mentioned above. Does he have a source for this in the Talmud?"¹⁶⁶

All he mentions is Mendelssohn's desire for the Maimonidean source, a

commonplace in the history of Mishneh Torah analysis. There is no indication here of the deeper, more subtle and more significant concern which underlay Mendelssohn's question.

Unfortunately, there is no extant response of Mendelssohn to this letter of Emden's but it is fair to assume that he was not convinced by it even in the slightest. Some ten years later, Mendelssohn returned to this theme once again in his celebrated Jerusalem and restated his position in almost the exact same terms he had used in his "Counter-reflections" written prior to this last exchange with Emden:

"I therefore do not believe that the powers of human reason are insufficient to persuade men of the eternal truths which are indispensable to human felicity, and that God had to reveal them in a supernatural manner. Those who hold this view detract from the omnipotence or the goodness of God, on the one hand, what they believe they are adding to his goodness on the other. He was, in their opinion, good enough to reveal to men those truths on which their felicity depends, but not omnipotent, or not good enough to grant them the powers to discover these truths themselves. Moreover, by this assertion one makes the necessity of a supernatural revelation more universal than revelation itself. If, therefore, mankind must be corrupt and miserable without revelation, why has the far greater part of mankind lived without true revelation from time immemorial? Why must the two Indies wait until it pleases the Euro-

peans to send them a few comforters to bring them a message without which they can, according to this opinion, live neither virtuously nor happily? To bring them a message which, in their circumstances and state of knowledge, they can neither rightly comprehend nor properly utilize?

According to the concepts of true Judaism, all the inhabitants of the earth are destined to felicity; and the means of attaining it are as widespread as mankind itself, as charitably dispensed as the means of warding off hunger and other natural needs."¹⁶⁷

It is clear that for neither Emden nor Mendelssohn did the issue revolve around whether or not a source could be found for Maimonides. Neither would have been convinced even had the other proven his point of view. Their difference stemmed, rather, from their differing world views which they brought to this issue and which, from the very beginning, would inevitably force them to come to exactly opposite conclusions.

In light of the above analysis, any attempt to develop a smooth continuum from Jacob Emden to Moses Mendelssohn is clearly unjustified. Although they shared several assumptions about Judaism, like the centrality of Torah study and observance on the one hand and the readiness to deviate from strictly traditional modes of thought and behavior on the other hand, and although they each appreciated the differing strengths

and emphases of the another, fundamentally they were rooted in two different worlds. While critical and independent, intensely curious about the world and interested in extra-Talmudic knowledge, Emden's frame of reference was medieval and he couched his world view in pre-modern idioms and categories. Conversely, although deeply pious and learned, highly respectful to Jewish tradition and bound by its demands, Mendelssohn's frame of reference was modern, presenting his world view from its orientation and perspective. Both of these contemporaries interacted briefly in the last third of the eighteenth century. Although aware of the present, Emden faced the past; Mendelssohn faced the future.¹⁶⁸

It is interesting and important to note, in conclusion, that although Emden did not share the basic assumptions of the Haskalah, leading spokesmen for that movement repeatedly invoked his name and opinions in support of their own positions and sometimes went so far as to claim him as one of their own. The phenomenon itself is not unusual. Often, in their search for legitimacy, proponents of a particular point of view selectively highlighted for their own purposes various positions taken by highly respected predecessors even though those predecessors did not necessarily share their general perspective. Such was the case, for example, with the role that Mendelssohn played for the later development of Haskalah.¹⁶⁹ Sometimes, later generations went even further and unfairly and incorrectly projected their views onto a venerated authority of a previous time in order to give credence to their own position, even to the extent of refashioning the image of that respected predecessor.

Because of his overarching significance, the figure of Maimonides, in particular, was molded and remolded in subsequent generations, including that of the Haskalah, to suit their own needs.¹⁷⁰ Another figure whose image was distorted and even refashioned by early maskilim was the Gaon of Vilna. Early advocates of Haskalah held up the Gaon as a paradigm for their movement and claimed that this leading and highly respected rabbinic scholar provided them with legitimacy. The truth is, as Emmanuel Etkes has recently demonstrated, that the Gaon was far from what they made him out to be.¹⁷¹ The same was true about the Gaon's older contemporary, Rabbi Jacob Emden. Leading proponents of Haskalah like Isaac Satanow (1732-1804), Naphtali Herz Homberg (1749-1841), Ezekiel Feivel (1756-1834) and, later, Isaac Ber Levinson (1788-1860) consistently made reference to various positions of Emden on educational reform and the value of secular wisdom, among others, in support of their own agenda. They also often extended the implications of his remarks far beyond Emden's original intention.¹⁷² When Emden died, Solomon Dubno, a leading member of Mendelssohn's inner circle, printed a eulogy for him full of admiration and praise.¹⁷³ In 1810, the editors of ha-Me'asef reprinted the passage from Emden's Mor u-Keziyah in which he advocated allowing kitniyot on Pesach and also began to publish passages from Emden's autobiography, Megillat Sefer.¹⁷⁴

It is also interesting to note that the converse was also true. When later maskilim were uncomfortable with a position taken by Emden, they sometimes went out of their way to claim that he did not mean it to be authoritative. For example, upset with Emden's uncompromising stand in the early burial issue described above in great detail, Isaac Euchel

claimed that, "he wrote the words simply to sharpen the mind ('le-hidud bi-'alma')."¹⁷⁵ Clearly, he felt uncomfortable that the highly respected Emden disagreed with his point of view.

Indeed, Emmanuel Etkes' conclusion regarding the Gaon of Vilna is perfectly appropriate for Emden as well: "The Gra did not intentionally exert any influence upon the basic growth and formation of the Haskalah movement. However, after the movement arose due to other factors, the maskilim developed the image of the Gra as maskil and thereby helped themselves."¹⁷⁶ His own personal position notwithstanding, Emden's place in subsequent Haskalah was strong and secure.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. There is a vast literature on the life and works of Moses Mendelssohn. Most useful is the relatively recent biography by A. Altmann, Moses Mendelssohn (Alabama, 1973).
2. See M. Mendelssohn, Gesammelte Schriften (hereafter GS) XVI (1929), 2-3, #2.
3. For previous descriptions of the Emden-Mendelssohn correspondence, see M. Kayserling, "Moses Mendelssohn und Jakob Emden," Moses Mendelssohn (Leipzig, 1883), 27-36; M. Cohen, "Moses Mendelssohn und seine Beziehungen zu Hamburg-Altona," Jahrbuch für die Jüdischen Gemeinden Schleswig-Holsteins und der Hansestädte I (1929-1930), 126-27; B. Z. Katz, Rabbanut, Hasidut, Haskalah II (Tel Aviv, 1956), 183-84, 213-16; T. Dreyfuss, "Yahasos shel Moshe Mendelssohn 'el R. Ya'akov Emden," Hitgalut 'Emanah Tevunah, ed. by M. Halamish and M. Schwartz (Ramat Gan, 1976), 99-112; A. Bick-Shauli, Rabi Ya'akov Emden, op. cit., 23-6. Most useful in the recent study by L. Kaplan, "On the Boundary Between Old and New: The Correspondence Between Moses Mendelssohn and R. Jacob Emden," paper prepared for discussion at a conference on "Jewish Thought in the Eighteenth Century" held at Harvard University in the Spring of 1984.

4. The letter, only part of which has survived, was first printed by Emden in his Sefer Hit'avkut (1762-69), 62; (Lvov, 1877), 88a-b. It was reprinted a number of times with few slight inconsequential textual variants, most recently in M. Mendelssohn, GS XVI, 114, #93.
5. Cf. Num. 12:11.
6. Cf. Ex. 24:1.
7. Cf. Ex. 34:30.
8. There is no reason to assume, as does B. Z. Katz, Rabbanut, Hasi-
dut, Haskalah II, op. cit. (n. 3), 184, that Mendelssohn was insincere in this tribute to Emden and did it only to atone for previously having called upon his arch-enemy Eybeschütz during his visit to Hamburg in 1761, mentioned above.
9. See above, pp. 496-97, n. 261.
10. Cf. Isa. 56:3.
11. Sefer Hit'avkut, above, n. 4.
12. For an elaborate treatment of Mendelssohn's dispute with Lavater, see A. Altmann, Moses Mendelssohn, op. cit. (n. 1), 194-263. It will also be discussed below in greater detail.

The background to Lavater's challenge to Mendelssohn is discussed in B. Mevorah, "ha-Reka le-Peniyat Lavater le-Mendelssohn," Zion XXX (1965), 158-70.

13. This information is forthcoming from the parenthetical note which Emden inserted into the text of Mendelssohn's letter to him (see below; SY II:155) when preparing it for publication.

Volume I of Lehem Shamayim was printed in 1733; the second volume had been printed just a few months before this exchange, in the winter of 1768-69.

14. Emden included Mendelssohn's letter to him in the second volume of She'eilat Yavez. See SY II:155. It was reprinted in GS XVI, 130-31, #108. B. Z. Katz, Rabbanut, Hasidut, Haskalah, op. cit., 183-84 is wrong again when he claims that Mendelssohn expressed greater respect for Emden here than in his first letter because in the interim Emden published his Mitpahat Sefarim (Altona, 1768) wherein he challenged the designation of the Zohar as an ancient text. Whatever Mendelssohn may have thought of that work, his respect for Emden was no less effusive in the first letter than here.

15. LS II:119a-121b (Bezah II:3).

16. In addition to LS, ibid., see his 'Asarah ha-Lehem, #10 (printed at the end of the first volume of SY; Altona, 1739-49) and his Mishneh Lehem, (Altona, 1768) on Bezah II:3 (printed in LS IV:306d-307c).

17. SY II:155. Emden's response was reprinted in GS XVI, 132, #109.
18. A. Altmann, op. cit., 210.
19. See also A. Altmann, ibid., 197.
20. GS VII, II, note d. This will be discussed below in great detail.
21. A. Altmann, op. cit., 210.
22. For other conjectures about this correspondence, see B. Z. Katz, op. cit., 214-15 who claimed that Mendelssohn deliberately commented on the first volume of Lehem Shamayim because the second volume of that work, which included Emden's commentary on 'Avot, contained many statements with which Mendelssohn strongly disagreed, e.g. a denial of the Maimonidean authorship of The Guide. See also ibid., 221.
23. For detailed discussions of this matter, see S. Silberstein, "Mendelssohn und Mecklenburg," Zeitschrift für die Geschichte den Juden in Deutschland (ZGJD) I (1929), 233-44, 275-90 (including some primary sources in German); M. Samet, Halakhah ve-Riformah (unpublished doctoral dissertation; Hebrew University, 1967), 81-92; A. Altmann, op. cit., 288-93. See also M. Kayserling, Moses Mendelssohn: Ungedrucktes un Unbekanntes (Leipzig, 1883), 31-3; idem., Moses Mendelssohn: Sein Leben und Wirken (Leipzig, 1888), 277-81; J. Katz, Out of the Ghetto (Cambridge,

1973), 143-45; M. Pelli, Moshe Mendelssohn: bi-Hevlei Masoret (Tel Aviv, 1972), index, s.v., "halanat meitim".

The statements quoted here are found in the letter of the Schwerin communal leaders to Mendelssohn printed most recently in GS XVI, 154-55, #131.

24. See S. Silberstein, ZGJD I, ibid., 284-86.

25. Cf. Deut. 17:11.

26. Cf. Prov. 3:17. This letter has most recently been printed in GS op. cit., 156-57, #133.

27. Cf. Gen. 27:12.

28. GS, op. cit., 157.

29. Emden's letter was printed most recently in GS XVI, 157-58, #134.

For a discussion of this letter in the context of Emden's knowledge of German, see above, pp. 514-15.

30. Emden was always anxious to retain a personal record of everything he wrote and he made such similar requests on a number of different occasions.

31. Cf. Yevamot 77b, Gittin 48a.

32. Mendelssohn's letter was most recently printed in GS XVI, 159, #135.
33. Ibid.
34. Lit., "there is a complex difficulty in my eyes."
35. GS, XVI, op. cit.
36. Cf. Berakhot 62a, Megillah 28a.
37. See already L. Kaplan (above, n. 3), 17.
38. This letter was most recently printed in GS XVI, 161-63, #137, where all forthcoming references to it can be found.
39. Cf. Pesikta Zutreti, Lekh Lekha 13:11.
40. This paranthesis appears in Emden's original text.
41. See Pesahim 66a.
42. A. Altmann, op. cit., 806, n. 22, misunderstood this reference and asserted that Emden was referring to a work of his entitled Sefer ve'Iggeret le-'Ammitah shel Torah.

43. Cf. Prov. 1:8.

44. See Job 13:4.

45. Cf. Gen. 42:38.

The issue underlying Emden's response to Mendelssohn was his aversion to changing Jewish tradition, not his concern lest Jews "adopt Christian customs and thus break down the divinely ordained separation of the Jew from the Christian community and its laws" as claimed by M. Meyer, The Origins of the Modern Jew (Detroit, 1979), 41.

46. This letter was most recently printed in GS XVI, 166-68, #139.

47. GS XVI, ibid., 131, #108. For Mendelssohn's distaste for pilpul, see A. Altmann, op. cit., 15; M. Meyer, op. cit., 22.

48. See L. Kaplan (op. cit., n. 3), 23-28.

49. R. Jaffee's letter was most recently published in GS XVI, ibid., 164-66, #138.

50. This parenthesis is in the text.

51. Cf. Judges 18:25.

52. Cf. Jer. 8:19.

53. GS XVI, ibid., 168, #139.

54. GS XVI, ibid., 162, #137.

55. H. Levine, "Jewish Reticence Toward Science in the Eighteenth Century," paper prepared for discussion at a conference on "Jewish Thought in the Eighteenth Century" held at Harvard University in the Spring of 1984, 25.

Another example of a misunderstanding of Emden's attitude towards medical knowledge can be found in R. Margoliot, Sibat Hitnagduto shel Rabbenu Ya'akov me-'Emden le-Rabbenu Yehonatan Eybeschutz, op. cit., 8, n. 15.

For a most unsatisfactory treatment of this entire issue, see A. Bick, "ha-Refu'ah bi-Mishnato ha-Hilkhatit shel ha-Gaon Rabi Yaakov Emden," 'Asia II:3:7 (Fall, 1972), 11-13; reprinted in Sefer 'Asia I (Jerusalem, 1976), 293-95.

56. Cf. Ex. 34:10.

For a discussion of the importance of viewing the natural world as an endless expression of the majesty and glory of God in the two centuries prior to Emden, see D. Ruderman, "Unicorns, Great Beasts and the Marvelous Variety of Things in Nature in the Thought of Abraham b. Hananiah Yagel," Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century, ed. by I. Twersky and B. Septimus (Cambridge, 1987), 343-64, esp. pp. 353-62.

57. See Exodus 21:19; Baba Kamma 85a.

58. Cf. Dan. 10:11.

59. SY I:41, end.

60. MS, 97-8; above, pp. 510-11.

61. Migdal 'Oz, 39a.

62. See, for example, 'Iggeret Purim, 42b; 'Iggeret Bikkoret, op. cit., 21c, 24b (Avicenna); MS, 96 (the Dutch doctor "Bontekhel," identified by A. Bick, op. cit. [n. 55], 11 as Jacob Bontius).

63. See, for example, Siddur I:13b.

64. See, for example, LS II:41a-b (Pesahim IV:9); Mor u-Keziya II:26a (#328). See also A. Bick, Mor u-Keziyah: Dugma'ot me-Hiddushei Rabbenu ha-Gaon Ya'akov Emden (New York, 1961), 16-17 (Yore De'ah #335).

65. See, especially, Siddur I:262b (breakfast), 276b-281a, 327a (supper). See also 'Ez 'Avot, 26a ('Avot III:10); Mishneh Lehem in LS IV:199a (Berakhot I:1); Mor u-Keziyah II:43c (#443); SY II:142.

66. Mor u-Keziyah II:26a (#328).

67. For references to opium, see Siddur I:13b and A. Bick, op. cit., 9 (Mor u-Keziyah on Yore De'ah #155; also cited in idem., 'Asia (above, n. 55), 13); Mor u-Keziyah II:26a-d (#328), 27c (#332); LS III:87b (Baba Kamma VIII:7).

68. LS III:111a (Baba Batra V:3).

69. See for example, Siddur I:352b-first 357a.

Elsewhere Emden noted that it is possible for a woman to remain a virgin even after engaging in normal sexual intercourse. See LS III:128b (Sanhedrin VII:9); SY II:136.

70. Sefer Shimush, 168.

71. Siddur I:14a, 176b; 'Ez 'Avot 9b ('Avot I:10), 63a ('Avot VI:4).

72. Siddur I:327a, 329b; Sefer Shimush, 65.

73. Siddur II:71b-72a; Luah Eresh, 9b.

74. Siddur I:14b.

75. Mor u-Keziyah II:25d (#328).

76. Migdal 'Oz, 41b-c.

77. Siddur I:13b-14a.
78. Ibid., I:327a.
79. 'Ez 'Avot, 26a-b ('Avot III:11).
80. Migdal 'Oz, 50a.
81. See, for example, 'Iggeret Purim, 42b.
82. LS III:111a (Baba Batra V:3); Siddur I:277a.
83. Siddur I:13b.
84. For many examples of this, see above, Chapters II, III, IV, V.
85. See above, p. 684.

Many passages from the Siddur dealing with these issues have been collected by A. Steinberg, "Hilkhoh Rofe'im u-Refuah Mitokh Siddur 'Bet Ya'akov' le-ha-Gaon R. Yavez z"l," 'Asia VIII (1981), 63-75. Unfortunately, as the title of the article indicates, Steinberg did not use an authentic edition of the Siddur. As a result, the passages he cites must be compared to the original edition in order to verify their accuracy. See too above, p. 15, n. 1. Furthermore, there are other selections from the Siddur which also reflect Emden's knowledge in this area that were

not mentioned by Steinberg. See, for example, I:13b-14a, cited above, n. 63, 67, 71, 77, 83.

86. For eating on Yom Kippur, see Siddur II:115a-b. The earlier sources for this ruling are Yoma 83a and Shulhan 'Arukh, Orah Hayyim #618. The discussion about medication on Shabbat is in Mor u-Keziyah II:26a (#328). Emden added that this applied only in a case where the recommended course of treatment is an obvious one and the medication is universally acknowledged as appropriate and effective. For earlier sources of this ruling, see Shulhan 'Arukh, Orah Hayyim #328.

87. For a recent discussion on this matter, see M. Weinberger, "Ne'emanut ha-Rofe'im," 'Emek Halakhah: 'Asia (Jerusalem, 1986), 35-50.

88. See Shulhan 'Arukh, Yore De'ah #183, 196.

89. She'elot u-Teshavot Hakham Zevi, #73.

90. SY I:55. For another example of rabbis discounting medical opinion, see Migdal 'Oz, 27c.

91. For a brief description of this book and its role in Emden's relationship with The Triple Community's Chief Rabbi at the time, Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen, see above, pp. 186-87.

92. See Yevamot 75b; Rambam, Hil. 'Issurei Bi'ah XVI:9; Shulhan 'Arukh,

'Even ha-'Ezer V:10.

93. Rambam and Shulhan 'Arukh, ibid.

R. Bloch's responsum on the matter was printed by Emden at the beginning of 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 1d-3d. See especially, 2b-c.

94. Ibid., 2d. For other examples of "pairs," see ibid., 3a-b.

95. Ibid., 2d.

96. Ibid., 8a-b.

97. Cf. Deut. 12:12; 14:27, 29.

98. 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 20c.

99. Ibid., 20b-24c.

100. Cf. Deut. 21:5.

101. 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 20b.

102. Ibid., 21d.

103. Ibid.

104. This parenthesis is in the text.

105. Cf. Deut. 2:7.

106. 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 24a.

107. Ibid., 24b.

108. Ibid., 23a.

109. Cf. Rashi, Num. 11:28.

110. 'Iggeret Bikkoret, 20d-21a.

111. See Baba Batra 116a, Menahot 65b.

112. Ibid., 22a.

113. For another, less significant, application by Emden of this principle, see Mor u-Keziah I:75b (#173).

For an example of an attempt by Emden to resolve a contradiction between "the doctors" and "the rabbis," see Migdal 'Oz, 50a.

114. Ha-Me'asef II (1785) 154. See I. Eisenstein-Barzilay, "Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786)," JQR LII (1961), 71; M. Pelli, "Isaac Euchel: Tradition and Change in the First Generation Haskalah Literature in Ger-

many (I)," JJS XXVI (1975), 165, n. 67. See also M. Samet, op. cit. (n. 23), 90.

115. See above, pp. 664-65.

116. See "Schreiben an den Herrn Diaconus Lavater zu Zurich von Moses Mendelssohn," GS VII, 11. The English translation is from M. Samuels, Memoirs of Moses Mendelssohn (London, 1825), 56.

After noting that Judaism discourages conversion, Mendelssohn continued:

"We are not to send missions to both the Indies or to Greenland to preach our doctrine to those remote people. The latter, in particular, who, by all accounts, observe the laws of nature stricter than, alas, we do are, in our religious estimation, an enviable race . . .

Suppose there were amongst my contemporaries a Confucius or a Solon, I could, consistently with my religious principles, love and admire the great man but I should never hit on the extravagant idea of converting a Confucius or a Solon. What should I convert him for? As he does not belong to the congregation of Jacob, my religious laws were not legislated for him . . . Do I think there is a chance of his being saved? I certainly believe that he who leads mankind on to virtue in this

world cannot be damned in the next."

See GS, ibid., 12; Samuels, ibid., 57-8. For references to this notion in Mendelssohn's other writings, see below, pp. 707-09, 715-16.

117. GS, ibid., note d.; Samuels, ibid., 149-50.

The source and historical development of this principle ("hasidei 'umot ha-'olam yesh lahem helek le-'olam ha-ba") is discussed by J. Katz, "Sheloshah Mishpatim 'Apologetiyim bi-Gilguleihem," Zion XXIII-XXIV (1958-59), 174-81.

118. This identification has been made by S. Rawidowicz in his notes to Mendelssohn's GS VII, 456; l. 42; Katz, ibid., 179; idem., Bein Yehudim Le-Goyim (Jerusalem, 1960), 173, n. 23; translated as Exclusiveness and Tolerance (New York, 1962), 174, n. 7; A. Altmann, op. cit., 217.

119. S. Rawidowicz, ibid.

120. For example, Emden explicitly included Gentiles in the requirement to love people ("'ohev 'et ha-beri'ot; 'Avot I:12) and in the statement: "Beloved is man for he was created in God's image" (ibid., III:18). In commenting on the Mishnaic statement, "Every assembly that is dedicated to the sake of Heaven will have an enduring affect" (ibid., IV:14), Emden launched into a very long and striking discussion of the positive roles played in history by both Christianity and Islam.

121. See also, for example, Emden's comments on 'Avot IV:20 ("Initiate a

greeting to every person"); IV:24 ("When your enemy falls be not glad").

122. See J. Katz, op. cit. (n. 117), 179, n. 41; A. Shochat, "Hit'arutam shel Yehudei Germanyah bi-Sevivatam, 'im Pros ha-Haskalah," Zion XXI (1956), 231-34. This article was reprinted, with a few changes, as Chapter III of Shochat's 'Im Hilufei Tekufot (Jerusalem, 1960); see esp. pp. 68-70.

123. See A. Altmann, op. cit., 794, n. 39.

124. See Yevamot 23a; also Baba Kamma 88a, Kiddushin 69a.

125. See Avodah Zarah 13b, 26a.

126. See Baba Kamma 113a-b; Shulhan Arukh, Hoshen Mishpat 348:1, 359:1.

127. Gittin 61a.

128. SY I:41.

Emden later made reference to this passage in one of his last works, "Hali Ketem," Derush Tefillat Yesharim, 29b.

129. J. Emden, Sefer Seder 'Olam Rabbah ve-Zuta u-Megillat Ta'anit (Hamburg, 1757), 32b.

130. Ibid., 32b-33b; see too 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 23b.

131. Sefer Shimush, 24a.

132. For a description of this work and its background, see above, pp. 265-66.

133. Cf. Ps. 112:7.

134. Cf. Ps. 101:2.

135. J. Emden, Luah Eresh I:33a-b.

There is also one more source in Emden's corpus where he refers to this principle but it is unlikely that Mendelssohn ever saw it because it remained in manuscript through his lifetime and was only recently published in part. See J. Schacter, "Rabbi Jacob Emden's 'Iggeret Purim,' " op. cit., 444.

136. Sha'arei Shamayim, op. cit., 159b. Emden followed with cross-references to the end of the first volume of the Siddur (Amudei Shamayim, op. cit., 418b: "Let this be known that wherever idolators and the like are mentioned, the reference is not to Christian nations who possess faith and are men of superior ethical behavior as it is written in many places and in Luah Eresh."), and to ibid., 133b: "At this time all the major faiths believe in Providence and desire Unity." In addition, he noted that this notion is found, "besides this, in many places."

137. See above, pp. 665-68.

138. Heller cited this verse to indicate that Torah was revealed as an expression of God's righteousness ("zedek") and not justice ("din").

139. R. Yom Tov Lipmann Heller, Tosafot Yom Tov on Berakhot VII:3.

140. Cf. Esther 9:14.

141. Habakuk 1:14.

142. See Avodah Zarah 2b; Yalkut Shim'oni, Deut. #951; Pesikta Rabbati, XXI:3.

For other rabbinic sources, see L. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews III (Philadelphia, 1911), 80-82; VI (Philadelphia, 1939), 30-1, n. 181, 182.

143. LS I:28a (Berakhot VII:3).

144. Siddur I:247b-250a; esp. 247a. This passage was discussed above, pp. 550-54, in great detail as part of an analysis of Emden's attitude towards philosophy.

145. For these glosses, see above p. 15, n. 1; p. 366, n. 286. For this passage, see p. 51.

For other, less involved, presentations of this theme by Emden, see

his introduction to the Siddur (I:25a) and Migdal 'Oz, 47a-b.

146. Laws of Kings VIII:11. This translation is based on the version of Maimonides' statement which reads "'ela mehakhameihem" or "but one of their wise men" and not on the text as it currently reads, i.e. "ve-lo mehakhameihem," or "nor one of their wise men." For sources which cite the version of "'ela," see Enziklopedia Talmudit VI (1954), 290, n. 11. Both Spinoza and Mendelssohn had the version of "ve'lo" which compounded their difficulty with this Maimonidean position. See B. Spinoza, Theological-Political Treatise, trans. by R. H. M. Elwes (New York, 1951), 80; L. Strauss, Spinoza's Critique of Religion (New York, 1965), 23-5.

For discussions of the impact of Spinoza's Theological-Political Treatise on Mendelssohn in general, see J. Guttman, below, n. 149; S. Pines, "He'arot 'al Moshe Mendelssohn bi-Heksher Hityahasuto le-Rambam ve-le-Shpinoza," Mehkarei Yerushalayim bi-Mahshevet Yisrael II:1 (1982-83), 150-2; A. Lazaroff, "The Concept of Judaism as Revealed Law in Spinoza's Tractatus Theologico-Politicus and Mendelssohn's Jerusalem," Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies III (Jerusalem, 1982), 81-86.

This textual matter is discussed by M. Guttmann, "Zur Quellenkritik des Mischneh Thora," MGWJ LXXIX (1935), 152, n. 1; S. Schwarzschild, "Do Noachites Have to Believe in Revelation?" JQR LII (1962), 302; J. Fauer, "Mekor Hiyuvan shel ha-Mizvot le-Da'at ha-Rambam," Tarbiz XXXVIII (1968), 46-47, n. 45; idem., 'Iyyunim bi-Mishneh Torah le-ha-Rambam (Jerusalem, 1978), 151, n. 43; N. Lamm and A. Kirschenbaum, "Freedom and Constraint in the Jewish Judicial Process," Cardozo Law Review I (1979),

116-19. See also A. Kook, 'Iggerot Reiyah I (Jerusalem, 1962), 99-100; M. Fox, "Maimonides and Aquinas on Natural Law," Diné Israel III (1972), xii-xv; idem., "Law and Ethics in Modern Jewish Philosophy: The Case of Moses Mendelssohn," PAAJR XLIII (1976), 8-9. For an early example of the textual emendation from "ve-lo" to "'ela" and a suggestion for the source of this statement, see Ezekiel Feivel, Sefer Toledot 'Adam I (Dyrenfurth, 1801), 35a-b.

For recent discussions of the Maimonidean statement, see N. Lamm, "he-Hakham ve-ha-Hasid bi-Mishnot ha-Rambam," Sefer Zikkaron le-Shmuel Belkin (New York, 1981), 27, n. 32; J. David Bleich, "Judaism and Natural Law," Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies III (Jerusalem, 1982), Eng. section, 7-11; D. Novak, The Image of the Non-Jew in Judaism (New York and Toronto, 1983), 300-02; J. Kraemer, "On Maimonides' Messianic Posture," Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature II, ed. by I. Twersky (Cambridge, 1984), 140, n. 106.

I. Twersky, Introduction to the Code of Maimonides, op. cit., 453-59 discusses this Maimonidean ruling in the context of his other statements which favor autonomy over heteronomy.

Recent scholarship, however, has drawn attention to a rabbinic statement as the source for this Maimonidean position. See Mishnat R. Eliezer, ed. by H. Enelow (New York, 1934), 121. The first ones to point to this source were M. Guttmann and E. Z. Revel in articles written in 1935, one year after the first appearance of this work. See M. Guttmann, "Maimonides sur l'universalité de la morale religieuse," REJ IC (1935), 39-41; idem., "Zur Quellenkritik des Mischneh Thora," ibid., 152-53; E. Z. Revel, "le-Birur Da'at ha-Rambam be-'Inyan Sekhar ve-'Onesh," Horev II

(1935), 112-15. S. Schwarzschild, JQR LII, op. cit., 306 questions this suggestion. It has, however, been accepted by J. Katz, Exclusiveness and Tolerance, op. cit., 175, n. 5. For an earlier attempt to suggest a source for Maimonides' statement, see D. H. Joel, Midrash ha-Sohar: Die Religionsphilosophie des Sohar (Leipzig, 1849), 9-10. See too Schwarzschild, ibid., 305-06.

147. See above, p. 697.

148. See A. Altmann, op. cit., 200.

149. "Gegenbetrachtungen über Bonnets Palingenesie," GS VII, op. cit., 73, 90-1; translated by A. Altmann, ibid., 219. This passage is also cited by J. Guttmann, "Mendelssohn's Jerusalem und Spinozas Theologisch-Politischer Traktat," Bericht der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums 48 (1931), 41; trans. into Hebrew as "'Yerushalayim' le-Mendelsohn ve-'ha-Masekhet ha-Teologit-Medinit' le-Shpinoza;" idem., Dat u-Mada (Jerusalem, 1955), 200.

150. GS VII, op. cit., 302.

J. Katz, "Sheloshah Mishpatim 'Apologetiyim," op. cit., notes the unprecedented nature of Mendelssohn's understanding of the rabbinic principle allowing for the eternal salvation of "the pious of the nations of the world." See pp. 174-81, esp. pp. 178-80; idem., Bein Yehudim le-Goyim, op. cit., 168-76; idem., Exclusiveness and Tolerance, op. cit., 169-77, esp. 174-77.

For recent reviews of Mendelssohn's position, see M. Meyer, op. cit., 26, 37; L. Kaplan, op. cit., 36-9.

151. GS XVI, op. cit., 178-79, #154.

152. This has already been assumed to be the case by J. Guttman, op. cit., 201, n. 30; J. Katz, Exclusiveness and Tolerance, op. cit., 177, n. 1; A. Altmann, op. cit., 295.

153. Cf. Deut. 8:15.

154. Cf. Ps. 55:24.

155. See Avodah Zarah 3a.

156. GS XVI, op. cit., 178. For the last phrase, cf. Isa. 53:9.

157. Cf. II Sam. 15:1; I Kings 1:5.

158. GS XVI, op. cit., 179. For previous discussions of this letter, see S. Schwarzschild, "Do Noachites Have to Believe in Revelation?" JQR LIII (1962), 307-08; J. Lehman, "Maimonides, Mendelssohn and the Me'asfim: Philosophy and the Biographical Imagination in the Early Haskalah," LBIYB XX (1975), 92-93; A. Altmann, op. cit., 217-18, 294-95.

159. It was most recently printed in GS XVI, op. cit., 179-83.

160. Ibid., 180.

161. See ibid., 179: "Behold it is a self evident matter;" ibid., 180: "Behold the matter is abundantly clear;" ibid.: "This too is a complete and convincing proof."

162. For a discussion of this theme, see N. Lamm, Torah Lishmah (Jerusalem, 1972), 133f.

163. See Sanhedrin 105b and Masoret ha-Shas, ad. loc., for parallel citations.

164. GS XVI, op. cit., 181. For a similar negative attitude to the moral behavior of non-Jews, see ibid., 181-82.

165. For statements about the weakness of Emden's arguments in general see J. Katz, Exclusiveness and Tolerance, op. cit., 177: "Emden, too, failed to find direct authority for Maimonides' view."; S. Schwarzschild, JQR LIII, op. cit., 30: "Emden does not actually cite sources but rather engages in casuistic deductions which in his opinion justify Maimonides' stipulation." See too D. Novak, op. cit. (n. 146), 370-71.

For reactions to specific arguments of Emden, see J. Katz, Zion XXIII-XXIV, op. cit., 175, n. 11: "The (first) explanation of Emden is in the category of homeletics ('derush');" L. Kaplan, op. cit., 135; S. Schwarzschild, ibid., 32.

166. GS XVI, 179.

167. M. Mendelssohn, Jerusalem, trans. by A. Arkush (Hanover and London, 1983), 94. Mendelssohn's position in this work is discussed by J. Guttman, Dat u-Mada, op. cit. (n. 149), 199-200; J. Katz, Zion XXIII-XXIV, op. cit., 178; A. Altmann, Moses Mendelssohn, op. cit., 535 and idem., "Commentary" to A. Arkush's translation, 209-10.

168. See above, pp. 586-91. In addition to the sources cited there, see J. Katz, "Nisu'im ve-Hayei 'Ishut bi-Mozaei Yemei ha-Beinayim," Zion X (1945), 49-50; idem., Masoret u-Mashber, op. cit., 310; trans. as Tradition and Crisis, op. cit., 273; T. Dreyfus, "Yahasos shel Moshe Mendelssohn 'el R. Ya'akov Emden," op. cit. (n. 3), 99-112, esp. 102-03, 106-07; L. Kaplan, op. cit.

169. See, for example, M. Pelli, "Demuto shel Moshe Mendelssohn kefi she-hi Mishtakefet bi-Reishita shel Safrut ha-Haskalah ha-'Ivrit bi-Germanyah (ha-Me'asef, 1783-1797)," Divrei ha-Kongres ha-'Olami ha-Hamishi le-Mada'ei ha-Yahadut III (Jerusalem, 1972), 269-82; T. Tsamiryon, Moshe Mendelssohn ve-ha-'Idi'ologiya shel ha-Haskalah (1984), 41-3 and the sources cited there; A. Altmann, "Moses Mendelssohn as the Archetypal German Jew," The Jewish Response to German Culture, ed. by J. Reinhartz and W. Schatzberg (Hanover, 1985), 17-31; S. Feiner, "Yizhak Euchel - ha-'Yozem' shel Tenu'at ha-Haskalah bi-Germanyah," Zion LII (1987), 427-28.

For another example of this, see E. Adler, "Aristotle and the

Jews," REJ LXXXII (1926), esp. 98-102.

170. For example, Kabbalists claimed that Maimonides became a mystic at the end of his life and maskilim appropriated him as one of their own. For the kabbalistic assertion, see the sources cited above, p. 645, n. 279, end. Discussions about the role of Maimonides in the Haskalah can be found in I. Eisenstein-Barzilay, "The Ideology of the Berlin Haskalah," op. cit., 6-7; J. Lehman, "Maimonides, Mendelssohn and the Me'asfim," op. cit. (n. 158), 94-103; M. Stanislawski, "The Tsarist Mishneh Torah: A Study in the Cultural Politics of the Russian Haskalah," PAAJR L (1983), 165-83; J. Harris, "The Image of Maimonides in Nineteenth-Century Jewish Historiography," PAAJR LIV (1987), 117-39.

Regarding later perceptions of the relationship between "law and philosophy" in Maimonides, see I. Twersky, Introduction to the Code of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah), op. cit., 357-58.

171. E. Etkes, "ha-Gra ve-ha-Haskalah," op. cit.

172. See N. H. Homberg, "'Iggeret 'el Ro'ei Seh Pezurah Yisrael," ha-Me'asef (1788), 230 where Emden is listed together with Maimonides, Nahmanides, Saadya Gaon, Bahya ibn Pakuda and others "who tasted from the sweetness of the honey of wisdom and science ('he-hokhma ve-ha-mada') and yet were great, highly respected Torah scholars. This essay is discussed by T. Tsamriyon, "Tipuah ha-Haskalah ve-ha-Hinukh be-ha-Me'asef," 'Iyunim bi-Hinukh XXVIII (1980), 26-28.

For Satanow, see N. R. Bersohn, Isaac Stanow, the Man and his Work:

A Study in the Berlin Haskalah (unpublished doctoral dissertation: Columbia University, 1976), 57: "The only contemporary writer who is frequently mentioned and with whom Satanow almost always agrees is Jacob Emden and his book Luah Eres[h]. He quotes this book quite often when he discusses the language of the prayer book." See I. Satanow, va-Ye'etar Yizhak (1784), 38, 44, 70; idem., 'Iggeret Bet Tefilla (1773), introduction and scattered throughout the work. See Bersohn, ibid., 188.

Cf. I. Satanow, Zohar Tinyana (1783), 25 where he rejected Emden's Zohar criticism. See Bersohn, ibid., 56, 155.

See also Ezekiel Feivel, Sefer Toledot 'Adam I (Dyrenfurth, 1801), 14b-15b where he cited Emden in the context of his description of the optimal elementary school educational curriculum, i.e. first the Written Law, Hebrew language and grammar and then the Oral Law. See also ibid., 36a-37a for a quote from Emden in a halakhic context; 49a-54b where Feivel quoted a series of Emden's commentaries on the Zohar, referring to Emden as, "ha-hakham ha-mevaker ha-gadol Yavez zz'l" (54a) and 86a where he discussed an individual about whom he stated that Emden testified that he "feared God." For information about E. Feivel, see E. Etkes, "Immanent Factors and External Influences," op. cit., 17-20.

For I. B. Levinson's references to Emden, see his Sefer Teudah bi-Yisrael (Vilna, 1828), 16-17 (the importance of knowing Hebrew language correctly); 24-27 (in context of a critique of the contemporary educational system in Poland and Germany); 50, n. (a positive attitude towards Christianity); 56 (justification of the study of secular wisdom); 67 (the importance of studying natural sciences and medicine); 141 (regarding the authorship of the Zohar); 150 (included Emden in a long list of well-

known rabbinic scholars proficient in secular wisdom). See also ibid., 136 (opposed Emden's denying the Maimonidean authorship of the Guide); 190-91 (referred to Emden's works regarding the Frankist movement).

For a later example of the use of Emden as a "Haskalah" figure because of his "critical spirit" and call for educational reform, see S. Y. Fuenn, Sefer Safah le-Ne-'emanim (Vilna, 1881), 101-02.

173. See S. Dubno, 'Evel Yahid (Berlin, 1776).

174. ha-Me'asef (1810), 59-63; 79-97.

175. See ha-Me'asef III (1886), 19. On this, see M. Pelli, op. cit. (n. 114), 164-67.

176. E. Etkes, "ha-Gra ve-ha-Haskalah," op. cit., 213.

V I I I

T H E F I N A L Y E A R S

The last decades of Emden's life (1751-1776) brought with them the same combination of factors which also characterized his previous years -- ongoing Torah study and publications, involvement in communal affairs, familial joys and tragedies, personal sicknesses and continued difficulty in earning a livelihood. His relentless and ongoing struggle against Chief Rabbi Eybeschütz, which became more difficult to sustain with the passage of time, had a seriously debilitating affect on Emden's health and caused him severe economic hardship. He wrote, "From the time the wickedness appeared until now, I was unable to engage in any worldly pursuits ('derekh 'erez') whereby I could earn (even) a little bit to provide for my family. 'And my life shall be unto me for a prey.'"¹ There is no reason to doubt the truth of these remarks. Emden often noted the personal and financial toll this controversy took on him: "They caused a great expense, the loss of much money for nought and very great worry. If it had not been [the Lord]² who was with us . . . , then they would have swallowed me up alive (Ps. 124:2, 3)."³ Later in his

autobiography he noted that, "In the course of these years, years of strife for the Lord, I struggled and found no rest. I emerged almost bereft of my possessions. Many are they that rise up against me. (Ps. 3:2)."⁴

He tried his hand at various business ventures such as importing goods from London and Amsterdam and purchasing the houses directly abutting his own to provide him with a source of rental income. None of these attempts met with any lasting success and they were often the cause of his becoming involved in litigation before secular courts against both Jews and Gentiles.⁵

Emden's family also continued to be a source of sadness and joy. His son, Meshullam Zalman, was elected rabbi of the Hambro Synagogue in London in 1765,⁶ some of his other children were married during this period⁷ and still others were born, the last one in February, 1758, when Emden was almost sixty years of age.⁸ Nevertheless, his children were constantly sick and several of them died during this time, young and old alike.⁹ Emden himself was repeatedly struck with a variety of ailments,¹⁰ and took for himself the name of Yisrael in addition to Ya'akov.¹¹ In the last few years of his life he also suffered from diminished vision and then blindness.¹² When Emden turned sixty-eight years of age, he penned the following prayer:

"May it be Thy will that my youth be renewed like an eagle.¹³ May He, by the abundance of His mercy and loving-kindness, endow me with years of long and blessed life in His service, His reverence and His Torah in compensation for the suffering and evil

years which I endured without finding respite nor rest. For not even quite a moment did I experience the taste of a life of satisfaction in the world, not in body nor in spirit . . . "14

But his prayers were not to be answered. By 1775, the year before he died, his physical infirmities had so affected his ability to earn a livelihood that he actually was forced to go so far as to appeal to the public for charity.¹⁵

Nevertheless, all these personal difficulties notwithstanding, Emden found time to be involved in local communal affairs. He was a candidate for the position of Chief Rabbi of The Triple Community after Eybeschütz died in 1764 and later claimed that after his name was removed from contention, he was instrumental in choosing R. Isaac Halevi Horowitz for that post.¹⁶ He continued to maintain his own synagogue where he preached on occasion,¹⁷ was called upon to settle communal disputes,¹⁸ and during the period of time between the death of Chief Rabbi David Berlin in 1771 and the appointment of Chief Rabbi Raphael Kohen in 1776, assumed some extra communal responsibilities.¹⁹ He also became involved in controversies beyond the confines of The Triple Community, attempting to resolve a dispute in his old community of Emden in 1765-1766,²⁰ participating in a controversy involving ritual slaughterers in London in 1766,²¹ and offering an opinion in the famous debate over a bill of divorcement granted in the town of Cleves in that year.²²

Most strikingly, Emden was able to publish a number of major books,

in addition to the more than a dozen works relating to his controversy with Eybeschütz enumerated above.²³ They include: 'Ez 'Avot, a commentary on Pirkei 'Avot with the second volume of Luah 'Eresh appended to it (1751); Sha'agat 'Aryeh, a eulogy for his brother-in-law, R. Aryeh Leib of Amsterdam (1755); a commentary on Seder 'Olam Rabbah ve-Zuta u-Megilat Ta'anit (1757); the second volume of his collection of responsa, She'elat Yavez (1759); two volumes of novellae on the Tur, Orah Hayyim and its major commentaries, entitled Mor u-Keziyah (1761 and 1767); a second edition of 'Iggeret Bikkoret (1765); the second volume of his commentary on the Mishnah, Lehem Shamayim, containing discussions of the last four orders of that text (1768); a critique of the early dating of the Zohar, Mitpachat Sefarim (1768); a Kabbalistic dictionary, Sefer Zizim u-Perahim (1768); the first volume of his grammatical/liturgical treatise, Luah 'Eresh (1769), a commentary on Saadya Gaon's ha-Pedut ve-ha-Purkan,²⁴ including notes on Maimonides' 'Iggeret Teman and Ma'amar Tehiyat ha-Metim (1769); three sermons entitled Derush Pesah Gadol (1775), Derush Tefillat Yesharim (1775) and Derush Sha'arei Azarah (1776) and Divrei 'Emet u-Mishpat Shalom (1776), a treatise relating to a controversy then taking place in The Triple Community. Emden's prodigious publication efforts, in spite of the personal difficulties he faced, is no less than astounding.

But his continued ill health took its toll and on Friday, April 19, 1776, Rabbi Jacob Emden breathed his last and before Shabbat was brought to rest in Altona's Koenigstrasse Cemetery. A visitor to that cemetery today will have no difficulty identifying his well-preserved tombstone²⁵ but will, undoubtedly, be struck by the fact that he lies on the same row and only five graves away from the final resting place of his arch-rival,

Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschütz. There is a tradition handed down in the name of R. Shalom of Stropkov which accounts for this seeming anomaly in the following way:

"Before the death of the Gaon, Yavez, prior to the departure of his pure soul, he said, 'Welcome ('barukh haba') Father, welcome Rabbi Jonathan.' When he died, the members of the Chevrah Kadishah went to the cemetery to find a place for a grave for him. They found a vacant space in the rabbinical rows, a few graves away from the grave of the man of God, Rabbi Jonathan. They were concerned about burying him there because they (i.e. Emden and Eybeschütz) had been enemies of one another during their lifetimes.

At that time, our master, the Noda bi-Yehudah (i.e. R. Ezekiel Landau) was in Altona. He had come there on some matter and they asked him about this. He answered them that since we see that Rabbi Jonathan came to him (i.e. Emden) before he died, we can deduce that the rabbis made peace with one another and he (i.e. R. Landau) permitted his burial there. Thus did the Chevrah Kadishah do."²⁶

Thus ended the life of a remarkable person whose legacy continues to intrigue, educate and challenge students and scholars more than two centuries later.

NOTES - CHAPTER VIII

1. MS, 175. For the last sentence, cf. Jer. 21:9, 38:2, 39:18.
2. This word is bracketed in the Kahana edition of MS, 179.
3. MS, ibid.
4. Ibid., 193. For more information about the effects of this controversy on Emden's personal life, see MS, 175-213. Emden continued his battle against Eybeschütz, his children and his followers even after Eybeschütz' death in September, 1764. He was also involved in the struggle against Jacob Frank and his followers and his works, primarily Sefer Shimush, serve as an important source for the early history of the Frankist movement.
5. MS, ibid.
6. Ibid., 209-210. This passage from Megillat Sefer was translated into English by C. Duschinsky, The Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, London (London, 1921), 74-75. See also D. Kaufmann, "Rabbi Zevi Ashkenazi and His Family in London," TJHSE III (1899), 120-21.
7. MS, 186.

8. Ibid., 180, 187. See above, p. 181.
9. MS, ibid.
10. This appears as a refrain throughout Emden's description of these years in MS, 175-213. For other references to his difficulties and sicknesses during this period, see LE I:85a, 89b; 'Iggeret Purim, 28a, 29a, 34a, 42b; Sefer Shimush, 27b, 79b; SY II:19, 51, 52, 72, 73, 124, 145; Mitpahat Sefarim, 120; 'Edut bi-Ya'akov, 9a, 40a.
11. The earliest reference of Emden to himself as "Ya'akov Yisrael" is in a responsum (SY II:24) dated February 22, 1765. In another responsum dated just six days later (SY II:144), Emden was addressed as "R. Ya'akov Yisrael." For other references to this name by Emden, see SY II:25, 71, 72, 73, 112, 146. For an explanation of the change, see Mitpahat Sefarim, 118.
12. See SY II:196, dated 1769; "Hali Ketem," Derush Tefillat Yesharim (1775), 24a-b, 28b, 29a.
13. Cf. Ps. 103:5.
14. MS, 208.
15. "Hali Ketem," Derush Tefillat Yesharim, 24b.

16. MS, 209, 211. See also SY II:24.

For Emden's relationship with Eybeschütz' successor, see Y. Rafael, ed., Mishnat ha-Levi (Jerusalem, 1985), intro., 29-31.

17. See, for example, MS, 205, 210, 212 for references to "my synagogue," SY II:147. For the sermons he preached there, see above, p. 146, n. 78; 147, n. 88.

18. See, for example, SY II:195, 197; J. Emden, Divrei Emet u-Mishpat Shalom (Altona, 1776).

19. See M. Mendelssohn, Gesammelte Schriften XVI (Berlin, 1929), #154, 179; M. Cohen, "Moses Mendelssohn und seine Beziehungen zu Hamburg-Altona," Jahrbuch für die Jüdische Gemeinden Schleswig-Holsteins und der Hansestädte I (1929-30), 127.

20. See SY II:24-25; above, pp. 129-30.

21. SY II:145-46. Emden's son, Meshullam Zalman who was a newly appointed rabbi in London (see above, n. 6) was responsible for getting his father involved in this matter. For background information about it, see C. Duschinsky, "Jacob Kimhi and Shalom Buzaglo," TJHSE VII (1915), 279-80; for Emden's position, see pp. 282-84. See also R. Margoliot, Sibat Hitnagduto shel Rabbenu Ya'akov me-'Emden le-Rabbenu Yehonatan Eybeschütz, op. cit., 9.

22. See EJ V, 613-615 and the bibliography cited there; Y. Rafael, op. cit. (n. 15), 41-45. For the letters Emden wrote on this matter, see A. S. Copenhagen, Or ha-Yashar (Amsterdam, 1769), 33b-35a, 49b-50a, 81b-82a; Lemberg, 1902 edition, #24, 28, 39, 40.

23. See p. 433.

24. This work represented excerpts from part of Chapter VIII of Saadya's Book of Belief and Opinions. See H. Malter, Saadia Gaon: His Life and Works (Philadelphia, 1921), 367.

25. For the text of his epitaph, see J. Wittkower, 'Agadat Perahim (Altona, 1880), 289-90; A. H. Wagenaar, Toledot Yavez, op. cit., 29. D. Kahana's postscript to MS, 215-16, is a copy of the more precise Wittkower version.

26. A. H. Michaelson, Sefer 'Ohel 'Avraham (Piotrkow, 1911), 56; cited by S. Leiman, "The Baal Teshuvah and the Emden-Eibeschutz Controversy," Judaic Studies I (1985), 25-26.

ABBREVIATIONS

- EJ - Encyclopedia Judaica (1972).
- GS - M. Mendelssohn, Gesammelte Schriften VII (Stuttgart, 1974); XVI (Berlin, 1929).
- HUCA - Hebrew Union College Annual.
- JBL - Journal of Biblical Literature.
- JJGL - Jahrbuch für Jüdische Gesellschaft und Literatur.
- JQR - Jewish Quarterly Review
- JSS - Jewish Social Studies.
- KS - Kiryat Sefer.
- LBIYB - Leo Baeck Institute Year Book.
- LE I - J. Emden, Luah Eresh (Altona, 1769).
- LE II - J. Emden, Luah Eresh, published together with 'Ez 'Avot (Amsterdam, 1751).
- LS - J. Emden, Lehem Shamayim (Jerusalem, 1978), 4 vols.
- MGWJ - Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
- MS - J. Emden, Megillat Sefer, ed. by D. Kahana (Warsaw, 1896).
- PAAJR - Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research.
- REJ - Revue des Études Juives.
- SY - J. Emden, She'elat Yavez (Lemberg, 1884), 2 vols.
- TJHSE - Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England.

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