

## GERMAN PIETISM IN NORTHERN FRANCE: THE CASE OF R. ISAAC OF CORBEIL

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The three major figures of German Pietism (*ḥasidut Ashkenaz*), R. Samuel *he-Ḥasid*, his son R. Judah *he-Ḥasid* (d. 1217), and R. Judah's student R. Eleazar of Worms (d. ca. 1230), were all descended from the Qalonymides, one of the leading families of pre-Crusade Ashkenaz. The sentiments expressed in the writings of *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz* concerning the importance of good lineage (*yihus*) in marriage, and in other societal contexts, undoubtedly stemmed from the fact that the Pietists were themselves German bluebloods. Moreover, the Pietists wished to reassert a number of religious and intellectual values of pre-Crusade Germany, in the face of increasing domination by the tosafist schools of northern France. Aspects of this initiative include the strong critique which *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz* leveled against the use of unbridled dialectic and the concomitant value placed on talmudic study which would yield practical legal conclusions, the Pietists' uncompromising insistence on certain textual variants and distinctive practices in prayer, and their related cultivation of liturgical poetry.<sup>1</sup>

Identifying adherents of the German Pietists is not an easy task. *Sefer Ḥasidim*, the main exoteric work of the movement, suggests that

<sup>1</sup> See Avraham Grossman, "Yihus Mishpaḥah u-Meqomo ba-Hevrah ha-Yehudit be-Ashkenaz ha-Qedumah," *Peraqim be-Toledot ha-Hevrah ha-Yehudit*, ed. E. Etkes and Y. Salmon (Jerusalem, 1980), 20-21; Haym Soloveitchik, "Three Themes in the *Sefer Ḥasidim*," *AJS Review* 1 (1976): 329-54; Israel Ta-Shma, "Mizvat Talmud Torah ki-Ve'ayah Hevratit-Datit be-*Sefer Ḥasidim*," *Sefer Bar Ilan* 14-15 (1977): 103-09; H. H. Ben-Sasson, "Ḥasidei Ashkenaz 'al Hалуqat Qinyanim Ḥomriyyim u-Nekhasim Ruhaniyyim Bein Benei ha-Adam," *Zion* 35 (1970): 77-79; Ivan Marcus, *Piety and Society* (Leiden, 1981), 91-105; and my *Jewish Education and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Detroit, 1992), 86-91.

the number of *hasidim* in any particular locale was small.<sup>2</sup> The tosafist R. Samson of Sens was aware of the distinctive *tallit* worn by *Hasidei Ashkenaz*,<sup>3</sup> but no separate Pietist communities appear to have been established. Indeed, Ashkenazic rabbinic literature never even alludes to the struggles between Pietists and non-Pietists, which are referred to explicitly in *Sefer Hasidim* and other Pietist texts.<sup>4</sup> R. Eleazar of Worms maintains that there was no one to whom he could transmit Pietist esoteric lore (*torat ha-sod*), although some recent research indicates that R. Eleazar did have students in this realm, despite his statements to the contrary.<sup>5</sup>

In looking for disciples of *hasidut Ashkenaz*, a distinction should perhaps be made between those who followed certain Pietist teachings or doctrines and those who were full-fledged members of the Pietist movement. Another useful distinction, one that has already been drawn, contrasts the sectarian approach favored by R. Judah *he-Hasid*, which entailed more radical forms of atonement and pietism, with the personalist program advocated by R. Eleazar of Worms (author of the oft-cited halakhic work *Sefer Roqeah* and a signatory on *Taqqanot Shum*), which was more compatible with existing societal customs and institutions.<sup>6</sup> Ostensibly, R. Eleazar's pietistic and penitential regimens would have been easier to follow than those of R. Judah.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Gershom Scholem. "Three Types of Jewish Piety," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 38 (1969): 344, and Soloveitchik, "Three Themes," 336-38.

<sup>3</sup> See R. Samson of Sens' responsum preserved in *She'elot u-Teshuvot Maharam mi-Rothenburg* (Prague, 1895), no. 287.

<sup>4</sup> See Joseph Dan, "Ashkenazi Hasidim, 1941-1991: Was There Really a Hasidic Movement in Medieval Germany?" *Gershom Scholem's "Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism" 50 Years After*, ed. Peter Schafer and Joseph Dan (Tübingen, 1993), 87-101, and the more nuanced study of Ivan Marcus, "The Historical Meaning of *Hasidei Ashkenaz*: Fact, Fiction or Cultural Self-Image?" *Gershom Scholem's "Major Trends"*, 103-14.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., Daniel Abrams, "The Literary Emergence of Esotericism in German Pietism," *Shofar* 12 (1994): 67-85, and Israel Ta-Shma, "Mashehu 'al Biqqoret ha-Miqra Bimei ha-Benayim," *Ha-Miqra bi-Re'i Mefarshav (Sefer Zikkaron le-Sarah Kamin)*, ed. Sarah Japhet (Jerusalem, 1994), 453-59.

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., Marcus, *Piety and Society*, 54-74, 109-20, and idem, "Judah the Pietist and Eleazar of Worms: From Charismatic to Conventional Leadership," *Conference [Proceedings]: Jewish Mystical Leadership, 1200-1270* (Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, 1989), 15-21.

In any event, it is reasonable to expect, in light of the observations offered at the outset, that disciples and followers of the Pietists would be found almost exclusively in Germany. Indeed, small circles of rabbinic scholars who followed aspects of the teachings of *Hasidei Ashkenaz* have been identified near where R. Judah *he-Hasid* resided, first in Spiers and later in proximity to Regensburg. Some of these followers were themselves Qalonymide descendants.<sup>7</sup>

And yet, specific teachings and more general goals of the German Pietists do appear to have influenced the tosafists in northern France during the thirteenth century. Both Ephraim Urbach and Jacob Katz suggested (approximately forty years ago) that R. Moses of Coucy was influenced by the German Pietists in regard to procedures for repentance and penance, as well as attitudes toward non-Jews.<sup>8</sup> To be sure, R. Moses' unique role as a traveling preacher may have contributed

<sup>7</sup> See Yaacov Sussman, "Massoret Limmud u-Massoret Nosah shel Talmud Yerushalmi," *Mehqarim be-Sifrut ha-Talmudit le-Regel Melot Shemonim Shanah le-Sha'ul Lieberman* (Jerusalem, 1983), 14, n. 11, 34–35; E. E. Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* (Jerusalem, 4 1980), 1:207, 222–23, 375–76, 420; Israel Ta-Shma, "Le-Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Polin ba-Me'ot ha-Yod Bet/ha-Yod Gimmel," *Zion* 53 (1988): 347–69. Cf. my "On the Role of Bible Study in Medieval Ashkenaz," *The Frank Talmage Memorial Volume*, ed. Barry Walfish (Haifa, 1993), 1:157–58.

<sup>8</sup> E. E. Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* (Jerusalem, 1955), 387, and Jacob Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance* (New York, 1961), 102–05. See also Shraga Abramson, "Inyanut be-Sefer Mizvot Gadol," *Sinai* 80 (1976): 210–16, and my "Rabbinic Attitudes Toward Nonobservance in the Medieval Period," *Jewish Tradition and the Nontraditional Jew*, ed. J. J. Schacter (Northvale, N.J., 1992), 24–26. Judah Galinsky, "Rabbenu Mosheh mi-Coucy ke-Hasid, Darshan u-Folmosan: Hebbtetim me-Olam ha-Mahshavti u-Fe'iluto ha-Zibburit" (M.A., Yeshiva University, 1993), has assembled additional evidence for R. Moses' pietistic proclivities. Galinsky suggests, however, that partial correlations between R. Moses and German Pietism, together with R. Moses' unique views on certain issues, point to the existence of a distinct *hasidut Zarefat*. I am more inclined to view *hasidut* (and esoteric teachings) as broad values of medieval Ashkenazic rabbinic culture that go back to the pre-Crusade period. Some tosafists sought to downplay them, while others, in both Germany and northern France, adopted particular aspects in varying degrees. See my "*Peering Through the Lattices*": *Mystical, Magical and Pietistic Dimensions in the Tosafist Period* (Wayne State University Press, 1998). Part of the present study, in different form, appears there in chapter 1. Cf. Y. Sussman, "Mif'alo ha-Madda'i shel Professor Ephraim Elimelekh Urbach," *Mussaf Madda'ei ha-Yahadut* 1 (1993) [*Ephraim Elimelekh Urbach: Bio-Bibliografiyah Mehqarit*], ed. David Assaf, 39, n. 63, 47, n. 78, 61.

to his interest in these areas, but this role also reflects the influence of *Hasidei Ashkenaz*.<sup>9</sup>

More recently, Israel Ta-Shma and I have identified the tosafist academy at Evreux, headed by the brothers R. Moses, R. Samuel, and R. Isaac b. Shene'ur, as one which espoused several key doctrines and teachings of the German Pietists, even though there is no real evidence for any direct contact between them.<sup>10</sup> Examples of affinity include the downplaying of talmudic dialectic, the study of areas of talmudic law (and the talmudic corpus itself) that were often neglected in medieval Europe, the development of proper intention in prayer, and the production of liturgical commentaries and handbooks, as well as *piyyutim*. Moreover, the significant parallels between several works of Rabbenu Yonah of Gerona (especially *Sefer ha-Yir'ah*) and *Sefer Ḥasidim*, noted by scholars already at the beginning of the twentieth century but never sufficiently explained, can be easily accounted for by the fact that Rabbenu Yonah studied in his early years at the academy of Evreux.<sup>11</sup>

Given the strong desire of the German Pietists to promote the study of practical *halakhah*, it is also possible that the spate of tosafist codes which appeared in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries

<sup>9</sup> See Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* (1980), 1:469–70, and below, n. 11.

<sup>10</sup> The doctrines of the Pietists probably reached Evreux through literary channels. Nonetheless, a passage in Gedalyah ibn Yahya's *Shalshet ha-Qabbalah* (sixteenth century) raises the possibility that a R. Samuel b. Judah who studied with R. Eleazar of Worms and with R. Eleazar's teacher, R. Moses *ha-Kohen* of Mainz, also studied subsequently at Evreux. See Norman Golb, *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-It Rouen Bimei ha-Benayim* (Tel Aviv, 1976), 98–99; Victor Aptowitz, *Mavo le-Sefer Rabiah* (Jerusalem, 1938), 199–200; and Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 1:407; and cf. *Teshuvot u-Pesaqim*, ed. Efraim Kupfer (Jerusalem, 1973), 312.

<sup>11</sup> See my "Educational Theory and Practice in Ashkenaz During the High Middle Ages (Ph.D., Yeshiva University, 1987), 176–80; I. Ta-Shma, "Ḥasidut Ashkenaz bi-Sefarad: Rabbenu Yonah Gerondi-Ha-Ish u-Fo'alo," *Galut Aḥar Golah*, ed. Aharon Mirsky et al. (Jerusalem, 1988), 165–73, 181–88; and my *Jewish Education and Society in the High Middle Ages*, 74–79, 172–80. Cf. Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 1:479–86; Shimon Shokek, *Jewish Ethics and Jewish Mysticism in Sefer ha-Yashar* (Lewiston, 1991), 18; J. N. Epstein, "Al ha-Kol," *Mehqarim be-Sifrut ha-Talmud u-Vileshonot Shemiyot* 2 (Jerusalem, 1988), 776–89; Binyamin Richler, "Al Kitvei Yad shel *Sefer ha-Yir'ah* ha-Meyuḥas le-Rabbenu Yonah Gerondi," *Alei Sefer* 8 (1981): 51–57; and below, n. 67. Ta-Shma also suggests that R. Yonah's preaching career was influenced by R. Moses of Coucy, if not by R. Judah *ha-Ḥasid* himself. Cf. below, n. 20 (end).

was a response, in part, to the Pietists' challenge.<sup>12</sup> To be sure, there may have been other factors which led to the composition of these codes. These include the natural inclination to collect and to codify the many substantive halakhic breakthroughs which were engendered by tosafist creativity (especially in view of the worsening conditions for Jews in Christian Europe),<sup>13</sup> as well as the influence of Sefardic codes and halakhic methodology on Ashkenaz, a process which was already underway by the second quarter of the thirteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, the fact that R. Moses of Coucy and others who had connections with *hasidut Ashkenaz*, such as R. Eliezer of Metz<sup>15</sup> and R. Isaac *•r Zarua'*,<sup>16</sup> composed these codes points to a degree of Pietist influence, even as these codes collected and codified what were primarily the fruits of tosafist dialectic.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See Ta-Shma, and my *Jewish Education and Society* (above, n. 1), and see also Ta-Shma, "Qavvim le-Ofiyah shel Sifrut ha-Halakhah be-Ashkenaz ba-Me'ot ha-Yod Gimel/Yod Daled," *Alei Sefer* 4 (1977): 20-41.

<sup>13</sup> See the formulation of Arnold Toynbee, cited and applied to medieval halakhic literature by Isadore Twersky, *Introduction to the Code of Maimonides* (New Haven, 1980), 72; Soloveitchik, "Rabad of Posquières: A Programmatic Essay," *Peraqim be-Toledot ha-Hevrah ha-Yehudit* (above, n. 1) [English section], 16; idem, "Three Themes," 339.

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., Avraham Grossman, "Ha-Qesharim Bein Yahadut Sefarad le-Yahadut Ashkenaz Bimei ha-Benayim," *Moreshet Sefarad*, ed. Haim Beinart (Jerusalem, 1992), 179-85, and Bernard Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 46-51, 59-60.

<sup>15</sup> See Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 1:161. In addition to the connections discussed by Urbach, which include the fact that R. Eliezer was a teacher of R. Eleazar of Worms, note also the strong critique in the introduction to R. Eliezer's *Sefer Yere'im*, expressed in terms similar to those of *Sefer Hasidim*, against the unrestrained use of dialectic (*pilpul ha-qushyot*) which can lead to the neglect of *mizvot* and the absence of *yir'at ha-Shem*. Cf. Urbach, 1:26; *Sefer Yere'im*, secs. 334-35; *Sefer Hasidim* (Frankfurt, 1924), 324; and see now Elimelech Horowitz, "Zedaqah, Aniyyim u-Fiquah Hevrat ba-Qehillot Yehudei Eirovah bein Yemei ha-Benayim le-Reshit ha-Et ha-Hadashah," *Dat ve-Kalkalah*, ed. Menahem Ben-Sasson (Jerusalem, 1995), 227-28. R. Eleazar of Worms's Pietist student, R. Abraham b. Azriel of Bohemia (see below), makes extensive use of *Sefer Yere'im*. See R. Abraham's *Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. E. E. Urbach, vol. 4 (Jerusalem, 1963), 164.

<sup>16</sup> See, e.g., Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 1:390-92, 437-39; Yosef Dan, *Torat ha-Sod shel Hasidut Ashkenaz* (Jerusalem, 1968), 66; and Marcus, *Piety and Society*, 112. Cf. Israel Ta-Shma, *Ha-Nigleh shebe-Nistar* (Tel Aviv, 1995), 96, n. 56.

<sup>17</sup> See Soloveitchik, "Three Themes," 348-49; idem, "Religious Law and Change: The Medieval Ashkenazic Example," *AJS Review* 12 (1987): 216-17; idem, *Halakhah, Kalkalah ve-Dimmui Azmi* (Jerusalem, 1985), 82-84. As noted by Soloveitchik, R. Eleazar

R. Isaac b. Joseph of Corbeil (d. ca. 1280) was another northern French tosafist who, like R. Moses of Coucy, authored a halakhic code, known as *Ammudei Golah* or *Sefer Mizvot Qatan*. Indeed, R. Isaac's work owes much to R. Moses' *Sefer Mizvot Gadol* in terms of contents and approach, even as it employs a somewhat different style of presentation.<sup>18</sup> But in addition, it appears that R. Isaac shared a number of other, more overtly pietistic attitudes with R. Judah *he-Hasid* and with his student, R. Eleazar of Worms, reflecting a significant measure of influence. Moreover, the actual affinities between R. Isaac of Corbeil and the German Pietists explain a series of close linkages of these figures in subsequent medieval manuscript collections and rabbinic texts.<sup>19</sup>

R. Isaac of Corbeil records all four modes of penance which were the hallmarks of the penitential programs of both R. Judah and R. Eleazar, including *teshuvat ha-mishqal* and *teshuvat ha-katuv*, which often required the penitent to undergo harsh physical afflictions.<sup>20</sup> Their

of Worms' *Sefer Roqeah* does not generally take into account the new developments of the tosafist period.

<sup>18</sup> See I. Ta-Shema, "Isaac ben Joseph of Corbeil," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 9, 21–22, and idem, "Iḥasidut Ashkenaz bi-Sef'arad," 168, n. 8.

<sup>19</sup> For additional examples of thirteenth-century northern French tosafists, their students, and other northern French rabbinic figures who displayed an interest in *torat ha-sod*, magical concepts and/or pietism, and their relationship with *Hasidei Ashkenaz*, see Ta-Shema, "Mashehu 'al Biqqoret ha-Miqra Bimei ha-Benayim" (above, n. 5); idem, "Sefer ha-Maskil- I-libbur Yehudi-Zarefati Bilti Yadua' mi-Sof ha-Me'ah ha-Yod Gimmel," *Mehqerei Yerushalayim be-Mahshevet Yisra'el* 2 (1983): 416–38; Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* 1:149–51, 237–28; my "Rabbinic Figures in Castilian Kabbalistic Pseudepigraphy: R. Yehudah *he-Hasid* and R. Elhanan of Corbeil," *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 3 (1993): 88–90, 100–02; and my "Peering Through the Lattices".

<sup>20</sup> *Ammudei Golah* [*Semaq*] (Kapust, 1820), sec. 53: ר' מיני תשובה הם: תשובה הגדר תשוב' (Kapust, 1820), sec. 53: ר' מיני תשובה הם: תשובה הגדר תשוב' (Kapust, 1820), sec. 53: ר' מיני תשובה הם: תשובה הגדר תשוב'. Cf. *Sefer ha-Roqeah ha-Gadol* (Jerusalem, 1967), 25, *Hilkhot Teshuvah*, sec. 1 (end): ר' עיני תשובה הם: תשובה הבאה תשובה הגדר תשובה המסקל תשובה הכתוב. On the four modes of penance in the writings of R. Judah *he-Hasid* and R. Eleazar of Worms, see Baer, "Ha-Megamamah ha-Datit ha-Hevratit shel Sefer Iḥasidim," *Zion* 3 (1937): 18–20; Dan, *Sifrut ha-Musar veba-Dersuh* (Jerusalem, 1975), 128–33; and Marcus, *Piety and Society*, 39–52. The substitution of תשובה הגדר תשובה for תשובה הכתוב in the *Semaq* passage is not a problematic discrepancy. The term תשובה הגדר תשובה appears as a substitute or definition for תשובה הבאה in *Sefer Iḥasidim* (Frankfurt, 1924), 37 and in other related Pietist texts. See *Sefer Roqeah*, *Hilkhot Teshuvah*, sec. 4; Israel al-Nakawa, *Menorat ha-Ma'or*, ed. H. G. Enelow, vol. 3 (New York, 1933), 114–15; and Marcus, 50.

inclusion is rendered even more suggestive by the fact that R. Abraham b. Azriel of Bohemia, a devoted Pietist student of R. Eleazar of Worms who cites formulations of R. Eleazar on the *teshuvah* process and its efficacy, does not make any reference to *teshuvat ha-mishqal* or to the need for physical afflictions as part of the process.<sup>21</sup>

R. Moses of Coucy, whose affinities with the *hilkhot teshuvah* of the German Pietists have already been noted, also stopped short of requiring forms of self-affliction for penance.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, R. Simḥah of Spires, a contemporary of R. Moses who was also linked to R. Judah *he-Ḥasid*,<sup>23</sup> issued a ruling regarding repeated domestic abuse (which required the husband to be physically punished according to the judgment of the court) that appears to allude to the concept of *teshuvat ha-mishqal* as its basis.<sup>24</sup> R. Meir of Rothenburg, a younger contemporary of R. Isaac of Corbeil who studied with R. Samuel of Evreux and was influenced by a number of teachings of *ḥasidut Ashkenaz*,<sup>25</sup> prescribed physical punishments and afflictions as penance in a number of responsa. In one instance, R. Meir refers specifically to

Ms. Cambridge Add. 394 (Ashkenaz, fourteenth/fifteenth centuries), fols. 83v-84r, records a penitential *tehinnaḥ* by an Isaac b. Joseph (of Corbeil?): אודה על חטאתי בעוד בי ... ואיככה אתנפל מפני האדון ה' ... צרכי אני ספרתי ואת חטאתי וזכרתי נשמתי ויראתי והורדתי מפני פחד ה' ... וצרכי אתנפל מפני האדון ה' ... ואיככה אתנפל מפני האדון ה' ... נפשי על יצרר ואויה לי על שברך מה אשיב לה' ... חולי נא וגוחי אולי יחנן ה' לבי דוה עלי כי קרוב יום ה' רגזו ואל תחטאו כי חטאתם לה' ישיב גוף לנושמה אם עושים מאומה לסלוח לי אשר לא ... יאבה ה' ואיככה אמרת נקי אני מה' השיבה ה' קדוש ישמע לקוראיו כי איל רחום ה' ... Cf. ms. Bodleian (Neubauer) 1209, fol. 19r (אנא מורה חטאים). For similar *tehinnot* or *vidduyim* attributed to R. Moses of Coucy, see Y. D. Gilat, "Shetei Baqqashot le-R. Mosheh mi-Coucy," *Tarbiz* 28 (1959): 54-58. (One of these *baqqashot* was copied by R. Yonah in his [Ye]) *Sod ha-Teshuvah*; see Ta-Shma, "Ḥasidut Ashkenaz bi-Sefarad," 170.) For R. Judah *he-Ḥasid*, see ms. Parma 1138, fol. 139v, found also in ms. British Museum, Add. 26883 (see G. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ed. G. Margoliouth, vol. 2 [London, 1905], 255 [no. 640]). For R. Eleazar of Worms, see his *Sefer Roqeah, Hilkhot Teshuvah*, sec. 21.

<sup>21</sup> See *Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. Urbach, 4:179-80.

<sup>22</sup> See Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 1:469-70.

<sup>23</sup> See above, n. 7.

<sup>24</sup> See A. Grossman, "Yaḥasam shel Ḥakhmei Yisra'el el Hakka'at Nashim," *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress for Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1990) [Division B, vol. 1], 121-23 (= "Rabbinic Views on Wife-Beating, 800-1300," *Jewish History* 5 [1994]: 59-61). Cf. Marcus, *Piety and Society*, 126-27.

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 2:522, 528, 547, 564; my "Rabbinic Figures in Castilian Kabbalistic Pseudepigraphy," 100-102; and Ta-Shma, "Rabbenu Dan be-Galut

*Sefer Roqeah* as his source.<sup>26</sup> Nonetheless, R. Isaac of Corbeil remains the first northern French halakhist to refer to the full program of Pietist penances.<sup>27</sup>

R. Isaac's striking formulation on synagogue decorum and comportment, found without attribution at the end of his lengthy discussion of the precept of prayer and its performance, owes much to the writings of the German Pietists.

Woe to those who chatter idly or act frivolously in the synagogue during the prayer service. They prevent their children from meriting the world to come. We should draw an *a fortiori* argument for ourselves from the Christians. If they can stand silently (*ke-'ilmim*) in their churches, we who stand before the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, can certainly do so. Our predecessors have told us, and we have seen with our own eyes, that several synagogues have been turned into churches because people acted frivolously in them. . . . Thus, everyone must feel the need to be in awe and tremble before Him and not talk, at least during the cantor's repetition of the *Shemoneh Esreh*.<sup>28</sup>

Using almost identical phrases and terms, two passages in *Sefer Hasidim* discuss the need to eliminate talking and frivolous behavior from the synagogue, the fact that the need for better behavior can be derived, a

Ashkenaz asher bi-Sefarad," *Studies in Jewish Mysticism, Philosophy and Ethical Literature Presented to Isaiah Tishby*, ed. Yosef Dan and Yosef Hacker (Jerusalem, 1986), 390–91.

<sup>26</sup> See Baer, "Ha-Megammah ha-Datit/ha-I'evratit," 19, n. 38; Jacob Elbaum, *Teshuvat ha-Lev ve-Qabbalat Yissurim* (Jerusalem, 1993), 19–22; H. J. Zimmels, *Ashkenazim and Sephardim* (London, 1958), 241–43. On Maharam and *Semaq*, see below, n. 46. For references to Pietist penances in the rabbinic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Marcus, 128–29; Yedidyah Dinari, *Hakhmei Ashkenaz be-Shilhei Yemei ha-Benayim* (Jerusalem, 1984), 85–93; and Elbaum, *Teshuvat ha-Lev ve-Qabbalat Yissurim*, passim.

<sup>27</sup> Although *Semaq* lists the four Pietist modes of penance without providing any specifics for their application, R. Perez of Corbeil offers a brief definition of each type, fully consonant with Pietist literature, in his gloss to the *Semaq* text. Cf. R. Perez's gloss to *Semaq*, sec. 175, citing Rabbenu Yonah; below, n. 32; S. Sha'anán, "Pisqei Rabbenu Perez ve-Aherim," *Moriah* 17/9–10 (1991): 12, sec. 15; and my "Rabbinic Figures" (above, n. 25).

<sup>28</sup> *Semaq*, sec. 11 (end). Cf. Ivan Marcus, "Jews and Christians Imagining the Other in Medieval Europe," *Prooftexts* 15 (1995): 220–21.



*fortiori*, from the behavior of the Christians (בבית תפילתם עומדים בתרבות), and the incidence of Jewish houses of worship which were destroyed or taken over by Christians, due to the frivolous behavior that had occurred in them. In addition, the penitential literature of the Pietists prescribes very harsh penance regimens for those who talk during prayer services in the synagogue.<sup>29</sup>

*Sefer Mizvot Qatan*, which does not mention many contemporary names aside from R. Isaac's immediate teachers, the two major twelfth-century northern French tosafist masters, Rabbenu Tam and Ri, and the pillars of Sefardic *halakhah*, Rabbenu Ḥanan'el, Rif, and Rambam, cites R. Eleazar of Worms at the beginning of its treatment of prayer. The material on prayer begins with a discussion of the need for proper *kavvanah*. *Semaq* defines *kavvanah* as thinking about the meaning of each word and making sure that not one word is skipped, with the same care that a person employs when he is involved in the process of counting coins. German Pietists underscored the importance of not skipping or changing a word or even a single letter of a prayer, since this will disturb its internal harmony and overall efficacy. Indeed, they actually counted and analyzed the number of words and letters in many prayers, as a means of arriving at each prayer's inner meaning. Reciting the liturgy slowly and accurately also unlocks the esoteric meanings of the prayers and, at the same time, faithfully preserves ancient rabbinic formulae.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See *Sefer Hasidim* (Frankfurt, 1924), 1589, 224; Moshe Hallamish, "Siḥat Ḥullin be-Veit ha-Keneset: Mezi'ut u-Ma'avaq," *Milet* 2 (1985): 226-27, 243-44; Moritz Güdemann, *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Ḥayyim* (Warsaw, 1897), 1:69. *Sefer Hasidim*, 1484 also employs the term תרבות in connection with proper decorum in the synagogue. On the importance of proper comportment during prayer in the thought of the German Pietists, see also *Sefer Hasidim*, 517, 1574, and Soloveitchik, "Three Themes," 330-34. See also the pietistic *Sefer Minhag Tov*, ed. M. Z. Weiss, *Ha-Zofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael* 13 (1929): 224, sec. 3, and Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 2:572-73. Despite the strictness of the German Pietists regarding Jewish-Gentile relations, they emulated those behaviors of non-Jews which they felt had merit. See Jacob Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance*, 93-105; Yizhak Baer, "Ha-Megammah ha-Datit ha-Ḥevratit," *passim*; Soloveitchik, "Three Themes," 315-25; and cf. David Berger, *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1979), 27. Cf. *Semaq*, sec. 1.

<sup>30</sup> See, e.g., *Sefer Hasidim*, 1575; *Arba'ah Turim*, *Orah Ḥayyim*, sec. 113; *Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. Urbach, 4:83-99; Daniel Sperber, *Minhagei Yisra'el* 1:121-24, 2:95-98; and below, n. 40.

R. Isaac then writes that if one cannot have proper *kavvanah* throughout all the blessings of the *Shemoneh Esreh*, he should at least try to maintain *kavannah* during the first three blessings (the unit entitled *Avot*) and during the blessing of *Modim*.

And R. Eleazar of Worms wrote in his book<sup>31</sup> that it is very good to have *kavvanah* at the conclusion of each of the blessings [of the *Shemoneh Esreh*] since they [the conclusions] contain [all together] 113 words equivalent to the 113 words in the prayer of Hannah. And it stands to reason that whoever has proper *kavvanah* during [the blessings of] his requests, but not during [the blessings which are in] praise for the Holy One, blessed be He, damages himself. One should think that since if he were standing before a human king he would be very precise with his words, he certainly must do so before the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.<sup>32</sup>

R. Isaac cites R. Judah *he-Hasid* by name once in *Sefer Mizvot Qatan*, but both the context and the location point to the significance of this citation. In delineating the extent to which one must be prepared to give up his life *'al qiddush ha-Shem*, R. Isaac, like other medieval Ashkenazic halakhists, extends some of the basic parameters found in talmudic literature.<sup>33</sup> He notes that while strictly speaking, a Jew whose life is threatened by a non-Jew may transgress all prohibitions in order to save himself, with the exception of adultery, murder, or idolatry, it is a *middat hasidut*, a commendable act of piety, not to transgress any prohibition, even under penalty of death. R. Isaac includes this discussion at the very beginning of his work (sec. 3), as part of the precept to demonstrate love for the Almighty (*ahavat ha-Shem*).

<sup>31</sup> See *Sefer Roqeah*, *Hilkhot Hasidut*, *Shoresh Zekhirat ha-Shem*, sec. 322. See also *Orhot Hayyim*, *Hilkhot Tefillah*, sec. 37 (fol. 16a) and *Kol Bo*, sec. 11, fols. 5a-b, which include the formulations of *Semaq* and R. Eleazar of Worms (and R. Jonah as well) regarding *kavvanah*. Cf. *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Tefillah* 4:15, and *Haggahot Maimuniyyot*, ad loc.

<sup>32</sup> *Semaq*, sec. 11, beginning. Cf. *Arba'ah Turim*, *O.H.*, sec. 98. It is at this point, when *Semaq* cites R. Eleazar of Worms, that R. Perez in his gloss cites R. Moses of Evreux on the importance of thinking about each word as it is being said. Cf. R. Perez's gloss to *Semaq*, sec. 97, citing R. Samuel of Evreux on *kavvanah*.

<sup>33</sup> See, e.g., Jacob Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance*, 82-85, and Haym Soloveitchik, "Religious Law and Change," 207-11.

The second of two anecdotal proofs which R. Isaac presents to support his position involves R. Judah *he-Hasid*. *Semaq* recounts an incident in which Rabbi Judah instructed his students not to travel to attend a wedding because of the armed robbers who frequented the road that they would take. The students went anyway, confident that they could invoke a Divine Name which would protect them. On the way, they needed to use the Divine Name to save themselves. When they returned, R. Judah informed them that they stood to lose their share in the world to come unless they retraced their path without invoking the Name, even if doing so meant that they would perish. They went back on the road and were killed.<sup>34</sup>

This episode does not appear in narrative form in the literature of *Hasidei Ashkenaz*, but it is consonant with a passage in *Sefer Hasidim*:

A person who embarks on a journey should not say, "I will adjure [the names of] angels to protect me," but should instead pray to the Master of the universe. Several prophets were killed but they did not adjure the Holy Name (ולא השביעו בשם הקודש). Rather, they stood in prayer saying, "If He does not hear our prayers, we are not worthy of being saved." They did not undertake [any tactic] other than prayer.<sup>35</sup>

Other passages in *Sefer Hasidim* associate the inappropriate or untutored magical adjuration of *Shemot* with extremely dire consequences, and shed further light on the gravity of such acts.<sup>36</sup> R. Isaac of Corbeil

<sup>34</sup> See *Semaq*, sec. 3; Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 2:572, and cf. 1:387–88; Soloveitchik, "Religious Law and Change," 210, n. 8; and cf. *Orhot Hayyim*, part two, sec. 4 (*Dim Ahavat ha-Shem ve-Yir'ato*), 26. On *qiddush ha-Shem* in the thought of *Hasidei Ashkenaz*, see Baer, "Ha-Megammah ha-Datit ha-Hevratit," 14–15; Dan, "Be'ayat Qiddush ha-Shem be-Toratah ha-lyyunit shel Tenu'at Hasidut Ashkenaz," *Milhemet Qodesh u-Martirologiyyah be-Toledot Yisrael ve-Toledot ha-Ammim* (Jerusalem, 1968), 121–29; Marcus, *Piety and Society*, 150–51, n. 57; and Robert Chazan, *European Jewry During the First Crusade* (1987), 143–44, 214–17.

<sup>35</sup> *Sefer Hasidim* (Frankfurt, 1924), 211 = *Sefer Hasidim*, ed. Reuven Margoliot (Jerusalem, 1973), 205. See Margoliot's note to this passage (*Meqor Hesed*, n. 5) for citations (and embellishments) of the story in subsequent rabbinic and kabbalistic literature. In one version, the story involving R. Judah is traced to the rabbis of Northern France (= *Semaq*?) and in another, R. Jonah *Hasid* is suggested as the teacher of the students; cf. above, n. 11. Note also the passage in *Hekhalot* literature, adduced by Margoliot, that is parallel to part of the narrative.

<sup>36</sup> See *Sefer Hasidim* (Frankfurt, 1924), 210, 212–213, 379, 797, 1452; *Sefer Hasidim*, ed. Margoliot, 206, 1172, and Margoliot's appendix entitled *Hasdei Olam*, pp. 586–89; Y.

does not offer any further comment on the story involving R. Judah *he-Ḥasid* and his students. Nonetheless, R. Isaac is clearly relying on R. Judah's response to suggest that there are situations in which one should voluntarily give up his life 'al *qiddush ha-Shem* (or in order not to desecrate God's Name), even if it is possible within the letter of the law to avoid this fate. R. Isaac defines such an act as one of pietistic devotion (*middat ḥasidut*). R. Eleazar of Worms' student, R. Abraham b. Azriel, enunciated the same concept in different terms: when it comes to *qiddush ha-Shem*, כל המחמיר תבוא עליו ברכה.<sup>37</sup> In addition, R. Isaac of Corbeil's inclusion of this narrative demonstrates his awareness that Divine Names could be invoked magically in order to avoid danger. The use of *Shemot* in practice had to be carefully controlled according to R. Judah *he-Ḥasid*, but their potential efficacy was acknowledged by both R. Judah and R. Isaac.<sup>38</sup>

An account of the origin of the *Aleynu* prayer and the reflection of its origin in the text of *Aleynu*, attributed in other sources to R. Judah *he-Ḥasid*, is presented in *Sefer Orḥot Ḥayyim* as the explanation of R. Isaac of Corbeil.

R. Isaac of Corbeil (*Ha-Ri mi-Corbeil*) wrote: I heard that Joshua instituted it [*Aleynu*] at the time that he conquered the land [of Israel], and he inscribed his name of humility (*shem qatnuto* [his original name], *Hoshea*) in reverse [at the beginning of the first four opening lines: ע = עלינו לשובת, ש = שלא שם חלקנו, ו = ואנחנו כורעים, ה = הוא אלקינו] One who says [כורעים] אבל אנחנו (כורעים) errs [since the *vav* of *Hoshea*' would be supplanted by *alef*, the first letter of אבל].<sup>39</sup>

Dan, *Torat ha-Sod shel Hasidut Ashkenaz*, 19, 28, 74–76, 219–22; Haviva Pedaya, "Pegam ve-Tiqqun shel ha-E-lohut be-Qabbalat R. Yizḥaq Sagi Nahor," *Meḥqerei Yerushalayim be-Maḥshevet Yisra'el* 6/3-4 (1987): 157, n. 1; and my "Peering Through the Lattices," chapter 4.

<sup>37</sup> See *Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. Urbach, 4:167, n. 76.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Semag*, sec. 143, on sorcery.

<sup>39</sup> *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, *Tehinnah aḥarei shemoneh 'esreh*, sec. 8, fol. 21b, and cf. *Kol Bo*, chapter 16 (*Tefillah*), 9a. *Ri mi-Corbeil* in *Orḥot Ḥayyim* invariably refers to R. Isaac b. Joseph. See my "Rabbinic Figures in Castilian Kabbalistic Pseudepigraphy," 92–93, and below, at n. 65.

There are two extant traditions of R. Judah *he-Hasid* concerning Joshua's authorship of *Aleynu*. One is that the prayer contains 152 words, which is the *gematria* equivalent of his father's name,  $\text{נן בן}$  (*bin Nun*). The second is that Joshua composed this prayer when the Jewish people entered the land of Israel and began to capture various cities and regions. "Joshua saw the many man-made idols which were being destroyed and authored this hymn of praise to God. He inscribed his name in it backwards, at the beginning of each verse, for reasons of modesty, so that not all would understand that he had composed it." The letters and their related phrases are then spelled out to form *Hoshea*, exactly as they are in the passage attributed by *Orhot Hayyim* to R. Isaac of Corbeil. "Therefore, every God-fearing person should be careful not to add or subtract any word from what our forefathers have established, because all depends on the measurement [amount] of the words."<sup>40</sup>

Several additional parallels between teachings of the German Pietists and formulations of R. Isaac of Corbeil are suggestive. These include material on *nehush* (symbolic divination),<sup>41</sup> *tokkehah* (admonition and

<sup>40</sup> Ms. Kaufmann A399, fol. 50r, cited in *Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. Urbach, 4:98, and see Elliot Wolfson, "Hai Gaon's Letter and Commentary on 'Aleynu: Further Evidence of Moses De Leon's Pseudepigraphic Activity," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 81 (1991): 380–83. Wolfson lists a number of manuscript texts and published works which contain this tradition, occasionally in the name of R. Judah *he-Hasid*. (Wolfson's identification of *Ri mi-Corbeil* in the *Orhot Hayyim* text as the tosfist R. Judah of Corbeil is incorrect; see above, n. 39.) I have demonstrated that all of these works and their authors or compilers were connected, in different ways, to the German Pietists; see my "Rabbinic Figures," 97–98, n. 73. As the present study serves to indicate, R. Isaac of Corbeil was also linked to R. Judah *he-Hasid* and his followers.

<sup>41</sup> See *Semaq* 136; *Sefer Hasidim*, ed. R. Margoliot, 58; *Semaq lo ta'aseh* 53; *Sefer Hasidim* (Frankfurt, 1924), 14; *Sefer ha-Yir'ah*, ed. B. Y. Zilber, 54, sec. 228; Güdemann, *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Hayyim*, 1:159; and Dinari, *Hakhmei Ashkenaz*, 157. Cf. ms. Parma 541, fol. 264v (end). See also Georges Vajda, "Liqqutim mi-Sefer Mussar Bilti Yadua' le-Ehad Rabbanei Zarefat," *Sefer Hayyim Schirmann*, ed. Shraga Abramson and Aaron Mirsky (Jerusalem, 1970), 103–06, and cf. idem, "Une Traite de Morale d'Origine Judeo-Française," *Revue des études juives* 125 (1966): 267–85.

rebuke),<sup>42</sup> monetary compensation for the teaching or study of Torah,<sup>43</sup> and the extent of a woman's obligation to study Torah.<sup>44</sup>

There is no evidence for any personal contact between R. Isaac of Corbeil and the central figures of *Hasidei Ashkenaz*. Several of the parallels that have been noted above suggest that R. Isaac may have read *Sefer Hasidim* and *Sefer Roqeah* and perhaps other Pietist works as well. In addition, R. Isaac studied at the academy of Evreux.<sup>45</sup> This could account not only for the similarities between R. Isaac and the German Pietists in regard to their approaches to prayer and penance, but also for various aspects of *Semaq* itself. With its unswerving dedication to the formulation of practical *halakhah* that could be studied by the masses, as demonstrated by its simplicity and accessibility, *Semaq* conforms fully to the specifications of the German Pietists concerning the goal

<sup>42</sup> *Semaq*, sec. 112; *Sefer Hasidim* (Frankfurt), 1338, 1972; *Semaq*, 'aseh 11. Cf. Soloveitchik, "Three Themes," 336, n. 82, and I. Marcus, *Piety and Society*, 87-88, n. 4.

<sup>43</sup> See my *Jewish Education and Society*, 43-46, 91-97.

<sup>44</sup> On the obligation to teach women the commandments for which they are responsible and the obligation of women to study that material, see *Sefer Hasidim*, 835, and the introduction to *Semaq* (which consists of written remarks from R. Isaac, preserved by his students). Cf. *Sefer ha-Agur*, sec. 2; *Beit Yosef to Orah Hayyim*, sec. 47 (end); and Hida, *Yosef Omez*, sec. 67. See also my review of S. P. Zolty's "And All Your Children Shall Be Learned": *Women and the Study of Torah in Jewish Law and History* (Northvale, N.J., 1993), *Jewish Quarterly Review* 87 (1996): 192-195.

<sup>45</sup> See, e.g., *Semaq*, sec. 151 (ורבותינו מאי"ברא היו נורגין); sec. 153, in which both R. Samuel of Evreux (מאי"ברא) and his brother Ri (= R. Isaac) b. Shene'ur are mentioned (R. Isaac is also cited at the end of sec. 281, regarding ספק שבת). See also the references to R. Isaac's teachers at Evreux in his *pesaqim*. See Moshe Hershler, "Pisqei Rabbenu Yizhaq mi-Corbeil Ba'al ha-Semaq mi-Tokh Ketav Yad," *Sinai* 67 (1970): 244-49; I. S. Lange, "Pisqei R. Yizhaq mi-Corbeil," *Ha-Ma'ayan* 16:4 (1976): 95-104; H. S. Sha'anan, "Pisqei Rabbenu Ri mi-Corbeil," *Sefer Ner li-Shema'ayah (Sefer Zikaron le-Zikhro shel ha-Rav Shema'ayah Sha'anan)* (Bnei Brak, 1988), 5-32. Cf. Lange, "Le-Inyan ha-Semaq mi-Zurich," *Alei Sefer* 4 (1977): 178-79; Henri Gross, *Gallia Judaica* (Paris, 1897), 39; and Simhah Emanuel, "Sifrei Halakhah Avudim shel Ba'alei ha-Tosafot" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1993), 231-45.

of Torah study,<sup>46</sup> despite the fact that much of *Semaq* represents the dialectic of Ramerupt and Dampierre.<sup>47</sup>

Moreover, the sayings and exempla employed by *Semaq* to exhort the reader to higher levels of ethical and religious conduct, as well as the classification of the commandments in accordance with various parts of the body, and the division of the work into seven sections, one for each day of the week, are techniques which can be found in the writings of R. Isaac's fellow student at Evreux, Rabbenu Yonah.<sup>48</sup> *Semaq* includes a distinct precept for looking at the *zizit* during the recitation of *Shema*. Geonic sources had earlier rejected this interpretation of the phrase *וראיחם אותו*, arguing that the *zizit* (*tallit*) were already inspected at the time when the initial blessing was made over them. In his *Sefser ha-Yir'ah*, R. Yonah also instructs one to hold the *zizit* and to look at them during the recitation of *Shema*.<sup>49</sup>

Regardless of how pietistic material reached him, R. Isaac of Corbeil was given to personal *perishut*. A collection of *pesaqim* associated with R. Isaac, which refers to him as R. Isaac *ha-Qadosh*, begins with a series of pietistic strictures and ascetic practices. Among these are instructions to not gaze at women or their clothing and to not look at the face of a *rasha*, and to minimize enjoyment of worldly pleasures by limiting weekday meals to what is required for healthful subsistence, by undertaking a regular regimen of fasts during which one recites *viddui* and also enumerates his sins to a *rav*, and by avoiding idle strolls.<sup>50</sup> Both

<sup>46</sup> See *Semaq*, introduction, for R. Isaac's own assessment of his purpose in authoring *Semaq*, as a means of ensuring that all would know the essentials of those precepts which can still be performed. Note also the strong approbation of *Semaq* expressed by R. Meir of Rothenburg, whose own relationship with *Hasidei Ashkenaz* has been noted above (n. 25). See Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 2:573. Some editions of *Semaq* append a group of *liqutum* from R. Meir to the end of sec. 81 (laws of oaths and vows).

<sup>47</sup> See above, n. 17.

<sup>48</sup> See Ta-Shma, "Hasidut Ashkenaz bi-Sefarad," 168, n. 8. Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 2:572, notes the influence of the proto-Pietist *Sefser Yere'im* on the structure of *Semaq*. Cf. above, n. 15.

<sup>49</sup> See *Semaq*, sec. 29, *Sefser ha-Yir'ah* (ed. B. Y. Zilber), 22, sec. 73. See also *Beit Yosef, Oraḥ Hayyim*, sec. 24, s.v. *kataḇ Ba'al ha-Ittur*; S. K. Mirsky, "Meqorot ha-Halakhah ba-Midrashim," *Talpiyyot* 1 (1944): 49–51, 54–55; and S. Kook, *Iyyunim u-Mehqarim* (Jerusalem, 1963), 1:335–37. R. Yonah is cited in *Semaq*, sec. 281 (in *hilkhot Shabbat*, regarding ארופו).

<sup>50</sup> See ms. Cambr. Add. 3127, fols. 165v–166v, and the partial parallel passage in ms. Parma 407, fol. 236d. R. Moses of Evreux is described in this section of *pesaqim*

contemporaries and students refer to R. Isaac of Corbeil as *hasid*,<sup>51</sup> just as one of R. Isaac's teachers in northern France, R. Samuel of Evreux, and R. Isaac's father-in-law, R. Yehiel of Paris, were also called *hasid*.<sup>52</sup> It must be stressed, however, that like the brothers of Evreux, who continued to produce standard *tosafot* texts that employed dialectic even as they produced others which curtailed its use,<sup>53</sup> R. Isaac of Corbeil did not renounce his tosafist background in order to pursue pietistic ideals.

R. Isaac of Corbeil's relationship with *Hasidei Ashkenaz* also helps to account for a recurring pattern in manuscript collections. Copyists from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and beyond juxtaposed *Semaq* with works of *Hasidei Ashkenaz*, suggesting that a perception had developed rather quickly that these works were related in some way. Ms. Bodleian (Neubauer) 875, completed in 1299, contains *Semaq* (which was composed, according to the colophon, by R. Yizḥaq *he-Hasid* [!] b. Yosef *mi-Corbeil*), followed by Rabbenu Yonah's *Sefer*

as cutting his meat into very thin pieces so that he could not savor its full flavor (שלא לטעום טעם כשר חשוב). For further discussion of these *pesaqim* and their relationship to formulations and doctrines of *Hasidei Ashkenaz*, see my "Peering Through the Lattices" (above, n. 8).

<sup>51</sup> See the introduction to *Semaq*; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, 563; Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 2:572–75; and below, n. 54. R. Isaac of Corbeil is also described as *hasid* in the heading of two versions of his *pesaqim*, Bodl. 781, fol. 68v, and Paris 390, fol. 251v. To be sure, these titles may have been included by copyists or others simply as a sign of general piety or spiritual greatness. Nonetheless, depending upon their dating and provenance, these manuscripts may reflect the impression that R. Isaac of Corbeil was connected with the German Pietists or another pietist group, such as the one at Evreux, on the basis of specific *pesaqim* which he issued. See below.

<sup>52</sup> R. Samuel of Evreux is called *he-Hasid* by his student, R. Yedidiah b. Israel; see *Shittah 'al Mo'ed Qatan le-Talmido shel R. Yehiel mi-Paris*, ed. M. L. Zaks (Jerusalem, 1937), 2:113. (R. Yedidiah may have been the teacher of R. Judah *he-Hasid*'s son, R. Zal[ḥ]man; see Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, 2:569, n. 25.) R. Yehiel of Paris is referred to as *hasid* in *Orhot Hayyim*, part 2, *Issurei Ma'akhalot*, sec. 12, 286. In *Hilkhot Zizit*, sec. 15 (fol. 3b) he is called *ha-qadosh*. In Bodl. 2343 and Parma 3175 (De Rossi 166), R. Yehiel's *pesaqim* are called *ha-qadosh*. Cf. below, n. 54; Ta-Shma, "Li-Meqorotav ha-Sifrutuyyim shel ha-Zohar," *Tarbiz* 60 (1991): 663–65; and see now idem, *Ha-Nigleh shebe-Nistar*, 95, n. 42. Note also that the brothers of Evreux were involved in the compilation of certain versions of R. Yehiel's *pesaqim*; see S. Emanuel (above, n. 45).

<sup>53</sup> See above, n. 11.



*Hayyei Olam* (*Sefer ha-Yir'ah*) and then *Sefer Hasidut*, a version of *Sefer Hasidim* with French glosses.<sup>54</sup>

Ms. Vatican Ebr. 247 (Ashkenaz, 1324) has *Semaq* followed by *Pirquei Avot* and R. Eleazar of Worms' penitential guide, *Moreh Hattā'im*.<sup>55</sup> Bodl. 884 (Ashkenaz, 1383) contains *Semaq*, the testament (*zava'ah*) of R. Judah *he-Hasid*, and a brief section of *tiqqun shetarot*, followed by Rabbenu Yonah's *Sefer Hayyei Olam* and *Sod ha-Teshuvah*. Cambridge Add. 2580 (1397) juxtaposes *Semaq*, *Sefer ha-Yir'ah*, and *Moreh Hattā'im*.

Ms. Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale) 646 (fourteenth century) contains *Semaq*, followed by various *segullot*, and a series of addenda to be inserted at the end of the *Amidah* at *E-lohai Nezor* which are attributed to R. Judah *he-Hasid*.<sup>56</sup> Ms. Munich 346 (fourteenth century) places *Semaq* in the midst of a string of Ashkenazic prayer commentaries and a treatise on astrology, which begins with R. Eleazar of Worms' commentary to the mystical *Hekhalot* hymn *Ha-Aderet veba-Emunah*, and ends with a commentary to *Shir ha-Yihud*.<sup>57</sup> Moscow-Guenzberg 366 (1409), which

<sup>54</sup> Three parallel fifteenth-century manuscripts, Bodl. 1114, Bodl. 2343, and Parma 3175 (De Rossi 166) grouped *Shir ha-Yihud* (which should be attributed to R. Judah *he-Hasid*; see Yosef Dan's introduction to the Jewish National and University Library's edition of *Shirei Yihud* [Jerusalem, 1981], 7–15), R. Yonah's *Hayyei Olam* (*Sefer ha-Yir'ah*) and (*Ye*)*Sod ha-Teshuvah*, and *Semaq*, and attributed all three to R. Yizḥaq *Hasid*. In ms. Parma 1940 (De Rossi 189), dated 1297, *Hayyei Olam* immediately follows *Semaq*. In ms. Vatican 165, *Semaq* is followed immediately by *Hayyei Olam*.

<sup>55</sup> *Moreh Hattā'im* and portions of R. Eleazar's pietistic introduction to his *Sefer Roqeah* (entitled *Hilkhot Hasidut*) were copied in the margins of the *Semaq* text found in Bodl. 878 (dated 1430).

<sup>56</sup> These addenda are found in the margins of fols. 237v–238r, following “seventy verses for protection,” which have a magical connotation. Cf., e.g., ms. Paris 391, fols. 61v–69r; ms. Corpus Christi College 133, fol. 302v, and the description of this manuscript in I. Ta-Shma, “Meqorah u-Meqomah shel Tefillat 'Aleynu le-Shabeah' be-Siddur ha-Tefillah: Seder ha-Ma'amadot u-She'elat Siyyum ha-Tefillah,” *The Frank Talmage Memorial Volume*, (above, n.7), vol. 1 (Hebrew section), 89; Colette Sirat, “Un Rituel Juif de France: Le Manuscrit Hébreu 633 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris,” *Revue des études juives* 119 (1961): 19. For other material from *Hasidei Ashkenaz* in ms. Paris 646, see Sirat, 11–12, and H. Zotenberg, *Catalogues des Manuscrits Hébreux et Samaritains de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris, 1866), 93. R. Judah *he-Hasid*'s addenda are also found in ms. Cincinnati 436, fols. 212v–213, following a *tehinna* of R. Moses of Coucy. See above, n. 20.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Yosef Dan, “Perushei 'Ha-Adderet veba-Emmunah' shel Ḥasidei Ashkenaz,” *Tarbiz* 50 (1981), 396–404, and above, n. 54.



and somewhat less developed *Kol Bo* was an earlier recension of *Orhot Hayyim*.<sup>62</sup>

Both of these works cite material from R. Isaac of Corbeil with great frequency, often anonymously. Thus, for example, there is a group of sixteen sections in the middle of *Orhot Hayyim* that begin with an explicit reference to R. Isaac of Corbeil or with a citation from *Sefer Mizvot Qatan*, recorded without attribution.<sup>63</sup> In the same vein, R. Joseph Caro remarks that "it is usual and frequent (*ragil be-harbeh meqomot*)" for the *Kol Bo* to record the words of *Semaq* (and its glosses) anonymously.<sup>64</sup> When R. Isaac of Corbeil's name is included, he is invariably called *Ri mi-Corbeil* in *Orhot Hayyim*,<sup>65</sup> while *Kol Bo* refers to him simply as R. Isaac.<sup>66</sup>

The identity of ר"י חסיד in the *Orhot Hayyim* passage is unclear. ר"י חסיד in medieval rabbinic texts often refers to R. Yehudah *he-Hasid*. That is somewhat unlikely in this case, however, because the ruling in

<sup>62</sup> See S. Z. Havlin, "R. Aaron b. Jacob ha-Kohen of Lunel." *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 2:12-13; "Kol Bo." *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 10:1159-60; Haym Soloveitchik, *She'elot u-Teshuvot ke-Maqor Histori* (Jerusalem, 1990), 94-100.

<sup>63</sup> These sections commence with *Hilkhot Zedaqah* (*Orhot Hayyim*, part two, ed. Moshe Schlesinger [Berlin, 1899-1902], sec. 34), and deal with issues of monetary law and, toward the end, with general ethics and conduct. (Note that the final sections of *Orhot Hayyim* feature a similar reliance on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*.) Cf. above, n. 39.

<sup>64</sup> *Beit Yosef, Orah Hayyim*, sec. 9, s.v. *ve-katau be-Sefer Mizvot Qatan*. See also, e.g., *Kol Bo*, chapter 76 (fol. 46a), *Hilkhot Gittin mi-Sefer R. Yizhaq z'l* (= *Semaq*) (and cf. *Orhot Hayyim*, pt. 2, 171, *tofes ha-get mi-leshon ha-Ri mi-Corbeil*); chapter 77, *Seder Halizah shel ha-R. Yizhaq z'l* (cf. *OH*, pt. 2, 182, *Seder Halizah shel ha-Ri mi-Corbeil*); and chapter 125, *Qezat Dinim meha-R. Yizhaq z'l*, which consists of material from *Semaq* on the priestly benediction.

Although overall, R. Isaac of Corbeil is cited with greater frequency in *Orhot Hayyim* than in *Kol Bo*, there are a number of instances where *Kol Bo* includes R. Isaac's name with his view but *Orhot Hayyim* omits it. Compare, e.g., *OH Hilkhot Shabbat (Din Arvei Shabbatot)*, sec. 5 (fol. 44a) with *KB*, chap. 31 (fol. 15b); *OH Hilkhot Yom ha-Kippurim*, sec. 22 (105b), with *KB*, chap. 69 (34b); *OH Hilkhot Hanukkah*, sec. 15 (118a) with *KB*, chap. 44 (3b); *OH Hilkhot Pidyon Bekhorot*, pt. 2, 20-21 with *KB*, chap. 126 (97b); *OH Hilkhot Avodah Zarah*, pt. 2, 230 with *KB*, chap. 97 (65a).

<sup>65</sup> R. Isaac's locale is usually abbreviated as (מ)קורב (מ)קורב.

<sup>66</sup> Since references in *Kol Bo* to R. Isaac occasionally connote R. Isaac al-Fasi or R. Isaac of Dampierre, there are a few instances when the identity of the R. Isaac being cited remains unclear. See, e.g., *Sefer Kol Bo* (part 2), ed. David Avraham (Jerusalem, 1990), *Hilkhot Shabbat*, 113-14; *Kol Bo*, chap. 24 (*Din Hilkhot Se'udah*), fol. 17a; and cf. *Orhot Hayyim, Hilkhot Se'udah*, sec. 35, fol. 31b.

question is one of three cited by *Orhot Hayyim* in the name of ר"י חסיד, all of which are found in R. Yonah's *Sefer ha-Yir'ah*.<sup>67</sup> Although *Sefer ha-Yir'ah* contains many passages which are parallel to material in *Sefer Ḥasidim*, as has been noted,<sup>68</sup> this particular ruling is not attributed anywhere to R. Yehudah *he-Ḥasid*.<sup>69</sup> Thus, ר"י חסיד may refer to R. Yonah *Hasid*.

No matter which identification is correct, the merging of ר"י חסיד and R. Isaac of Corbeil into ר' יצחק חסיד by the *Kol Bo* passage may be more than just a simple case of scribal error. It may be the result of a Provençal perception, fully grounded in reality as has been shown, that

<sup>67</sup> See also *Orhot Hayyim*, *Hilkhot Qeri'at Shema*, sec. 18 (fol. 12b); *Hilkhot Tefillah*, sec. 16 (fol. 14a), and cf. A. Loewenthal, "Das Buch des 'Ewigen Lebens' und seine Bedeutung in der Literatur des Mittelalters," *Festschrift zum achtzigsten Geburtstag . . . Wolf Feilchenfeld* (Pleschen-Schrimm, 1907), 66–76; A. T. Shrock, *Rabbi Jonah ben Abraham of Gerona* (London, 1948); Yehiel Zilber, *Birur Halakhah* (Bnei Brak, 1976), 32–34, and idem, "Sefer ha-Yir'ah le-Rabbenu Yonah Gerondi Ḥasid," *Moriah* 10/9–10 (1981): 94–96; Benjamin Richler, "Al Kitvei Yad shel Sefer ha-Yir'ah ha-Meyuḥas le-Rabbenu Yonah Gerondi," *Alei Sefer* 8 (1981): 51–57.

<sup>68</sup> See above, at n. 11.

<sup>69</sup> At the same time, this passage in *Orhot Hayyim*, which refers to R. Isaac and Corbeil and ר"י חסיד as two distinct rabbinic scholars, would appear to vitiate the innovative solution proposed by B. Richler (above, n. 67) on the basis of manuscript analysis (beginning with Bodl. 875; see above, at n. 54), that ר"י חסיד in *Orhot Hayyim* is R. Isaac of Corbeil. R. Isaac of Corbeil and ר"י חסיד are also referred to as separate figures in *Orhot Hayyim*, *Hilkhot Zizit*, secs. 21, 23–24 (fol. 3b), only a few lines away from each other.

*Orhot Hayyim* does refer to R. Yonah by name in a number of places. See, e.g., *Hilkhot Qedushah Meyushav*, sec. 1; *Hilkhot Tefillah*, secs. 37 (cf. *talmidei Rabbenu Yonah le-Massekhet Berakhot* [12a]), 45; *Mah she-Mosifim be-Sheni uva-Hamishi*, sec. 16; *Hilkhot Talmud Torah*, sec. 10; *Hilkhot Se'udah*, sec. 25; *Birkat ha-Mazon*, sec. 55; *Hilkhot Shabbat*, sec. 75; *Hilkhot Rosh ha-Shanah*, sec. 26 (which contains a text of R. Yonah's *Sod ha-Teshuvah*); part 2, *Ahavat ha-Shem ve-Yir'ato*, 31 (sec. 11); *Ketubot*, 87 (sec. 17), 99 (sec. 27). In addition, *Hilkhot Tefillah*, sec. 4 (fol. 7a) attributes one formulation from *Sefer ha-Yir'ah* to R. Yonah by name, rather than to ר"י חסיד. Interestingly, this passage plays a crucial role in establishing R. Yonah's authorship of *Sefer ha-Yir'ah*, since it contains the name of his teacher, R. Samuel of Evreux.

R. Judah *he-Ḥasid* is referred to by name once in *Orhot Hayyim*, *Hilkhot Erev Yom ha-Kippurim*, sec. 6 (fol. 103b): בשאל אל ר' יהודה חסיד, concerning the meting out of lashes by Heavenly and earthly tribunals. This reference should be added to the list of R. Judah's diverse responsa compiled by Ivan Marcus, "Iḥibburei ha-Teshuvah shel Ḥasidei Ashkenaz," *Studies in Jewish Mysticism, Philosophy and Ethical Literature* (above, n. 25), 375, n. 30.

R. Judah *he-Hasid*, Rabbenu Yonah, and R. Isaac of Corbeil shared much in common, especially in regard to proper comportment in prayer.<sup>70</sup>

In a manner which surely has implications for modernity, R. Isaac of Corbeil supplemented his talmudic studies and halakhic writings with ethical, devotional, and liturgical constructs that were associated with *Hasidei Ashkenaz*, further evidence for the presence of these teachings within circles of northern French tosafists. Indeed, the developments which we have outlined suggest that despite their decidedly halakho-centric orientation, more than a few tosafists in northern France and Germany pursued other avenues of spiritual expression as well.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> As I have demonstrated elsewhere, these affinities also helped to support a further permutation found in *Iggeret Vermaiza*, a kabbalistic chain of tradition recorded in Spain ca. 1325, which placed R. Judah *he-Hasid's* residence in Corbeil. R. Judah may have visited Corbeil, but he never lived or taught there. See my "Rabbinic Figures in Castilian Kabbalistic Pseudepigraphy," 75–109. See also above, n. 51.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Isadore Twersky, "Religion and Law," *Religion in a Religious Age*, ed. S. D. Goitein (Cambridge, 1974), 69–82.

חזון נחום  
HAZON NAHUM

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