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Unlikely Allies

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Prohlášení

Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracoval(a) samostatně a uvedl v ní předepsaným způsobem všechny prameny a literaturu.

V Olomouci dne.....

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Nothwithstanding the previous lines, all errors, misinterpretations and omissions remain mine.

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Introduction

When I was applying to teacher's college during my undergraduate years, I was inspired by the quote by Nelson Mandela who said that education is the most powerful weapon with which the world can be changed. It is true now, it was true in his time, and it was true during the Enlightenment. The dictum was not only understood but practiced by those wishing to enlighten themselves and others. This work explores the ideas and practice of some of these enlighteners.

However, this introduction might have started somewhat backwards. If education is the way to change the world then how is the world desired to be? As it happens with revolutions and evolutions alike, there are pluralities of opinions as to what exactly is the goal and how the change should be brought around. Using the language of today, we could say that the Enlightenment was a period of self-improvement, where individuals sought to educate themselves but also to help others. There was a desire not only for individuals and small groups but also for nations to become enlightened. In the later period, sovereigns and leaders of various nations and realms used the ideas and ideals of personal enlightenment as stepping stones to reforms in their areas of influence and attempted to make the common person more advanced, so as to elevate the society in general, and their respective realms in particular.

The European Jewish population was not an exception to these trends. After a darker period of senseless persecution, or at least attempts to keep the status quo, came years that offered more freedom. Equality seemed to wake up hand in hand with advances in science and thinking, albeit perhaps not spreading quite as fast. These developments coincided with various developments within Judaism that weakened the traditional ways of disseminating knowledge and managing power in the Jewish world. The Jewish Enlightenment, termed the *Haskalah*, had two directional aspects: the quality of the relationship between the Jews and the majority population as well as the relationship within the Jewish community. In the latter, much depended on the way tradition was regarded. The proponents of Haskalah, the *maskilim* were the generation that strove to uncover science and its philosophical outlook that were hitherto unknown to Jews (and the general population) while also remaining well-versed in traditional Judaism due to their religious upbringing. This quality makes them particularly noteworthy.

This work follows a path similar to the *maskilim*. It outlines the conditions that existed before, after and during the period of Enlightenment. It focuses on the changes

that the Haskalah brought and its responses to them while keeping an eye on that which had existed prior. Further, it explores the relationship between the ideas of maskilim and figures of the Austrian state (ranging from its sovereigns to leaders in educational reform) and attempts to prove that the two sides became unlikely allies in their ambition to bring about a (more) secular education to the Jewish public.

The thesis starts with an overview of the general and Jewish situation in the Austrian Monarchy. The *Shai Takanot*, a source for Jewish educational policy before the Enlightenment are explored. This is followed by the changes in educational policy that were happening in the middle of the 18th century. The policies of Maria Theresa's and Joseph II and their effects are analyzed and contrasted with the ideas and ideals of the maskilim. The thesis is finished with an overview of the situation after the reforms and leading up to the end of the 19th century.

1 Historical Background

1. 1 Situation in the Habsburg Empire

In order to understand the Enlightenment situation better, it is necessary to understand its pre-cursors and beginnings. At the beginning of the 17th century, the Habsburg Monarchy was getting weaker. Though the Turkish threat from the south was defeated at Vienna in 1683 this victory had consumed a lot of effort and resources. Further, the Habsburgs lost the war of the Spanish Succession and there was a revolt in the Hungarian part of the monarchy. As a response, Joseph I. took up the task to start centralizing the government during the years 1705 to 1711.¹ His efforts at strengthening and centralization of the Monarchy were followed by his successors on the throne. The latter period of the 18th century was marked by enlightened absolutist monarchs. Before more rights could be given to the minority populations though, a period of uneasiness preceded it. Jews found themselves between medieval limitations and enlightened opening of the situation.

1. 2 Jewish Situation in the Habsburg Empire

At the beginning of the 17th century, Jews lived relatively in peace. In the times of denominational wars, the Habsburgs needed them as war suppliers.² During the years 1623 to 1629, Emperor Ferdinand II enacted privileges for Jews in the Czech lands: 1623 and 1627 in Bohemia, 1627 in Silesia and 1629 in Moravia. These privileges on the one hand gave Jews economic possibilities but on the other taxed them as well.³ However, the relative calm years were soon to be over. The Chmelnicky pogroms of 1648/1649 in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had an effect in most of Jewish Europe. They caused Jewish migration patterns to turn around. Prior to the massacre, most Jews migrated from the West to the East, after the pogroms they preferred to settle in western areas of Europe.⁴ This included the Habsburg Monarchy. The majority of Jews of the Habsburg Empire before the partition of Poland in 1772 lived in the Bohemian Lands. In the Czech

¹ Haubelt, Josef. České osvícenství. Praha: Rodiče, 2004. p. 102.

² Vondra, Roman. České země v letech 1705 - 1792: věk absolutismu, osvícenství, paruk a třírohých klobouků. Praha: Libri, 2010. p. 311.

³ Hecht, Louise. Moderní dějiny Českých Židů. p. 11.

⁴ Hecht, Louise, Moderní dějiny Českých Židů. p. 7.

lands the Chmelnicky pogroms, coupled with banishments of Jews from Vienna and Lower Austria by Leopold I. and from several other cities, brought strong immigration. This resulted in calls for reducing or limiting Jewish settlement. These were formalised in 1714 when a *Jewish committee* was established by Charles VI. Its goals were the reduction (*Reduktion*) of Jewish population, separation (*Absonderung*) of Jews through creating separate living areas and limitation (*Bechränkung*) of Jewish economical might.⁵ One of the harshest of policies are the *Familiantengesetz*. These laws, enacted by Charles VI. in 1726, permitted a state-sanctioned marriage only to the eldest son of a family and only after his father's death. The permit for settlement, known as a *Familiennummer*, could have been acquired only in exceptional circumstances. The amount of the numbered permits was determined by a census and underwent only small increases throughout the whole period of the validity of the laws. There were 8 541 families for Bohemia, 5 106 for Moravia and 1 245 for Silesia. A permit/number could become available to the additional children, but most often they had to either risk illegal marriage or emigrate. Those who married according to Jewish custom but outside of the state law were not able to even apply for the *Familiennummer*. As such, many opted for immigration or for conversion.⁶ Along with limited movement within the Empire, the overall impact of these policies on the Jews of the Bohemian lands resulted in crowded, ghettoized conditions as well as restricted possibilities for economical growth.

Maria Theresa's attitude towards the Jews of her Empire is generally considered rather harsh. As testaments to further worsening of the Jewish situation, there were several pogroms on Jews that took place in Prague during 1744. She ordered the Jews of Prague to be expelled followed accusations of their disloyal behaviour. following the Prussian army's stay in the city. The decree was to be put into motion in February the following year. After protests from estates in the Bohemian lands, she barred Jews (and Gypsies) from Bohemia and certain Moravian cities.⁷ The orders were relented only after protests by local authorities and additional "voluntary donations" were implemented.⁸ The Jews of Prague could stay.

⁵ Hecht, Louise. *Moderní dějiny Českých Židů*. p. 13.

⁶ Hecht, Louise. *Moderní dějiny Českých Židů*. p 15-16.

⁷ Cerman, Ivo. "O záchranu monarchie" in *1740-1918 Habsburgové: vznikání občanské společnosti*. Ed. Ivo Cerman. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2016. 23-35, pp 31-35.

⁸ Kann, Robert A. *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*. pp. 189-190

More reforms that touched Jewish autonomy were being implemented during the middle years of the 18th century. The changes effected the highest office of the Jews. After the last office holder of the *Landesrabbiner*, or Chief Rabbi, for Bohemia died in 1749, the office lost its significance and his responsibilities were split between 12 districts rabbis.⁹ Already the previous year, the *Va'ad ha-medina*, the all-Moravian Jewish council, met for the last time. As the next step, the Empress had the traditional laws *Shai Takanot* translated so that new legislation could be put into their place. On 1 January 1754 they were replaced by the *General Polizey/, Process- und Commercialordnung für die Judenschaft des Marktgrafthums Mähren*. As a result, the *Shai Takanot* were taken from the jurisdiction of the autonomous *Va'ad ha-medina* and after modifications became state law. The first, *Polizey*, part of the law dealt with education matters.¹⁰

The *Ordnung* followed the structure of the *Shai Takanot* in that it placed education at the beginning: the first point, § 1, refers to the *Shai Takanot* as "ancient custom" and goes on to reconfirm that each Jewish community that has more than thirty families and pays taxes is to employ a rabbi and a *Schul* with twelve students. Thus far, the *Ordnung* follows the *Shai Takanot*. The following sentence, however changes policy in regards to school financing. In opposition to a more egalitarian approach of the *Shai Takanot*, the *Ordnung* gives the financial responsibility for outside students to the two biggest and most prosperous communities of a district. Mikulov/Nikolsburg, the seat of the Chief Rabbi of Moravia, already has two rabbis: the Chief Rabbi and his deputy. In addition, twenty five *Scholaren* are to be located there in order to teach the students, all other prominent communities of the district are to have ten. Keeping the Chief Rabbi's over-all responsibility intact, the *Scholaren* are to be named by him and two elders from each district. In this way, Maria Theresa's legislation supports foreign students who pay for their studies with their own money or use parental support. However, poor students are to be turned back, the Chief Rabbi and district elders are responsible for enforcing this policy.¹¹ The policy towards newcomers is an addition to the *Ordnung*.

The second point reaffirms the authority of the Chief Rabbi in curriculum creation. He is to inform the other six rabbis of which tractates are to be studied. There is also an explicit intention to use the curriculum to measure the progress of the *Scholaren* and the

⁹ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. p. 53

¹⁰ Hecht, Louise, *Moderní dějiny českých Židů*. p. 20.

¹¹ Hecht, Louise, *Moderní dějiny českých Židů*. p. 37-38.

work of the rabbis. The following point establishes the examination authority of the six rabbis to whom children should be sent for examination by their teachers *Schumeister*. Similarly, the last point, § 6, disallows communities to appoint a rabbi without the consent of the Chief Rabbi or his deputy. The content of the curriculum is set in § 5, the *Schulmeister* is to educate his students in "reading, writing, learning about God and the Law of Moses". Much like in the *Shai Takanot*, the legislation does not mention which language or in which language the students should learn. § 4 confirms that children under the age of 13 are to be sent to school, thereafter those who are not suitable for studies should learn a trade or a craft. This point is somewhat different from the *Shai Takanot* in that it allows secular studies, although only after the mandatory school has been done and if the student is not suited for Jewish studies. In a way, this could be seen as a precursor to a more secular Jewish education.¹² The allowance of secular studies agrees with the policy of the maskilim. However, they favoured the opposite approach: secular subjects would be for everyone to study whereas the Jewish subjects would be recommended to those who showed special interest or aptitude.

¹² The Order is summarized from Hecht, Louise, *Moderní dějiny českých Židů*, p. 20.

2 Shai Takanot

2. 1 Introduction

In addition to the Jewish religious law, the *halakha*, and its interpretations that govern Jewish communities around the world, there are often specific regulations and customs for particular areas. The Czech lands were and are part of the Ashkenazi cultural sphere. Additionally, there were laws that were specific to Moravia, Michael Miller terms them the "constitution" of Moravian Jews,¹³ traditionally they are called *Shai Takanot*. Their name is derived from the 311 ordinances that make up the "constitution". The *Shai Takanot* were agreed on by the *Va'ad ha-medina*, or Council of the Land, to which Jewish communities (*kehilot*) within Moravia sent their representatives. It first met in 1650 in Kyjov and as a result the *Shai Takanot* were formulated the following year.¹⁴ The legislation was created by community representatives based on an earlier version that had been valid before the Thirty Years War (1618-1648).¹⁵ The rules kept being amended over the years by the council as needed until the *Va'ad ha-medina* met for the last time in 1748 when its autonomy was cancelled by Maria Theresa.¹⁶ Still, the *Shai Takanot* remained valid until the 19th century and influenced the Jews of Moravia well into the 20th albeit in their updated version and under a German name *General Polizey/, Process- und Commercialordnung für die Judenschaft des Marktgrafthums Mähren*.

Among the most important provisions contained therein was the establishment of the office of a *Landesrabbiner/Rav ha-medina*, the Chief Rabbi of the country. The holder of the office was the highest authority for religious as well as legal and administrative matters.¹⁷ However, the Chief Rabbi was not given priority of first mention in the *Shai Takanot*. Perhaps as a witness to the importance that was placed on education, the first of the four sections was dedicated to that subject as "Points concerning education" The section takes up paragraphs 1 to 17. Among the subjects legislated are the following: who should study, who and how should support those who study, who should teach and who should examine as well as what should be taught.

¹³ Miller, Michael L. *Rabbis and Revolutions: The Jews of Moravia in the Age of Emancipation*. p. 22

¹⁴ Hecht, Louise. *Moderní dějiny českých Židů*. p. 27.

¹⁵ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. Klára Míčková (trans). Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2015. p. 33

¹⁶ Hecht, Louise. *Moderní dějiny českých Židů*. p. 27.

¹⁷ Hecht, Louise, *Moderní dějiny Českých Židů*. p. 8.

2. 2 Shai Takanot: Who is to Study?

The *Shai Takanot* do not start with the who but it is useful to examine that first. Paragraphs 14 and 15 define who should receive education: everybody. The former, § 14, explicitly says that "Every father is obliged to support the studies of each of his children, until they reach the age of 13 years of age" (the age of maturity in Jewish law for boys, 12 for girls). The paragraph further adds that this support is to be given regardless of the actual disposition of the children for studying. Indeed, fathers should support their children even if it turns out that their talents are better suited for business or craft. Additionally, those without fathers must be supported by the community or their relatives. If there is an orphanage director employed by a community then the director is responsible for the education of orphans until 13 years of age. This may be stipulated in a financial language, but it is clear that children of all kinds are included in § 14 and 15. An important question to be asked at this point is whether this legislation was valid for daughters as well as sons. Girls, or the female sex is not explicitly mentioned in § 1 - § 17, neither is masculine per se (the Hebrew "boys" could be used for both boys and girls), but that is what is meant even though the language might seem rather inclusive when "child(ren)" or "youth" are mentioned as recipients of support. However, the language was not meant to be as inclusive.

2. 3 Shai Takanot: Supporting Students

Moving from the individual to the communal, the question of support and payment responsibility takes up a further sizeable part of the *Shai Takanot* on education; the financial means of a community dictate its educational responsibilities. In fact, the first point (§ 1) starts with "Every Jewish community which consists of thirty families that pay general taxes (*Gemein Anlaag*) is obligated to support a rabbi and a school (*yeshiva*) with six students and six younger pupils."¹⁸ (A German term for the tax can be noted). Paragraph 2 states that communities should also find a way to support students financially. The particular way is to be determined in the presence of other officials on the district level.

¹⁸ The passages of the *Shai takanot* were translated as part of the History of the 1D3 Jews - Seminar taught by Dr Louise Hecht in the Winter semester of 2015/2016.

The lawmakers thought of those communities that have fewer than 30 families as well. Even though they are not obligated to support neither a rabbi nor a synagogue, they are to employ a teacher for their children. Childless fathers are not exempt either: should they refuse to contribute the community as a whole becomes responsible. Payments for schooling do not lessen other taxes, however, and are based on the number of children, according to § 12. According to § 14, school fees are to be paid according to a father's means. Should he not be able to cope with the burden, he should receive assistance. § 3 is even more interesting. It states that the communities are obliged to support their students in the winter until Adar (or second Adar in leap years) and in the summer until Elul. Between those times, the paragraph says, the cost is to be divided up by the elders so that communities without students that are located around a central community with students take up the burden of support as well. Interestingly, it also sets the duty of the students to study and seek out a rabbi or a scholar (*Lamdan* in Hebrew/*Gelehrter* in German). § 4 states when the voluntary collection for student support should happen: the two pilgrim festivals of Pesach and Sukkot. It is again decreed that communities that do not have students should support the communities that do.

In addition to inter-communal support, § 5 establishes inter-district support. Those districts that have fewer schools are to support those that have more. Students could also be relocated. In § 6, community rabbis get the main decision-making power on issuing scholarships collected by the alms collectors. Further, § 7 prohibits communities smaller than thirty tax-paying families from selecting a rabbi without the permission of the Chief Rabbi of Moravia due to possible bribes involved in the process.¹⁹ The Chief Rabbi was also the head of the yeshiva in Mikulov.²⁰ As can be seen, a good support net is created for Jewish students. The communal and egalitarian principles of financing are important aspects of the *Shai Takanot*.

2. 4 Shai Takanot: Who Teaches and What

The previous paragraphs set up the financing rules. The following speak to the teaching responsibilities. § 9 is interesting in regards to the autonomy of rabbis within Jewish education. It sets the duty of rabbis to examine their students, even setting the timeframe and to whom rabbis can delegate the task - it has to be a Jewish scholar, that

¹⁹ Hecht, Louise, *Moderní dějiny Českých Židů*. p. 27-29.

²⁰ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. p. 35

is, someone who graduated from a yeshiva.²¹ There is an additional proposition for examinations in § 11: all teachers are to send their students to an appointed rabbi or his deputy to be examined, thus establishing the supervisory role of a rabbi. Regardless, the system is similar to the Theresian state system: exams, rather than attendance, define schooling. The paragraph also sets up a punishment for teachers who fail to send their students to be examined: fathers of the students are to deduct a fine from the teacher's pay, although an exact amount is not given. The fathers can also suspend the teacher.

The *Shai Takanot*, again, provide legislation for communities of lower means. According to § 13, the smallest of communities need to rely on their *chazzan* (ritual singer) or *Schulklöpper* (the person who goes around the community waking Jews up for the morning prayers by knocking on their doors, *shamash/shames*) for teaching. In those communities where there is only one *Schulmeister* (or *melamed* teacher) or two or more *Gelehrte* (yeshiva graduates), and especially in those communities that have a rabbi but do not have a school, the Jewish inhabitants should dedicate a certain time to learning the Law so they do not forget the Torah and the Law. This should be supervised by the reeve according to the plan set out by district elders. § 16. The *Shai Takanot* provide for a system of checks and balances (rabbis and parents can supervise teachers) that focuses on the community as the source of learning.

2. 5 Shai Takanot: The Curriculum

The school year is defined in the above-mentioned § 3 by setting up the support time frames: the school year runs until Adar (or second Adar) in the winter and until Elul in the summer. § 10 sets up the curriculum. Rabbis are to teach Talmudic tractates in an orderly way, finishing what they start. The point also establishes the ultimate authority of the Chief Rabbi of Moravia in curriculum matters. His role is to prepare a yearly cycle that states where the teaching of the Talmud tractates begins. This curriculum is to be followed in the whole of the land (Moravia) so that students may get their books from Krakow or Prague. That last sentence of the paragraph also provides the information that Talmudic books were difficult to acquire in Moravia and had to be imported. In fact, there was no printing press in Moravia for Jewish books.²² Even though the curriculum was

²¹ Thank you to Louise Hecht for this note.

²² Hecht, Louise. "Christian Printers as Agents of Jewish Modernization? Hebrew Printing Houses in Prague, Brno and Vienna, 1780-1850" in *Judaica Olomucensia*. 2015/1. pp. 30-61

partly determined in Moravia, the books did not have to be. A bit later, § 14 also mentions the curriculum indirectly by stating that fathers should support their children in the studies of prayers, reading the Five Books of Moses with the prophets, reading and writing and "all that belongs to the Jewish religion".²³ The last point of the educational section follows this in dealing with prayer and minyan and how the community reeve should make sure that the minyan of ten men meets for prayers.

As can be seen, the *Shai Takanot* gave the Jewish population of Moravia a considerable degree of autonomy to conduct their educational affairs as the individual communities saw fit. Accordingly, the financing of the educational system was also in the hands (and pockets) of the Jewish community. Individual payment was expected (on a progressive scale) but a support net was available for those who needed it. Perhaps it could be said that the system was quite centralized, the final authority resting on the elected Chief Rabbi of Moravia.

There are certain affairs that the *Shai Takanot* do not mention, however. One of those is the language in which the learning and teaching should occur. As has been discussed, the rules mention fathers and not parents, but when it comes to students, the language could include girls. The reality was different, however, in that girls did not have the same access to education as boys did. The curriculum does mention practical and secular education, but only as something that could follow only after the Jewish education program has been completed at thirteen years of age. On that same note, a starting age is not defined.

²³ The *Shai Takanot* are not clear on what "all that belongs to the Jewish religion" really meant.

3 State Reforms

3. 1 Situation in the Czech Education Leading up to State Reforms

In the late Renaissance and Baroque periods (up to the 1740s), elementary education was furthered by the reforms of Reformation and Counterreformation: many schools teaching reading, writing and arithmetics functioned in the Empire. Some of them were sponsored by Protestants estates, some education in the vernacular was supported by the sovereign. The estates had greater influence in the lands of the Bohemian crowns than elsewhere. The trend was towards "broadening and deepening of instruction", this was connected to the "desire for better training of the middle classes apart from the strictly professional requirements of the Church, law and academic teaching".²⁴ In Moravia as well as in Bohemia, Latin schools existed in smaller towns as well. Latin was both the main subject and the language of instruction. Middle class boys attended these schools.²⁵ In terms of higher education, Jesuit colleges were established in both Moravia and Bohemia. These schools functioned primarily for the sake of the clergy though members of the secular nobility also studied there.²⁶ However, there have been tensions within the Christian-oriented school system too. Already in 1710, the Jesuits did not like that the superindent of the Prague University Petr Theodor Birelli suggested to reform the university by (among other steps) secularizing the study of philosophy and having "real sciences" take their place there.²⁷ This reform is similar to the desired reform of the maskilim. Indeed, Louise Hecht mentions that the maskilim worked in parallel with reform Catholics during Josephianism. Reform Catholics protested the contemplative religious orders and got what they wanted when Joseph II disestablished them in 1791.²⁸

A report by Ignatz Böhm in 1784 called *Historische Nachrichten von der Entstehungsart und Verbreitung des Normalschulinstituts in Böhmen* described the situation in Bohemia in this way: many private institutions of learning operated already in the land. However, Böhm did not find sufficient the fact that they were founded and funded by individuals and private institutions. Instead, he expressed a desire for state-

²⁴ Kann, Robert A. *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*. pp. 135-136

²⁵ Kann, Robert A. *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*. p. 137

²⁶ Kann, Robert A. *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*. p.138

²⁷ Haubelt, Josef. *České osvícenství*. pp. 103-104.

²⁸ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" pp. 339-340

supported institutions.²⁹ The state would come in soon enough. Eva Kowalská notes that even in the 1750s, the state had an intention to reform education: to establish its content and scope according to its needs.³⁰

Overall, the establishment of mandatory schooling by Maria Theresa was the biggest change in modern education. It brought an equal opportunity for boys and girls to achieve the so-called trivium. Eliška Krásnohorská founded the first gymnasium for girls in Bohemia at the end of the 19th century. Gymnasium Minerva was founded in 1890. By the end of the 19th century there were nine other "academic" schools for girls in Bohemia and Moravia.³¹ Minerva was the first gymnasium for girls in Austro-Hungarian Empire.³²

3. 2 Maria Theresa's Reforms

During her reign Maria Theresa instituted several important reforms. In 1742, she established the *Haus- Hof und Staatskanzlei*, she reorganized the judiciary system by removing powers from municipal and manorial courts and in 1749 created the *Directorium in publicis et cameralibus* to take care of the financial and administrative matters. A *Gubernium* was established as a sort of government for the various lands.³³ In Moravia, the *Gubernium* supervised six district governments. This state administration of Vienna supervising Brno supervising the districts was much closer to cities and nobility.³⁴ In terms of education, the policy was lead by two men: the Augustinian abbot Johann Ignaz von Felbinger (1724-1788) and Gerard van Swieten (1700-1772). The latter of the two wanted to abolish censorship and to remove Jesuit influence in schools. The Jesuit order was disestablished in 1773. In more practical terms, many schools focused on particular specializations were opened in the Empire. Felbinger's main reform result was the establishment of the *Allgemeinen Schulordnung für die deutschen Normal-, Haupt und Trivialschulen in sämtlichen Kayserlichen Königlichen Erbländen*. As a result, mandatory schooling (*Unterrichtspflicht*) between the ages of 6 and 12 was introduced in the whole monarchy.³⁵ It was not entirely universal though. The reform did not establish

²⁹ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" p. 337

³⁰ Kowalská, Eva. *Evanjelické a.v. spoločenstvo v 18. storočí: hlavné problémy jeho vývoja a fungovania v spoločnosti*. p. 88.

³¹ Smetáčková, Irena. "Gender a školství" in *Gender ve škole*. Otevřená společnost, 2005. Pages 75-76.

³² Randák Josef. et al. *Dějiny českých zemí*. Praha: Euromedia Group, 2011. p. 241

³³ Hecht, Louise, *Moderní dějiny Českých Židů*. p. 18-19

³⁴ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. p. 53

³⁵ Hecht, Louise, *Moderní dějiny Českých Židů*. pp. 18-19

mandatory attendance at a school but on rather an amount of knowledge and skills that should be mastered. This could be proven at a public exam. As such the new schools that were to be established were aimed primarily for the lower classes, the higher classes continued to employ private tutors for their children. As Louise Hecht points out, the reform could only succeed where local population was ready to support such schools since Maria Theresa chose not to enforce the act. Even though literacy rates remained low in many parts of the monarchy, the reform could be seen as successful throughout the lands of the Bohemian Crown.³⁶

3.3 The Schulordnung

In terms of education, Maria Theresa was not focused on higher learning. There was possibility that it could erode the right direction of her subjects: enlightened thinking could spread from universities, not so much from elementary schools. Due to this outlook, the reforms of Maria Theresa focused on the lower schools.³⁷ On 6 December 1774, she approved the *Allgemeine Schulordnung für die deutschen Normal-, Haupt- und Trivialschulen in sämtlichen Kaiserl. Königlichten Erbländern* or *Schulordnung*. This act created the legal basis for elementary education in Cisleithania, the Austrian part of the Empire. For the Hungarian part, there was an act in 1777 called *Ratio educationis publicae totiusque rei litterariae per regnum Hungariae et Provincias eidem adnexas* that was concerned with education from the elementary to the university level. The *Schulordnung* consisted of 24 paragraphs. According to §12, school attendance for children of both genders between the ages of 6 and 12 who do not have access to tutoring at home is mandatory. Classes were to be composed of both genders and those could understand the same curriculum (regardless of age).³⁸ The *Schulordnung* also determined the school calendar (holidays were instituted around Easter and in the fall: children were to come back to school after the end of harvest. It also stipulated the weekly schedule: 8-11 and 14-16 every day except Thursday evening and Sunday.³⁹ The yearly schedule of the Jewish schools in the *Shai Takanot* also focused around these holidays. The

³⁶ Hecht, Louise, *Moderní dějiny Českých Židů*. p. 19.

³⁷ Kann, Robert A. *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*. p. 192

³⁸ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" pp. 337-338

³⁹ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" pp. 337-338

establishment of mandatory school attendance was not something the Jews (neither maskilim nor more traditional) would be very concerned about since the *Shai Takanot* already legislated this practice. The novelty was the inclusion of both genders in Maria Theresa's educational plan.

The longer name of the *Schulordnung* provides a clue as to what types of schools were established. Louise Hecht explains further: a normal school (perhaps a better term would be "normative") had four teachers on staff and the intention was to provide education for future teachers as well as the students attending. A main school was to be set up in major towns and should have two or three classrooms with three teachers on staff. The smallest type was the trivial school (also called *Stadtschule*): they were to be set up in small towns in order to teach the "trivial" subjects of writing, reading and arithmetics.⁴⁰ The name of the *Schulordnung* already hints at the fact that the schools' primary language was German. As to the post-graduation prospects, it should be noted that alumni of these German schools were not permitted to continue their studies at an institution of higher learning. That path was reserved for graduates of the Latin schools.⁴¹

Not everything went smoothly though. Since there was a lack of qualified teachers, pensioned soldiers took up teaching. In a trivial school, children were taught to read, write, math, religion, and also the basics of artisanal and agricultural work. The purpose was not only to make pupils creative but also to respect authority. Randák claims that it was, paradoxically, due to this objective that the general school attendance was compulsory for girls as well.⁴²

After the disestablishment of the Jesuit order under Maria Theresa in 1773, Johann Ignaz von Felbinger came from the formerly Austrian (now Prussian) Silesia ready to reform the Empire's school system. He was the author of several textbooks and the *Schulordnung*. The idea behind his textbooks was that all students were to study the same content at the same time.⁴³ This was very much in line with the Jewish way of doing things in Moravia, according to the *Shai Takanot*. The Chief Rabbi was to determine the curriculum, in the *Schulordnung* it was to be done centrally as well. Felbinger's further

⁴⁰ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" p. 337-338

⁴¹ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" p. 339

⁴² Randák Josef. et al. *Dějiny českých zemí*. p. 185

⁴³ Kowalská, Eva. *Osvietenecké školstvo (1771-1815): Nástroj vzdelania a disciplinizácie*. pp. 133-134.

idea was to offer Biblical knowledge to students through a catechism in their mother tongue.⁴⁴ This point is where the maskilim would agree with the state reformer.

The Count Anton Pergen was planning to modernize the post-secondary curriculum under Maria Theresa as well. However, the ideas went counter to the Empress' ideas. In the end though, gymnasia were extended in ancient and medieval history, geography, some math and German but "hardly any science".⁴⁵ Some progress was also made at the University of Vienna with appointments into astronomy, botany, and chemistry. They were, however, "spotty and uncoordinated" and did not bring much change. Several academies were established but their purpose was to enhance the state and were meant primarily for the higher classes.⁴⁶

3. 4 Latter Situation Under Maria Theresa

In 1775, normal schools were established in the three lands of the Bohemian crown: in Prague for Bohemia, in Brno for Moravia and in Opava for Silesia. After the Silesian administration was merged with that of Moravia, the school in Opava was demoted to a main school and the *Normalschule* for Moravia and Silesia remained in Brno. Ignaz von Mehoff (1747-1807) was the overseer of the Normal school for Moravia and Silesia.⁴⁷ Even though the *Schulordnung* mandated schooling for all children, the actual situation was quite different; low school attendance, financial and organizational problems continued to mar the project. Eventhough the *Schulordnung* established professional standards and training for teachers, it also made them dependent on their students: teachers' pay was tied to weekly payments by students. These fees and the costs of books caused poorer parents to hesitate sending their children to school. *Winkelschulen* provided cheaper education if parents were content to send their offspring to an uncertified teacher working in a school that was not approved by the state.⁴⁸

The main architect of education reforms of the elementary and secondary level in the hereditary and Bohemian lands was Johann Andreas Felbinger. His reforms instituted

⁴⁴ Kowalská, Eva. Evanjelické a.v. spoločenstvo v 18. storočí: hlavné problémy jeho vývoja a fungovania v spoločnosti, pp. 135-136.

⁴⁵ Kann, Robert A. A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918. p. 193.

⁴⁶ Kann, Robert A. A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918. p. 194.

⁴⁷ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" pp. 337-338

⁴⁸ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" p. 339

the four types of schools.⁴⁹ Staff were not retired noncommissioned officers like in Prussia but professional teachers trained at state-supported institutions. Small tuition fees were charged and textbooks had to be procured.⁵⁰ This was similar to Jewish schools (as was set out in the *Shai Takanot*) where textbooks, or rather books used for school were obtained by the students. Eva Kowalská notes that during the 1780s, there was initiative towards utilitarianism as well as to create a unitary school system for the whole monarchy:⁵¹ the Austrian and Hungarian parts.

3. 5 Joseph II: Edicts of Tolerance

After Maria Theresa died in 1780 the crown passed on to her son, and previously coregent, Joseph II. Whereas she was generally regarded as an enemy of the Jews, her successor was dubbed the "Emperor of the Jews".⁵² According to Kann, ecclesiastic issues, lord-peasant relations and education belonged to the three issues that were "ideologically more significant" during the reign of Joseph II. His momentum, although strong at the beginning, gradually slowed down and reforms became more rigid as the time went on.⁵³ In terms of the Jews, his goal was to make them more productive all the while breaking the social barriers that separated them from the Christian population.⁵⁴

In 1781 the Edict of Toleration was decreed by the new Emperor, Joseph II. This legislation was aimed towards non-Catholic Christian minorities: Lutherans, Calvinists and Greek Orthodox. Even though worship was expected to remain in the private sphere, communities of more than a hundred faithful could employ a religious leader and build a house of worship. Otherwise, worship was restricted to private homes. Ironically, according to Rachel Manekin, the Edict sometimes gave non-Catholics more freedom than the state-controlled Catholics enjoyed.⁵⁵ Protestants were given "near-equality" and conversions from Catholicism to Protestantism were permitted. Additionally, religious

⁴⁹ Kann, Robert A. A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918. Barnes&Nobles Books/University of California, 1992. p. 193.

⁵⁰ Kann, Robert A. A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918. p. 193.

⁵¹ Kowalská, Eva. Osvietenecké školstvo (1771-1815): Nástroj vzdelania a disciplinizácie. Bratislava: Veda: vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2014. p. 118.

⁵² Miller, Michael L. Rabbis and Revolutions: The Jews of Moravia in the Age of Emancipation. p. 46.

⁵³ Kann, Robert A. A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918. p. 183-184.

⁵⁴ Miller, Michael L. Rabbis and Revolutions: The Jews of Moravia in the Age of Emancipation. p. 46.

⁵⁵ Manekin, Rachel. "Praying at Home in Lemberg: The Minyan Laws of the Habsburg Empire, 1776–1848" in Israel Bartal, Antony Polonsky, Scott Ury (eds) Jews and their Neighbours in Eastern Europe since 1750. Oxford/Portland, Oregon: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2012. Pages 49-69. p. 49.

toleration after 1781 took away the right of the Catholic Church to prosecute atheists and heretics. On the other hand the Church still had the right to censor books and printed materials, oversee schools and thus spread its message. Catholic religious teachers had a monopoly on the teaching of religion at higher schools. The end of discrimination for non-Catholics in terms of access to public offices in the Habsburg Empire did not end until the 1860s.⁵⁶ The new freedoms did not yet apply to Jews.

That policy was made clear in the next edict that focused on Jewish affairs. The Edict of Toleration was followed, in 1782, by another edict by Joseph II: the Edict of Tolerance. It was first issued on 2 February 1782 for the *land* of Lower Austria which included the imperial capital Vienna. This legislation specifically targeted the Jewish inhabitants. In the prologue, Joseph II stated the following: "As it is our goal to make the Jewish nation useful and serviceable to the State, mainly through better education and Enlightenment of its youth as well as by directing them to the sciences, the arts and the crafts, We hereby grant and order..."⁵⁷ He goes on to state, however, that it is not his intention to allow the Jews of Vienna to build a community but rather to give them a privilege on an individual level. The number of Jews was not to rise and the localities that have no Jews were not to be made available for new Jewish settlement. However, the Emperor would allow for an exception or two. Further, the category of "tolerated Jew" is confirmed, a payment, *Schutzgeld* is expected in return for the permission to reside in Vienna and engage in a livelihood. In terms of education, Jewish children are allowed to attend Christian primary and secondary schools and a Jewish school may be established and financed by the community though inspected by the state.⁵⁸

A further ban touched upon language: it forbade the use of Yiddish and Hebrew by Jews in public and commercial dealings.⁵⁹ The edict was valid for the whole Empire but it was only slowly put into practice in the Czech lands.⁶⁰ The Edict of Tolerance gives a two year period after which "all legal instruments written in Hebrew or written only in Hebrew and Jewish letters will be invalid and null and void".⁶¹ Similarly, an edict

⁵⁶ Vondra, Roman. České země v letech 1792 - 1848: formování novodobého českého národa ve věku cylindrů, krinolín a nástupu páry. Praha: Libri, 2013. 1st edition. pp. 207

⁵⁷ Joseph II, "Edit of Tolerance". p. 36.

⁵⁸ Joseph II, "Edit of Tolerance". pp. 36-38

⁵⁹ Mendes-Flohr, Paul and Jehuda Rheinharz. eds. The Jew in the Modern World: a documentary history. Oxford University Press, 1995. p. 40, note 1.

⁶⁰ Krappmann, Marie. p. 16.

⁶¹ Joseph II, "Edit of Tolerance". pp. 39

mandating the use of German, instead of Latin, was decreed in the Hungarian part of the Empire in 1784.⁶²

According to the Christian theologian, Hans Küng, Joseph II was the "the first in principle to recognize equal human rights for Jews" by his edicts for Moravia and Bohemia 1781/1782, for Hungary 1783 and for Galicia in 1789.⁶³ The edict for Bohemia was called "Nařízení pro zlepšení vzdělání a osvěty" (*Verordnung zur besseren Bildung und Aufklärung*). On the one hand, it established religious tolerance: freedom of profession of religion, on the other hand this did not mean equal rights. The Emperor specifically wrote that it was not his intention to extend the Jewish nation (within the Empire) in any way.⁶⁴ According to Kann, the Edict of Tolerance was, for Joseph II, "a first step toward complete equality," and he wanted to do this for "utilitarian rationalism" rather than for "sentimental reasons".⁶⁵

Nonetheless, the result of the edicts was mixed: the *Familiantengesetze* were not repealed, but at the same time Jews no longer had to pay a head tax that was formerly charged only on them and animals. The bans on movement during time of Catholic mass were lifted as well. Jews were not permitted to buy land, but could use it in new ways as long as they themselves laboured on it.⁶⁶ According to Rachel Manekin, the state's interference in Jewish religious life was limited to "the appointment of district rabbis, the building of synagogues, the building of cemeteries, and the conducting of prayers in private homes".⁶⁷ Another important change was the cancellation of Jewish judiciary.⁶⁸ Military service also became compulsory for Jews as part of the Josephinian reforms.⁶⁹

3. 6 Responses to Joseph

The Jewish response to Joseph II's toleration patents was largely positive. The patents were generally seen as first steps towards full emancipation.⁷⁰ The followers of Haskalah Europe-wide admired these steps, even though they did not go far enough since

⁶² Kann, Robert A. *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*. p. 185.

⁶³ Küng, Hans. *Judaism: between yesterday and tomorrow*. p. 200.

⁶⁴ Hecht, Louise. *Moderní dějiny českých Židů*. pp. 20-21.

⁶⁵ Kann, Robert A. *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*. p. 186.

⁶⁶ Hecht, Louise. *Moderní dějiny českých Židů*. p. 21.

⁶⁷ Manekin, Rachel. "Praying at Home in Lemberg: The Minyan Laws of the Habsburg Empire, 1776–1848" p. 50.

⁶⁸ Cermanová, Iveta. "Židovské osvícenství v českých zemích". p. 127.

⁶⁹ Johnson, Paul. *Dějiny židovského národa*. p. 295.

⁷⁰ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" p. 343

they failed to do away with the *Familientengesetze*, the high taxation or others fees. Yisrael Landau praised Joseph II for his Toleration patent in his introduction to *Igeret Orchot Olam* by invoking Ezekiel 38:4. Similarly, the future principal of the *Israelitische Hauptschule* praised Joseph II as the liberator of Israel and the founder of modern Jewish education.⁷¹ On the other hand, Abraham Trebitsch from Nikolsburg, criticized the Emperor in his *Korot ha-Ittim* (Brno, 1801) for interfering with religious matters, especially education. According to Cermanová, the majority of the Jewish population would agree with Trebitsch's view.⁷² Similarly, Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz note that "Although generally hailed by the upper-class and the secularly educated Jews, [Joseph's] edicts were viewed as sinister attempts to undermine traditional Jewish life."⁷³ The editors do not mention the maskilim explicitly, but in fact they would be rather content with much of the content of Joseph's edicts. According to Eva Kowalská, the emperor understood toleration as a means to create peace among the residents of the Empire, but his goal was not to change the map in terms of religions, but rather to follow his own political goals.⁷⁴ In doing so, however, he supported maskilic ideas of religious toleration.

For Moravia, the Edict of Tolerance was issued on 13 February 1782. In contrast to the *Shai Takanot* and *Order*, education was not placed first: it not until the third point that education is addressed. Two of the most significant changes in terms of educational policy were the following: first, Jewish communities were to seek the advice of the Directoriat of Normal Schools in Brno in terms of the schooling at their "normal" school, and second, Jewish schools were to be under the same (state) supervision as the German schools. The sourcing of schoolbooks, however, remained in Jewish jurisdiction, but it would be checked and approved by the state supervisors in Brno. The fourth point referred to those communities where no Jewish German school existed: children were to attend Christian schools and learn the same subjects as Christian children. The only exception was religious education. Jewish children were to be sent home during the time of religious instruction and should not be forced to do anything that would go against Jewish religious practice.⁷⁵ Interestingly, Josef II does not mandate Jewish religious education. The last

⁷¹ Cermanová, Iveta. "Židovské osvícenství v českých zemích". pp. 128-129.

⁷² Cermanová, Iveta. "Židovské osvícenství v českých zemích". p. 129.

⁷³ Mendes-Flohr, Jehuda Reinharz. p. 40.

⁷⁴ Kowalská, Eva. Evanjelické a.v. spoločenstvo v 18. storočí: hlavné problémy jeho vývoja a fungovania v spoločnosti. Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2001. p. 88.

⁷⁵ Hecht, Louise. Moderní dějiny českých Židů. pp. 47-48.

point dealing with education, § 5, frees post-secondary education for Jewish students: they may enrol at universities, seek accommodation with Christians for their studies, and their parents are also allowed to use Christian accommodation for shorter periods during visits.⁷⁶

As Louise Hecht further notes, Josef II discontinued school fees for boys (but not for girls) and introduced fines for not following mandatory schooling (introduced by his mother Maria Theresa). Between the years 1782 and 1790, a network of Jewish schools was established. These schools numbered around 200 monarchy-wide. Jewish boys were likewise allowed to study at Christian secondary schools such as Gymnasia as well as at universities.⁷⁷ This enabled Jews (though not Jewish women) to study at schools where secular subjects were part of the regular curricula and even reach the highest levels of formal education.

One of the further results of Josephinian reforms was the dissolution of the Jewish judicial system. This was seen by Josef Randák as discriminatory. On the other hand, being able to attend university might have outweighed this. Another result of the Emperor's insistence on German as the language of instruction even in the middle of a Czech language area was that the Jews living there identified more with the German(ic) culture and with Austrian liberal politics. Their (self)identification with German culture would play a significant role in the centuries to come. On the other hand, the reason to be considered a separate nation has started to disappear as Jews were becoming less secular: "The supporters of the so-called Haskalah were trying to critically deal with the growing assimilation, they were attempting to preserve some Jewish traditions while coming to terms with the contemporary situation."⁷⁸ Robert Kann agrees that the other part of the bargain was that the Jews were expected to do away with their traditional customs and undergo Germanization.⁷⁹ This was something the maskilim wanted as well, in part.

3. 7 School Situation After the Edicts of Tolerance

The legislation was one thing but the actual situation on the ground was somewhat different. Based on the report of Johann Ignaz Felbinger (1724-1788), the school reform

⁷⁶ Hecht, Louise. *Moderní dějiny českých Židů*. pp. 47-48.

⁷⁷ Hecht, Louise. *Moderní dějiny českých Židů*. p. 21.

⁷⁸ Randák Josef. et al. *Dějiny českých zemí*. p. 242

⁷⁹ Kann, Robert A. *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*. p. 191. However, it is not clear whether Kann means conversion to Judaism or from Judaism.

organizer, it became clear to Joseph II that school attendance of fewer than 30% had to be boosted. In addition to establishing financial punishment for not providing the mandatory schooling, he decreed that *Trivialschule* fees be abolished and *Hauptschule* fees be halved for boys. Meanwhile, for girls, no change was made to the fees. Joseph II also established minimal salaries for teachers: 300 golden florins for *Normalschule* and 150 golden florins for *Trivialschule* staff teachers.⁸⁰

The universal mandatory school attendance championed by Maria Theresa and her advisors was not successfully implemented by the Jews in Prague: in 1776 the idea was refused by the Jewish community itself.⁸¹ However, the reception was different during the reign of her son and successor, Joseph II. When Rabbi Landau heard about the Bohemian Judenpatent of the Emperor Joseph II in the fall of 1781, he together with Primator Joachim Popper, Primator of Bohemian Rural Jews and Loebel Duschenes, Primator of Prague Jews, decided to establish a modern German-language Jewish school in Prague, a project McCagg calls "fateful".⁸² His work categorizes the school as a *Normalschule* which might seem more likely since these types of schools were to be based in provincial capitals (Prague as the capital of Bohemia). Cermanová describes the school as the first modern German-Jewish school, named *Israelitische Hauptschule*, was founded in Prague in 1782. Only boys could attend. A school for girls was founded two years later, in 1784. The foundation of the school was supported by the Chief Rabbi, Ezekiel Landau who decided to support a basic secular education. However, religious education was to remain under the supervision of religious authorities.⁸³ "By 1800 there were 21 German Jewish schools in Bohemia."⁸⁴ The curriculum was set up in such a way that religious instruction took place in the afternoon, after the secular subjects have been done.⁸⁵ Ezekiel Landau and Eleazar Fleckeles in the end agreed with the educational reforms. As many as 17 800 children went through the educational system of the "western" type in Prague between the years 1790 and 1831, the figure comes to about 424 per year which is about 40% of those who went to school at any given time. This was not the majority, but a similar situation existed in comparable cities such as Berlin and Frankfurt am Main.

⁸⁰ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" pp. 339-340

⁸¹ Hecht, Louise, *Moderní dějiny Českých Židů*. p. 19.

⁸² McCagg, William Jr. *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918*. pp. 66-67.

⁸³ Cermanová, Iveta. "Židovské osvícenství v českých zemích" pp. 128-129.

⁸⁴ *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader*, p. 67.

⁸⁵ *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader*. p. 67.

Parents of better means hired private tutors to work with their children rather than send them to school. In the next fifty years, Jewish and German culture became increasingly intertwined both in Bohemia and Moravia.⁸⁶ Outside of Prague, Jewish communities were also more in favour of state-sponsored schools. Five years after the start of the program, in 1787, 25 rural schools were attended by 559 students and further 278 children studied in Christian schools.⁸⁷ It should also be noted that Joseph II increased the number of elementary schools and converted some gymnasia into state schools. On the other hand, he also disestablished some and downgraded some universities because the needs of the state could be met by Prague and Vienna.⁸⁸

According to Roman Vondra's description of the late 18th and first half of the 19th century, most of the bourgeoisie sons were getting a good education, almost all of them received secondary education and most a gymnasium. The quality of church was the highest. Girls could not access secondary schools, the first public girls school in the Czech lands was opened by Františka Svatava Michalovicová in 1847 in Prague.⁸⁹

The Josephinian state was not much able to push through its own educational reforms, they had to rely on the elites of the day. "The agreement of traditional Jewish circles with the establishment of German-Jewish schools was tied to the intention of the state to exclude the Jewish religion from the curriculum and therefore also focus solely on the instrumental transfer of knowledge and skills. In this way, the authority of the traditional Jewish elites was kept in the area of religious education, this area was seen as primary from the Jewish perspective." Many officials also believed that the state should not meddle in educational affairs of tolerated religions.⁹⁰ The compromise allowed for the German-Jewish schools to teach German, reading, writing, arithmetics and other skills that even the traditionalists agreed must be taught in the present time. The school hours were shorter so that Jewish boys could attend the cheder to learn about the Jewish subjects

⁸⁶ Kieval, Hillel J. Formování českého židovstva: Národnostní konflikt a židovská společnost v Čechách 1870-1918. Klára Mičková, trans. Praha/Litomyšl: Paseka, 2011. pp. 15-16

⁸⁷ Kieval, Hillel J. Formování českého židovstva: Národnostní konflikt a židovská společnost v Čechách 1870-1918. Klára Mičková, trans. Praha/Litomyšl: Paseka. pp. 15-16

⁸⁸ Kann, Robert A. A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918. p. 194.

⁸⁹ Vondra, Roman. České země v letech 1792 - 1848: formování novodobého českého národa ve věku cylindrů, krinolín a nástupu páry. pp. 235-236

⁹⁰ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" pp. 344-345.

there. This split, was, however, counter to what the maskilim fought for as it unnecessarily split the two spheres of what they saw as a full Jewish life.⁹¹

2 May 1782 was when the German-Jewish school of Prague was opened, it was the first one in the whole Monarchy and this happened only six and a half months after the issue of the Edict. Ezekiel Landau, the Chief Rabbi of Prague, saw the creation of the school as a necessary compromise. Even though he was much opposed to Wessely whom he saw as an underminer of his own position. The acceptance of the school in Prague was also due to the nature of Ferdinand Kindermann (1740-1801), the state supervisor of Jewish normal schools in Bohemia who was able to make compromises. The rabbis requested that the school starting age be moved to 10 years and that the number of daily lessons be lessened. This was to ensure that Jewish boys receive the necessary traditional education. The school and its teachers were largely funded by the Jewish community, the *kehila*.⁹² Even though the maskilim participated in the teaching at the Prague school, they could not push their ideology except for a limited circle.⁹³ A year after the school was funded, over a third (347) of Jewish boys were attending. The first year of the school for girls, which was in 1784 was attended by 100 girls, which was around 40% of the school attendance (of everybody?) In the year 1830, about half of all school attendance was at the school even though at the time, many parents preferred Christian schools for their children. The Prague *Hauptschule* functioned as a *normalschule* for Bohemia.⁹⁴ Since the population in Bohemia was spread out, the problem of not having enough children in a particular locality to support a whole Jewish school appeared rather frequently. In those cases, there was agreement with the Christian school teachers/priests that they would also take care of the Jewish schooling. Since the religious sensitivities of the children were to be taken into consideration, the Catholic schools had to become more secular. Religious education was limited for a specific time and those children who were not part of the religion could leave school at the time. Catholic prayers stayed in the school though.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" p. 345.

⁹² Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české". pp. 346-347.

⁹³ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české". p. 347.

⁹⁴ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české". p. 347.

⁹⁵ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české". p. 348.

According to Louise Hecht, it was this neutrality that allowed Jewish elites to participate in the Normalschule. Jewish children were also sent to Czech schools.⁹⁶

In Moravia, it was possible to use private money for the funding of schools: those of the late Chief Rabbi of Moravia, Berush/Bernd Gabriel Eskeles (1692-1753). 42 German-Jewish schools had been founded before 1 February 1784. These schools mainly taught reading, writing, arithmetics and moral education. In the years 1805/1806, 50 schools existed in Moravia. The support of the Eskeles foundation was able to sustain the schools for some time, but eventually the communities became burdened with the cost. This was later a major argument against German-Jewish schools. On the other hand, the cooperation between the schools and the state proved to be rather fruitful and school attendance was quite high. Josephinian reforms could thus be considered successful. They lasted until the end of the 19th century when the Czech Jewish movement considered them an instrument for forced Germanization.⁹⁷

After euphoria came ideological and economical tension. On the one hand, the communities had to pay dearly, on the other hand, schoolteachers were now given more prestige by the state supervision. And they were mostly maskilim. They became independent of the previous power elites and became elites themselves. In the end the schools had a secularization influence on their communities. The traditional schools were pushed to the side and soon became mere memories. On the other hand, some, such as Moritz Eisler (1823-1902), school director from Mikulov, praised the chaotic cheder that was able to give the teacher some independence in comparison to the state schools that followed a tight curriculum.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" . pp. 348-349.

⁹⁷ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české". p. 350.

⁹⁸ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" pp. 351-352.

4 The Enlightenment and the Haskalah

4.1 The Enlightenment in General

According to Jiří Hrbek, the coming of the Enlightenment was not noticed by the general population in Europe. The changes were rather subtle and slow-moving, though their latter stage was heralded by three revolutions: the French, the American and the Industrial.⁹⁹ He further identifies scientific and philosophical advances as the harbingers of change. Scientific societies that were being formed had no qualms about accepting natural sciences into their domains. This was in contrast to the conservative universities. The ideas of scientists and philosophers such as Descart, Hobbes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Bacon, Newton, Voltaire and others kept attacking the hitherto hardly-questioned world order, and by extension Catholicism and the whole of Christianity.¹⁰⁰

Similarly, Karen Armstrong, in her *A History of God*, defines philosophical Enlightenment as a "quasi-religious liberation" and the terms *éclaireissement* and *Aufklärung* have, to her, definite religious connotations.¹⁰¹ This meant liberation from and a certain liberalization of religion. Paul Johnson notes a difference in attitude of the majority towards the Jewish population. Whereas before the Enlightenment a sentiment either keep Jews down or out prevailed. During the Enlightenment, non-Jews were asking how to help the Jews shed their Jewish identity. Mendelssohn's reply was a request to let Jews join a common culture while keeping their Judaism.¹⁰²

4.2 Czech Enlightenment

According to Haubelt, the Enlightenment in Central Europe was a response to an irrational counterreformational piety. The religiosity of the Catholic Church was replaced by deism, which saw God as a primal mover, but now rather distant from humanity.¹⁰³ The situation should be seen against the background of the 17th century, which was a

⁹⁹ Hrbek, Jiří. *Evropa a absolutismus v 17 a 18. století (1648-1789)*. Praha/Kroměříž: Triton, 2012. p. 142.

¹⁰⁰ Hrbek, Jiří. pp. 142-149.

¹⁰¹ Armstrong, Karen. *A History of God: The 4000-Year Quest of Judaism, Christianity and Islam*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1993. p. 325.

¹⁰² Johnson, Paul. *Dějiny židovského národa*. Trans. Věra a Jan Lmperovi. Praha: Rozmluvy/LEDA, 2007. p. 289

¹⁰³ Haubelt, Josef. *České osvícenství*. p. 146.

period of strong recatholization.¹⁰⁴ Further, according to Haubelt, the beginnings of the Enlightenment in the Czech lands can be traced to the death of Karl VI. and the accession of his daughter Maria Theresa on 20 October 1740.¹⁰⁵ Maria Theresa became the queen of the Bohemian and Hungarian Kingdoms. However, a woman could not be the head of state for the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁰⁶ The wars that followed made it certain that the state has to change in terms of its education, science and a divorce from theology. Some scholars also moved away from theology and onto secular studies. According to Randák, the Habsburg Empire was different from the lands where the Enlightenment was born. In its case, it was the sovereign who had more of an interest in the effectiveness than the subjects.¹⁰⁷

Haubelt places the second part of the Czech Enlightenment to the years 1761 to 1773. A journal, written in German, was founded. The third part of the Czech Enlightenment, between 1773 and 1791, was marked by visible international results in terms of Czech scientific advancement. Publications in Czech started to spring up as well as a political fight for the Czech language and nation. The fourth part is marked by Josef Dobrovský's plead before Leopold II to protect the national identity of the Czech kingdom, and ended on 10 November 1801 when the Czech Estate Polytechnical Institute was remodelled.¹⁰⁸

For Haubelt, the Enlightenment meant the return of the ideas of Jan Amos Komenský (1592-1670), the Czech theologian, philosopher and pedagogue, to his homeland. His major opuses were reprinted right after the Toleration Patent of 1781 was issued.¹⁰⁹ This was significant, since Komenský was an early proponent of universal education. His curriculum called for studies of languages (through grammar), natural sciences (arithmetics, geometry, astronomy...) and was to be finished by the humanities (philosophy, logic, politics) and crowned by theology.¹¹⁰ This program was not dissimilar to that of the maskilim who also argued that theology should be left for the most advanced of students and that the practical (proto-)sciences and languages should come first.

¹⁰⁴ Rychlík, Jan. Vladimír Penčev. Od minulosti k dnešku: dějiny českých zemí. Praha: Vyšehrad, 2013. pp. 222-226.

¹⁰⁵ Haubelt, Josef. České osvícenství. pp. 183-184.

¹⁰⁶ Rychlík, Jan. Vladimír Penčev. Od minulosti k dnešku: dějiny českých zemí. p. 250.

¹⁰⁷ Randák Josef. et al. Dějiny českých zemí. p. 182

¹⁰⁸ Haubelt, Josef. České osvícenství. pp. 183-184.

¹⁰⁹ Haubelt, Josef. České osvícenství. p. 374.

¹¹⁰ Haubelt, Josef. České osvícenství. pp. 17-22.

Karl Leonard Reinhold (1758-1823) could have been the first one to bring Kant's ideas to Prague and to Vienna. He became Kant's follower during the former's sojourn in Jena during the years 1787 to 1794. It is certain that Reinhold was among the most prominent of Kant's interpreters and helped to make him more generally understood. This was done in big part through the *Briefe über die Kantische Philosophie* that were published in Leipzig in the years 1790 and 1792.¹¹¹

4. 3 Early Haskalah

The second half of the eighteenth century marks the time when the Industrial revolution started its development in Britain and later spread onto the Continent. Religious tolerance (and diversity) was growing around this time as well. According to Paul Johnson, religion itself was changing: its face, formerly emotional and even passionate, was becoming cold. Some of the believers resisted the change and several movements started up as a result. Pietism had been born in Germany in the second half of the seventeenth century and Methodism developed in England. In Jewish areas of Eastern Europe, *chasidism* developed and spread. Its success was, according to Johnson, partly a rebellion against the religious and economic meritocracy that had governed the Shetls of the time. The majority, given its meagre financial means, did not have much influence in the decision-making processes.¹¹² A new religious figure emerged in Baal Shem Tov, a prototype of a tsadik: someone who believed to be sent by God, and neither a common man nor the/a Messiah but somewhere in between, certainly outside of the established elite.¹¹³ The followers of a tsadik prayed their own prayers rather than those from the synagogue. However, during 18th century, an opposition to Chasidism formed, the so-called Mitnagdim. Its unofficial head was the Gaon of Vilna who emphasized learning above all. The first ban against the Chasidim was announced in 1772, but after an excommunication order in 1781 not much more was done. A new enemy appeared and the two became unlikely allies against a completely new movement, the Haskalah.¹¹⁴

For both the Chasidim and the Mitnagdim, religion occupied a central role. This was less true of the Haskalah. Interestingly, despite their apparent opposition towards the

¹¹¹ Haubelt, Josef. *České osvícenství*. p. 142.

¹¹² Johnson, Paul. p. 284-288

¹¹³ Sholem, Gershom. "Hasidism: The Latest Phase" in *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*. New York: Schocken Books. 325-350.

¹¹⁴ Johnson, Paul. p. 284-288

new, the two movements shared some characteristics with the Haskalah. The Chasidism took away the authority of the rabbis and decentralized it, bringing it much closer to the common man. The result (though perhaps not the intention) of Haskalah, coupled with the political and social change, was the same. The Mitnagdim emphasized learning and study. The Maskilim did as well, though their focus was entirely different.

Further, in her book *A History of God*, Karen Armstrong proposes that the Haskalah shares similarities to Sabbatianism and that Sabbatarianism, which had seemed such a backward, obscurantist religion, had helped them [Armstrong most likely means the Sabbatarians/Sabbatians] to liberate themselves from the old ways and made them susceptible to new ideas. The moderate Sabbatarians, who had remained outwardly loyal to Judaism, were often pioneers in the Jewish Enlightenment (the Haskalah); they were also active in the creation of Reform Judaism during the nineteenth century. Often, these reforming *maskilim* had ideas that were a strange amalgam of the old and the new.¹¹⁵ William McCagg considers Sabbatinism to be a bigger threat to the orthodox establishment than that of the Haskalah.¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, it should be noted that Sabbatianism was popular in Moravia. Continuing a religious thread, David Sorkin considers the Kabbalah to have been the main mode of study and medieval biblical exegesis prior to the Haskalah.¹¹⁷

Louise Hecht traces the intellectual forerunners of the Haskalah to earlier developments. She signs are also connected to education: already in the 16th century, rabbi Jehuda Löw (1525-1609), the Maharal of Prague and Chief Rabbi of Moravia criticized traditional ways of teaching. In his view, students of the time were starting their studies of the *Talmud* too early (at eight years of age) in opposition to what the sages had proposed: studying in the order of Bible, Mishna and Talmud. He argued that the focus should be on the Bible as a source of the word of God rather than a pre-cursor to the Talmud. Hebrew was to be taught with a focus on grammar so that the word of God can be properly understood.¹¹⁸ Going yet further into the past, David Ruderman proposes a hypothesis that the early maskilim were part of a trend that stretched from the 15th century Italian sages, called *hacham kolel* (universal sage).¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Armstrong, Karen. p. 333.

¹¹⁶ McCagg, William Jr. *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918*. pp. 22-23.

¹¹⁷ Sorkin, David. "The Early Haskalah" p. 10.

¹¹⁸ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" p. 341

¹¹⁹ Ruderman, David B. *Early Modern Jewry: a new cultural history*. p. 200.

4. 4 The Definition of the Haskalah

According to Iveta Cermanová, the Haskalah is a movement that has both intellectual and social dimensions. The root of the word *haskalah* comes from the Hebrew root S-K-L which is connected to the brain and thinking. In modern time, *Haskalah* came to mean the knowledge that one attained by using one's own brain, especially in secular sciences. It also came to symbolize the whole movement. However, the maskilim did not use the word in this sense. The first one to do so, as Cermanová claims, was Juda Jeitelles in 1831.¹²⁰

Even though the Jewish Enlightenment paralleled the non-Jewish one, there were several major differences: the maskilim desired that the majority takes them as equal and that their correligionists approve of secular studies. The acceptance of the majority was to happen through various means ranging from adapting its language and a modernization of the dress.¹²¹ Alžběta Drexlerová notes the wider context thus: a difficult process started at the end of the 18th century, that of a political and economical emancipation of the Jews into the society. This process was helped by the Haskalah, the goal of which was to turn traditional Jewishness into a modern one.¹²² This brings a unique, economical perspective to a movement that is usually described in intellectual terms and developments. For David Sorkin, early Haskalah was an attempt at harmonizing the knowledge of the day with the Jewish tradition. However, science and philosophy were to remain "subordinate" to the Jewish subjects.¹²³ Finally, David Ruderman gives the following definition: "I hope to underscore the Haskalah proper as primarily a political, pedagogic, and programmatic movement committed to transforming Ashkenazic Jewish culture". It was a movement of German and later Eastern European Jews to "acquire what other European Jews had enjoyed for centuries".¹²⁴

4. 5 The Beginnings of the Haskalah

The *Haskalah* had its roots in Berlin, the capital of Prussia. As Iveta Cermanová writes, its ruler, Friedrich II had a practical policy towards the Jews but the state

¹²⁰ Cermanová, Iveta. "Židovské osvícenství v českých zemích" p. 125.

¹²¹ Cermanová, Iveta. "Židovské osvícenství v českých zemích" p. 125.

¹²² Drexlerová, Alžběta. Jakub a Ezau na cestě k smíření: Dějiny židovsko-křesťanských vztahů. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2009. p. 98.

¹²³ Sorkin, David. "The Early Haskalah" p. 10.

¹²⁴ Ruderman, David B. Early Modern Jewry: a new cultural history. pp. 201-202.

controlled Jewish autonomous institutions. This enabled a new strata to gain power: that of the rich merchants. They were in turn able to act as patrons and support the mostly poor intellectuals by hiring them as tutors. Moses Mendelssohn himself came to Berlin as a poor student and had to rely on the intervention of his teacher who was able to connect him to Isaak Bernhard, a factory owner.¹²⁵ Shmuel Feiner agrees that Germany was “the main area in which the Haskalah developed”¹²⁶ As to the maskilim themselves, according to Sorkin, early maskilim belonged to three categories: autodidacts in secular studies (applied secular knowledge to Jewish texts), physicians who graduated from German universities and rabbis (who studied science, Hebrew and other languages).¹²⁷ A scribe's son, Moses Mendelssohn belonged to the first category but he would become the philosophical father of the Haskalah.

4. 5. 1 Moses Mendelssohn

Moses Mendelssohn was born in 1729 in Dessau, Principality of Anhalt, as a son of a *sofer*, (a scribe of Jewish religious literature). He studied accounting and worked as a merchant but also recieved a good education from the local rabbi. In 1767, he published his *Faidon* where he contemplated the soul using Platonic dialogue. Soon, he was forced to become a defender of Judaism and Jews. He argued for a voluntary membership in religious organizations rather than forced, as well as for an end to Jewish legal jurisdiction. Mendelssohn also advocated an increased rationality in Judaism.¹²⁸ His most important and most controversial opus was the *Biur*, the translation of the Pentateuch, the central Jewish scripture, into the vernacular language (German) with additional commentaries by the author. In this work he promoted an enlightened worldview, and at the same time showed that Judaism does not oppose rational thought and thus the two are not mutually exclusive.¹²⁹ Mendelssohn's ideas spread throughout Europe. In Prague, the Chief Rabbi Ezekiel Landau allowed the work of Mendelssohn to be read.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Cermanová, Iveta. "Židovské osvícenství v českých zemích" p. 126.

¹²⁶ Feiner, Shmuel. The Jewish Enlightenment. Trans. Chaya Naor. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. p. 5.

¹²⁷ Sorkin, David. "The Early Haskalah" in Feiner, Shmuel and David Sorkin, eds. New Perspectives on the Haskalah. Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004. p. 10.

¹²⁸ Johnson, Paul. Dějiny židovského národa. pp. 289-292.

¹²⁹ Cermanová, Iveta. "Židovské osvícenství v českých zemích" p. 126.

¹³⁰ INSERT! pp. 22-23.

4. 6 The Spread of the Haskalah

After Mendelssohn's death Berlin remained the centre of what was later termed the Haskalah. Even though more *haskalahs* (*haskalot*?) developed over time (just as there was more than one Enlightenment), all of them took inspiration from Berlin.¹³¹ In their work *New Perspectives on the Haskalah*, Shmuel Feiner and David Sorkin set the years of the Haskalah to from around 1770s to 1890s and the boundaries of the geographic spread "from London in the west, to Copenhagen in the north, to Vilna and St. Petersburg to the east".¹³² In *The Jewish Enlightenment* Feiner speaks of a maskilic revolution "in the Ashkenazi communities between Vilna and Amsterdam"¹³³ In terms of the periodization of the movement, Ruderman mentions the recent development to divide the Haskalah into two periods: early Haskalah, between 1720 and 1770, and Haskalah proper in 1770s and 1780s. While the former was focused more towards religious and intellectual change, the latter period was directed towards reform based on political and social change. Moses Mendelssohn would be considered part of the early Haskalah.¹³⁴

4. 7 Revolution or Not?

In his introduction to the Haskalah, Shmuel Feiner likened it to the French Revolution. To him, the movement of the maskilim had the same impact on the Jews of Europe than that event of the French. However, he noted several differences between the two:

The maskil had no troops behind him. His audience was small and selective, and he himself usually lacked any recognized religious-rabbinical authority. Nor, for the most part, did he possess the attributes of the high social class-capital and illustrious lineage. His only weapons were knowledge, a quill, and a bottle of ink, as well as a powerful urge to immortalize his words in print and to disseminate them widely. Nonetheless, he represented a new, unprecedented elite which felt it was its duty to chastise and educate the public, and to promote alternative ideas. It was here that

¹³¹ Miller, Michael L. *Rabbis and Revolutions: The Jews of Moravia in the Age of Emancipation*. p. 64.

¹³² Feiner, Shmuel and David Sorkin, eds. *New Perspectives on the Haskalah*. Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004. p. 1.

¹³³ Feiner, Shmuel. *The Jewish Enlightenment*. p. 3.

¹³⁴ Ruderman, David B. *Early Modern Jewry: a new cultural history*. pp. 198-199.

the revolution burst forth; here the historical process of a shift in sovereignty in the Jewish community began: an intellectual elite appeared that confronted the rabbinical, scholarly elite of the Jewish ancient-régime and competed with it.¹³⁵

He goes on to clarify that the change the Haskallah brought on was more like the 17 June 1789 when the Third Estate announced they were going to be henceforth known as the National Assembly.¹³⁶ The revolutionary terminology makes it seem that the Haskalah was started and spread much like a light might from a lightbulb. While it *was* Enlightenment, it built on and interacted with previous and concurrent movements and ideologies, as discussed previously.

For Feiner, the consequences of the Haskallah were:

The internal Jewish public debate [then] left the Torah study halls, synagogues, community council meetings, rabbinical responsa, books of ethics and sermons, and moved into the multilingual periodicals, literary clubs, the republic of letters, and private homes. One of the results of this process was the creation of a new Jewish library. The religious establishment's monopoly on knowledge was broken and so too was the monopoly on the guidance of the community, on criticism and moral preaching, on education and even on the most intimate aspects of life, dress manners, and family.¹³⁷

This is more evidence that the Haskalah should be considered a (part of a) new era, a new development, but not a revolution. According to David Ruderman, the Haskalah was the period that followed the early modern period of Jewish History. It was called the Jewish Enlightenment, "ostensibly ushering in the modern period of Jewish History?"¹³⁸ Ruderman adds, in a note, that modern scholarship tends to require more than the Haskalah for a period to be considered the modern era, but that for some scholars, "the Haskalah still represents the primary agent of Jewish mobility".¹³⁹ Ruderman further states that the beginnings of the modern era were already to be seen in the shifts centered

¹³⁵ Feiner, Shmuel. The Jewish Enlightenment. p. 1.

¹³⁶ Feiner, Shmuel. The Jewish Enlightenment. p. 1.

¹³⁷ Feiner, Shmuel. p. 2.

¹³⁸ Ruderman, David B. Early Modern Jewry: a new cultural history. pp. 193-194.

¹³⁹ Ruderman, David B. Early Modern Jewry: a new cultural history. Note 1 on p. 275.

around the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492. The Renaissance "left its mark on a small but conspicuous group of Jewish intellectuals" and finally the Reformation that saw heightened interest in Hebrew and Judaism by Christians.¹⁴⁰

Ruderman continues to argue that the Haskalah was not such a novel idea when compared to the intellectual output of the 16th and 17th centuries. He calls Haskalah "rather unspectacular in the novelty of its formulations, and in the intensity of its contacts with the outside world. Its significance lies rather in its radical impact within the political, social, and pedagogic spheres, not necessarily the intellectual/cultural ones".¹⁴¹ He then mentions Salo W. Baron who in his earlier writings also proposed the idea that the "fundamental tendencies of the Haskalah, such as secular learning, a "purified" Hebrew tongue, historicism and the revolt of the individual against communal power, had become more and more marked in Italy and in Holland long before Mendelssohn."¹⁴² Ruderman, however, states that Baron did not return to this idea in his later writing. Modern scholarship does not ascribe the name Haskalah to these developments either.¹⁴³ This is further evidence that the Haskalah was connected to and depended on preceding developments, but also that it was set apart from them.

4. 8 Issues of the Haskalah

4. 8. 1 Language

As mentioned above, already in the 16th century, rabbi Jehuda Löw (1525-1609) advocated for the learning of Hebrew so that the Word of God can be read from the Bible rather than from the Talmud.¹⁴⁴ Similarly, the aim of the maskilim was to bring Hebrew back to life and study it as a grammatical language. Even though most of the Jews spoke Yiddish language, to them it was a corrupted jargon. Moses Mendelssohn was an ardent opponent of Yiddish, according to Marie Krappmann, he had significant influence on subduing Yiddish as a language of speaking.¹⁴⁵ Though Mendelssohn appreciated attempts by Christians at Bible translations, he considered it crucial that Jews have their

¹⁴⁰ Ruderman, David B. Early Modern Jewry: a new cultural history. pp. 194-195.

¹⁴¹ Ruderman, David B. Early Modern Jewry: a new cultural history. p. 195.

¹⁴² Ruderman, David B. Early Modern Jewry: a new cultural history. p. 196.

¹⁴³ Ruderman, David B. Early Modern Jewry: a new cultural history. pp. 196-197.

¹⁴⁴ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" p. 341.

¹⁴⁵ Krappman, Marie. Úvod do jazyka jidiš a jeho historie. Olomouc: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Palackého v Olomouci, 2013. p. 16.

own modern German translation so that they would not have to rely on them.¹⁴⁶ This is in line with David Sorkin's definition of the Haskalah: "first and foremost an attempt to broaden the curriculum of Ashkenazi Jews by reviving knowledge of neglected strands of the textual tradition while also engaging with the larger culture".¹⁴⁷ The study of Hebrew as a language and grammar was "ostracized". There was also an element of self-imposed cultural isolation.¹⁴⁸

4. 8. 2 Education

The maskilim envisioned that the ideas of the Haskalah were to be spread through education. Several methods of education have already been mentioned. One could become an auto-didact, as many did, learning through self-study. Another method involved debates whether in person in various salons or through the exchange of letters. The maskilim created a Republic of Letters in parallel and intertwined with the non-Jews. Further, they wanted to reform the educational system as well. As Michal Miller notes, already during the time of Mendelssohn, the Jewish Free School of Berlin was established in 1778.¹⁴⁹ Emanuel Galmoral adds "This was the first Jewish school in Germany in which French and German were taught as well as Hebrew and to which Christian pupils were admitted. The presence of Christian teachers at the school and the mingling of the Jewish and Christian school population were facts quite unusual in those days."¹⁵⁰ The opposite was also true, Jewish children did not readily attend Jewish schools nor did Christian teachers teach there.

An additional way of popularizing the ide(a)ls was the publication of journals. *Measef* was first published in Königsberg in 1783, then it moved to Berlin. It was read widely and reached the Czech lands as well. The Maskilim also founded many Jewish elementary schools that served poor students in particular.¹⁵¹ In founding schools and not forgetting about the poor students, the goals of the state, the Maskilim and the traditional rabbis are all aligned.

¹⁴⁶ Breuer, Edward. "Jewish Study of the Bible Before and During the Jewish Enlightenment" in Hebrew Bible / Old Testament The History and Its Interpretation: volume II: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008. p. 1016.

¹⁴⁷ Sorkin, David. "The Early Haskalah" p.10.

¹⁴⁸ Sorkin, David. "The Early Haskalah" p.10.

¹⁴⁹ Miller, Michael L. Rabbis and Revolutions: The Jews of Moravia in the Age of Emancipation. Page 65

¹⁵⁰ Galmoral, Emanuel. Changing Concepts in Jewish Education. pp. 145-146

¹⁵¹ Cermanová, Iveta. "Židovské osvícenství v českých zemích" p. 127.

4. 9 Haskalah in the Czech Lands

4. 9. 1 Early Haskalah

Just as the "international" Haskalah did not begin out of nothing, neither did the one in the Czech lands. They were, after all, connected: through language and through people. As already mentioned, Louise Hecht notes that the Maharal of Prague and Chief Rabbi of Moravia criticized the traditional ways of teaching. In his view, students of the time were starting the *Talmud* too early (at eight years of age). This was opposition to what the sages had proposed: studying in the following order: the Bible, Mishna and Talmud. He argued that the focus should be on the Bible as a source of the word of God rather than as a pre-cursor to the Talmud. The Maharal envisioned Hebrew to be taught with a focus on grammar so that the word of God can be properly understood.¹⁵² This Prague tradition "which not only criticized the extant Ashkenazi curriculum but also idealized the Sephardi curriculum as an alternative" was taken up as in inspiration by the *maskilim*.¹⁵³ School curriculum was to play a role in the Czech Haskalah. According to William McCagg, the Haskalah in Prague was stronger than Berlin's Haskalah because the maskilim in Berlin did not have schools and because Berlin was more connected to Christian institutions.¹⁵⁴

4. 9. 2 Intellectual Influence in the Bohemian Lands

Later on, several thinkers of the Haskalah emerged in the Bohemian lands or with considerable influence in the lands. Among the most prolific were Naphtali Herz Wesely (1725-1805), Peter Beer (1758-1839) and Herz Homberg (1749-1841). According to Josef Haubelt, Beer's and Homberg's influence reached outside of their Jewish minority as well.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české". p. 341

¹⁵³ Sorkin, David. "The Early Haskalah" p. 11.

¹⁵⁴ McCagg, William Jr. A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989.

¹⁵⁵ Haubelt, Josef. České osvícenství. p. 375.

4. 9. 2. 1 Naphtali Herz Wessely

Among the various attendees of Mendelssohn's salon, Feiner notes Naphtali Herz Wessely who was a poet and Hebrew linguist.¹⁵⁶ Inspired by Josephian reforms,¹⁵⁷ Naphtali Wessely, viewed by Ruderman as the real pioneer" of Haskalah published his work *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* (Words of Peace and Truth) in 1782.¹⁵⁸ Samuel Feiner and David Sorkin regard the book as a "formative text of the Haskalah" and "a passionate response to Joseph II's Edict of Tolerance". Wessely "urged the Jews of the Habsburg empire to enroll their children in state schools where they would follow a balanced curriculum, studying Jewish religious subjects as well as languages, science, and the humanities in an orderly fashion".¹⁵⁹ Wessely saw the basis of a new Jewish identity in educational reform. In reinterpreting Proverbs 22:6, he affirmed the need to educate while young, "when his heart is unsullied by the vanities of the world and by the perversities of strange ideas"¹⁶⁰. However, he also saw the need to educate in a way that was appropriate for children, "according to his qualities and potential"¹⁶¹. Therefore, the Talmud should have a new place in the curriculum: it was to be left only for those with special talent rather than for the Jewish masses. This was in opposition to the traditional way of teaching and learning where rabbinical education was the gateway to social mobility. At the same time, this was aligned with the Theresian-Josephian reforms that sought to elevate the general level of education but at the same time did not make higher education more available.¹⁶² He also expressed the idea that only the "seed of Israel" are obliged to study the laws of the Torah.¹⁶³

Wessely also advocated for two curriculum strands, "human sciences" and "God's laws". The former contained sciences and moral truths that were applicable to the whole of humanity, the latter religious teaching of Judaism, particular to Jews. According to him, it was not appropriate to devote studies solely to religious and therefore particular subjects

¹⁵⁶ Feiner, Shmuel. *The Jewish Enlightenment*. p. 200.

¹⁵⁷ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" p. 341

¹⁵⁸ Ruderman, David B. *Early Modern Jewry: a new cultural history*. p. 201.

¹⁵⁹ Feiner, Shmuel and David Sorkin, eds. *New Perspectives on the Haskalah*. p. 4..

¹⁶⁰ Wessely, Naphtali Herz. "Words of Peace and Truth" in Paul Mendez-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz *The Jew in the Modern World: a documentary History*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. p. 70.

¹⁶¹ Wessely, Naphtali Herz. "Words of Peace and Truth". p. 70.

¹⁶² Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" p. 342

¹⁶³ Wessely, Naphtali Herz. "Words of Peace and Truth" p. 70.

in an age of toleration and emancipation. As Louise Hecht points out, however, the proposed secular subjects were not to be explored solely for their practical purposes. Subjects such as geography, history, ethics and aesthetics were meant to enhance the understanding of Jewish religious subjects and understanding. A systematic study of Hebrew would be added to create an educational program for a wholesome Jewish individual, much like Jews were to become part of the general society. According to the maskilim, the key for integration was education.¹⁶⁴

4. 9. 2. 2 Herz Homberg

Herz Homberg was born in 1749 in Libeň (present-day Prague) and had a rabbinic education. Additionally, he was influenced by Rousseau. One of his first employers was Moses Mendelssohn who hired him as a private tutor for his son Joseph. Homberg was later appointed to the position of superintendent of German-speaking Jewish schools in Galicia (Galicia was annexed by Austria in 1772¹⁶⁵) and assistant censor of Jewish books in 1793. In Galicia, he founded many schools but the parents were reluctant to send their children to study in these schools due to their perception as being too liberal.¹⁶⁶ In 1818 he moved to Prague.¹⁶⁷ There he taught religion and ethics until his death in 1841. During his stay in Prague he was a colleague of Peter Beer. Homberg wanted to make Jews closer to Christians in terms of both outwardly and inwardly signs. In his opinion, Jews should not be forced to wear distinctive clothing. They should serve in the military forces and attain all civil rights. According to him, Jews displayed too much loyalty to the Land of Israel and not enough to the Austrian Empire. According to Iggers Homberg wanted that „Jews in general should be made innocuous, and individual Jews should be made useful.“¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" pp. 342-343

¹⁶⁵ Manekin, Rachel. "Gaming the System: The Jewish Community Council, the Temple, and the Struggle Over the Rabbinate in Mid-Nineteenth Century Lemberg" . p. 352

¹⁶⁶ The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader, Igners, Wilma Abeles, (ed) Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1992. p. 65.; About Homberg generally, Van Luit, Riety. "Herz Homeberg".

¹⁶⁷ Hecht, Louise. Ein Jüdischer Aufklärer in Böhmen: Der Pädagoge und Reformator Peter Beer (1758-1838). Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau, 2008. p. 101. The following source gives an 1814 year for his move.

¹⁶⁸ The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader, p. 66.

In 1812 Homberg wrote a catechism called *Bne Zion* that became compulsory for all Jewish schools and for those who wished to marry.¹⁶⁹ (The restrictions on marriage and family, the *Familiantengesetz* were still in effect as well). As Louise Hecht points out, the book was first made official for Trivial and Hauptschulen. Later, an additional decree obliged Jewish Gymnasias to use it as well.¹⁷⁰ One of Homberg's goals in publishing *Bne Zion* was to demonstrate that Jews are not to be regarded as the chosen people but rather that they are on the same levels as Christians. *Bne Zion* received positive reviews from Mordechai Benet, at that time the Chief Rabbi of Moravia and also Moses Mendelssohn spoke of Homberg favourably.¹⁷¹

4. 9. 2. 3 Peter Beer

The third influential *maskil* was Peter Beer, born in Nový Bydžov, in present day Bohemia. His childhood education already displayed Enlightenment trends: he attended yeshivas in Prague and Bratislava but also studied German and Latin with a local priest.¹⁷² Josef Haubelt writes that Komenský influenced the beginning of Beer's education.¹⁷³ Louise Hecht notes that Beer was "one of the first Jews to attend a teaching seminary" that were opened to Jews by virtue of the Edict of Toleration issued by Joseph II. His teaching career began at a *Normalschule* in Mattersburg/Mattersdorf, continued in his hometown and moved to Prague.¹⁷⁴ After teaching in rural areas he was appointed a teacher at the German Jewish Hauptschule on 25 May 1811.¹⁷⁵ He remained there until 1836.¹⁷⁶ Beer first published his *Toldot Israel* in 1786.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁹ The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader, Igners, Wilma Abeles, (ed) Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1992. p. 67.

¹⁷⁰ Hecht, Louise. Ein Jüdischer Aufklärer in Böhmen: Der Pädagoge und Reformator Peter Beer (1758-1838). p. 178.

¹⁷¹ The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader, p. 68.

¹⁷² Hecht, Louise. "Beer, Peter". in the *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. <http://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Beer_Peter> Accessed 12 December 2016.

¹⁷³ Haubelt, Josef. České osvícenství. p. 375.

¹⁷⁴ Hecht, Louise. "Beer, Peter".

¹⁷⁵ Hecht, Louise. Ein Jüdischer Aufklärer in Böhmen: Der Pädagoge und Reformator Peter Beer (1758-1838). p. 25.

¹⁷⁶ Hecht, Louise. Ein Jüdischer Aufklärer in Böhmen: Der Pädagoge und Reformator Peter Beer (1758-1838). p. 365. "Lehrer an der Hauptschule fuer *Bne-Zion*, Morallehre und biblische Geschichte".

¹⁷⁷ Hecht, Louise. Ein Jüdischer Aufklärer in Böhmen: Der Pädagoge und Reformator Peter Beer (1758-1838). p. 25.

Herz Homberg's *Bne Zion* competed with *Toldot Yisra'el* by Peter Beer.¹⁷⁸ Peter Beer was radical in the same way but his “verve and wit” (as the editor claims) made him more “tolerable” (in the words of the editor). He identified with the German nation and absorbed its standards. In regard to the purpose of his book *Kelch des Heils* (Cup of Salvation). He writes in response to the *Systemalpatent* of 1797:

“Since it is my most ardent wish that this little book might bring about much good, particularly that it should foster the noble and great aim of our benefactor, the ruler of our country, to educate the Jewish nation to become useful citizens.... we now wish... to bring the whole of humanity closer to its destiny, ... we must therefore take to heart Kant's principle of education, ... namely, to educate our students according to the idea of humanity.”¹⁷⁹

The patriotic and royalist language is of particular note. On the other hand, the mention of Jews as a "nation" might seem out of place especially since they are to become citizens of the country. However, it should be noted that the Empire was a multi-national realm. Further, many of its nations were claiming to be just that in addition to being citizens of the Empire. Another interesting feature of this wish is the absence rather than presence of any mention of God or even religion. He also wanted to abolish examinations based on the Talmud. He further argued that those who break the rules of the rabbis are seen on an equal level to murderers, and that “[the rabbis] smother any spark of patriotism because they consider the Jews to be prisoners.”¹⁸⁰

Wessely also spoke of patriotism: "Knowing of these [secular] subjects can only strengthen the House of Israel and mend the breaches made by the preceding rulers... and thus, the children of Israel will also be men who accomplish worthy things, assisting the king's country in their actions, labor and wisdom."¹⁸¹ The imagery of family is particularly noteworthy here. Wessely speaks of Jews metaphorically growing up from their family (and presumably familial introversion) to become men whose sphere of influence is much greater. Peter Beer expressed similar ideas by proclaiming that: “only by greatly improving educational standards can we succeed in stamping out the prejudices among

¹⁷⁸ Hecht, Louise. "Beer, Peter".

¹⁷⁹ *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader*, p. 68.

¹⁸⁰ *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader*, p. 68.

¹⁸¹ Wessely, Naphtali Herz. "Words of Peace and Truth" p. 74

ourselves and among those in power. We are living in a fortunate century, under the rule of the most enlightened and gracious monarchs... who ardently desire to give us freedom and happiness, if we are receptive and of good will."¹⁸² Though he speaks of building of relationships, his first sentence is about relationship *intra* communities rather than *inter*. In the second part, though, he speaks of a possible agreement or coming-together between two sides and the need to reciprocate the enlightenment the monarchs show. In speaking of and encouraging patriotism, the ideas of these maskilim parallel those of the state functionaries and the emperors themselves.

The state and *maskilim* seemed to be in harmony with their educational goals and in opposition to the traditionalists who longed to keep their influence intact. However, a difference existed: the state was not interested in much other than practicalism, whereas the *maskilim* were searching for a new Jewish identity.¹⁸³

4. 9. 2. 4 Becoming a Rabbi

The requirements of office for religious figures used to be a matter for the denominations and religious societies themselves. However, starting in 1805, a new philosophical curriculum published by Emperor Franz II was required of state officials and clergy (Jewish and Christian).¹⁸⁴ This was further expanded later. Writing about the election of rabbis in Galician Lemberg, Rachel Manekin claims that "while the Austrian legislator had much to say concerning the qualifications of Jewish religious functionaries, the Austrian administration had neither too much interest nor desire to interfere in the religious affairs of the community."¹⁸⁵ According to Manekin, "The 1820 imperial resolution mentioned in the law stipulated, among other things, that after a reasonable time no rabbi in the Austrian monarchy should be appointed without first completing an examination proving sound knowledge in philosophical studies and Jewish religious teachings. Although its tone was decisive, the resolution did not explain what it meant by

¹⁸² The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader, pp. 70. Ingers is quoting: *Kelch des Heils*, pp 295.

¹⁸³ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" p. 343

¹⁸⁴ Manekin, Rachel. "Gaming the System: The Jewish Community Council, the Temple, and the Struggle Over the Rabbinate in Mid-Nineteenth Century Lemberg" pp. 355-356

¹⁸⁵ Manekin, Rachel. "Gaming the System: The Jewish Community Council, the Temple, and the Struggle Over the Rabbinate in Mid-Nineteenth Century Lemberg" in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*. Vol 106. Number 3. Summer 2016. 352-382. p. 354

“a reasonable time,” thus leaving the issue of a target date vague.”¹⁸⁶ As she further points out, the philosophical studies were required from those students who wished to attend university studies after their *gymnasium* studies and were progressively moved into the *gymnasium* curriculum itself.¹⁸⁷

Homberg further argued that the study of the Talmud should be restricted since it stood in opposition to loyalty that was owed to the state. For him, Jewish communities should not hire rabbis but should hire teachers instead. Those rabbis that have remained in their positions, he suggested, should be put under the supervisorship of high school teachers.¹⁸⁸ He suggested establishing a "Jewish consistory" that would get rid of the "erroneous and senseless" teachings of the Talmud and revised Jewish textbook and prayerbooks.¹⁸⁹ He even went as far as to suggest a book burning for Jewish books.¹⁹⁰ However, to pass an examination based on Homberg's *Bne Zion* was one of the requirements for becoming a rabbi in Austria. The other one was the completion of a German primary school of three grades. The rules had already been mentioned in the *Systemalpatent* and were further based on an 1831 decision of the Austrian government based on previous decrees of 1826 and 1827. Even though Manekin does not explicitly state so, the decrees seem to have been valid for the whole Austrian Empire.¹⁹¹ Beer criticizes the process of rabbinical formation as well.¹⁹² To further the goals of both the state and the maskilim, there was a further decree, from 1842, that required rabbis to have, within 10 years of its passing, pedagogical and philosophical education.¹⁹³

4. 9. 8. 5 Language

A moderate Haskalah developed in Northern Italy where Jews had been able to be educated and integrated. Through the use of Hebrew, "this more moderate 'Haskalah' had an effect on the Habsburg empire as far as Bohemia, Moravia and Galicia, for in

¹⁸⁶ Manekin, Rachel. "Gaming the System: The Jewish Community Council, the Temple, and the Struggle Over the Rabbinate in Mid-Nineteenth Century Lemberg" p. 355

¹⁸⁷ Manekin, Rachel. "Gaming the System: The Jewish Community Council, the Temple, and the Struggle Over the Rabbinate in Mid-Nineteenth Century Lemberg" p. 355

¹⁸⁸ The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader, p. 67.

¹⁸⁹ The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader p. 67. It is unclear whether this is a direct quote of Homberg by the editor or her own making.

¹⁹⁰ The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader, p. 67.

¹⁹¹ Manekin, Rachel. "Gaming the System: The Jewish Community Council, the Temple, and the Struggle Over the Rabbinate in Mid-Nineteenth Century Lemberg". p. 354

¹⁹² The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader, pp. 69-70.

¹⁹³ Miller, Michael L. Moravští Židé v době emancipace, p. 184, based on MZA B14 M613 number 39947

multicultural Austria-Hungary, Hebrew was well able to keep its place alongside German (now the thoroughly modern cultural language)".¹⁹⁴

4. 9. 8. 6 Religious Reform

Some maskilim called for radical religious reform: the doing away with superficial tradition. This would have been considered going too far by Mendelssohn. This radical anti-rabbinism was largely absent from the Habsburg lands, however. In these lands, maskilim promoted Hebrew and respected rabbinical authority. Yeshivas that existed in the Habsburg lands and specifically in Moravia served as catalysts: they were able to keep the tradition and religious relevance but also to reform it. Michael Silber even proposes that the Yeshivas served as "Haskalah centers *par excellence*".¹⁹⁵ He goes on to add that there was no other place where Jewish youth could "encounter each other so intensively and to devote their time exclusively to intellectual pursuits".¹⁹⁶ After naming several rabbis who were well-versed in secular studies, supported and even taught them, he mentions rabbis such as Samuel Landau, Mordechai Bennet and Nehemiah Trebitsch who symbolized what he termed a "rabbinic haskalah" (with a small *h*).¹⁹⁷ In Galicia, the Hasidic movement, not as widely present in the other lands of the Empire, was an opponent of the Haskalah.

4. 9. 8. 7 Education of Women

Questions about the education of women started to be asked in the general society in the middle of the 18th century. The understanding was that women were to receive education that was appropriate to their position in society: the lower classes were to receive a basic one, while noble women were expected to learn languages and the history of the state.¹⁹⁸ Traditional Judaism allowed women to be socially and economically active, but barred them from the prestigious religious education. As such, there were no

¹⁹⁴ Küng, Hans. Judaism: between yesterday and tomorrow. New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 2007. pp. 199.

¹⁹⁵ Silber, Michael K. "The Historical Experience of German Jewry and Reform in Hungary" in Jakob Katz, ed. Toward Modernity. The European Jewish Model. New Brunswick/Oxford: Transaction Books, 1987. p. 114.

¹⁹⁶ Silber, Michael K. "The Historical Experience of German Jewry and Reform in Hungary" p. 114.

¹⁹⁷ Silber, Michael K. "The Historical Experience of German Jewry and Reform in Hungary" p. 114.

¹⁹⁸ Kičková, Adriana. "Zastúpenie vzdelávania dievčat v školskej štruktúre" in Kudláčová, Blanka, ed. Pedagogické myslenie, školstvo a vzdelávanie na Slovensku v rokoch 1918-1945. Trnava: Trnavská univerzita v Trnave, 2016. pp. 307-308.

institutions for women to study. The maskilim did not invest much effort to change the situation.¹⁹⁹ Even Naphtali Herz Wessely did not include female education in his *Divrey Shalom ve-Emet*.²⁰⁰ Peter Beer advocated for women receiving the same as the men do in terms of education, also on the basis of the Talmud where in Sanhedrin it says „Should only the men, and not the women live?“²⁰¹ Likewise, Homberg argued for Normalschulen and elementary education to be for adults, and that schools for girls also be founded.²⁰² On the other hand, Eva Kowalská notes that the women of no confession had an opportunity to get a certification of their theological knowledge and thus their teaching at public schools was met with ostracism and even repression.²⁰³

Emanuel Gamoral describes the situation thus: when Jewish girls joined in the state schools and started to take in the general curriculum they "were more easily estranged from their people" as they "had not attained a sufficient amount of Jewish culture to stay within the fold".²⁰⁴ The Haskalah then "appreciated the need of giving the Jewish woman training that would prepare her to be the enlightened first teacher of the child at home." He goes to say that the subjects of instructions for the girl schools that were founded as a result were the same as those for other Haskalah schools.²⁰⁵

According to Kieval,

the state's interference into Jewish affairs matched the ideology of the Jewish Enlightenment (the Haskalah) most in the area of educational policy. The promise that they will be able to scope and the content of Jewish education for the next generation and create and influence human attitudes and behaviour, loyalty and opinions, intrigued both the Jewish enlighteners and the non-Jewish authorities. Jewish enlighteners, (the maskilim), saw Joseph's call to found a German-Jewish school not only as a chance to change the way the world perceives traditional Judaism but also a chance to create a new type of an individual - a Jew educated in Western sciences and languages, ready to consider rationally the questions of

¹⁹⁹ Hecht, Louise. *"The Haskalah in Bohemia and Moravia: a gendered perspective"* pp. 257-258.

²⁰⁰ Hecht, Louise, *"The Haskalah in Bohemia and Moravia: a gendered perspective"* pp. 253-254.

²⁰¹ *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader*, p. 72.

²⁰² *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader*, p. 67.

²⁰³ Kowalská, Eva. *Osvietenecké školstvo*, p. 107.

²⁰⁴ Gamoral, Emanuel. *Changing Concepts in Jewish Education*, p. 145.

²⁰⁵ Gamoral, Emanuel. *Changing Concepts in Jewish Education*, p. 193

values and truth, a person loyal to the Emperor and the land and loving his fellow citizens."²⁰⁶

After the German-Jewish *Hauptschule* of Prague was established, the state pressured the community to establish a school for girls as well. This happened on 5 October 1784. Two classes of girls with between 100 and 150 were in attendance. The number first increased, then decreased, and then increased again in the 1790s due to stricter regulations. Following a relaxation of the rules, the numbers dropped again at the turn of the century and finally equalled to number of boys in the 1820s.²⁰⁷ Louise Hecht posits that the changes in enrollment were due to the fact that, for the parents, the positive outcome of education for girls was not immediately evident. The Bohemian maskilim pushed for a more egalitarian approach in education, but their influence was limited.²⁰⁸ However, the state pushed for the same agenda and was more successful in its goals.

²⁰⁶ Kieval, Hillel J. Formování českého židovstva: Národnostní konflikt a židovská společnost v Čechách 1870-1918. p. 15 Translation by Matej Grochal

²⁰⁷ Hecht, Louise. "*The Haskalah in Bohemia and Moravia: a gendered perspective*" p. 258.

²⁰⁸ Hecht, Louise. "*The Haskalah in Bohemia and Moravia: a gendered perspective*" p. 258.-259

5 Situation During and After the 1830s

5. 1 1830s Religious Reforms

An association for „Improvement of Jewish Religious Worship“ was founded in the late 1830s, the old synagogue was given to the association that advocated for choirs and organ playing. Leopold Zunz, of Berlin, was asked to be a rabbi but due to his refusal to bow to the rule of the orthodox Chief Rabbi of Prague could not assume the position.²⁰⁹ Then Michael Sachs became the first reformed rabbi of Prague. The first reformed religious services took place in 1837 when the association had 280 members. But as Iggers cautions, this has not spread into the countryside.²¹⁰ In terms of the numbers, at the end of the 1840s, about 40 000 Jews lived in 52 Jewish communities in Moravia.²¹¹

5. 2 Nehemiah Trebitsch (Chief Rabbi of Moravia 1832-1842)

Nehemiah Trebitsch, born 1779 in Prague, became the Moravian Chief Rabbi in 1832 following the death of Mordechai Benet. During the ten years of Trebitsch's time in the position, he has accumulated opposition and criticism. He has used his powers to limit reform in Moravia and to expand his own influence in religious and administrative matters. Disagreements between him and Jewish communities were often referred to the Moravian Gubernium. As a result, his right to name and approve rabbis and religious teachers for communities has been decentralizing to the communities.²¹² Trebitsch strongly opposed the use of German for preaching in the synagogue.²¹³ In 1833, Trebitsch asked the Gubernium to give him the right to nominate rabbis for posts that have become free. In a letter dated 27 July 1833, he asked the Gubernium to change the *Polizey Ordnung* so that he could name rabbis and also "Hebrew schooling".²¹⁴ The Chief Rabbi was accused of not respecting rabbinic candidates who knew secular subjects and used German. The second accusation became a basis for a suit that was brought on by his opponents. According to a decree of 1820, Chief Rabbis were to promote German among Jews.²¹⁵ Nehemiah Trebitsch did not communicate with the communities a lot. The one

²⁰⁹ Hecht, Louise. *Ein jüdischer Aufklärer in Böhmen*, pp. 350-351.

²¹⁰ *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: a historical reader*, p. 72.

²¹¹ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*, p. 181

²¹² Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*, p. 107

²¹³ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*, p. 113

²¹⁴ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*, p. 111

²¹⁵ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*, p. 118

exception to this was the decree as to which Talmud tractate was to be read at Yeshivas in Moravia.²¹⁶ This tractate dictum could be interpreted as a centralizing policy.

There was further centralization that followed. The next *Landesrabbiner* Samuel Hirsch sent a survey in 1847 to survey the situation of the 52 communities with regards to synagogues, schools, ritual baths, burial brotherhoods, charity associations and other communal institutions.²¹⁷ The survey was not met with great enthusiasm from the communities. Their representatives felt the traditional community autonomy was under question. The situation, however, was in stark contrast to that of Oldenburg and Friesland: in Moravia communities were able to support rabbis and yeshivas, whereas in those cities it was hard to get a minyan (a group of at least ten men) together. Miller describes the survey as having "centralizing tendencies".²¹⁸ Hirsch then issued a *Synagogenordnung* that prescribed proper behaviour in synagogues which was seen as another usurpation of power since local rabbis were to enforce the rules and report to the Chief Rabbi twice a year.²¹⁹

5. 3 After 1848

Even after the Edict of Tolerance and existing schooling that gave Jews more and more options to take part in the general public discourse, they were still not fully emancipated yet. According to Eva Kowalská, the visit of Emperor Ferdinand to the Jewish school in Bratislava (then Pressburg) on 11 November 1830 signalled the upcoming emancipation of Jews.²²⁰ Emancipation came at the end of the 1840s. Much like the rest of Europe, the Austrian Empire was swept by a revolutionary wave during the years 1848/1849. The revolution did not bring more autonomy for the Czech Lands but did bring about increased freedoms. Among the most significant freedoms was the abolition of serfdom. The laws that applied specifically to Jews, the draconian *Familiantengesetze* and *Ansiedlungsverbote* (which limited settlement) were not re-established after the revolution.²²¹ Jews could finally settle wherever they wanted and

²¹⁶ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. p. 182

²¹⁷ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. p. 182

²¹⁸ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. p. 182-183.

²¹⁹ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. pp. 183-184.

²²⁰ Kowalská, Eva. *Osvietenecké školstvo (1771-1815): nástroj vzdelania a disciplinizácie*. p. 105

²²¹ Hecht, Louise, *Moderní dějiny Českých Židů*. p. 7.

marry whomever they wanted. However, the lifting of the restrictions would bring about a negative impact as well.

Whereas the individual or family benefited from these developments, the end of the restrictions had an impact on communities. Many took advantage of the possibility to move themselves and their businesses and thus (especially smaller) communities started losing their inhabitants and with them the tax base needed to support community institutions and staff. As a result the holders of various community offices became concerned about their employment and livelihood. Among those were rabbis, teachers, cantors and ritual slaughterers. Three teachers decided to write a letter to the Ministry of *Kultus* and Education on 29 July 1849. The authors of the letter predicted two possible scenarios: Christian and Jewish schools would merge and Jewish teachers would lose their livelihood. Should they remain unmerged, then the salaries would continue to decline. A solution was proposed: to use the *Landesmassafond* for a creation of a foundation for Israelite-German teachers.²²²

As a result of the continual downfall of the communities, a committee was established and chaired by Hirsch. Its goal was to reorganize Jewish communities and to create a separation between the temporal and spiritual. Religious communities were now termed *Synagoge* rather than *kehilot*. The hierarchical system was based on the *Shai Takanot*.²²³ Every level was expected to have their own educational institution: *Jüdische Volksschule* was at the elementary level: it was to teach religious and *bürgerlich* (secular) subjects. At the district level, six classes of *talmudische Vorbereitungsclassen* (preparatory talmudic studies), one for each district. The *Vorbereitungsclassen* were to be staffed by rabbis and the students were to be future rabbis, religious teachers and cantors for Moravia and financed by Moravian Jews. After graduation from the preparatory course, the students were to enrol in a *Jüdische-akademische Lehranstalt* where the Chief Rabbi and other teachers were to teach. The students were to get a secular education also at the local Gymnasium.²²⁴

The plans were to be discussed at an all-Moravia meeting on 5 November 1849. However, just 18 out of 80 delegates representing only a quarter of Moravian communities showed up. The opposition was strong and criticized Hirsch for

²²² Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. p. 271.

²²³ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. p. 273-275.

²²⁴ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. p. 276-277.

undemocratically leading the meeting. Again, centralization and hierarchization was opposed by the delegates. Hirsch Fassel from Prossnitz/Prostějov was among the biggest critics. He criticized the lack of autonomy for communities (guaranteed in the *Shulkhan Arukh*), he was against the proposed centralization: his view was that local officials would become peons of the central authorities. Finally, he warned that this system would create reform movements that could destroy religious life in Moravia since no one could bear such religious yoke.²²⁵ Following six days of deliberation during a meeting between 31 December 1849 and 5 January 1850, the new order was ratified in an amended state. The proposed district rabbis and the big council of the land were erased from the order.²²⁶ More conflicts and attempted solutions followed until the governor Lažanský called a meeting to Brno where, on 19 July 1850, he proclaimed that membership in Jewish communities must not be voluntary since the majority of Jews would pay contributions as low as possible and thus a centralized system would be the best solution given the situation. The synagogal order was accepted.²²⁷

A learning institution of a higher order, taking the place of the yeshiva, was the theological seminary. This school was to be either in Brno or in Znojmo and it remained a controversial topic. Some rabbis had advocated for the institution starting in the 1830s: there was no such institution in the hereditary lands of the Habsburg Empire. Hirsch himself supported the plan and even asked a former student to become a teacher at the institution modelled on Padoa. By 1849/1850, communities changed their view, they were not as much against the institution but against how the required financial support was to work. In a letter sent to the governor Lažanský, the community of Prostějov/Prossnitz argued that a bigger city such as Vienna or Prague would be more suitable for such a project since they would already have the necessary libraries as well as a bigger Jewish population. The writers also felt that given the present financial difficulties when communities were struggling to pay their own rabbis and teachers, a seminary should not be supported only by Moravian communities. Even though the Moravian gubernium was in favour of the seminary, it never materialized.²²⁸ The situation is symptomatic of the coming end of the Jewish communities in Moravia. There just was not enough traditional Jewishness to support these activities anymore.

²²⁵ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. p. 277-279.

²²⁶ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. p. 279-280.

²²⁷ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. p. 279-280.

²²⁸ Miller, Michael L. *Moravští Židé v době emancipace*. p. 281-282.

5. 4 Schools After the Enlightenment

As Hillel Kieval notes, until 1848, only elementary schools offered education in Czech in Bohemia. Secondary schools kept using German starting in the second year. There was no Czech-language secondary education in Moravia until 1867.²²⁹ After the Concordat of 1855, the Church was in control of education and was able to control that all the secular disciplines that were taught were free of doctrinal interference. Count Leo Thun, the minister of education, although a conservative, was able to produce some reforms. He reorganized the gymnasium curriculum and created the *Realschule* with emphasis on modern languages, mathematics and sciences. Thus also "secured the right of various nationalities to have at least elementary instruction taught in the language of the majority of the population of individual communities."²³⁰

In 1868, the legislation called *Květnové zákony* (May Laws) annulled the Concordat of 1855 and established state supervision of the Catholic Church, in Austrian lands, a separation of Church and state was introduced in all public areas including education. Until that time, all elementary and most secondary schools were supervised by the Church. Since Joseph II, Jewish communities managed their own elementary schools. However, starting in 1868 education was secularized: available for students and teachers to all faiths.²³¹ A new school law was introduced. It established a state-controlled school system. *Volksschulen* at the elementary level, *Bürgerschulen* were a subgroup for city populations and those students who did not intend to continue their studies further. *Gymnasien* offered the so-called "classical" curriculum, *Realschulen* a technical one. A *Realgymnasium* was created later as a combination of a *Gymnasium* and *Realschule*. Post-secondary education was provided by universities and technically focused *Hochschulen*.²³² Kieval further notes that the Jewish *Normalschulen* were not closed following emancipation. In the academic year 1884/1885, 114 private elementary schools were still supported by Jewish communities in Bohemia. 4470 students attended these schools, about a third of all Jewish students in the land. He also notes that 97% of Jewish

²²⁹ Kieval, Hillel J. *Formování českého židovstva: Národnostní konflikt a židovská společnost v Čechách 1870-1918*. p. 67

²³⁰ Kann, Robert A. *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*. p. 322-323.

²³¹ Kieval, Hillel J. *Formování českého židovstva: Národnostní konflikt a židovská společnost v Čechách 1870-1918*. p. 68

²³² Kieval, Hillel J. *Formování českého židovstva: Národnostní konflikt a židovská společnost v Čechách 1870-1918*. p. 68

children used German as the language of learning at these schools. The reason for this, according to Kieval were: tradition, religious conservatism, loyalty to the Austrian state or other subjective reasons.. The trend was visible mostly in rural areas, it was absent in urban and industrial centres where Jews were now newly moving.²³³

According to Kieval, the Jewish *Hauptschule* in Prague likely continued to function after the reforms as a state institution for students of all creeds. Just before the reform, the Jewish community of Prague managed 10 private elementary schools for girls and 5 for boys.²³⁴ The Josephite reforms of the middle of the 18th century established secular Jewish schools on the elementary level. Though it was not forbidden to establish secondary and post-secondary education, none of the Jewish communities decided to take this step. In 1882/1883, 83% of Jewish secondary students attended German-language schools, the rest Czech-language schools.²³⁵ Even in the year 1885 4073 Jewish children were still attending German-language schools affiliated with Jewish communities, 192 Catholic and 17 Protestant children also attended.²³⁶ The long-lasting presence of the German language in Jewish schools and in the Jewish culture in general would please the maskilim. However, as previously mentioned this fact had negative consequences for Bohemian and Moravian Jews in the latter periods of the 19th century and later as both provinces were becoming more and more Czech. Eventhough many Jews would assimilate into the forming Czech culture and many would try to embrace both at the same time; the affiliation with German culture and language, whether perceived or real, would become not only a legacy of an older era but an outright burden in the 20th century.

Much as the Haskalah depended on other developments that preceded it, there were and are developments that owe their due to the Haskalah. Several movements that are now considered inalienable from Judaism would not have been possible. One of them is the Wissenschaft des Judentums. Its goal was to make the Jewish tradition a subject of scientific study. A secular approach was needed for this development and Wissenschaft des Judentums established schools that supported their ideals. Perhaps with a bit of exaggeration it could be claimed that any secular Jewish schools were and

²³³ Kieval, Hillel J. Formování českého židovstva: Národnostní konflikt a židovská společnost v Čechách 1870-1918. pp. 71-72

²³⁴ Kieval, Hillel J. Formování českého židovstva: Národnostní konflikt a židovská společnost v Čechách 1870-1918. p. 72

²³⁵ Kieval, Hillel J. Formování českého židovstva: Národnostní konflikt a židovská společnost v Čechách 1870-1918. p. 73

²³⁶ Kieval, Hillel J. Formování českého židovstva: Národnostní konflikt a židovská společnost v Čechách 1870-1918. p. 77

are built on a tradition of the Haskalah. These do not exist in the Bohemian lands but did and do exist in other countries including the modern state of Israel. Another development is the interest in Hebrew as a language and its use in a secular setting in the 19th and 20th centuries. The Hasidim or Mitnagdim and other small orthodox streams of Judaism do not use Hebrew as a day-to-day language but otherwise it is used for and in secular setting worldwide.

Several ideas for further research can be explored: Louise Hecht mentions a Moravian-Silesian Association of Israelite Teachers founded in 1862 by Moritz Eisler. The organization had a conference in Brno in 1863.²³⁷ The ideology and practical running of this organization could be explored and through it the attitude of Jewish teachers to the ongoing reforms whether by the maskilim or by the state. The teachers are one of the most prolific sides of the changing landscape of education but their voice is not heard. Another group is the students and their perspective. Neither of these were readily found in the Moravian Land Archive. A further idea that could be explored is the connection between the Sabbatean movement and the Haskalah, in general and in Czech/Moravian lands in particular. Likewise, the connection with Reform Judaism within the Czech Lands could be researched.

²³⁷ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" pp. 351-352

Conclusion:

During the 17th century, Jews lived in conditions that today might be called ghettoized. Their mobility and even marriage rights were restricted. Upward mobility existed in most cases only within the community. On the other hand, these conditions enabled strong communities and strong traditions. Moravian Jews had their own legislation, the *Shai Takanot*, that served as a basis for administering the land. Schools were important vehicles for transmitting Jewishness as it was known. However, only boys could enjoy the benefits of this education. Its curriculum consisted of religious material.

The following century, the 18th, marked the beginning of enlightenment. Interest in philosophy and the natural sciences started to grow within Europe. The Jews were not an exception. Moses Mendelssohn is considered the father of the Haskalah, the Jewish Enlightenment. His translation of the Bible into German was widely read, his philosophical work influenced other maskilim. They promoted studies in secular sciences, not only as an addition to the Jewish curriculum but as the main topic of study. The studies were to be available to everyone, including girls. The learning of the language of the land, German, was another priority, they were not fond of Yiddish which they saw as a corrupted jargon.

By this time, however, the state had been interested in education for some time as well. The Empress Maria Theresa decreed compulsory schooling for both genders between the ages 6 and 12 in 1774. The legislation also created three types of schools, the trivial schools, mainschools and normative schools that were to serve as the prototype for others in the province. Her efforts were complemented by those of her son and successor, Joseph II who issued a series of Edict of Tolerance. They were aimed at the Jewish inhabitants of his provinces and expressed his wish to make Jews "useful" to the state. Several rights were given by the Emperor but the most strict ones stayed on. The rights were balanced by responsibilities, among them the necessary use of German. The Emperor, however, also reinstated state support for Jewish education in German.

Meanwhile, the Jewish reformers of the Enlightenment era, known as the maskilim were preparing their own program of Jewish rebirth. They shunned the imperfect Yiddish and promoted German, the language of the land and of knowledge. According to them, the old ways of education were no longer appropriate for the time and were to be updated with a system that guaranteed a secular education for everyone regardless of gender. The more able could continue in Rabbinic studies if they so wished.

The maskilim and the state thus became unexpected allies, their main goals were in alignment. The state was able to realize what the maskilim intended. This resulted in a situation where in Germany, until the 1820s, only eight schools that were trying to follow the ideals of the Haskalah by merging secular and religious subjects had been established. They had to fight for their existence whereas in the Habsburg monarchy, the state was the initiator and organizer of German-Jewish schools.²³⁸ The united efforts of both sides left their impact on the Jewish situation in the Habsburg Empire and its successors for some time.

²³⁸ Hecht, Louise. "Mezi Haskalou a Chederem. Školy a židovská výchova v zemích koruny české" pp. 344

Appendix

A translation of the Shai Takanot

The beginning of wisdom is godliness

Points concerning education (Lehre):

1. Every Jewish community (קהלה) which consists of thirty families that pay community taxes (Gemein Anlaag) is obliged to support a rabbi and a school with six students and six younger pupils. Students should not be given less than twelve Kreutzer and younger pupils less than seven Kreutzer.²³⁹ The smallest ones should obtain a bit less.

The case of a weekly livelihood (Kosthaltung) of the students and younger pupils and the source of their week's pay have to be sorted out by every community in the presence of its Jewish elders, assessors (Beisitzer), its rabbi and provincial elders.

The communities that are obliged to support their students and pupils in the above-mentioned way have to support them in the winter time until the month of Adar and in a leap year until the month of Second Adar and in the summer time until the month of Elul; between these times the provincial elders have to facilitate the situation of the communities by proportionally dividing the students and pupils (Scholaren) between the neighbouring communities that have not have students yet. Students and pupils have to carry out their studies (prosequieren) daily there and if there is a rabbi or a scholar (Gelehrter), they have to go to him.

At Passover and at the Feast of Tabernacles (Oster- und Laubhütte-Feyertage) every community has to do a voluntary collection (Collecta) for the purpose of [securing] the livelihood of the students. Simultaneously, the communities that do not have students contribute to the collections of those communities that have students. This division will be done by two land elders.

Should there be too few schools in a province and only few of them in another province and the division of the students would be difficult, the provincial elders have to reallocate

²³⁹ A small amount of currency.

the voluntary contributions (Geldgaben) as well as the students and younger pupils to provinces: from the provinces where there are many schools to the provinces where there are few schools.

Two collectors of alms (Almosenpfleger) have to be appointed in every community to do the collection and likewise the issuing of the money for the students (Studentenhald). Even though the local rabbi is excluded from this position [alms collector] the acceptance of students and younger pupils [for the scholarships] have to happen according to his consideration and the alms collectors cannot oppose to him in the matter of the acceptance [of the students for the scholarships] and the issuing of the scholarships.

It was attained the knowledge that, some of communities which are discrediting rectitude of the Torah, because they vote as a rabbies (these) candidates, who gave them illegal gratuity (Darlehung), without getting information whether are these candidates educated enough in our jewish studies and laws and whether they are able to teach (the others). Because of that (we) considered that it is essential to order, that these communities, where there aren't thirty (families), but only fifteen or twenty families, which are paying taxes (Anlagen) are not allowed to hire neither domestic nor foreign rabbies without previous permission of the Moravian chief rabbi, because these things need to be well examined and rethought.

If the rabbi promises help with providing for livelihood to his student, then is the rabbi obligated to pay this contribution for student to alms collector (einhändigen). It is even clearer that rabbi is obligated to give the money to the alms collector, if they (money) were collected as a penalty.

Rabbi who is teaching either regular or itinerant students (Scholaren) is obligated to control their studiousness in their studies and (he is also obligated to) do examination at least during the Pentecost or feasts (Pfingsten oder Freiertage), that means in winter no later than fifteenth (day) of the month shvat and in the summer no later than fifteenth (day) of the month av. As long as the rabbi would not be able to do these exams himself, he has to hand these exams over to some jewish scholar. In the case that rabbi forget to do it, he should be punished by revocation of his week salary, and it will be done in the

way that jewish reeve does not give him (to the rabbi) this weekly salary (two ducats will be sent to the Land Senior). Only in that case, when the rabbi is very busy with his issues and he hand the exam over to another scholar and this (scholar) does not take the exam, he (the rabbi) does not take any responsibility for it.

10. All Rabbis who teach students (Scholaren) a pupils should teach the masechta or Talmudic tractate in a way that whatever they start they also finish and not start first here and then there, but teach in a certain order. The Landesrabbiner must then create a yearly cycle in a given time masechta or a Talmudic tractate, where students should start, and this share with the whole Land so that necessary books could be imported from Prague or Cracow.

11. All teachers or lectors (Schulmeister) must send their pupils to an examination to a rabbi or to someone who has been deputized by the rabbi, so that it can be discovered whether the curriculum has been properly taught. Should the teacher or lector (Schulmeister) not send the children to an examination by the rabbi or his deputy then the fathers should deduct from his salary and, after

12. Communities that have fewer than thirty tax payers? and do not have the obligation to support a rabbi or a synagogue, are still obliged to arrange a teacher for the teaching of their youth, so that children do not idle; as long as communities have children who wish to study, the fathers should pay for a teacher. Should those who do not have any children learning and do not need a teacher not want to pay for them, then the Jewish community (in corpore) (under Jewish law) is obliged to finance the teacher from all their means, but the organization of what, from what and to where the salary (Unterhaltung) should be payed should be determined by the land elder and a rabbi so that everyone who sends children to school should pay something in advance according to the number of children without lowering the taxes that he pays along with all the other settlers.

13. A very small community, which is not able to have a lector (Shulmeister), and where the Schulklöpper (employee of the community, who gets people together for the morning prayer) and chazan (Schulsinger) (singer of the synagogue) are also able to teach, it should be permitted to them, however, not to the shochet (Schächter) (ritual butcher),

because being a shochet requires too much time, so he wouldn't teach the children in the way that is necessary.

14. Every father is obliged to sustain each of his children on studies, until he reaches 13 years of age, and the tuition he pays accordingly to his possession. If he is not able to pay the tuition from his own money, he should get an allowance (help) or the child should be sent to a place where there are regular or wandering students (Scholaren), so he gets education until his 13 years of age. Even if it is clear, that some children are not suitable for studying, their fathers shouldn't take them out of school to their shops or crafts, even less to send them to serve somewhere, but they should support them in learning prayers, reading the Torah and the prophets, as well as in writing, reading and in everything else that is included in the Jewish religion and to do so until the 13 years of age.

15. In the same way are the collectors of the alms/pittance (Almosenpfleger) obliged to take care of the orphans, who have no father, so they study until their 13 years of age, and if the orphans are poor, the community should help them with the tuition or send them to their closest relatives (befreundet). In every community, where they employ heads of the orphanages (Waisenväter), those should make sure, that the orphans go to school until the 13 years of age.

16. In small communities, where there is only one lector (Shulmeister) or two and more learned [men] (Gelehrte), even more in communities, where they have a rabbi, but have no school, should the Jewish inhabitants devote daily specific time of learning the law, so they don't forget the Torah or the law. This should, under a punishment, be as earnestly as possible supervised by the Jewish reeve accordingly to the instructions of the regional elders.

17. In small communities, where there daily doesn't meet in the synagogue in the morning and in the evening ten male persons for the usual prayer, the community's elders and the Jewish reeve are obliged to achieve order among them – under the threat of a big punishment there must gather for a prayer in the synagogue daily ten men; if the Jewish reeve acts against this regulation, he should be punished by having to immediately pay 2 ducats into the treasury for the poor.

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Annotation

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Education/Vzdělávání, Edict of Tolerance, Jewish Education/Židovské vzdělávání

The diploma thesis explores the relationship of the ideals of the Jewish enlighteners and the policies of the state for education and related topics. It compares the situation of the autonomous Jewish communities before the Enlightenment with the situation during and after the reforms of Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II. The effect of his ideal of toleration and "usefulness" for the state of Jews on the education is expored. Further developments in the situation of Jews and their education are noted.

Táto diplomová práce studuje vztah ideálů židovských osvícenců a státní politiky ohledně vzdělávání a přidružených témat. Porovnáva situaci autonomných židovských komunit před osvícenstvím se situací počas a po reformách Marie Teresie a jejího syna Josefa II. Zkoumané jsou dopady jeho politiky tolerance a "užitečnosti" Židů pro stát. Zaznamenan je i další vývoj židovské situace a vzdělávání.