I've highlight a few passages that grabbed my attention as I was skimming parts of the Notebooks. - T.L.
1. Translations: ‘relating to divine worship’ and ‘liturgical poetry’.

2. In DD ch. 32, Deronda’s visit to the Orthodox synagogue in Frankfurt illustrates the meanings of several Hebrew terms: ‘The Reader had mounted to the *almemor* or platform, and the service began’ (339). GE and GHL attended evening service in this synagogue on 1 August 1873 (GHL Diary).

3. GE later pencilled in the alternative spelling ‘Chizan’. The role of the precentor or cantor in the Orthodox liturgy is demonstrated in the Frankfurt synagogue in DD ch. 32: ‘the chant of the Chizan’s or Reader’s grand wide-ranging voice with its passage from monotony to sudden cries’ (339).


5. Actually, thirteen years plus one day.

6. Steinischneider, p. 376, refers to ‘Derech Erez’ as the title of a tractate on ethics and courtesy, but does not use the German words meaning ‘customs of the country’ or ‘manners’.

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**The inner life of modern Judaism**

The source of these notes from *Das innere Leben des modernum Judenthum*, translated from English into German ‘in R. Hirschfeld’ (B 129), has not been traced. For convenience, the author is referred to below as ‘Hirschfeld’.

Hirschfeld’s material demonstrates two separate but related internal divisions in nineteenth-century Judaism: between the Reform movement and Orthodox (or ‘ultra-orthodox’) practitioners; and between Sephardim (descendants of Jews who lived in Spain or Portugal before the 1492 expulsion) and Ashkenazim (German, French, Polish, and Lithuanian Jews).

The Sephardim accepted Joseph Caro’s *Shulchan Aruch*, or ‘Prepared Table’ (1564), as an authoritative précis of rabbinical law; but the Ashkenazim, who tended to be more fundamentalist and rigorous in religious practices, thought Caro too liberal and permissive and adhered to a work by a Polish Talmudist, Moses Isserles, who provided a *Mappah* or ‘Tablecloth’ for Caro’s ‘Table’ (B 126). Their stricter practices are reflected in the spelling of *Abos* – indicating the Ashkenazi pronunciation of the Hebrew *Avot* – in GE’s notes on the ‘heaps of prohibitions’ hedging round the Sabbath (B 126v).

In London, cultural and social differences also influenced relations between Sephardim and Ashkenazim. Bevis Marks, the ‘richly endowed’ Sephardi synagogue, was established in 1701 (B 128v). In the following century, the Sephardim came to be greatly outnumbered by Ashkenazi immigrants. The newcomers were, for the most part, less prosperous in worldly pursuits and less well educated than their Sephardi precursors. According to Hirschfeld, ‘in their social position, intelligence & wealth, [the Sephardim] used to be far the superior’ (B 128v), whereas many Ashkenazim, in his view, after two ‘centuries in deep darkness’ were still mediaeval in their garb and ‘narrow rabbinical opinions’. ‘All scientific study’ was held to be heretical, and ‘it was decried as un-Jewish to learn the language of the country’. Speaking ‘the language of the country’ was, in the opinion of these ‘ultra-rabbinical’ or Orthodox Jews, the first step towards assimilation to other heathen ways, ‘Hukot Hagoyim’ (B 124).
Language differences also separated Sephardim from Ashkenazim, who spoke the 'Jew-German dialect' (B 127v), Yiddish, disparaged by Hirschfeld as 'the Jargon or Kauderwalsch spoken by the Jews only' (B 123v). GE's interest in this dialect is evident in her repeated notebook references to 'Wagenseil's Belehrung der Judisch-Deutschen Red- und Schreibart (Kauderwalsch)' (B 193v, Pf 711 54, and Pf 710 41), and in her many pages of notes from Tendlau's collection of proverbs in German with a vigorous mixture of Yiddish idioms, Sprichwörter und Redensarten (Pf 711 97a, 98a, and 101 to 104). Yiddish, as a vulgar tongue, may seem to be merely a degraded form of German. Deronda's reaction is typical of someone who knows German well, having studied in Germany (DD ch. 34: 369). In the Juden-gasse in Frankfurt, Deronda hears 'a dingy ... shouting in the same 'Jew-dialect'; the language of their trading is part of what he finds repellent in 'vulgar Jews' (DD ch. 32: 338). GE's aptly chosen dingy ('a recent word of obscure origin ... common in speech, but not in writing') 1 conveys Deronda's mingled disgust for both the dirty aspect of these men and their speech patterns.

The mixing of Jewish-German dialect with English is presented much more appealingly in the next chapter; a degree of sentiment about childish speech softens the realistic mimicry of the young Cohen children's accents. Adelaide Rebekah's use of the familiar Ashkenazi or Yiddish pronunciation, 'Shabbes', for Sabbath, is promptly translated or 'explained' for the English gentleman by her parents:

'Shlav'm Shabbes fyock on ...'
'Her Sabbath frock, she means ... She'll have her Sabbath frock on this evening.' (DD ch. 33: 363)

We might compare Jacob Cohen's 'we'll shwop' with Totty Poyser: 'Munny, me want half-a-toun in my bots'. 2 The church-going Totty is no less mercenary than the Jewish pawnbroker's son, with his Yiddish-flavoured English, which converts the 's' to 'sh'. Such a 'corrective comparison' may, as GE implies, make us conscious, like Deronda, of 'falling into unfairness' in our judgements or prejudices (DD ch. 32: 338).

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1 OED: an 1837 reference is cited.

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The Sephardi equivalent to Yiddish is Ladino, the Judaeo-Spanish dialect. The early Sephardi immigrants to England, proud of their descent, used only the Spanish language, which prevailed even to the latest time in public notices even after it had been superseded in the pulpit by English. But the Sephardim now form scarcely the twentieth part of the English Israelites ... (B 128v)

Hirschfeld's references to English Israelites, a liturgy in the English language, and a pulpit rather than an almemor, all signal his Reform orientation. Reform Jews in London not only adopted 'the language of the country' in daily life and in their liturgy, but also published an English translation of the Mishnah (see the headnote to 'Extracts from the Mishnah', B 110 to 111) and identified their nationality as a mixture of British and Jewish. In this they followed the example set in the ancient Jewish community of Worms, by Jews whose ancestors had migrated there many centuries earlier — according to their legend, 'as early as the Benjamite disgrace' (B 159v) — and who in 1848 declared:

We must no longer utter prayers for the return to Palestine while we are wholeheartedly attached to the German fatherland ... We must not mourn in sackcloth and ash the destruction of the Temple when we so long ago came into the possession of a fatherland that has become so dear to us. 1

In their view, prayers uttered by most German Jews for their personal return to Israel were not sincere. The Orthodox viewed such assimilation as a defection to heathen ways; the Reform proponents were offended by accusations that they were not good practising Jews — that they did not observe the Law. Thus the authority of the Oral Law became a contentious issue.

Hirschfeld's discussion of the 'Origin of the Talmud' (B 124, 125, 126) may be compared to GE's earlier notes on the Mishnah (especially B 106, 107v, 108v); but the tone of his account of the gradual establishment of 'the doctrine of a divine oral law' suggests a connection in GE's mind between these notes and those from the English translation of Eighteen Treatises from the Mishna. The reference to '2 synagogues of the reformed or British Israelites in London - Burton St., Margaret St.' (B 128v) strengthens

1 Quoted in the Encyclopedia Judaica, 3, 774.
The inner life of modern Judaism

the link, for Benjamin Elkin, the publisher of the Mishnah translation, was a founding member of the West London Synagogue of British Jews in Burton Street. According to Elkin, the idea of translating the Mishnah arose 'during one of the discussions that took place at the vestry board of the Sphardim synagogue' about the proposed 'improvement' of the liturgy. Elkin, by way of conciliation, '[took] this occasion further to observe', that so far from there being any dogma amongst [the Burton Street Community] as to the Divine authority of the Oral Law, the most ultra believer in that doctrine might become a member of the West London Synagogue of British Jews.¹

Elkin's term, 'the most ultra believer', is echoed by Hirschfeld's reference to 'the ultra-rabbinical Jew' (compare GE's headings for B 124v, 125v, and 126v). It is this 'strict rabbinical' Jew whose liturgy includes prayers of such 'mountainous extent' that 'the worshipper must utter about 440 words a minute' (B 123v, 124v).

Elkin's appeal to the precedent of a German translation of the Mishnah - his claim that 'the British Jew' should be given 'the same free access' to its pages - is a reminder that the centres of the Reform Movement were in Germany: in Frankfurt, Breslau and Berlin. It is in Frankfurt that Deronda meets a 'Jewish youth, who entered cordially into his wanting not the fine new building of the Reformed but the old Rabbinical school of the orthodox' (DD ch. 32: 338).

Identifying the source of these notes will no doubt bring into more precise focus some connections between 'English Israelites' in London and the German centres of the Reform movement. In Daniel Deronda, GE occludes doctrinal issues, presenting without comment a broad range of Jewish observance. The scene of the most subtle complexity in this respect is the Cohen family's celebration of the Sabbath, while accommodating as their guest a heathen and a customer (DD ch. 34).

1 Elkin's anonymous preface to Eighteen Treatises from the Mishna is cited in his Letters Addressed to the Editor of 'The Voice of Jacob', pp. 5, 29.

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The Jews in Russia, Poland, Turkey & Germany were during the 17th & 18th centuries in deep darkness. Nothing was studied by them except the Talmud. The Hebrew Bible itself was little studied & the able authors of the 12th century such as Aben Ezra, Kimchi &c. who were familiar with the old classical Hebrew, were entirely neglected.¹ Talmudism had become an oppressive despotism. The Polish seminaries from which all the Rabbis came systematically hindered all scientific study - & even prohibited grammar & philosophy. It was decried as un-Jewish to learn the language of the country. To have any idea at variance with mediaeval opinion, or to pursue a business which did not agree with the narrow rabbinical opinions of the time, nay, to dress in any other garb than the long garment of the Middle Ages, was regarded as an apostacy from the faith, & held up to scorn as 'Hukot Hagoym', fashions of the heathens.² Such Hebrews - many such - are still to be found in the East, Russia, Poland, & perhaps in Alsace.

Hirschfeld

Origin of the Talmud³

The fundamental idea of the Talmud is that of the Oral or traditional Law supposed to have been given to Moses on Sinai. Probably, it was in the time of Ezra or soon after his death that the attempt to bring the ordinances of the Pentateuch into harmony with the altered political & social conditions of the age originated that traditional interpretation which was the nucleus of the 'oral law'. The mass of the Jews being then ignorant of Hebrew, having lost it during the captivity, were dependent for the interpretation of the sacred text /125/ on the Sopherim or scribes.⁴

The doctrine of a divine oral law gradually established itself as a conviction. Rabbinical schools were founded for its discussion & development, & the political disasters in 70 & 133 AC caused no important interruption of their activity. The rabbins continued their discussions interweaving the subtilties of the age with the rationalism of the Sadducees, the mysticism of the Essenes, & the Cabala - a kind of theological metaphysics in which the spiritual elements

¹ Here GE added a cross-reference to the note on the Hebrew prayer book and 'the life of the ultra-rabbinical Jew' (B 123v, 124v, 125v, 126v).
² See 'Chukot Hagoym' on Pf 711 91a and the 'Jewish Chronicle' section headnote.
³ GE's heading for B 125.
⁴ For a note on the Sopherim, see B 140.
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of Judaism with the superstitions of Babylon & the Neo-Platonism of Egypt are blent together. 1 In the beginning of the 3d century all the traditions of the oral law which could be remembered were written down & incorporated as the Mishna. 2 This committal to writing was bitterly condemned by many Rabbis, who held that the authority of the oral law ceased in its ceasing to be oral. The redactor of the Mishna is constantly stated to have been Rabbi Jehuda, son of the Patriarch Simon ben Gamaliel. But modern critics like Rapoport, Luzzato 3 &c. find in it traces of a later date & believe that Rabbi Jehuda did indeed for his own satisfaction write a Mishna, but not for public use, & that his Mishna cannot be the same as that we possess. Either the Mishna was never perfect or a great part is lost. It is based on the Pentateuch of which it undertakes to explain the ordinances, yet much is omitted. Out of the Mishna & other sources of traditional learning, as Zifra (commentary on Leviticus), Zifri (commentary on 4 & 5 Buch Moses), Mechilta (commentary on Exodus), 4 arose the Talmud, also called Gemara – the two words meaning the same thing, the one having a Hebrew, the other an Aramaic, root. 4

Rabbi Simon of Cairo in the year 741 published a selection from the Talmudic theses: & somewhat later Rabbi Acha gave an extract from the Babylonian Talmud concerning the rules applicable to the weekly portions of the Pentateuch. This latter, called Schiltos, is not extant except in mutilated editions. From this time nothing more was done by the Babylonian schools. In 1040 they were closed. In the next century Maimonides published his Mishna Thora, in which he omitted all Talmudic disputations & on his own authority declared what was the explanation of the Law, where the Talmud had not done so. During subsequent centuries he was regarded as the pillar of rabbinism, but not so by his contemporaries, who attacked him as having no right to decide where the Talmudic authorities had failed to do so. His work was variously criticized till in the 14th century it was superseded by a compilation of Rabbi Jacob ben Ascher, Arba Turim. This work contains no less than 13,602 religious laws (Dinim), great parts of which are still retained

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1 GE later underlined, in pencil, 'superstitions of Babylon'.
2 GE later inserted 'But see 108' (i.e., B 107v), referring to her note, 'When was the Mishna written down?'
3 Solomon Rapoport (1790-1867) and Samuel David Luzzato (1800-1865).
4 Compare GE's earlier note on B 106. Buch for 'book' is a slip confirming that this is a running translation from a German source.

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in Barbary & other places where ultra-rabbinism reigns. In the 16th cent. Rabbi Joseph Karo published an improved edition called Schulchan Aruch, 1 which became the rabbinical law-book of the Sefardim. But the Polish, German, French & English Jews take as a standard the work of the same name by Rabbi Moses Iserless aus Krakow, 1573. Hirschfeld

1/23v/ Hebrew Prayer Book

Before Moses Mendelssohn the Bible was only translated into the Jargon or Kauderwalsch spoken by the Jews only. In this Jargon too the travelling mendicant preachers (called Maggid & Mocheach) used to preach. To speak a pure dialect would have laid them open to excommunication, Cherem.

‘Die Liebe zu den Ihrigen war es allein die einen Sonnenblick auf dieses Bild tiefen Schattens warf.’ 2

In this hour of need appeared Mendelssohn, born in Dessau 1729. He translated the Thora into classical German. It was not till after Mendelssohn’s death (1786) that a movement took place towards the alteration of the Liturgy.

The history of the Hebrew prayer book is remarkable. After the destruction of the Temple, a form of prayer understood to have been framed by Ezra, Haggai & other members of the Great Synagogue took the place of the sacrifices & offerings. For 1000 years additions were made to this formulary, partly in prayers written by individual pious men, partly in such as were made for special occasions & subsequently retained. Then there were whole chapters from the Mishna, a complete list of hermeneutical rules (from the Talmud) for the interpretation of the Bible, various treatises of a cabbalistic & esoteric character, hyper-poetic hymns, about Angels, Demons, magic, adjurations &c. A modern, not unfriendly, critic said that the Jews ‘sang Logic & prayed metaphysics’. The prayers were of mountainous extent. The daily morning devotions fill 40 close pages; those for the Sabbath morning 62. In all orthodox synagogues the worship still takes place in this form, & with this task before him the worshipper must utter about 440 words a minute.

1 GE added above the line ‘betreiteren Tisch’ ('prepared table').
2 Translation: 'It was the love for their own that cast the only ray of sunlight on this picture of deep shadow.'
The ultra-rabbinical Jew goes to the synagogue soon after daybreak, where the service lasts 2 hours on Mondays & Thursdays & 1½ on the other days. Till lately it was the custom (& still in Poland, Russia, & parts of Austria) for the officer of the Synagogue to go round to the houses & knock at the door before daybreak, & call to prayer. Then he must utter certain forms of blessing or praise to the number of a hundred daily – when it thunders, or he sees a rainbow, when a great personage passes by, when he eats or drinks &c. He must visit the sick, wash the dead, attend funerals. And except on Fridays & Sundays pass 2 hours of the evening in the Bes Hammedrasch – the place where the Talmud is read & discussed. He observes five entire fasts besides the one instituted by Moses (Yom Kippur) & 30 half fasts (till midday). On the first evening of every New Moon he must assemble in an open place with not fewer than nine others to pray that the light of the moon may be increased. On the Eve of Passch he goes round the house with a spoon & a feather to gather any crumb of leavened bread (some being purposely deposited in order to be gathered up). At the feast of Purim he takes a small hammer into the Synagogue, to beat loudly on his seat at the mention of Haman, the enemy of the Jews. The women are not concerned in the chief part of these ceremonies. On them it is incumbent to attend to the ritual of cookery, & avoid the fatal contact of butter & flesh, for which two sets of utensils are kept.3

1 This is GE’s heading on B 124v. B 125v is headed ‘The ultra-rabbinical Jew’ and B 126v ‘Ultra-rabbinical Judaism’.
2 GE added in pencil above the line, ‘v. p. 131’, i.e., B 130v, a reference to her notes from Hyam Isaacs on the ‘time of praying for the New Moon’. For notes on the Minyan, or quorum of ten Jewish men, see Pf 711 95 and 103-4. The latter is translated on Pf 710 27.
3 Deronda’s mother, decades afterwards, resents her father’s attempt to force her ‘to be what he called “the Jewish woman” under pain of his curse ... [She] was ... to dread lest a bit of butter should touch a bit of meat’ (DD ch. 51: 587).

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The life of the ultra-rabbinical Jew1

Jacobson built a synagogue for reformed worship in Berlin but it was not allowed to remain open. Then in 1819 one was built in Hamburg.

In general the Jews are divided into 3 classes: the strict rabbinical, the progressists, & the ultra-reformers. The great temple built 2 years ago in Berlin belongs to the second.

The ultra-orthodox or rabbinical Jew goes to the synagogue soon after daybreak, where the service lasts 2 hours on Mondays & Thursdays & 1½ on the other days. Till lately it was the custom (& still in Poland, Russia, & parts of Austria) for the officer of the Synagogue to go round to the houses & knock at the door before daybreak, & call to prayer. Then he must utter certain forms of blessing or praise to the number of a hundred daily – when it thunders, or he sees a rainbow, when a great personage passes by, when he eats or drinks &c. He must visit the sick, wash the dead, attend funerals. And except on Fridays & Sundays pass 2 hours of the evening in the Bes Hammedrasch – the place where the Talmud is read & discussed. He observes five entire fasts besides the one instituted by Moses (Yom Kippur) & 30 half fasts (till midday). On the first evening of every New Moon2 he must assemble in an open place with not fewer than nine others to pray that the light of the moon may be increased. On the Eve of Passch he goes round the house with a spoon & a feather to gather any crumb of leavened bread (some being purposely deposited in order to be gathered up). At the feast of Purim he takes a small hammer into the Synagogue, to beat loudly on his seat at the mention of Haman, the enemy of the Jews. The women are not concerned in the chief part of these ceremonies. On them it is incumbent to attend to the ritual of cookery, & avoid the fatal contact of butter & flesh, for which two sets of utensils are kept.3

1 The beginning of the new day, in Jewish tradition, at sundown rather than sunrise is significant for the imagery of the novel. See, especially, Mordecai’s expectant meditations on Blackfriars Bridge (DD ch. 40: 459-61); the ‘golden sky’ in the West is, as Barbara Hardy points out, ‘an appropriate image for a beginning’ (Hardy, p. 896).
2 Lines from Heine’s ‘Prinzessin Sabbath’ form an epigraph for DD ch. 34: 365.

His name is

Israel. He has been changed by an eldrich spell, into a dog.

... But every Friday night, as dusk falls, suddenly the spell is lifted, and the dog turns, once again, into a human being.

This translation is by S. S. Prawer, in his Heine’s Jewish Comedy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 554-5. Although Prawer does not mention GE, his Study of [Heine’s] Portraits of Jews and Judaism provides a significant context for considering not only her essays about Heine’s work, but also her portraits of Jews and Judaism. Heine’s acquaintance with Rahel Varnhagen von Ense, whose husband was a friend of both Goethe and GHL, and with many authors cited in the Pforzheimer and Berg notebooks (Zunz, Delitzsch, Jost, Kalisch, Karpeles, and Munk), illustrates the particular web of multiple interconnections in nineteenth-century German and Jewish culture and society. Although Heine is mentioned just once in the Berg Notebook, GE’s extensive familiarity with his writing is confirmed by McCobb, pp. 193-201.
3 Thus in GE’s note; the correct form is Scholem Aleichem.
4 ‘Who can find a virtuous woman? for her price is far above rubies ... Her children rise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her’ (Proverbs xxxi, 10-28). Mordecai quotes this in praise of his mother: ‘Her children arise up and call her blessed’ (DD ch. 43: 503). Her husband, however, does not much care whether she is dead or alive (DD ch. 52: 687).
At the Sabbath meal poor guests are received. No cooking done. Between services & meals works of charity are done or a walk taken within the rabbinical limits – namely 2000 amos or steps. With the first star, either worship is attended in synagogue, or at home the 'Havdole' or domestic devotion is performed. Before the Havdole a hymn is sung to Elias, of which the refrain is, 'O prophet Elias (thrice repeated), come quickly with the Messiah the Son of David.' After the Havdole the prophet Elias is again in a mysterious or cabalistic way called upon, the 5 Hebrew letters of his name being 109 times transposed. No work allowed except the making of a coffin for one to be buried the next morning. The Sabbath is hedged round with heaps of prohibitions – Abos or greater & Toldos, or lesser. Of the latter – no man may carry a stick or umbrella – or a pocket-handkerchief, unless it is wound round his waist – or an amulet unless it be from a famous sage. That Rabbi Meir, in opposition to R. Josè, allowed a cripple to use his wooden leg is regarded as a great indulgence.

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The Jews in Holland

The great Sephardim Synagogue in Amsterdam built 1675. Before this three others had been built. In the course of the 18th century there was such a stream of Polish & German Israelites into Holland that they soon outnumbered the Spanish & Portuguese Jews who had formerly constituted the elite or aristocracy of the race. The old Portuguese were worthy of all respect. Their wealth was employed for the noblest objects: they built & endowed synagogues, schools, hospitals & asylums, & showed the highest patriotism towards the country that protected them. They willingly taxed themselves to support the Netherlands against Louis XIV, gave thousands of gulden on behalf of the Huguenot refugees, & aided William III in his famous expedition in 1688. In the memorable crisis of 1784, they saved the state – as is acknowledged in a letter still preserved in the archives of the Synagogue, addressed to Isak de Pinto. There are more than 86,000 Jews in Holland – men of the highest reputation in all branches. Among the chief names are Lipman, van Mesrith, Godefroi, Mulder, Goudsmid and Hartogh.

In Russia there are 200,000 Jews. In Poland 780,000, or more than 1/5 of the whole population.¹ In these countries they are still dreadfully oppressed.

¹ For other notes on Jewish population numbers, see B 194, Pf 711 22, Pf 707 1, and the newspaper article on the 'Jewish Population of the World' for 1878, attached to the inside front cover of Pf 710.

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The Jews in England

From the expulsion of the Jews under Edward I, nothing was heard of them in England till 1655 when Menasse ben Israel was sent as an envoy from the Jews in Holland to ask for the repeal of Edward's edict of banishment. It seems that a synagogue in King Street, Duke's Place was built in 1656, but by & by there were petitions for the maintenance of the edict, & the Jews were so maltreated by the mob that they entreated protection from Charles II & received it. But persecutions were nevertheless continued. Not till 1723 did the Jews get themselves recognized as British subjects, & were allowed to take the oath of Abjuration.

By their spirited monetary aid in 1745 they rescued the country from bankruptcy, & the government was able to get a bill of naturalization for Jews born in England. But a storm was raised in consequence & the government was actually compelled to revoke the bill. Thus checked, the Jews contented themselves with an obscure life in Cripplegate, Bishopsgate, Aldgate & Whitechapel. But from a correspondence of Joshua van Oven with Colquhoun, secretary of state, it appears that at the beginning of this century their condition was changed for the worse & that they were in poverty – van Oven desiring that they should be freed from the payment of the ordinary Poor rate, they having their own poor to maintain. Abraham Goldsmid came to their aid, built a great hospital at Mile End, since removed to Lower Norwood. In 1824, the Jews were made admissible to the London Guilds. The emancipation of the Catholics in 1829 induced Isaac Lyon Goldsmid to hope that the same citizenship would be granted to the Jews. In 1830 the motion was made by Sir Robert Grant & passed the first reading by a majority of 80, but was thrown out on the second by a majority of 63. In 1835 David Solomon was made Sheriff of London & Middlesex. In 1847 Sir Robert Peel moved for the removal of the disabilities which hindered Alderman Solomon in the discharge of his functions – which was granted by both houses. In 1846 Baron Rothschild was elected member for the city, but not till July 26 1858 could he take his place in Parliament. In the present Parliament there are seven Jews – members for London, Greenwich, Reading, Dover, Hith, Aylesbury & Dewsbury. As there are only 60,000 Jews in England, they are more fully represented than any religious body except the Church of England.
There is a strong contrast in the educational condition of the Jews now from what it was at the beginning of the century. There is the Jewish Free School in Ebenezer Square founded in 1816, now removed to Bell Lane Spitalfields, in a building which receives 2000 children. Other schools are that in Greek Street, Soho, & the West Metropolitan in Red Lion Square.

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(Das innere Leben des modernen Judenthums aus dem Englischen übertragen, in R. Hirschfeld)

In the beginning of this century the Jews in England had a miserable position. Their numbers had increased out of proportion to their gains. There were very few rich among them - still fewer who could rank with our middle class. The children were only during a few hours in the week under an old ignorant Rabbi, with a cane in his hand, who for small pay taught them to read the Hebrew prayers, & to translate some chapters of the Pentateuch into Jew-German dialect which was as unintelligible to them as Hebrew itself. Even the elements of English remained utterly unknown to them. There were no Free Schools in which English was taught, only a few schools for the poor Spanish & Portuguese exclusively.¹

In DD ch. 40, Mr Ram illustrates the effects of their 'miserable position':

He was an elderly son of Abraham, whose childhood had fallen on the evil times at the beginning of this century, and who remained amid this smart and instructed generation as a preserved specimen, soaked through and through with the effect of the poverty and contempt which were the common heritage of most English Jews seventy years ago ... Mr Ram dealt ably in books in the same way that he would have dealt in tins of meat and other commodities - without knowledge or responsibility as to the proportion of rottenness or nourishment they might contain. (470)

GE’s allusions to improvements in education often employ double-edged irony. Her reference to 'this smart and instructed generation' may be compared with her ironic comment that 'Deronda’s undergraduateship occurred fifteen years ago, when the perfection of our university methods was not yet indisputable' (DD ch. 16: 164). Nevertheless, her chosen simile for Mr Ram’s wares, in that era of unreliable canning processes, implies a greater proportion of rottenness than nutrition in his second-hand copies of esoteric treatises. His ignorance of the contents of his books also serves as an analogue to the consequences of the schooling common in his childhood, when 'an old ignorant Rabbi' taught children to translate chapters of the Pentateuch 'into Jew-German dialect ... as unintelligible to them as Hebrew itself.'

The first synagogue in London was built by Sephardim in 1656. Their ritual differs somewhat from that of the Ashkenasim or Polish & German Jews. In their social position, intelligence & wealth the former used to be far the superior, & proud of their descent, used only the Spanish language, which prevailed even to the latest time in public notices even after it had been superseded in the pulpit by English. But the Sephardim now form scarcely the twentieth part of the English Israelites, & by their narrowness they have gradually alienated the best families so that at present they consist chiefly of emigrants from Barbary, Morocco, & Gibraltar. Their synagogue in Bevis Marks, City, is richly endowed, & there is a branch synagogue in Bryanston Square.

The synagogue in Duke’s Place was the first erected by the German & Polish Jews. During the last 25 years synagogues have been built in almost all parts of London & the provinces. The Portuguese Synagogue is nominally under the control of a Chacham, whose power however is very limited since the supreme authority is in the hands of a corporation called Mahamad. The German & Polish synagogues are under the direction of a Head Rabbi. There are 2 synagogues of the reformed or British Israelites in London - Burton St., Margaret St., Cavendish Sq. (another being built near Portman Sq.). These are under Prof. Marks. There is one in Manchester under Dr. Gottheil.
Ceremonies, customs, rites, and traditions of the Jews

B 129v, 130v, 131v, 132v, 130, 131, 132, 133, 133v, 134, 134v, 135, 135v

"Ceremonies, customs, rites & traditions of the Jews", by Hyam Isaacs, a converted Jew (Exeter), listed with other books on Pf 710 1, is the source of brief notes on Pf 711 55 and 56, as well as these thirteen pages in the Berg Notebook. GE probably read a borrowed copy of this book; references below are to the second edition (London: William Buck, [1830]), in the British Library. The full title-page reads:

Ceremonies, Customs, Rites, and Traditions of the Jews,
Interspersed with Gleanings from the Jerusalem and Babylonish Talmud and the Targums, Mishna, Gemara, Maimonides, Abarbanel, Zohar, Aben-Ezra, Oral Law, etc. etc.
In a manner never before published.
Also, a Copious Selection from some of their prayers, as translated and used by the Polish and German Jews, at the present time, in their different synagogues.

By Hyam Isaacs, A Converted Jew

As GE comments, 'this writer ... seems in spite of his conversion still to love the Jews better than the Xtians' (B 135). Indeed, unlike some converts to Christianity who have published tracts designed to persuade other Jews to join them in their new faith, Isaacs directs this publication towards those Gentiles who may be curious about Jewish religious practices. In his preface, addressed to 'Christian Readers', he even exhorts them to practise what they profess and preach: 'I have oftentimes prayed to God, that those who call themselves Christians, would be as strict in the gospel of Jesus Christ as the Jews are in the law' (p. 18). The preface is signed 'Hyam Isaacs, from the seed of Abraham'. The conversion of this 'Converted Jew' has not altered his love for his people: the substantive 'Jew' outweighs the epithet 'Converted' in his self-definition. He has neither taken a new baptismal name nor discarded his inheritance as a son of Abraham. Isaacs' motive for publication seems to be a desire for his fellows in his newly adopted faith to understand where he has come from. Even his later work, The Awakening of the Jews from their Slumbers (London: Ward, 1842), with its greater emphasis on conversion - or

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apostasy, in the view of '[his] brethren the Jews' (p. iv) - merely encourages his Christian readers to be 'more urgent in prayer for the speedy conversion of the Jews' (p. v).

That the ceremonies, customs, rites, and traditions of Christianity itself have a significant Jewish inheritance is of little concern to Isaacs. He makes no link between the Passover feast, celebrating the deliverance from bondage in Egypt, and the Last Supper of Jesus and his disciples; neither does he observe that the bread and wine of Christian ritual derive from the symbols of Pesach.1 Perhaps he was converted in Exeter by a non-ritualistic sect, such as the Plymouth Brethren. One may be confident that the links between the traditional Christian Year and the Jewish Year were not lost on GE, although she does not explicitly refer to them. Her notes from Isaacs on the Feasts and Fasts of the Jewish calendar (B 129v to 133) may be compared with the brief calendars on B 172v–173 and Pf 711 19–20.

1 For a reference work comparing the ceremonies, rites, customs, and traditions of Judaism and Christianity, see Dan Cohn-Sherbok, A Dictionary of Judaism and Christianity (Philadelphia: Trinity Press, 1991), in which may be traced the history of the development, derivation, and discarding of components of an inheritance that was once shared.
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Rosc Haschana

For 28 days before the first of Tisri the ram's horn is blown either by the chief rabbi or by a worthy member of the synagogue — generally after the service. On the new-year's day none break their fast until the horn has been blown. This is the 'feast of trumpets', Numbers 29, 1. Immediately after the portion of the law & the prophets has been read & the prayer said for the prosperity of the government under which they dwell, they blow the ram's horn — Schofar. As the synagogues in London will not hold the tenth part of the Jewesses & none of them dare break their fast unless they hear the sound of the trumpet, it is customary for the Jews to open their houses for the accommodation of the Jewesses (in the vicinity of the synagogue). On the second day, they go to the synagogue again & after nearly the same prayer as before, the portion of Genesis is read treating of Abraham offering up Isaac, & of God blessing him & his seed for ever — which portion is read to five persons called to the law for that purpose. If the first or second day is a Sabbath, the trumpet is not blown. [pp. 12, 38-40, 51-2]¹

Apple & Honey on the table at this festival? Kompert² [p. 32]
The days between new year's day & the day of atonement are reckoned the ten days of repentance. On New Year's Day God forgives sins, & decrees who shall die in the following year. [pp. 53, 17]³

'Ye shall afflict your souls.' [Leviticus xxiii, 27; Numbers xxix, 7]

¹ DD ch. 42 ends with a metaphorical shofar. 'Mordecai's high-pitched solemnity' brings to an end the evening's talk and makes 'the tone of phlegmatic discussion ... unseasonable': 'It was as if they had come together to hear the blowing of the shophar, and had nothing to do now but to disperse.' His speech is a new-year's summons, delivered in the Hand and Banner in lieu of a synagogue; and the club members hear a revised version of the traditional biblical readings for Rosc Haschana: 'The sons of Judah have to choose that God may again choose them' (500, 499).

No editorial explanation is given in the Clarendon edition for the substitution of 'unreasonable' for 'unseasonable' (Cabinet edition II, 397). The complex metaphoric cluster of seed and fruit in this discussion is more likely to have prompted GE to choose 'seasonable'.

² The Leopold Kompert reference has not been traced. GE read many of his short stories in 1872 and 1873; see McCobb, pp. 213–15.

³ GE marked this note with a marginal pencil line.

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Day of Atonement Iom Kippur, 10 Tishri — Sept. (New Moon)
The day before the day of expiation many Jews have a fowl killed, swing it nine times over their heads & pray to God that their sins may enter into this fowl. On the ninth day, before (the eve of) the atonement, an hour before the synagogue service, they have a feast, before going to the synagogue, where on this day the free will offering is made. Every half year the synagogue dues are paid. [PF711 55]

'It is awful & grand to see the reader & the chief Rabbi & many of the congregation in prayer upwards of three hours clad with a shroud in which they are to be buried.'¹ There are many who stand on the same spot from the ninth day at even to the tenth day at even.

The Mophter, from Numbers 29, 7-11.
The Musoph, or addition, Numb. 29, 7²

The fasts are total, & not mere abstinence from meat. [pp. 54-8]

Time of praying for the New Moon:³ They stand in groups of 40 or 50, one in the midst holding a candle that they may see to read their prayers. It is surprising to see with what earnestness they bow & leap toward the moon. 'May it be thy pleasure, O God, & the God of our Fathers! to continue to fill up the deficiencies of the moon; & that the light of the moon be as the light of the sun, as during the six days of the creation, before her diminution; as it is said, “the two great lights”.' [pp. 60-1]

¹ GE added a marginal note, 'vide p.', meaning to refer to B 137v. The custom of wearing one's shroud during the Yom Kippur service may explain Kalonymos's declaration: 'I am a wanderer, carrying my shroud with me' (DD ch. 60: 671). Klesmer also declares that he 'had better put [his] burial-clothes in [his] portmanteau and set off at once' (DD ch. 22: 225). His words seem to echo the phrase GE copied on Folger 13 120, from the Arabian Nights: 'He put his burial clothes in his portmanteau.' Travelling with one's own shroud is a Jewish and oriental practice, quite different from packing a 'suit of mourning', as Raffles does in his portmanteau in Middlemarch (ch 53: 517). The slip made by Pratt and Neufeldt (p. 148) illustrates just how foreign such customs may be to western readers. Isaacs observes that 'it is not uncommon for some [Jews] to have their shrouds twenty or thirty years by them' (p. 56).

² Originally, the additional sacrifice offered on festivals; now the additional service recited to replace the musoph sacrifice of Temple times.

³ GE marginally noted a cross-reference to B 125v: 'v. p. 126'.

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B 137, 138

'Aus dem inneren Leben der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter, Dr. A. Berliner' is one of several 'Books retained from T[rübner]' listed on Pf 711 114. GE's annotated copy of Abraham Adolf Berliner's work (Berlin: Julius Benzian, 1871) is in DWL. Her marginal comments - 'Honeyed teaching' on p. 4 and 'Sacredness of Education' on p. 5 - express the essence of her note on the child's introduction to primary schooling (B 137). Deronda, who goes to Eton as 'a gentleman's son must do' (DD ch. 16: 157), misses the sweetness of this fatherly introduction to learning. His father died when he was much too young to be carried to school in his father's mantle. But in retrospect, readers may realize that his 'dim sense of having been kissed very much, and surrounded by thin, cloudy, scented drapery, till his fingers caught in something hard, which hurt him, and he began to cry' must be a pre-verbal memory of his father - Talith, Tephillin, scent, and parental affection - rather than his mother, as he supposes (DD ch. 16: 150).

His mother's side of the story is revealed in the next page of notes (B 138), concerning the restriction of intellectual education to boys only. The Torah or 'doctrine' is a man's occupation; women are 'to sew, spin, knit'. This persistence of mediaeval ideas about women is disabling, and might even impair the survival of the Jewish faith. If a woman's prayers, as the elder Rabbis say, have 'no effect either for evil or for good', the piety of a woman like Mirah's mother would seem to be nullified. GE's novel, however, revises this view, so that Mrs Cohen's prayers are shown to be not utterly futile: 'What was prayed for has come to pass: Mirah has been delivered from evil' (DD ch. 46: 531). The recurrent visions of her mother, which comfort and sustain the lost daughter, seem to prove that women's prayers may indeed have some efficacy (DD ch. 20: 194–6). Furthermore, as Mirah says, it is the religious observances of a Jewess that effect the closer companionship between mother and daughter, despite their separation:

'But because my mother used to take me to the synagogue, and I remembered sitting on her knee and looking through the railing and hearing the chanting and singing, I longed to go ... our landlady was a

Jewess and observed her religion. I asked her to take me with her to the synagogue; and I read in her prayer-books and Bible, and ... asked her to buy me books of my own, for these books seemed a closer companionship with my mother: I knew that she must have looked at the very words and said them.' (DD ch. 20: 197–8)

Thus the written word provides for Mirah, as for Deronda, filial links with a previous generation.

For other Jewish daughters, however, the limits placed upon women are intolerable. Their place is at home, in the kitchen. They are 'to dread lest a bit of butter should touch a bit of meat; to think it beautiful that men should bind the tephillin on them, and women not' (DD ch. 51: 587). GE's marginal note on p. 7 of her copy of Berliner underlines this division: 'What is good for boys / what for girls'. Trouble will inevitably arise when a daughter refuses to be a 'good' girl; but in GE's novel the source of this trouble is the father's need for a son to carry on his work - even though he may be a scholar rather than a Dombey. The crux of the conflict between Daniel Charisi, 'a learned man', and his only child, is the traditional exemption of Jewish women from 'doctrine' or the study of the Torah. As his daughter recalls,

'I was to be what he called "the Jewish woman" under pain of his curse ... To have a pattern cut out - "this is the Jewish woman; this is what you must be ..." That was what my father wanted. He wished I had been a son ...' (DD ch. 51: 587, 588–9)

The last sentence tells what he really wanted. For him, a daughter's learning has no meaning. When his wife's sister teaches his daughter music and singing, he thinks nothing of it (DD ch. 51: 590).

GE's notes on B 138 give evidence for an alternate tradition, which encouraged learning for Jewish women. In the fifteenth century, Miriam, wife of Jochanan Luria, was a learned teacher of the Talmud. The two grandmothers of Ludwig Kalisch illustrate complementary forms of learning: one was literate in Hebrew, the other knew a wealth of Haggadic and other oral lore. Other Jewesses have headed great financial enterprises. GE's heading for this page was first 'Instructed women among the Jews'; as an afterthought she inserted 'Uninstructed & '. The alternate, learned, tradition for Jewish women is excluded from her novel; amongst the Jewish women she shows a single apostate rebel and others who are content with domestic roles.

It is, however, possible that GE planted an allusion for the few amongst her readers who were sufficiently familiar with scriptural texts to appreciate
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her hidden irony. Lapidoth is not the best-known of biblical characters, but his name is mentioned once, as the husband of one of the most powerful (and undomestic) of Jewish women:

And Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lapidoth, she judged Israel at that time.
And she dwelt under the palm tree of Deborah ... and the children of Israel came up to her for judgement.

Calling the Israelites to battle, she tells Barak that Sisera and his army will be delivered into his hand, or, more precisely, 'into the hand of a woman' (Judges iv, 4–9).

GE's second source for notes on these pages is a memoir by Ludwig Kalisch, Bilder aus meiner Knabenzeit (Leipzig: Ernst Keil, 1872), which she read from 4 to 7 August 1875 (GHL Diary). Her notes from Kalisch are brief and tend to be added later to notes from other sources; see B 121. In the margin of Maimon's account of his schooldays, she adds a corrective reference on p. 45 to 'Kalisch', that is, to his description of his own schooling.

1 The texts of the inscriptions are 'Moses commanded us a law, even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob' (Deuteronomy xxxiii, 4); 'And the Lord called unto Moses, and spake unto him out of the tabernacle of the congregation, saying ...' (Leviticus i, 1); 'Let the Torah [the teaching] be my occupation.' Psalm 119 is composed of 22 sections, headed by the letters of the Hebrew alphabet (Aleph, Beth, Gimel, etc.); each section has eight verses.

Education of German Jews 'im Mittelalter'

Usually at the fifth year the regular schooling begins. At the Feast of Weeks, the little one was brought at daybreak into the Synagogue or to the Teacher's house. On the way thither the Father covered him with his mantle. The Teacher took him on his arm, & showed him a tablet of parchment or wood on which the Hebrew alphabet, each 4 letters combined in a word, together with Deut. 33, 4 & Lev. 1, 1 & the words 'Die Lehre sei meine Beschäftigung' were inscribed. The alphabet & the texts are repeated to the child backwards & forwards, whereupon the letters are smeared with honey for him to lick off them. Then there is a sweet cake inscribed with texts & an Egg covered with 8 verses from the 119 Psalm. These all are read to the child; & there is a cabbalistic conjuration of the spirit that protects against forgetfulness; whereupon the cake & egg are shared among the little scholars present. After this solemnization of the entrance into school the child was taken to the water as a symbol of the Divine doctrine, the source of all knowledge. To further the education of the young was held more meritorious than to maintain the synagogue. The slip of wood which was used in pointing to the alphabet was not to be used for profane purposes, e.g. as a tooth-pick. 'Even when the building of the temple is in question,' says the Talmud, 'there must be no less strict attendance of school.'

(See in Kalisch, Bilder aus meiner Knabenzeit, a description of the first school.)

Uninstructed & Instructed women among the Jews

'Miriam, die Tochter des Salomo Spiro, Gattin des Jochanan Loria, trug mehrere Jahre hindurch, hinter einem Gitter sitzend, der studirenden Jugend Talmud vor.' 'Ueber die Vorsängerin Urania in Worms', vide Lewysohn, Epitaphien, p. 85 v. also, for women, Steinschneider, hebr. Bibliographie; Karpeles, die Frauen der jüdischen Literatur; Weinhold, die Frauen in dem deutschen Mittelalter

It is characteristic that on a flyleaf of an old book after the record of the boys' birthdays, follows the wish: God grant, that I may bring them up for doctrine, marriage & good deeds. But after the girls': God grant that I may bring them up to sew, spin, knit – & to doing good deeds. Nevertheless there were Jewesses, heads of great banking-houses.

1 Translation: 'For several years, Miriam, the daughter of Salomo Spiro and wife of Jochanan Loria, sitting behind a lattice, lectured on the Talmud to young students.' Salomon Spiro was a Rabbi in Worms, c. 1500. For 'On Urania, the leader of the choir in Worms', Berliner cites Ludwig Lewysohn, Sechzig Epitaphien von Grabsteinen des israelitischen Friedhofes zu Worms (Frankfurt: J. Baer, 1855). This and the following notes are from Berliner’s endnotes on p. 51, referring to his text on p. 6. There is no evidence that GE read the works listed here.

2 Moritz Steinschneider, Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana (Boloni: Friedlaender, 1852–60); Gustav Karpeles, Die Frauen der jüdischen Literatur (Berlin, 1871); and Karl Weinhold, Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter (Vienna: C. Gerold, 1851).
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Kalisch gives an account of his two grandmothers: the one who knew & wrote Hebrew well, the other who was full of legends & sayings.  [pp. 147, 171, 179]

The elder Rabbis enjoined a daily thanksgiving to be uttered by every man, that God had not made him a woman!

This is part of the Liturgy.¹

When a woman prays, say the Rabbis, it has no effect either for evil or for good.²

¹ Precise source untraced. This seems to be GE's first acquaintance with this negative thanksgiving, part of the prayers for which the Jewish man binds on the tephillin. As her later note indicates, it is also part of the liturgy. For the liturgical form, see B 188v; see also B 184, where GE at first inadvertently omitted the essential 'not'.

In the first and second edition of DD, Ezra Cohen explains, 'A man is bound to thank God, as we do every Sabbath, that he was not made a woman' (46: 535). But as this note indicates, thanks are due daily. David Kaufmann pointed out this mistake in George Eliot and Judaism, translated by John W. Ferrier (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1877), p. 83; GE's annotated copy is in DWL. She therefore altered the text of the 1878 Cabinet Edition to read:

'A Jewish man is bound to thank God, day by day, that he was not made a woman; but a woman has to thank God that He has made her according to His will.'

(III, 46)

² This note, added later, repeats that on Pf 711 55. Source: Isaacs, Ceremonies, Customs, Rites, and Traditions of the Jews, p. 39. For other notes from Isaacs, see B 129v to 135v.

NB: GE corrected factual errors about Judaism in later editions of "Daniel Deronda."