the Temple itself" (Yoma 53a). "When a scholar neglects learning, Prov. xxvii. 8 may be applied to him" (Ḥag. 9b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brüll, *Einleitung in die Mischna*, p. 249, Frankfort-on-the-Main; Bacher, *Ag. Tan.* ii. 494-495.

S. J. Z. L.

JUDAH LEON DI LEONE: Italian rabbi from 1796 to 1835. Sent as a messenger from Hebron to Rome, he became rabbi in the latter city during the troublous times following the struggles of the Jews for emancipation and reform. He was one of the collaborators to the collective work entitled מכתבי הרבנים אשר בערי איטליא ("Letters of Italian Rabbis"), which first appeared at Leghorn, then in a German translation at Hamburg, and was subsequently translated into French. Judah represented the Jewish community when Pius VII. entered Rome in 1800; the pope, however, did not keep the promises of good-will toward the Jews which he then made. While Rome was under French rule Judah was director of the consistory of Rome (1811). He could not preach there, as he did not understand Italian. In his work "Hilkot Bekorot" he appears as a halakic author.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vogelstein and Rieger, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, ii. 400; Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, p. 166; Berliner, *Geseh. der Juden in Rom*, ii. 2, 130.

S. I. E.

JUDAH LEONE B. ISAAC SOMMO (DE SOMMI; called also **Leone Ebreo):** Italian writer and dramatic critic and manager; died after 1591. A scion of the Portaleone family of Mantua, he lived first at Ferrara—where he was the friend of Azariah dei Rossi and became known as a scholar and skilful penman—and then at Mantua (*c.* 1550–1590). At the instance of the ducal court of Mantua he then devoted himself entirely to the stage, as a teacher of the theory and practise of the dramatic art. In 1562, as a result of the appearance of his poem "Drusilla," he was elected member of the Accademia degli Invaghiti, and as he could not become a "cavaliere," being a Jew, he received the title of "Scrittore Accademico."

He was a prolific writer in Italian; and his works, which are extant in manuscript in sixteen volumes at Turin, include dramas, dialogues on dramatic art, and poems. The dialogues deal with: (1) the origin and rules of the art of acting; (2) division of the drama into five acts; (3) delivery, costumes, etc.; (4) the actor; (5) scenery; (6) the entr'acte.

Judah considered Moses, the reputed author of the Book of Job, as the originator of the drama. He pretended to have translated from the Aramaic a book, "Corso della Vita," in which a youth receives instructions for correct living from his guardian angel, and is then seduced by the Tempter. This work, according to Judah, was intended for dramatic representation. For the Accademia Judah wrote ten pieces including allegorical dramas on the accession of princes and on their death. His lyrical poems fill four volumes, and include sonnets, canzones, and satires, which he dedicated to various members of the house of Gonzaga and to the pope as protector of the Accademia.

In the field of Jewish literature, Judah translated forty-five Psalms in ottave rima, with superscriptions in Hebrew. He also wrote "Magen Nashim," in Hebrew, an apology for woman, with an Italian translation, which he dedicated to Hannah da Rieti.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.* vi. 94; *idem*, in *Monatsschrift*, xlii. 467 *et seq.*; *Isr. Letterbode*, xii. 73; Peyron, *Nota di Storia Letteraria*, Turin, 1884; Dejob, *De la Condition des Juifs à Mantoue*, in *R. E. J.* xxiii. 75; Alessandro d'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, ii. 401-427; Vogelstein and Rieger, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, ii. 103.

D. I. E.

JUDAH HA-LEVI (Arabic, **Abu al-Ḥasan al-Lawi):** Spanish philosopher and Hebrew poet; born at Toledo, southern Castile, in the last quarter of the eleventh century; died in the Orient after 1140. If his birth is correctly assigned to 1085 or 1086 (Rapoport, in "Kerem Ḥemed," vii. 265), it occurred about the time of the eventful conquest of Toledo (May 24, 1085) by the Christian king Alfonso VI. It is probable that Judah's father, Samuel "the Castilian," sent Judah, who was his only son, to Lucena to be educated in the various branches of Jewish learning at the school of Isaac Alfasi. On the death of his master, Judah composed an elegy (Brody, "Diwan des Abul-Ḥasan Jehuda ha-Levi," ii., No. 14, p. 100). It was probably in Lucena, too, that Judah won the friendship of Alfasi's most prominent pupils, Joseph ibn Migas and Baruch Albalia. Judah chose medicine as his profession; but he early evinced a love for poetry and showed marked poetic talent. He was well acquainted with the productions of the Arabic and the Castilian poets; yet the muse spoke to him in the old and sacred language of the Bible, in which "he sang for all times and places, soon becoming the favorite of the people" (Zunz, "Literaturgesch." p. 203). He became deeply versed in Greco-Arabic philosophy also. The early ripening of his poetic talent aroused the admiration of his friend and senior, the poet Moses ibn Ezra, who accorded him enthusiastic praise (see Luzzatto in "Kerem Ḥemed," iv. 86; Dukes, "Moses ibn Ezra," p. 987; Geiger, "Diwan des Castilier's Abu'l-Hassan," pp. 15, 120).

His Youth.

After completing his studies, which he, being in easy circumstances, had been able to pursue deliberately, Judah returned to Toledo, where he soon acquired so large a practise that he complained in a letter to his friend David Narboni (Brody, *l.c.* i. 224, 225) of a lack of tranquillity and leisure. He married in Toledo; and from allusions in some of his poems it is evident that his only child was a daughter, through whom he had a grandson, also named Judah.

Journey to the Holy Land.

Judah ha-Levi does not seem to have been contented in Toledo; for he removed to the Mohammedan city of Cordova. Even here he did not feel at ease. Though personally he occupied an honored position as a physician, he felt the intolerance of the Almoravid fanatics toward his coreligionists. He had long yearned for a new, or rather for the old, home—for the Holy Land. This yearning was deepened by his intense application to his religio-philosophical work and by his resulting clearer insight into Judaism; and at length he decided to set out on a journey to Palestine. For himself at least, he wished "to do away with the contradiction of daily confessing a longing and of never at-

tempting to realize it" (Kaufmann, "Jehuda Halevi"); and therefore, on the death of his wife, he bade farewell to daughter, grandson, pupils, friends, rank, and affluence. There was only one image in his heart—Jerusalem:

"O city of the world, most chastely fair,
In the far West, behold I sigh for thee.
* * * * * * * * *
Oh! had I eagle's wings, I'd fly to thee,
And with my falling tears make moist thine earth."

(Brody, *l.c.* ii. 167; version in Lady Magnus' "Jewish Portraits.")

After a stormy passage he arrived in Alexandria, where he was enthusiastically greeted by friends and admirers. At Damietta he had to struggle against the promptings of his own heart and the pleadings of his friend Ḥalfon ha-Levi that he remain in Egypt, which also was Jewish soil and free from intolerant oppression. He, however, resisted the temptation to remain there, and started on the tedious land route trodden of old by the Israelitish wanderers in the desert. Again he is met with, worn out, with broken heart and whitened hair, in Tyre and Damascus. Here authentic records fail; but Jewish legend has taken up the broken threads of history and woven them further. It is related that as he came near Jerusalem, overpowered by the sight of the Holy City, he sang his most beautiful elegy, the celebrated "Zionide," "Zion ha-lo Tish'ali." At that instant he was ridden down and killed by an Arab, who dashed forth from a gate (Gedaliah ibn Yaḥya, "Shalshelet ha-Ḳabbalah," ed. Venice, p. 40b).

The life-work of Judah ha-Levi was devoted to poetry and philosophy. His poetry is usually classified under the heads of secular and religious, or, as in Brody's new edition of the "Diwan," under liturgical and non-liturgical. Such a division, however, can be only external; for the essential characteristic of Judah's poems—which are the expression of a deeply religious soul—is the lofty key to which they are attuned. Even in his drinking- and love-songs an attentive reader may hear the vibrations of religion's overtones.

His Secular Poetry.

The first place in his secular or non-liturgical poetry is occupied by poems of friendship and eulogy. Judah must have possessed an attractive personality; for there gathered about him as friends, even in his earliest youth, a large number of illustrious men, like Levi al-Ṭabban of Saragossa, the aged poet Judah ben Abun, Judah ibn Ghayyat of Granada, Moses ibn Ezra and his brothers Judah, Joseph, and Isaac, the vizier Abu al-Ḥasan, Meïr ibn Kamnial, the physician and poet Solomon ben Mu'allam of Seville, and Samuel ha-Nagid of Malaga, besides his schoolmates Joseph ibn Migas and Baruch Albalia. He was associated also with the grammarian Abraham ibn Ezra; but the assertion that the latter was the son-in-law of Judah is one of the fictions of Gedaliah ibn Yaḥya ("Shalshelet ha-Ḳabbalah," ed. Amsterdam, p. 41a). Equally incorrect is the statement made by the author of "Yuḥasin" (ed. Amsterdam, p 186) that the two were cousins. In Cordova Judah addressed a touching farewell poem to Joseph ibn Ẓaddiḳ, the philosopher and poet (Geiger, "Nachgelassene Schriften," p. 159). In Egypt, where the most celebrated men vied with one another in entertaining him, his reception was a veritable triumph. Here his particular friends were Aaron ben Jeshua Alamani in Alexandria, the nagid Samuel ben Hananiah in Cairo ("Monatsschrift," xl. 417 *et seq.*), Ḥalfon ha-Levi in Damietta, and an unknown man in Tyre, probably his last friend. In their sorrow and joy, in the creative spirit and all that moved the souls of these men, Judah sympathetically shared; as he says in the beginning of a short poem (Brody, *l.c.* i., No. 45): "My heart belongs to you, ye noble souls, who draw me to you with bonds of love" (comp. Geiger, *l.c.* iii. 123).

Love-Songs.

Especially tender and plaintive is Judah's tone in his elegies (Brody, *l.c.* ii. 67 *et seq.*). Many of them are dedicated to friends. Besides those composed on the deaths of the brothers Judah (*ib.* Nos. 19, 20), Isaac (*ib.* No. 21), and Moses ibn Ezra (*ib.* No. 16), R. Baruch (*ib.* Nos. 23, 28), Meïr ibn Migas (*ib.* No. 27), his teacher Isaac Alfasi (*ib.* No. 14), and others, one of the most affecting is that on Solomon ibn Farissol, who was murdered on May 3, 1108. The news of this friend's death suddenly changed Judah's poem of eulogy (Nos. 11, 22) into one of lamentation (*ib.* Nos. 12, 13, 93 *et seq.*), which for grandeur and loftiness of tone has been compared to David's lament over Jonathan.

Joyous, careless youth, and merry, happy delight in life find their expression in his love-songs (*ib.* ii. 1 *et seq.*). Many of these are epithalamia, and are characterized by a brilliant Oriental coloring as well as by a chaste reserve (see "Betulat Bet Yehudah," ed. Luzzatto, *passim*). In Egypt, where the muse of his youth found a glorious Indian summer in the circle of his friends, he wrote his swan-song:

"Wondrous is this land to see,
With perfume its meadows laden,
But more fair than all to me
Is yon slender, gentle maiden.
Ah, Time's swift flight I fain would stay,
Forgetting that my locks are gray."

(Geiger, *l.c.* p. 168.)

Drinking-songs and enigmas in rime by Judah have also been preserved (Brody, *l.c.* ii. 189 *et seq.*).

His Religious Poetry.

If one may speak of religious geniuses Judah ha-Levi must certainly be regarded among the greatest produced by medieval Judaism. No other man, it would seem, drew so near to God as Judah; none else knew how to cling to Him so closely, or felt so safe in His shadow. At times the body is too narrow for him: the soul yearns for its Father in heaven, and would break through the earthly shell (S. D. Luzzatto, "Diwan," No. 14; Heller, "Die Echten Melodien," p. 227). Without God his soul would wither away; nor is it well with him except he prays (Luzzatto, *l.c.* No. 57; Heller, *l.c.* p. 135). The thought of God allows him no rest; early and late He is his best beloved, and is his dearest concern (Heller, *l.c.* p. 82; "Ṭal Orot," No. 12). He occupies the mind of the poet waking and sleeping; and the thought of Him, the impulse to praise Him, rouse Judah from his couch by night (Luzzatto, *l.c.* No. 81; Heller, *l.c.* p. 229). Although

Judah strives to be free from subjection unto many, he rejoices that he is subject to the One, whose servant he gladly designates himself; for he may win the grace of God throughout eternity. Characterized by "noble grandeur and quiet simplicity," the short poem in Luzzatto, *l.c.* (No. 28) and in Heller, *l.c.* (p. 152) is most effective, and might be entitled "The Higher Peace," after a similar poem by the German poet Heinrich von Kleist. When Judah is ill he hopes to be cured by God's grace rather than by the medicines he himself has prepared (Geiger, *l.c.* p. 117). Even during the voyage, amid storms and surrounded by rough sailors, over whom only the pilot has any authority (Brody, *l.c.* ii., No. 16; Geiger, *l.c.* p. 164), Judah finds peaceful trust in God; and his poems (Brody, *l.c.* ii. 168 *et seq.*), composed on the sea, are among the most beautiful of his religious lyrics. In all situations in life God is the friend to whom his heart turns in the fulness of its longing. If God is with him, all is bright in his "narrow prison," and sorrow's gloom dissolves in gladness.

Patriotism.

Next to God, the poet's people stand nearest to his heart: their sufferings and hopes are his. Like the authors of the Psalms, he gladly sinks his own identity in the wider one of the people of Israel; so that it is not always easy to distinguish the personality of the speaker. No other Jewish poet is so steeped in recollections of the ancient history of Israel when singing of the tokens of God's love to His chosen people. Whenever Judah reflects on his coreligionists, the reproachful question rises, despite his reverence: "Why hast Thou sold us to the oppressors?" (Luzzatto, *l.c.* No. 11). "Shall we be captives forever in a strange land?" (Heller, *l.c.* p. 101; "Ṭal Orot," No. 2). "How long must our anxious hopes drag on?" (Heller, *l.c.* p. 126; Brody, *l.c.* No. 70). "When shall the morn of freedom dawn for Israel?" On earth none can or will answer him; yet while "Edom and Ishmael riot in the Holy City" (Heller, *l.c.* p. 44; "Ṭal Orot," No. 6) and Israel everywhere is in bondage, his prayers shall wring from heaven the redemption of his people. How he prays for "new life," for "refreshment for the weary flower"—Israel! Through temporary resignation and despair (Heller, *l.c.* p. 1; "Ṭal Orot," No. 71) the poet fights his way to confidence and hope; for "the prophet hath foretold all" (*ib.*). He represents Israel calling upon God with tender persuasion to set him free:

> "Come, Beloved, come thou to me,
> In the bower of lilacs woo me;
> Slay the fiends that would pursue me.
>
> "Harps and chimes and cups all golden
> To the joy of old emboldens,
> 'Neath the radiant glory olden."
> (Heller, *l.c.* p. 77; "Ṭal Orot," No. 8.)

God answers, giving to His people new comfort together with new strength for endurance (Heller, *l.c.* p. 77; "Ṭal Orot," No. 8):

> "Bide thou thy time—within thy soul be peace,
> Nor ask complaining when thy pain shall cease;
> Speak, rime, and sing, for victory is thine,
> Nigh thee my tent is pitched, and thou art mine."
> (Zunz, "G. S." i. 131.)

Often Judah's poetic fancy finds joy in the radiant thought of the return of his people (Heller, *l.c.* p. 226; Brody, "Diwan," No. 6). Then his words seem to be the music of the harp (Geiger, *l.c.* p. 145); and he summons Israel, "the dove in a strange land," to jubilant rejoicing over her triumphant return (*ib.*). The period of political agitation about 1130, when Islam (so intensely hated by the poet) was gradually losing ground before the victorious arms of the Christians, gave Judah reason to hope for such a return in the near future. The vision of the night, in which this was revealed to him (Geiger, *l.c.* p. 154), remained indeed but a dream; yet Judah never lost faith in the eventual deliverance of Israel and in the eternity of his people. On this subject he has expressed himself in the poem:

> "Lo! sun and moon, these minister for aye;
> The laws of day and night cease nevermore:
> Given for signs to Jacob's seed that they
> Shall ever be a nation—till these be o'er.
> If with His left hand He should thrust away,
> Lo! with His right hand He shall draw them nigh."
> (Luzzatto, *l.c.* No. 61; transl. by Nina Davis in "Songs of Exile," p. 49.)

Representative Character of His Poetry.

The remarkable and apparently indissoluble union of religion, nationalism, and patriotism characteristic of post-exilic Judaism reached its acme in Judah ha-Levi and his poetry. Yet this very union in one so consistent as Judah demanded the fulfilment of the supreme political-religious ideal of medieval Judaism—the return to Jerusalem. Though his impassioned call to his contemporaries to return to Zion might be received with indifference or even with mockery (Luzzatto, *l.c.* No. 86), his own decision to go to Jerusalem never wavered. "Can we hope for any other refuge either in the East or in the West where we may dwell in safety?" he exclaims to one of his opponents (*ib.*). The songs that accompany his pilgrimage (Brody, *l.c.* ii. 153) sound like one great symphony wherein the "Zionides"—the single motive ever varied—voice the deepest soul-life alike of the Jewish people and of each individual Jew. The most celebrated of these "Zionides," with its remarkable monotony, is found in every Jewish liturgy, and is usually repeated in the synagogue on the Ninth of Ab (Brody, *l.c.* ii. 155). It has been translated into German by Herder, Mendelssohn, and many other modern writers; into French by Munk; into Dutch by L. Wagenaar ("Isr. Letterbode," v. 18 *et seq.*); into Italian by Benedetti; into Russian by Harkavy; repeatedly into English; and into other European languages. The following is the English translation by Nina Davis (*l.c.* p. 37) of the opening lines:

> "Zion, wilt thou not ask if peace's wing
> Shadows the captives that ensue thy peace,
> Left lonely from thine ancient shepherding?
>
> "Lo! west and east and north and south—world-wide—
> All those from far and near, without surcease,
> Salute thee: Peace and Peace from every side."

Synagogal Poetry.

The poems of Judah ha-Levi which have been adopted into the liturgy number in all more than 300. Every season, whether of sorrow or of joy, has been enriched by his songs. A summary of them has been given by Zunz (*l.c.* pp. 203 *et seq.*; Appendix, pp. 8–10, 33, 55, and by Landshuth ("'Ammude ha-'Abodah," pp. 70 *et seq.*). The

והמלכים האחרים הם שאר הנביאים והשלוחים ההודיים הם התבונה והמלאכים
והבגדים החמודות הם האור המשכל אשר חל בנפשו מהנבואה והאור [illegible] אשר
חל על פניו והמתנות היקרות השלוחות הם השני לוחות כעשרת הדברים [illegible]
הגימוסים האחרים לא ראו מכל זה מאומה אך אמרו להם קבלו עבודת [illegible]
כאשר קבלו עליהם ההברים ההם ואחרי המות תגיעו אל המלך ואם לא תעשו [illegible]
אתכם ויענה אתכם אחרי מותכם ומהם כי שאמר לא בא אלינו אדם [illegible]
לנו שיהיה אחרי מותו בגן עדן או בגיהנם ורובם הגבירו סדור עניינם וחבור [illegible]
וקבלו והעבודה ויחלו נפשותם כמצפון יהול חלתו אך כנראה יהול חזק ונאמן ומת [illegible]
ומתפארים על עמי הארץ שבהם באמונה ואיך יתפארו אלה בכענת מה שיגיע [illegible]
אחרי מותם על כי שיגיע אליו בחייו והלא טבע הנביאים והחסידים קרוב אל הק[illegible]
כעולם הבא יותר מטבע מי שלא קרב אל המדרגה [illegible]

אמר הכוזרי כמה הוא רחוק מן הדעת שיהיה האדם כלה כטבעו [illegible]
גופו ונפשו זולתי הפילוסופים על דעתם ׳ ועוד [illegible]
אנשי התורות שהוא ישוב חי לעד בנעימים בעבור מלה שהוא אומר בפיו ואפשר
שאיננו יודע כל ימיו זולתי המלה ההיא ואפשר שלא יבין עניינה כמה גדולה [illegible]
המלה שתעתיק כמדרגת הבהמות למעלת המלאכים ׳ ומי שאינו אומר המלה ה[illegible]
ישוב בהמה אפי׳ אם יהיה פלוסוף חכם עושה טוב כל ימיו
כוסף אל המעלות ההם ״

אמר החבר אנחנו אין שוללים משום אדם גמול מעשיו הטובים [illegible]
זה אומה שיהיה אבל אנחנו רואים הטובה הגמורה [illegible]
הקרובים בחייהם ואנו עורכים מעלתם אצל האלהים א[illegible]
מותם בערך ההוא ״

אמר הכוזרי והתמיד הדמיון הזה בהפך וערוך מעלתם בעולם [illegible]
כמעלתם בעולם הזה היום ״

אמר החבר אני רואה שאתה מגנה אותנו בדלות ומסכנות ובהם [illegible]
מתפארים גדולי האומות האלה כי אין [redacted]
אל עניינם [redacted] ׳ וכן בעל תורת ישמעאל וחביריו עד
שגברו ׳ וכאנשים ההם הם מתפארים ומתגדלים לא במלכים האלה אשר גבר שיאם
ורחבה מלכותם ונפלאו מרכבותם אם כן ערכנו מקורבת האלקים יותר קרוב מגה שאם
היתה לנו גדולה בעולם הזה ״

אמר הכוזרי כן הוא אלו היתה כניעתכם ברצון אבל היא בהכ[illegible] ואשר

תמצא

CENSORED PAGE FROM THE FIRST EDITION OF JUDAH HA-LEVI'S "CUZARI," FANO, 1506.
(In the possession of George Alexander Kohut, New York.)

longest and most comprehensive poem is a "ḳedushshah," which summons all the universe to praise God with rejoicing, and which terminates, curiously enough, in Ps. ciii. (Sachs, "Die Religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien," pp. 304 *et seq.*). These poems were carried to all lands, even as far as India (Zunz, "Ritus," p. 57); and they influenced the rituals of the most distant countries. Even the Karaites incorporated some of them into their prayer-book; so that there is scarcely a synagogue in which Judah's songs are not sung in the course of the service (Zunz, "S. P." p. 231). The following criticism of Judah's synagogal poems is made by Zunz (*ib.*): "As the perfume and beauty of a rose are within it, and do not come from without, so with Judah word and Bible passage, meter and rime, are one with the soul of the poem; as in true works of art, and always in nature, one is never disturbed by anything external, arbitrary, or extraneous."

Judah by his verses has also beautified the religious life of the home. His Sabbath hymns should be mentioned here, one of the most beautiful of which ends with the words:

> "On Friday doth my cup o'erflow,
> What blissful rest the night shall know,
> When, in thine arms, my toil and wo
> Are all forgot, Sabbath my love!
>
> "'Tis dusk, with sudden light, distilled
> From one sweet face, the world is filled;
> The tumult of my heart is stilled—
> For thou art come, Sabbath my love!
>
> "Bring fruits and wine and sing a gladsome lay,
> Cry, 'Come in peace, O restful Seventh day!'"

(Heller, *l.c.* p. 19; "Ṭal Orot," No. 1; transl. by S. Solis-Cohen.)

"The use of foreign (*i.e.*, Arabic) meters destroys the essence of the Hebrew language, which is based on homophony and results in harmony," is the observation put into the mouth of the rabbi in Judah ha-Levi's "Cuzari" (ii., § 74), together with other original remarks on the Hebrew language (comp. Friedländer in Kohut Memorial Volume, pp. 139 *et seq.*). Nevertheless, Judah himself used the most complicated Arabic meters in his poems with much good taste (for further details see H. Brody, "Studien zu den Dichtungen Jehuda ha-Levi's," Berlin, 1895). A later critic, applying a Talmudic witticism to Judah, has said: "It is hard for the dough when the baker himself calls it bad." Although these forms came to him naturally and without effort, unlike the mechanical versifiers of his time (see "Cuzari," v. 16), he would not except himself from the number of those he had blamed. His pupil Solomon Parḥon, who wrote at Salerno in 1160, relates that Judah repented having used the new metrical methods, and had declared he would not again employ them. That Judah felt them to be out of place, and that he opposed their use at the very time when they were in vogue, plainly shows his desire for a national Jewish art independent in form as well as in matter.

Judah was recognized by his contemporaries as the great Jewish national poet, and in succeeding generations by all the great scholars and writers in Israel (see, *e.g.*, Al-Ḥarizi, "Taḥkemoni," maḳamahs iii., xviii.). His equal in poetic ability, Heinrich Heine, has paid him a tribute of honor in his "Romancero" (see E. A. Bowring, "The Poems of Heine," p. 476, London, 1859).

So far as is known, the first to collect the poems of Judah ha-Levi into a diwan was R. Ḥiyya al-Ma'arabi, probably a younger friend of the poet. R. Jeshua bar Elijah ha-Levi used this diwan as the basis for a new and larger collection, a manuscript of which has been found in Tunis. In his interesting Arabic preface (translated into German in Geiger, *l.c.*), Jeshua states that, besides Ḥiyya's collection, he had two others before him, made respectively by David ben Maimon and Abu Sa'id ibn Alkash (?), from which he took some material. Further, he says that he added songs and piyyuṭim which R. Ḥiyya had omitted because in the time of the latter they were generally known and were to be found in every Maḥzor. Jeshua, however, does not imply that all the poems added by him were written by Judah ha-Levi. On the contrary, he lays special emphasis on the need of caution, particularly in cases where there is only an incomplete signature, as "Judah" or "Levi." He divides his diwan of 816 poems into three parts: (1) poems, for the most part secular in tone, having the same meter and rime throughout; (2) strophic poems, mostly religious in character, in which every strophe has a different rime, although the last line of each strophe has the same rime; (3) poems of varied metrical structure, mostly piyyuṭim, and a few letters in rimed prose. Jeshua usually designates in a short superscription the contents and the occasion of the poem. The Bodleian Library contains two manuscript diwans of Judah ha-Levi (Neubauer, "Cat. Bodl. Hebr. MSS." No. 1970, 1, with the title "Maḥaneh Yehudah"; a more recent collection, *ib.* No. 1971, corresponds to the Tunis manuscript, but is more complete).

MSS.

The chief published collections of Judah's poems are: (1) "Betulat Bat Yehudah," ed. S. D. Luzzatto, Prague, 1840; (2) "Diwan," also edited by Luzzatto, Lyck (Meḳize Nirdamim), 1864; (3) "Ṭal Orot," by the same editor, published by Eisig Gräber, Przemysl, 1881; (4) "Ginze Oxford," ed. Edelmann and Dukes, London, 1851; (5) "Rabbi Yehudah ha-Levi," by A. Harkavy, Warsaw ("Aḥiasaf"), 1893–95; (6) "Bet ha-Beḥirah," by Samuel Philipp, Lemberg, 1888 (mainly a reprint of Luzzatto's "Diwan"); (7) "Diwan des Abul-Ḥasan Jehuda ha-Levi," a new and complete edition by H. Brody, Berlin (Meḳize Nirdamim), 1894 *et seq.*

Editions.

Some of Judah's poems have been translated into European languages. The most prominent translators are:

German: A. Geiger ("Diwan des Castilier's Abu'l-Hassan," etc., Breslau, 1851); Heller ("Die Ecbten Hebräischen Melodien," ed. D. Kaufmann, Berlin, 1893); Kämpf ("Nichtandalusische Poesie Andalusischer Dichter," Prague, 1858); Sachs ("Die Religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien," Berlin, 1845); Steinschneider ("Manna," *ib.* 1847); Sulzbach ("Dichtungen aus Spanien's Besseren Tagen," Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1873); and Zunz ("S. P." Berlin, 1855).

Translations.

English: M. H. Bresslau (in "Ginze Oxford," London, 1851); Nina Davis ("Songs of Exile," Philadelphia, 1901); Edward G. King (in "J. Q. R." vii. 464); J. Jacobs ("Jewish Ideals," London, 1896); E. Lazarus ("Songs of a Semite," New York, 1882); Alice Lucas (in "The Jewish Year," London, 1898); Lady Magnus ("Jewish Portraits," *ib.* 1897).

French: J. Weill (in "R. E. J." xxxviii., p. lxv.; Italian: S. de Benedetti ("Canzoniere Sacro di Giuda Levita," Pisa, 1871); Russian: S. Frug (in "Voskhod") and A. Harkavy (*ib.*). Other translations occur in the various Maḥzorim renderings.

Bibliography: Of the mass of literature on Judah ha-Levi only the more important summaries of his life and poetry can be given here: I. Abrahams, *Jewish Literature*, pp. 126 *et seq.*; J. Derenbourg, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1865, ii. 264 *et seq.*; A. Geiger, *Diwan des Castilier's Abu'l-Hassan Juda ha-Levi*, Breslau, 1851 (partly reprinted in his *Nachgelassene Schriften*, iii. 97 *et seq.*); Grätz, *Gesch.* vi. 117 *et seq.*; Harkavy, *R. Yehuda ha-Levi*, in *Voskhod*, 1881 (Hebrew transl. by A. S. Friedberg, in Rabbinowitz, *Keneset Yisrael*, i. 49 *et seq.*); J. Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, pp. 103 *et seq.*; D. Kaufmann, *Jehuda Halevi*, Breslau, 1877; Lady Magnus, *Jewish Portraits*, pp. 1 *et seq.*; Pinkusfeld, *Juda ha-Levi Mint Grammatikuses Exegeta*, Budapest, 1887; Sachs, *Die Religiöse Poesie der Juden*, pp. 287 *et seq.*; Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, Index; Winter and Wünsche, *Die Jüdische Litteratur*, iii. 40 *et seq.*, 120 *et seq.*; J. Weill, in *R. E. J.* xxxviii., p. lxv.

G. M. Sc.

——**As Philosopher:** The position of Judah ha-Levi in the domain of Jewish philosophy is parallel to that occupied in Islam by Ghazali, by whom he was influenced (comp. Kaufmann, "Attributenlehre," pp. 119 *et seq.*). Like Ghazali, Judah endeavored to liberate religion from the bondage of the various philosophical systems in which it had been held by his predecessors, Saadia, David ben Marwan al-Mekamez, Gabirol, and Baḥya. In a work written in Arabic and entitled "Kitab al-Ḥujjah wal-Dalil fi Nuṣr al-Din al-Dhalil" (known in the Hebrew translation of Judah ibn Tibbon by the title "Sefer ha-Kuzari," and cited in this article as the "Cuzari"), Judah ha-Levi expounded his views upon the teachings of Judaism, which he defended against the attacks of philosophers, heretics, Karaites, etc.

The work is divided into five essays ("ma'amarim"), and takes the form of a dialogue between the pagan king of the Chazars and a Jew who had been invited to instruct him in the tenets of the Jewish religion. After a short account of the incidents preceding the conversion of the king, and of the conversations of the latter with a philosopher, a Christian, and a Moslem concerning their respective beliefs, the Jew appears on the stage, and by his first statement startles the king; for, instead of giving him proofs of the existence of God, he asserts and explains the miracles performed by Him in favor of the Israelites. The king expresses his astonishment at this exordium, which seems to him incoherent; but the Jew replies that the existence of God, the creation of the world, etc., being taught by religion, do not need any speculative demonstrations. Further, he propounds the principle upon which his religious system is founded; namely, that revealed religion is far superior to natural religion. For the aim of ethical training, which is the object of religion, is not to create in man good intentions, but to cause him to perform good deeds. This aim can not be attained by philosophy, which is undecided as to the nature of good, but can be secured by religious training, which teaches what is good. As science is the sum of all the particles of truth found by successive generations, so religious training is based upon a set of traditions; in other words, history is an important factor in the development of human culture and science.

Main Principle of the "Cuzari."

Now as the Jews are the only depositaries of a written history of the development of the human race from the beginning of the world, the superiority of their traditions can not be denied. No comparison is possible between Jewish culture, which is based upon religious truth, and Greek culture, which is based upon science only; for the wisdom of the Greek philosophers lacked that divine support with which the Prophets were endowed. Had a trustworthy tradition that the world was created out of nothing been known to Aristotle, he would have supported it by at least as strong arguments as those advanced by him to prove the eternity of matter. Belief in the eternity of matter, however, is not absolutely contrary to Jewish religious ideas; for the Biblical narrative of the Creation refers only to the beginning of the human race, and does not preclude the possibility of preexistent matter. Still, relying upon tradition, the Jews believe in "creatio ex nihilo," which theory can be sustained by as powerful arguments as those advanced in favor of the belief in the eternity of matter. The objection that the Absolutely Infinite and Perfect could not have produced imperfect and finite beings, made by the Neoplatonists to the theory of "creatio ex nihilo," is not removed by attributing the existence of all mundane things to the action of nature; for the latter is only a link in the chain of causes having its origin in the First Cause, which is God.

"Creatio ex Nihilo."

Having established that revelation and not speculative philosophy is the only trusty guide to the knowledge of God, the Jew proceeds to demonstrate the superiority of his religion. The preservation of the Israelites in Egypt and in the wilderness, the delivery to them of the Law on Mount Sinai, and their later history are to him so many evident proofs of their superiority. He impresses upon the king the fact that the favor of God can be won only by accomplishing the precepts in all their minutiæ, and that those precepts are binding only on the adherents of Judaism. The question why the Jews only were thus favored with God's instruction is as little worthy of consideration as would be the question why the animals had not been created men. The Jew then shows that the immortality of the soul, resurrection, reward, and punishment are all implied in Scripture and are referred to in Jewish writings.

Superiority of Judaism.

In the second essay Judah enters into a detailed discussion of some of the theological questions hinted at in the preceding one. To these belongs in the first place that of the divine attributes. Judah rejects entirely the doctrine of essential attributes which had been propounded by Saadia and Baḥya. For him there is no difference between essential and other attributes. Either the attribute affirms a quality

in God, in which case essential attributes can not be applied to Him more than can any other, because it is impossible to predicate anything of Him, or the attribute expresses only the negation of the contrary quality, and in that case there is no harm in using any kind of attributes. Accordingly Judah divides all the attributes found in the Bible into three classes: active, relative, and negative, which last class comprises all the essential attributes expressing mere negations.

Question of Attributes.

The question of attributes being closely connected with that of anthropomorphism, Judah enters into a lengthy discussion on this point. Although opposed to the conception of the corporeality of God, as being contrary to Scripture, he would consider it wrong to reject all the sensuous concepts of anthropomorphism, as there is something in these ideas which fills the human soul with the awe of God.

The remainder of the essay comprises dissertations on the following subjects: the excellence of Palestine, the land of prophecy, which is to other countries what the Jews are to other nations; the sacrifices; the arraugement of the Tabernacle, which, according to Judah, symbolizes the human body; the prominent spiritual position occupied by Israel, whose relation to other nations is that of the heart to the limbs; the opposition evinced by Judaism toward asceticism, in virtue of the principle that the favor of God is to be won only by carrying out His precepts, and that these precepts do not command man to subdue the inclinations suggested by the faculties of the soul, but to use them in their due place and proportion; the excellence of the Hebrew language, which, although sharing now the fate of the Jews, is to other languages what the Jews are to other nations and what Palestine is to other lands.

The third essay is devoted to the refutation of the teachings of Karaism and to the history of the development of the oral tradition, the Talmud. Judah ha-Levi shows that there is no means of carrying out the precepts without having recourse to oral tradition; and that such tradition has always existed may be inferred from many passages of the Bible, the very reading of which is dependent upon it, since there were no vowels and accents in the original text.

The fourth essay opens with an analysis of the various names of God found in the Bible. According to Judah, all these names, with the exception of the Tetragrammaton, are attributes expressing the various states of God's activity in the world. The multiplicity of names no more implies a multiplicity in His essence than do the multifarious influences of the rays of the sun on various bodies imply a multiplicity of suns. To the intuitive vision of the prophet the actions proceeding from God appear under the images of the corresponding human actions. Angels are God's messengers; and either they exist for a length of time, or they are created only for special purposes.

Names of God.

From the names of God and the essence of angels Judah passes to his favorite theme and shows that the views of the Prophets are a purer source for a knowledge of God than the teachings of the philosophers. Although he professes great reverence for the "Sefer Yeẓirah," from which he quotes many passages, he hastens to add that the theories of Abraham elucidated therein had been held by the patriarch before God revealed Himself to him. The essay concludes with examples of the astronomical and medical knowledge of the ancient Hebrews.

The fifth and last essay is devoted to a criticism of the various philosophical systems known at the time of the author. Judah attacks by turns the Aristotelian cosmology, psychology, and metaphysics. To the doctrine of EMANATION, based, according to him, upon the Aristotelian cosmological principle that no simple being can produce a compound being, he objects in the form of the following query: "Why did the emanation stop at the lunar sphere? Why should each intelligence think only of itself and of that from which it issued and thus give birth to one emanation, thinking not at all of the preceding intelligences, and thereby losing the power to give birth to many emanations?" He argues against the theory of Aristotle that the soul of man is his thought and that only the soul of the philosopher will be united, after the death of the body, with the active intellect. "Is there," he asks, "any curriculum of the knowledge one has to acquire to win immortality? How is it that the soul of one man differs from that of another? How can one forget a thing once thought of?" and many other questions of the kind. He shows himself especially severe against the Motekallamin, whose arguments on the creation of the world, on God and His unity, he terms dialectic exercises and mere phrases.

Arguments Against Philosophy.

However, Judah ha-Levi is against philosophical speculation only in matters concerning Creation, God, etc.; and he follows the Greek philosophers in treating of the genesis of the material world. Thus he admits that every being is made up of matter and form. The movement of the spheres formed the sphere of the elements, from the fusion of which all beings were created. This fusion, which varied according to climate, gave to matter the potentiality to receive from God a variety of forms, from the mineral, which is the lowest in the scale of creation, to man, who is the highest because of his possessing, in addition to the qualities of the mineral, vegetable, and animal, a hylic intellect which is influenced by the active intellect. This hylic intellect, which forms the rational soul, is a spiritual substance and not an accident, and is therefore imperishable.

The discussion concerning the soul and its faculties leads naturally to the question of free will. Judah upholds the doctrine of free will against the Epicureans and the Fatalists, and endeavors to reconcile it with the belief in God's providence and omniscience (see FREE WILL).

Although the "Cuzari" failed to stem the philosophical flood which, at the time of the appearance of the work, was inundating Judaism, it exercised a great influence upon the theologians. It was much studied; and traces of it are to be found in all the theological and cabalistic writings of the Middle Ages, not excluding even the Zohar, which borrowed from it several passages, among

Influence of the "Cuzari."

them the saying, "Israel is among the nations as the heart among the limbs" (Zohar, iii. 221b; comp. Jacob Emden, "Mitpaḥat Sefarim," i., § 5; Jellinek, "Beiträge zur Gesch. der Kabbala," i. 76). Besides the Hebrew translation of Judah ibn Tibbon, which passed through eleven editions (1st ed. Fano, 1506; last ed. by David Cassel, Leipsic, 1869), another rendering into Hebrew was made by Judah ben Isaac Cardinal, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The study of the "Cuzari" seems to have become very popular in the fifteenth century. No less than six commentaries on it appeared in the first half of that century; namely: three by Solomon ben Menahem Frat Maimon and his two pupils; one by Jacob ben Ḥayyim Vidal Farissol, under the title "Bet Ya'aḳob"; one by Solomon ben Judah Vivas, entitled "Ḥeshek Shelomoh"; and one by Nathanael Caspi. In addition to these commentaries, which are still extant in manuscript, there have been published in the various editions of the "Cuzari" the commentaries of Judah Mercato (1589–94), Isaac Satanow (1795), Israel Zamosc (1796), G. Brecher (Prague, 1838), and Israel Halevy (Presburg, 1860). The "Cuzari" was translated into Latin by Buxtorf (1660); into Spanish by Jacob Abendana (1663); and into German by Jolowicz and David Cassel. Another German version, translated from the Arabic original, was published at Breslau in 1885 by Hartwig Hirschfeld, who two years later critically edited the Arabic and Hebrew texts (Leipsic, 1887).

S. Landauer has shown that v., § 12 of the "Cuzari," in which Ha-Levi gives the views of the "philosophers" on the soul (2d ed. Cassel, pp. 385–400; ed. Hirschfeld, pp. 310–325), is practically an excerpt from the "Psychology of Ibn Sina" (Avicenna) published in part by him ("Z. D. M. G." xxix. 335). Corrections of the Arabic text are given by Goldziher in "Z. D. M. G." xli. 691, of the Hebrew text by Horovitz in "Monatsschrift," xli. 264. In regard to the passage i., § 68 on the eternity of the universe, see the remarks of Kaufmann in "Monatsschrift," xxxiii. 208, and Hirschfeld, *ib.* p. 374. Portions of the Arabic text have been published by Neubauer in "Miscellany of Hebrew Literature," i. 62, and by B. Goldberg in "Ha-Maggid," v. 183.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Munk, *Mélanges*, pp. 483 *et seq.*; Eisler, *Vorlesungen über die Jüdische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, i. 81 *et seq.*; *Cuzari*, ed. Cassel, Introduction; Kaufmann, *Die Attributenlehre*, pp. 119 *et seq.*; idem, in *J. Q. R.* i. 451 *et seq.*; A. Frankl-Grün, *Die Ethik des Juda Halevi*; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.* p. 402; Bernfeld, *Da'at Elohim*, pp. 182 *et seq.*; Harkavy, in *Keneset Yisrael*, i. 77.

G. I. Br.

JUDAH HA-LEVI BEN SHALOM (known also under the name **Judan**): Palestinian amora of the fourth generation; flourished in the second half of the fourth century. Few halakot of his are recorded in the Jerusalem Talmud. He appears as the opponent of Hananiah in the question of the fine imposed upon those who illegally make use of tithes (Yer. Ter. 44c; Ket. 27b), and as opposing Mattaniah in a halakic matter (Yer. Shab. 13d; Giṭ. 44b). A question addressed to Jose on the laws of inheritance is given under Judah's name (Dem. 25c), and he is found instructing a Babylonian amora named Phinehas in a question of ritual ('Er. 22d). Judah's activity in the field of the Halakah was rather limited; his name occurs more frequently in midrashic and haggadic literature. Some of his haggadot are very interesting; for instance, that concerning the love of God for men: "When we are worthy and have good actions to our credit, then God gives us our reward; but when we have nothing of our own, then God blesses us for the sake of His love; for He is good" (Midr. Teh. to Ps. lxxii.). Judah is the author also of the following sayings: "Nothing causes more harm than women; the sin of the golden calf caused the death of only 3,000 persons, while that of the women of Shittim caused the death of 24,000. Therefore is it said: 'And I find woman more bitter than death'" (Eccl. vii. 26). "Joseph resisted the enticements of the wife of his master; at the moment of temptation the image of his father appeared to him and said: 'Joseph, the names of thy brothers will at a future time be on the stones of the breastplate; wilt thou be satisfied that thy name should be missing?'" (Tan., Wayesheb, p. 94).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Heilprin, *Seder ha-Dorot*, ii. 183; Frankel, *Mebo*, 95b; Bacher, *Ag. Pal. Amor.* iii. 432-443.

S. S. I. Br.

JUDAH LÖB BEN JOSHUA (HÖSCHKE): Rabbi at Busk, Poland (now Austrian Galicia), in the seventeenth century. He was the author of "Leb Aryeh," containing homilies on the Pentateuch and the Five Megillot, published at Wilmersdorf in 1673.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 1333.

S. S. I. Br.

JUDAH LÖB BEN SIMEON, or **LEO SIMONIS**: Rabbi and physician; born at Frankfort-on-the-Main about the middle of the seventeenth century; died at Mayence in 1714. He studied medicine and philosophy in Padua, where in 1674 he obtained the degree of doctor of medicine and of philosophy. About a year after his return to Frankfort, David Claudius of Giessen solicited his collaboration on the Bible which he was about to edit with Latin annotations. The young scholar accepted the offer, and he wrote a preface to the work (Frankfort, 1677).

Judah's medical work did not interfere with his study of the Talmud and the Cabala; so that, owing to his great erudition, he was named "dayyan" of Frankfort. He occupied that office till 1687, when he was called as chief rabbi to Mayence, which office he held for twenty-seven years.

While he was at Mayence he wrote: "Yad Yehudah" (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1678), a commentary on Menahem Azariah da Fano's "'Asarah Ma'amarot," and "Zera' Yehudah" (Offenbach, 1721), a commentary on the Passover Haggadah. Some responsa of his are to be found in the collection "Shah Ya'aḳob" by Jacob ha-Kohen Poppers of Frankfort-on-the-Main.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 1373; Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* i. 1357, 1358; iii. 749b, 1358e; iv. 749b; D. Kaufmann, in *Z. D. M. G.* xlv. 493–504; Horowitz, *Jüdische Aerzte*, pp. 33, 34; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 422.

D. M. Sel.

JUDAH LÖW (LÖB, LIWA) BEN BEZALEEL (known also as **Der Hohe Rabbi Löw**): Austrian Talmudist and mathematician; born about