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It is not until the work of Joseph Heinemann and Abraham Goldberg that we encounter any real attempt at analyzing the overall structure as well as the degree of editing of the *derashah*, the classic rabbinic homily form. In an effort to determine the applicability of their contentions regarding the homiletic midrashim, this study (a) examines the structure of the homilies in Leviticus Rabbah, Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana, Pesiqta Rabbati, the Tanḥuma midrashim, and Deuteronomy Rabbah, and (b) compares two closely parallel homilies in the Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana (*pisqa* 2) and the Pesiqta Rabbati (*pisqa* 10).

The structural analysis of the *derashot* in Leviticus Rabbah and Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana tends to underscore the highly fixed nature of the literary homily in the early homiletic midrashim: *petiḥtot* (sermonic proems), thematic/exegetic comments on the pericope text and peroration. In contrast, the study of the homilies contained in the Yelammedenu-Tanḥuma compilations, like the Pesiqta Rabbati, shows a high percentage of *derashot* which do not maintain a fixed ordering of structural elements. Proems of all kinds are more than occasionally interspersed among pericope comments (thematic and exegetic) and they, in turn, follow no set order.

A detailed comparison of *pisqa Ki tissa* in both the Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana and the Pesiqta Rabbati helps answer the question of whether the breakdown of the fixed structure of the literary homily in the later homiletic midrashim is the result of a confusion of form and poor editing or whether it is purposeful. Since the later homily in the Pesiqta Rabbati seems to possess a greater degree of editing and a unified, developing theme, it is plausible that the collapse of the fixed structure of the *derashah* was due to a conscious decision on the part of editors to enhance the artful editing of their homilies. Flexibility of form probably led to the production of more thematically homogeneous *derashot*.

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There is a need to develop a conceptual framework for the history of the Jews in the Polish Commonwealth. In this article, some comparisons are made between the

Jewish experience and that of some of the other non-Polish, nonautochthonous groups. Using sociological paradigms which attempt to account for the commercial success of certain minority groups as a framework for discussion, it is shown that in terms of discriminatory legislation, popular animus, international connections, and communal organization there was no fundamental distinction between the Jews and other groups in the Polish Commonwealth such as Armenians, Scots and Italians. It may be true, however, that some or all of the other groups saw themselves as "sojourners" in the Commonwealth, and that this at once fostered their commercial success and inhibited the pace of their assimilation. In the case of the Jews, there is no evidence to suggest that they regarded their residence in Poland as anything other than permanent.

Any study of the occupational distribution, communal organization, legal status or social situation of the Jews in the Polish Commonwealth must take into account the similarities between the Jews and other, non-Polish groups.

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The anti-Semitic emperor involved in the talmudic narrative about Ketiah Bar Shalom is identified as Hadrian. Evidence is adduced from the language of the text, a Latin wordplay transposed into Aramaic, the characterization of the emperor and the important thematic elements in the story.

Champion of Orthodoxy: The Emergence of Samson Raphael Hirsch as Religious Leader

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Samson Raphael Hirsch was one of the most puzzling personalities of nineteenth century Jewish history. He puzzled former friends in the 1830s when he defended the Jewish legal tradition against the Reformers. He puzzled his family in Hamburg when he tampered with the Kol Nidrei prayer. He puzzled contemporaries and later historians alike by his strict stance on Orthodox separation although he had been pictured as the most progressive element within German Orthodoxy.

The little we know of Hirsch's childhood in Hamburg when correlated with excerpts from his writings reveals much about the driving forces behind his personality. One symbol in particular, the mountain Horeb, appeared frequently in different contexts from the mid-thirties to the early fifties, and, as the title of his first work, suggests Hirsch's self-image at the outset of his career.

While Horeb as Deuteronomic variation for Mt. Sinai was appropriate enough as the title of a work on Jewish law, that interpretation does not convey the power of the symbol for Hirsch himself. Considerable evidence from Hirsch's writings bears witness that Hirsch identified Horeb less with the theophany at Sinai than with the dialogue between God and Elijah at Horeb.

In his later years, references to the place Horeb waned in number and the images

of Elijah and Phinehas, combined in the midrash into a single personality, emerged as a dominant and revealing motif appearing in his essays and commentaries in passages pregnant with biographical significance.

**Alienated Intellectuals in the Camp of Religious Reform:
The Frankfurt Reformfreunde, 1842–45**

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A small, religiously radical group of Jewish laymen, calling itself Reformfreunde, was formed in 1842 in Frankfurt-am-Main for the purpose of formulating a statement that would set its supporters sharply apart from Jewish tradition, yet enable them to continue as Jews. A close study of this group, and especially of three significant personalities directly or indirectly associated with it, brings into focus the social factors, philosophical considerations, and emotional ties which entered into individual and collective resolutions of the Jewish identity problem for German Jewry generally during this period. The character of the poet and educator Theodor Creizenach most clearly reveals the emotional ambivalence affecting many Jews of the third generation. Steeped in secular culture from youth onward, he found himself wholly alienated from the traditional Jewish world of his grandparents, unable to accept the mediating path of his enlightened father, yet hesitant to make a total break with the Jewish community. The mathematician Moriz Abraham Stern exemplifies the plight of the Jewish university scholar, whose philosophical position and acceptance of historical criticism leaves him with nothing more than a sense of filial piety toward the Jewish community, a kind of ethnic loyalty which, given his political milieu, he could not call ethnic or national. The best known figure connected with the group—but not a member—was Gabriel Riesser. Though his views were no less radical than theirs, Riesser's scale of values, his concern more with individual freedom than with religious issues, set him at odds with the Reformfreunde. Apart from the motivations of these individuals, the emergence of this short-lived group is explained with reference to contemporary intellectual currents and parallel developments in Christianity.

**Samuel Ibn Tibbon and the Esoteric Character of the
*Guide of the Perplexed***

AVIEZER RAVITZKY 87

Samuel ben Judah ibn Tibbon, translator of the *Guide of the Perplexed* and other treatises of Maimonides, is in many ways also the first interpreter of Maimonides' philosophic teaching. Ibn Tibbon considered himself as almost unique among his contemporaries in his radical esoteric interpretation of the *Guide*. He attempted to apply a systematic and strict method for the decoding of Maimonides' far-reaching philosophic conceptions and intentions.

Contemporary scholars of ibn Tibbon, too, mentioned his name in connection with the secrets of the *Guide*. His writings had a decisive influence on Maimonidean thinkers throughout the thirteenth century. In fact, the roots of the radical esoteric-

exoteric approach toward Maimonides' philosophy throughout the ages, from Joseph ibn Caspi (fourteenth century) all the way to Leo Strauss can already be found in ibn Tibbon's writings, a few years after the completion of the *Guide*. Ibn Tibbon's method of esoteric interpretation is exemplified in the present paper by the issues of Providence and nature, intellectual perfection and immortality, by allegorization of biblical stories, and so on. It is possible that this method was applied also to the interpretation of the roots of Maimonides' theology, his concept of God, His Will and creation *ex-nihilo*.

The fundamental methodological principles of his esoteric reading are: highlighting the role of intentional contradictions in the text; identification of the concealed truth with a rare or unique statement appearing in the text; distinguishing each chapter's unique subject matter while combining scattered chapters dealing with a single issue; a search for the esoteric context of comments which seem out of place; special attention to chapters whose subject matter breaks the continuity of a series of chapters; special attention to the elucidation of biblical equivocal words and their function in Maimonides' text.

Ibn Tibbon attempted to underscore an oral-esoteric character of the Jewish philosophic tradition as a whole. Jewish literature, from the Bible down, is supposed by him to adopt a pedagogic method used in face to face teaching, concealing as it revealed. It reflects a tension between its ahistorical philosophic content and the pedagogic necessity arising from the cultural environment. The gradual uncovering of philosophic truths reveals the historical transformation and gradual development of concepts of faith of both Jewish and non-Jewish society. The *Guide* is a foundation stone as well as a new starting point within this "oral" esoteric tradition.

The Nature of *Resh* in Tiberian Hebrew

E. J. REVELL 125

Some Tiberian masoretic notices state that *resh* was pronounced in two different ways, determined by the preceding or following consonants. This phenomenon was never marked in Tiberian texts, so presumably the notices were recopied only as testimony to the almost legendary linguistic purity and precision of the Tiberian scholars. In any case the technical details presented became confused in later notices. Nehemiah Allony has recently collected the available material and studied its development, but he does not deal with the question of the historical value of the information. The problem is that later notices present the phenomenon as characteristic of the Tiberian reading tradition, while the earliest example states that it was not. The present article argues that this was due to faulty historical reconstruction. Some works (such as the *Sefer Yesirah*) referred to two pronunciations of *resh* because this was characteristic of the peripheral area in which it originated (cf. the Babylonian pointing). This was understood by the Tiberians to describe the early pronunciation in Eretz Israel. It was found that Tiberians pronounced *resh* in two ways in daily speech (though not in their reading tradition), and this was taken as a vestige of the (supposed) earlier phenomenon. Consequently the description of this two-fold *resh* was taken as a record of the (original) Tiberian reading tradition, although there is no evidence of any attempt to introduce this feature into the tradition as it then was. *Resh* at that time (and earlier) was evidently articulated at the back of the mouth in

Eretz Israel although not (as far as we know) elsewhere. The notice appears to reflect the fact that, in the daily speech of Tiberias, when pronounced with consonants articulated at the front of the mouth, *resh* was also articulated at the front, as was usual in all cases in other areas of the Near East.

Bilingualism and Poetic Modernism: The Yiddish Sources of the Hebrew Imagism of Gabriel Preil

Yael Sagiv-Feldman 137

The emergence of Gabriel Preil’s Hebrew Modernism in the New York of the thirties was totally unexpected. His Imagistic free verse seemed a bold departure from the romantic norms of American Hebrew verse, and even from those dominating the “Modernistic” mainstream in Eretz Israel. Since this deviation has since become the governing norm of Israeli “young” poetry (the “State generation” of the fifties and sixties), Preil’s innovations and their sources have often been dwelt upon by reviewers and critics. As critical consensus has it, his Modernistic tendencies were inspired, naturally enough, by American Modern verse, particularly of the Imagistic variety. That Preil actually had had recourse to another Modernistic source, one closer to home—American Yiddish verse—was altogether overlooked or ignored.

The present study proceeds from the assumption that locating Preil’s Yiddish models could shed some light on the sources of his new Hebrew style. It suggests that a correlation may exist between his stylistic breakthrough and his active literary bilingualism. Consequently, his Yiddish connections, poetical as well as personal, are explored and their impact is placed in the perspective of the problematic evolution of Modernistic style in Hebrew letters.

Papal and Royal Attitudes Toward Jewish Lending in the Thirteenth Century

Kenneth R. Stow 161

Jewish money lending in the Middle Ages is usually seen as something the kings favored and the Church opposed. In fact, there were at least three different views on the subject. From a strictly theoretical viewpoint medieval professors of law and theology made strenuous efforts to have their works take a firm and consistently negative position on taking interest. The popes, on the other hand, who had to live with both reality and the tradition of established Jewish rights and privileges, worded their decretal letters to indicate their consent to a carefully regulated interest rate. The more practically oriented canonists of the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance also adopted this stance. However, neither the theoretical nor certainly the papal position was acceptable to various purists and reformers among the church hierarchy. They opposed not only interest but demanded the cancellation of even the principal sums of existing loans. Usury, they believed, led to social corruption. These purists were joined, surprisingly, by those who had the most to gain materially from Jewish lending, the kings. Both out of personal piety and anxiety for the health of the nascent Body Politic, Louis IX and Edward I, among others, tried to suppress Jewish

lending—to the amazement, it should be added, of Jewish polemicists like Meir ben Simeon of Narbonne.

The Duisburg Affair: A Test Case in the Struggle for “Conquest of the Communities”

JACK WERTHEIMER 185

The confrontation between Jewish liberals and Zionists in Imperial Germany occupies a prominent place in recent German-Jewish historiography. Within the past decade especially, scholars have scrutinized in depth the clashing ideologies and programs of liberal defense organizations and the Zionist movement that were debated by national leaders of German Jewry. A close examination of the Duisburg Affair provides an opportunity to assess hitherto neglected aspects of this conflict—political and electoral battles—from the perspective of local communal leaders.

The Duisburg Affair of 1912–14 pitted liberals against Zionists in a struggle over the voting rights of foreign Jews in communal elections. In response to Zionist electoral successes, liberal notables in Duisburg acted to strip immigrant Jews of their right to vote. This action was hotly contested by local and national Zionist leaders. Both liberals and Zionists mounted a propaganda campaign to win over Jewish public opinion and persuade Prussian officials adjudicating the legality of disenfranchisement. The actions of Jews in Duisburg, the responses of national Jewish spokesmen for both factions, and the resolution of the affair by government officials suggest the need to revise common assumptions about the nature of the struggle for communal domination waged by liberals and Zionists on the eve of World War I.