

39th Annual Conference of the Association for Jewish Studies

Abstracts for Session 0

Session Number: 0.0

Session Works in Progress Group in Modern Jewish Studies

Session

Many of us in the field of modern Jewish studies have felt the need for an active working group interested in discussing our various projects, papers, and books, particularly as we develop into more mature scholars. Even more, we want to engage other committed scholars and respond to their new projects, concerns, and methodological approaches to the study of modern Judaism. To this end, we have convened a "Works in Progress Group in Modern Jewish Studies" that meets yearly in connection with the Association for Jewish Studies Annual Conference (AJS). The purpose of this group is to gather interested scholars together and review published or soon to be published works authored by members of the group and distributed and read prior to the AJS meeting. 2004 will be the fourth year of a formal meeting within which we have exchanged ideas and shared our work with peers in a casual, constructive environment. This Works in Progress Group is open to all scholars working in any discipline within the field of modern Jewish studies. We are a diverse group of scholars committed to engaging others and their works in order to further our own projects, those of our colleagues, and the critical growth of modern Jewish studies. Papers will be distributed in November.

To participate in the Works in Progress Group, please contact:

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Chair, Todd S. Hasak-Lowy (University of Florida)

Co-chair

Chair, Leah Hochman (University of Florida)

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (New York University)

Jeffrey A. Shandler (Rutgers University)

Abstracts for Session 1
Sunday, December, 19, 2004 10:30 AM-12:30 PM

Session Number: 1.1

Session **Revelation, Imagination, and the Transformative
Experience of Reading and Writing**

Session

This session investigates the transformative nature of imaginative reading and writing in Jewish philosophy, midrash, and mysticism from various perspectives. Three interlaced questions provide the unifying undercurrent: First: in what sense can we understand this transformation as a lived moment of divine revelation? Secondly: what is the special significance of this transformational revelation_s being rooted in a moment of imagination? And, thirdly: How does the act of reading and writing, understood in these ways, ground the reality of human self-re[dis]covery _ the reorientation and transformation of the reader in the service of the divine?

On these questions, our session aims to include insights from both phenomenological and hermeneutical perspectives, offering a rich and engaging tapestry of insights into the sacred acts of reading and writing in Jewish tradition focused around a tripart inquiry of revelation, imagination, and transformation. The session aims too to bring medieval philosophical writings into dialogue with midrashic and kabbalistic texts on these topics, exploring the roles of transformation and imagination in the scriptural exegesis of midrash and kabbalah, as well as in the acts of reading and writing at play in the medieval philosophical tradition.

Chair, Sarah Pessin (University of Denver)

As chair, I will be presenting a framework set of remarks about the panel's organizing principles at the session's start and end, and will be organizing questions for the panelists (based on their presentations) to help facilitate a lively post-talk exchange of ideas; this is especially important given the interdisciplinary nature of the panel.

Michael A. Fishbane (University of Chicago)

The Midrashic Imagination and the Process of Reading

Understanding midrash is a process of the imaginative understanding and reconstruction of the rabbinical exegetical imagination and understanding of Scripture. The presentation will explore this hermeneutical issue, and attempt to think through the category of 'revelation-through-interpretation'. Suggestions and proposals shall be offered.

Aaron Hughes (University of Calgary)

The Art of Philosophy: Halevi, Dialogue, and the Experience of

At the center of Neoplatonism there exists a strong visual component that revolves around the imaginative faculty. In order to facilitate the visual, Neoplatonic texts frequently employ deliberate literary and aesthetic structures. Within Jewish Neoplatonism, this is explicit as many of the key thinkers were also important poets. Form, thus, is inseparable from content. My paper proposes to explore Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*, examining the relationship between philosophy and literature, aesthetics and epistemology. Central to my argument is the imagination, a faculty that functions as the locus of identity, vision and, ultimately, revelation.

Questions that this paper will address are: Why did Halevi employ the dialogue form in the composition of his work? What precursors, Jewish and non-Jewish, did he have at his disposal? Why compose an "anti-philosophical" treatise using a genre that was so intimately associated with philosophy (e.g., Plato, ibn Gabirol)? In short, why would Halevi, one of the most accomplished poets and aesthetes of his age, choose to express his case for Jewish particularity in such a non-Jewish genre?

Yet, the dialogue is intimately connected to active reading and inner transformation. In particular, dialogues provide an ideal vehicle to chart the internal changes within a protagonist. In many ways, the reader is invited to make the same intellectual or spiritual progression as the protagonist through various textual encounters, which ultimately culminate in some form of self-discovery. In this regard, the Khazar king's transformation becomes a metaphor for the reader's own transformation. There, thus, exists an important nexus between text and reader, the activity of writing (on the part of the author) and that of reading.

The *Kuzari*, however, does not exist in a vacuum. The dialogue was a genre in use among various intellectual subcultures in al-Andalus. The Isma'ilis, for example, often chose to express their batin-based teachings in dialogues. So the genre that Halevi inherited was not the sole provenance of Plato, but also of various "philosophical brotherhoods" that stressed indirect communication of gnosis. The fact that Halevi also composed his main work as a dialogue is thus worthy of attention. How, for example, does the *Kuzari* differ from the Isma'ili dialogues? What do they have in common? Do

they employ similar textual strategies?

If the genre of the dialogue was popular among Isma`ili

circles it was equally popular among Andalusian Jewish Neoplatonists. Within this context, Ibn Gabirol's *Meqor Hayyim* looms large and is certainly a dialogue that Halevi would have been familiar with. Yet, there are important differences between the two: Ibn Gabirol's dialogue is fairly "wooden," and written in a manner that downplays his religious affiliation. Halevi essentially does the opposite: His *Kuzari* is, arguably, the most elaborate "philosophical" dialogue in Jewish Thought, and one that makes the strongest possible case for Jewish particularity. Is the *Kuzari*, then, Halevi's literary and aesthetic response to Ibn Gabirol?

This paper, in sum, seeks to understand the relationship between philosophy and literature in the complex thought of Halevi.

Shaul Magid (Indiana University)

Performative Imagination: The Ritual of Reading in the Lurianic Text *Pri Etz Hayyim*

Lurianic Kabbala is well-known for its emphasis on prayer as a vehicle for mystical experience and metaphysical speculation. Less attention has been placed on its theory of study/recitation and its imaginative component. Lawrence Fine has written extensively on recitation and meditation in Lurianic Kabbala but did not emphasize the notion that reading/study in Luria is a ritual (accompanied by prefatory pre-requisites) that engages a whole imaginative realm, constructing a cosmic drama played out through the act of reading. In this paper I will present a constructive reading of a lengthy discourse in the Lurianic text *Pri Etz Hayyim* focusing on the detailed imaginative world one constructs through reading/studying Torah according to Luria's world-view. Building on Michael Fishbane's theory of exegetical spirituality I will suggest that Luria views reading as a transformative act that requires a highly creative imaginative faculty that often stands in opposition to the discursive and rational mode of Talmud study.

Session Number: 1.2

Session Confronting the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict in the College Classroom and on Campus

Session

This panel serves as the sequel to last year's "Confronting the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict in the Jewish Studies Classroom." _ That previous panel had focused exclusively on pedagogical approaches to the conflict in Jewish Studies courses. It was prompted by the concern that too little discussion of the conflict's impact upon our pedagogy has taken place in professional Jewish Studies arenas. This impression seemed to be confirmed by the audience response, with well over 100 attending and much positive feedback generated. At the same time, a number of suggestions emerged for a follow-up, including provision for discussion of: 1) how Jewish Studies instructors can and should teach specifically about Palestinian culture and politics; 2) why there remains a relative paucity of Judaic Studies courses on Israeli history at American universities; 3) how students' understanding of the nature of conflict is affected by discussions of gender and cultural differences within both the Israeli and Palestinian communities; 4) pedagogical reactions to increased anti-Semitic and anti-Arab sentiment on campus linked to or generated by the conflict; and 5) the roles played by student organizations in intensifying ideological pressures upon departments and instructors. Additionally, the feedback emphasized the need to allot more time to group discussion and audience participation. This year's panel-- organized as a roundtable_ with relatively short individual presentations -- seeks to add all of these dimensions.

The four panelists represent a range of backgrounds, perspectives, and fields of expertise. Deborah Starr's specialization in modern Egyptian Jewry and Israeli "Mizrachi" _ culture helps counterbalance traditional emphases on Ashkenazic sensibilities in discussions of Israeli-Palestinian encounters. Her presentation addresses the pedagogical implications of incorporating curricular materials that expose the richness of Jewish-Arab cultural interactions in the past and present. As an Arab-American law professor and specialist in human rights, Lisa Hajjar likewise brings a fresh perspective to the panel (and to AJS). Her presentation centers on her efforts to enable students to break down rigid paradigms that focus exclusively on the binary national character of the conflict. These too often ignore alternative modes of identity formation, ones that may potentially unite various Israelis and Palestinian constituencies. Rabbi James Diamond, a scholar of Israeli literature, a classroom lecturer, and a longtime Hillel director at both Washington and Princeton Universities, offers an invaluable perspective on the tensions between the needs of student campus organizations and those of classroom instructors. Finally, Derek Penslar examines the peculiar relationship that exists between Judaic Studies programs at American and Canadian universities and the teaching Israeli history. As respondent, Susannah Heschel

will organize the arguments of the different speakers into a framework for discussion both among themselves and with the audience.

The Israeli/Palestinian conflict long ago penetrated the campus and classroom. Analysis and discussion of its various effects upon our activities as scholars and teachers affords us an opportunity for academic self-examination in a critical aspect of our professional lives. This panel endeavors to contribute to that process in a framework designed to have the greatest

Chair, Jonathan Karp (Binghamton University, State University of New

Derek J. Penslar (University of Toronto)
Israeli History at North American Universities

This paper will note and seek to account for the paucity of historians of Zionism and Israel at North American universities. Although there is a thriving field of Israel Studies in North America, it is dominated by scholars in the social sciences, mainly Political Science and Sociology. Some of this literature is historically-informed, but its emphasis is presentist, concerned with the contemporary Arab-Israeli conflict or sites of social tension within the Israeli state. The neglect of Israeli history by North American or European academics has little to do with a lack of supply of competent scholars. There are many scholars in Jewish Studies who have the requisite linguistic knowledge and historical training. One must look instead to _demand_ factors, that is, the configurations of academic faculties and research frameworks, on the one hand, and the socio-psychological factors behind a scholar's choice of field, on the other.

Israel does not fit neatly into any of the geographic fields upon which History departments in the western world are structured. It is in, but not of, the Middle East. I do not refer here merely to political considerations, the antipathy towards Israel that reigns throughout the region and is certainly to be found in North American universities. I also mean that in a technical sense, a historian of Israel is unlikely to fit into a department of History that seeks a Middle Eastern specialist with expertise in Arabic (which many Israeli historians have not mastered), Islam, and other factors common to the modern Middle East - the heritage of colonialism and anti-colonialism, Pan-Arabism, state socialism, and, more recently, Islamic radicalism.

The limitation of the study of Israeli history to Israel itself is also the product of the collective psychology of Jewish Studies scholars and the programs in which they teach. In the field of Jewish Studies, as it has flourished in North America over the past three decades, historical study has focused primarily on issues of immediate concern to Jews in their lands of residence: antisemitism and the Holocaust, assimilation and ethnicity, religiosity and cultural expression. Although Zionism can be of considerable interest to historians as a mobilizing force and a source of Jewish identity, Jewish historians in North America tend to look upon international Zionist politics, the development of the Yishuv, and the history of the Israeli state as something distant, even foreign. Jewish Studies scholars in North America have implicitly accepted the Zionist claim that only those who have made Israel their home and have come to know it intimately are qualified to write its history. Like the dissipating wake of a ship that has long passed, the patterns of production of Israeli historiography testify to the ongoing influence of Zionist ideology, even as it recedes into the

James Diamond (Princeton University)
Israel on Campus: A Town vs. Gown Affair

My remarks flow out of the dual perspective with which my professional career has, until the Fall of 2004, provided me: 1) as Hillel Director and campus rabbi at Princeton and 2) as a faculty adjunct in Comparative Literature and Judaic Studies there.

There are, of course, fundamental differences between Hillel as an arm of the organized Jewish community and Jewish or Judaic Studies as an academic enterprise. Hillel performs non-academic educational and advocacy functions.

Jewish Studies presents the history, culture, and ideologies of Israel within the context of critical inquiry. That tensions exist between the two is obvious. Hillel is susceptible to the agenda of partner-agencies like AIPAC and the American Jewish Committee that regard themselves as advocates for policies of any sitting Israeli government. Jewish Studies, because it is committed to the principle of academic freedom, is vulnerable to the blurring of rhetorical and ideological lines between a repudiation of Israeli policies and a repudiation of Israel itself. These visible tensions mask others. In the Hillel framework Jewish students who reject or are uneasy with or even embarrassed by Israeli policies tend not to have a voice and retreat into silence. Conversely, no small number of Jewish Studies academicians are uneasy about the ethos of political correctness that facilely papers over the complexities of making moral discriminations.

But over and above these differences and tensions, there is one moral presupposition to which both Hillel and Jewish studies unreservedly subscribe: Israel's unequivocal right to exist. This presupposition places both Hillel and Jewish Studies, in spite of their differences, on the same side of the barricades in the current ideological war on campus.

What makes Jewish Studies distinctive from Jewish communal structures is that it operates with an acute consciousness and understanding of how discourse shapes knowledge and leverages power. Jewish Studies begins with the historicist acknowledgement of the difference between competing narratives of Jewish historiography; with the awareness of the hegemony of Zionist discourse in both the Israeli and the contemporary Jewish narratives. The fundamental act that has to take place in an academic classroom is providing the students with the intellectual wherewithal to understand the constructedness of all Jewish worldviews.

Likewise, the presentation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (and entire Israeli-Arab conflict) needs, inasmuch as this is possible, to be lifted out of institutional, political, and sectarian contexts even as there is an awareness of the impingement of these various contexts on the discursive life of our society.

Thus, although Hillel and Jewish Studies both affirm Israel's right to exist, there is potential for profound disagreement between them over the terms and

modalities of such existence. I refer specifically to Israel's existence as a Jewish state. To Hillel and its funders the two are inextricably linked. In the

Lisa Hajjar (University of California, Santa Barbara)
Teaching Against the Nationalist Dichotomy

In the scholarly literature on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there is a prevailing tendency to rely on a national dichotomy as the analytical framework. The underlying assumption is that the conflict is, at root, a struggle over land--specifically a problem of "two people, one land."_ The explanatory power accorded to nationalism and national difference hinges on notions of separateness, including an assumed a priori distinction between "Jews and Arabs,"_ which has manifested in the contemporary era as "Israelis versus Palestinians."_ The nationalist dichotomy has some irrefutable merit; nationalism and national differences are undeniably important to understand the conflict between Jews and Palestinians in terms of their respective political institutions and the differing interests to which they lay claim as "peoples."_ And nationalism is certainly significant to understand the politics of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and resistance against it. However, the conflict in Israel/Palestine is more appropriately conceived as a struggle over rights, of which the right to land is but a part.

I stake a stand in my classes and in public talks where I try to explain that relying on the national dichotomy to frame and explain relations among people in Israel/Palestine is problematic politically and conceptually. First, it reifies Israeli-Palestinian relations by conflating them with or reducing them to the conflict. The kinds of relations that contradict or confound a nationalist interpretation tend either to be ignored or treated as exceptional. Second, the dichotomy subsumes people's interests to their national identity. People's activities, motivations and commitments are read as expressions or transgressions of the collective (national) good, making nationalist ideology a basis for judging the content and character of social action and interaction. Third, the dichotomy encourages "state as actor"_ explanations for events and processes associated with the conflict, thus promoting an erroneous conceptual symmetry (as distinct from a political symmetry) between the Israeli state and Palestinians' national representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and since 1994 the Palestinian Authority (PA). Fourth, the dichotomy projects a zero-sum interpretation of interests, where one "side's_" gain is perceived as the other side's loss. And fifth, the dichotomy tends to underplay the fact that conflict itself is a relationship that richly--and adversely--infuses relationships of all sorts, not only those between self-declared enemies.

I strive to educate people that the national dichotomy is limiting and flawed because it contributes to the polarization of the subjects it purports to explain. I push students to relinquish their reliance on simplistic ideas about the conflict, and to think more critically about the power dynamics and interests that drive struggles over rights.

Deborah A. Starr (Cornell University)

Narratives of Contact and Conflict

In what has devolved into an everyday cycle of violence between Israelis and Palestinians, we repeatedly hear the discourse of attack and retaliation. Of course, what is considered an attack, and what retaliation is predicated on where one starts the story. Indeed, to characterize the history of the conflict as such is to posit that the question is one of narrative to be approached by modes and methods of discourse analysis.

When I teach a course called "Jews and Arabs in Contact and Conflict," my students often complain that I make them read literature when what they really want is to study a chronology of violence: clear-cut cause and effect. Instead, I draw upon Paul Gilroy's interrogations of diaspora identities and Edward Said's reflections on the role of intellectuals in society in order to present literature as an important arena in which both hegemonic and alternative collective identities are forged. In class we discuss literary works (short stories, memoirs, poetry, and novels) and films by and about Jews from Arab countries, Zionist immigrants to Palestine, Israelis from a variety of backgrounds, and Palestinians in Mandatory Palestine, in Israel, in the diaspora, and under Israeli occupation, as well as Arabs from a variety of countries. These texts provide a basis for understanding how the cultures see and represent themselves and the "other_" at critical historical moments throughout the decades-long conflict.

Drawing upon these texts and concepts in this presentation, following my pedagogical approach, I will discuss what happens to the notion of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict when writers such as Ya'qub Sanu', Yizhaq Shami, Albert Memmi, Jacqueline Kahanoff, and Sami Michael or films such as "Alexandria Why?," "Summer in La Goulette," or "Monsieur Ibrahim" appear on the syllabus. In other words, I examine what happens to the historical narrative of the development of the conflict when it begins with not only the rise of Zionism in Europe, but also with the contemporaneous experiences of Jews in the Arab world.

In addition to discussing pedagogy, I will reach beyond the classroom to discuss student-led efforts on Cornell's campus that promote contact over conflict, at least on the local level: in particular, an ongoing weekly Jewish-Arab-Moslem dialogue group, and one-time events such as a mosaic project that won a prestigious campus-wide prize for promoting tolerance and

Respondent, Susannah Heschel (Dartmouth College)

Session Number: 1.3

Session Kabbalistic and Magical Images

Session

In recent years, the study of Jewish mysticism has undergone a renaissance, resulting in the publication of source materials at a rapid pace. Now there are more texts available than ever before, with significant implications for the growth of the discipline. Unfortunately, it is usually only the text of these works that is reproduced, and the visual representations that are so important to interpreting these works are left to languish in special collections. This omission is unfortunate because diagrams and illuminations provide important clues for understanding Jewish mystical works in context. They provide valuable data about the use and reception of the works they interpret, and they draw attention to the cultural interactions that informed Jewish mystical thought. Equally important, they provide essential information about the cultures that produced them, and the ways in which they understood the process of representation.

This seminar will explore in depth a number of issues important to the study of kabbalistic and magical images. These issues include Jewish understandings of the faculty of vision, the relation of Jewish magical traditions to those of their surrounding cultures, the symbolic and cosmic functions of images in Jewish magical and kabbalistic thought, and Jewish understandings of the meaning and function of visual representation.

First, Andrea Lieber will use a variety of Jewish sources to theorize the ways in which Jewish thinkers mapped the divine body in *Shiur Qomah*. Next, Steven Wasserstrom will explore the treatment of Islamicate hermetic images in art history. Rebecca Lesses will compare Jewish and non-Jewish images from a newly published collection of Aramaic magical bowls in order to better understand the process of transmitting magical traditions. Finally, Marla Segol will compare medieval and early modern Jewish understandings of the function of the visual to those of their neighboring cultures in her analysis of diagrams from mystical works on creation.

Chair, Pinchas Giller (University of Judaism)

Andrea Lieber (Dickinson College)

Kama Shiur Qomato? Mapping Divine Measurements in Shiur Qomah

Kama Shiur Qomato? Mapping Divine Measurements in Shiur Qomah Texts

The Shiur Qomah texts map the divine body in cosmic proportions. Theorized as a pre-Kabbalistic tool for ecstatic meditation, these texts highlight the paradox of "seeing" God's human form in a tradition that insists on divine non-corporeality. In addition, while none of the extant manuscript versions of Shiur Qomah are illustrated with diagrams, these texts are strikingly visual, prompting the reader to consider the relationship between noetic "vision" and physical "sight." How does a discussion of the relationship between image and text in Jewish mystical sources help us to glean new insights into this enigmatic text?

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Rebecca M. Lesses (Ithaca College)

How to Expel Demons with Pictures: Performance Theory and the Aramaic Incantation Bowls

This paper discusses the demonic images inscribed on the Aramaic incantation bowls and how they function together with the words of the spells to expel the demons from the bodies and houses of the people named on the bowls. In a paper for last year's AJS Conference, I gave an inventory of these images and discussed their different types. This paper will discuss additional images from bowls recently published, and in addition, approach the study of the images from a more theoretical perspective. Much attention has been devoted to the importance of the word, either spoken or written, in ritual practices to gain power, but a concomitant focus on images that accompany the words is still lacking. In this paper I will explore the use of performance theory, as exemplified, for example, by Stanley Tambiah's work, to help understand these images in their material and literary contexts.

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Marla Segol (Carleton University)

Visual Magic: The Meaning of the Visual in Kabbalistic Diagrams on

In this paper I will discuss medieval and early modern Jewish visuality in relation to conventions of Muslim iconoclasm, to the ways in which representation was understood in Byzantine aesthetics, and finally, in relation to the ways in which Christian Europeans understood it. Specifically, I will explore and analyze a number of diagrams from kabbalistic works on creation to argue that mystics understood vision and visual representation differently from rationalist thinkers, and that this mystical conception of the visual is shared across the mystical and magical traditions of neighboring cultures.

Steven M. Wasserstrom (Reed College)

Iconography of Islamicate Hermetic Images: Another Look at Warburg

This paper considers the historiography of Warburg's landmark initiatives in the history of art. Aby Warburg set out to recuperate The "Posthumous Life" (Nachleben) of pagan antiquity. From the first, Hermes and Hermeticism were central to his primary imperative, to trace the images of pagan divinities inside monotheistic culture. Warburg and his colleague Saxl devoted their initial energies, in fact, to identifying the Arabic Nachleben of Hermes. An enormous lacuna, however, remains in the historiography. The Warburg initiatives have not enjoyed successors on the scale in which they were produced.

Conferences and anthologies devoted to this subject still leap from ancient Hermetica directly to the Renaissance. This paper will consider the iconographic approach to Islamicate Hermetic images, with special reference to the theoretical reappropriation of those images in the work of Warburg and those following him, specifically in the interwar period (including Cassirer, Scholem, Panofsky, Wind, Ritter, Plessner).

Session Number: 1.4

Session Performing Jewishness on the Mainstream Stage

Session

This panel wishes to examine how Jews were represented and represented themselves on the American stage.

PLEASE NOTE: Order of Presenters: (1) Whittaker (2) Hecht (3) Malarcher (4) Seaman.

Chair, Edna Nahshon (Jewish Theological Seminary)

Don Whittaker (Northwestern State University)

Toward a Kinder (Musical) Shylock: Edward Harrigan and Mordecai

Edward Harrigan was a champion of subaltern New York people; in his long and successful career as librettist for some of America's earliest musical comedies, he portrayed African-Americans, Chinese-Americans, German immigrants, and of course, Irish immigrants. In all cases, his portrayals are not without problems, although it is obvious that he gave each group more sympathy than most playwrights of the time. Nowhere is this dichotomy more apparent than in "Mordecai Lyons" (1882), a full-length musical play concerning a Jewish father, his daughter, and their interaction with those around them. The work, while a failure, was something of a point of pride for Harrigan, and his Jewish father-in-law, David Braham, was his composer for this and almost all his other musicals. They attempted a sympathetic Jewish musical lead, many years prior to those seen in 1920s musicals such as

Stuart Hecht (Boston College)

The Melting Pot Paradigm of Irving Berlin

The Melting Pot Paradigm of Irving Berlin_ by Stuart J. Hecht

Generally acknowledged as America's greatest songwriter, Irving Berlin emerged from the Lower East Side of New York as the embodiment of the rags to riches myth. Born Israel Baline, Berlin was living proof of the genuine possibilities of the so-called _American Dream._ And yet this immigrant child of the ghettos did so through the path of assimilation, in time marrying the socialite daughter of a Catholic financier, and writing such non-Jewish standards as _White Christmas_ and _Easter Parade._

This paper first links Berlin's success in part to his ability to encapsulate the interests and concerns of his once-immigrant audience during the first half of the 20th century, that the evolving Broadway musical and the Tin Pan Alley song reflected that population's changing social and economic condition and national acceptance. To that end the paper will then examine some of Berlin's songs in order to demonstrate his strategies for success, his musical _advice_ to other former immigrants.

Jay Malarcher (West Virginia University)

The Marginalized Mainstream: Larry Gelbart's Comedy

For many Jewish immigrants into the country, the assimilation into American culture involved learning English from relatives who themselves mostly spoke Yiddish; thus one of the first tasks facing these people became sorting _real English_ from _received English._ Even their children, raised in a predominantly Yiddish-speaking household, had to contend with English as a second language when they entered mainstream schools. Those sensitive to the language soon learned that humor could be derived from replicating simple but bewildering misuses, what may be termed the _H*Y*M*A*N K*A*P*L*A*N_ syndrome.

Therefore, one of the great paradoxes of language arises with regard to the performance of Jewish-bred humor on the mainstream stage, radio, television and movie screens in the twentieth century: those writers had to have superb English language skills in order to mimic the language failings of people in society, no matter their immigrant roots. On the menu at Duffy_s Tavern, for instance, we find _Crepes Suzettes, Pft de Faux Pas . . . Milk-fed caviar . . . Breast of Guinea toast on hen . . . tarnished with parsley._ Norm Crosby, among other performers, made whole careers out of such malapropisms. Skill with language became a hallmark of comedy writing from the _30s to the _70s in this country, due primarily to the finely tuned ears of Jewish writers.

In addition to an ear for mistakes, such writers soon evolved an ear for rhythms and rhetoric in dialogue that became more consciously _American_ than native speakers. Larry Gelbart, who created TV_s M*A*S*H and Broadway_s A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum (after writing for Bob Hope and Sid Caesar, et al.), penned a script in the late 1980s that mirrored the political speech of professional obfuscators in his play Mastergate: A Play on Words. In it, politicians rant patriotically that _Self-interest begins at home_ and ask _What did the President know, and does he have any idea that he knew it?_ Clearly, the language basis of such dead-on dialogue owes a great debt to an outsider_s take on a new world into which he had to assimilate.

The _outsider_s take_ mentioned above reveals the marginalized mainstream that Gelbart (along with his colleagues and collaborators, Neil Simon, Mel Brooks, and Carl Reiner) presented weekly on Sid Caesar_s television show_ the ground zero for genre parodies that would become a hallmark of American television, film, and stage comedy in the twentieth century. Although perhaps not as identifiable as Brooks (Young Frankenstein, Blazing Saddles and Space Balls, among others), Neil Simon (The Cheap Detective and Murder by Death) or Carl Reiner (Dead Men Don_t Wear Plaid) Larry Gelbart displayed virtuosic comedy writing with his double double take on the double-feature with Movie Movie, and the two-sided Raymond Chandler send-up, the Broadway musical City of Angels. And so, the sensitivity to the possibilities of language use and misuse in comedy characterizes one of the cornerstones of Gelbart_s comic genius, and became the launching point for

Mark Seamon (The Ohio State University)

In-vesting Identities: Representations of Jewishness in Anna Deavere Smith's *Fires in the Mirror: Crown Heights, Brooklyn and Other*

The neighborhood of Crown Heights, Brooklyn became the focus of national attention in 1991 when riots broke out between the Hasidic and African American communities. The conflict ensued after a seven year-old African American, Gavin Cato, was struck and killed by an Hasidic man's car that had swerved onto the sidewalk. Shortly thereafter, Yankel Rosenbaum, a twenty-nine year-old Hasidic student from Australia, was stabbed to death by a group of African Americans in an apparent act of retaliation. Anna Deavere Smith's *Fires in the Mirror: Crown Heights, Brooklyn and Other Identities*, a finalist for the 1993 Pulitzer Prize for Drama, is a response to and representation of the violence and unrest that resulted from these two deaths.

Smith's work is distinctive because she draws on interviews with real people to provide the text and action of her plays. For *Fires in the Mirror*, the first play in her "A Search for American Character" series, Smith spoke with members of the Jewish and African American communities, politicians, and anonymous witnesses to get as many different perspectives on the riots, why they occurred, and how the tension in Crown Heights might or might not be addressed in the aftermath. In performance, Smith uses verbatim excerpts from these interviews to perform every role - male and female, African American and Caucasian, Jewish and non-Jewish - herself.

Given that the riots created schisms within the Crown Heights community, it is perhaps not surprising that Smith's play elicited a complex array of responses as well. This paper will examine some of the reaction that came specifically from the Jewish community, focusing on how people received and understood the Jewish community that Smith represents in the play. It is distinctive to look at this because Smith is considered an African American artist whose work is generally identified as dealing with African American issues. Because she plays all the roles in *Fires in the Mirror*, the representation of Hasidic Jews through the vessel of Smith's African American body in performance necessitates a review, as does the conflicting responses that the play generated. This paper will scrutinize the Jewish characters' interviews/monologues specifically. It will also explore Smith's portrayal of these characters as evidenced in the 1993 American Playhouse film version, directed by George C. Wolfe.

Session Number: 1.5

Session* **Metaproblems in Holocaust Studies*

Session

Chair, Berel Lang (Trinity College)

Helene Sinnreich (University of Mississippi)

An Old Debate Reconsidered: An Argument for Moderate

Traditionally, two dominating schools of thought offer theories on the origins of the Final Solution, the Intentionalists and the Functionalists. The Intentionalist school, established by the late Lucy Dawidowicz argued that it was the Nazi intent from the moment they came to power onward to murder the Jews of Europe. The Functionalist school originally set forth by the founder of Holocaust studies, Raul Hilberg, argues that the Nazis while desiring to rid Germany of Jews, only stumbled upon mass murder as a solution to the Jewish problem. Christopher Browning in a famous essay on the question of Intentionalism and Functionalism identified himself as a moderate functionalist. Which while allowing for the role of anti-semitism in the decision to kill the Jews, still argued that the Holocaust did not begin until 1941. In recent years the functionalist school has dominated Holocaust studies to the point that the Intentionalist school has been rendered virtually disproved. This paper attempts to make an argument for moderate intentionalism as a viable school of thought for Holocaust scholars.

David Alan Patterson (University of Memphis)
Remembering the Murder of the Mother: Implications for Understanding the Holocaust

In Elie Wiesel's *Night*, when Moshe the Beadle returns from a mass grave to warn the people of Sighet of the approaching storm, he cries out to them, *"I have come to tell you the story of my own death."* Such, indeed, is the position of any Holocaust survivor: like Moshe the Beadle, he rises from a continent that was transformed into a mass grave to relate the tale of his own death. As it unfolds in the Holocaust memoir, the process of telling the tale is part of the process of recovering the soul, where recovery entails a return to origins. And a fundamental figure at the origin of any human being is the mother. The purpose of the proposed paper is to examine the testimony on the murdered mothers that we have from numerous Holocaust memoirs in order to attain a better understanding of (1) the essence of the mother in Jewish teachings and traditions, (2) the Nazis' murder of the Jewish mother, and (3) what the two may reveal about the essence of the Holocaust.

Exploring the symbolic and metaphysical dimensions of the assault on the Jews in the Holocaust, the paper will first explain the significance of the mother in Jewish teachings. Here it will be shown that the assault on the mother as the origin of life is part of a larger, calculated assault on the soul, and not just on the body, of Israel. Next the paper will examine the implication of removing not only the mother but also her maternal love from the world. Here we shall see that the violation of this most intimate bond between two human beings—the bond between mother and child—is a definitive aspect of creating the *"anti-world"* of the *"concentrationary universe,"* which is a realm void of human relation. In this connection the paper discusses the moral dilemma of having to kill newborn infants in order to save the lives of the mothers. Finally, the paper will explain how the murder of the mother is connected to a general assault on the home as a sanctuary and dwelling place for the family. To be sure, a defining feature of the Holocaust is seen in this devastation of the home: living in a camp, in a ghetto, or in hiding, every Jew in Nazi Europe was homeless.

Jack Kugelmass (Arizona State University)

Why Do We Read the Holocaust?

The study is based on relatively early Holocaust accounts--either material gathered by journalists visiting Poland immediately after World War II or in the form of memoirs published as books most notably as part of the 177-volume series *Dos poylishe yidntum* published in Buenos Aires shortly after the war. These include books such as Tanya Fuks's *A vanderung iber okupirte gebitn* (1947) and Mark Turkow's *Malke ovshani dertseylt* (1946) as well as J. Pat's *Ash un fayer* (1947) and H. Shoshkes's *Poyln 1946--ayndrukn fun a rayze* (1946).

The essay poses the question about how to categorize the narrative contained within these books. My argument is that in considering these components there are at least two very striking features: one is the element of travel, (even voluntary travel in the case of survivors since changing places of residence are actions necessary for survival but also provide the underlying structure of the narrative) which places at least that component of the material as a subcategory within the larger genre of travel or adventure travel (and certainly so in the case of the journalists); the other is the element of encounters with the marvelous not just in the dytopic sense of viewing an apocalyptic landscape but also in the encounters with the unexpected--Jews passing as non-Jews, seemingly hostile strangers providing unexpected help and refuge, and of course, the very opposite. Here, perhaps, the material suggests some interface with elements found within the wonder tale.

What I conclude from this is that both the element of adventure travel and encounters with the marvelous are essential to Holocaust memoirs and reportage and not surprisingly constitute the source of our fascination with these accounts. At the same time, the repeated encounters with the enigmatic--the impossibility of determining with any certainty outcomes or individual behavior--gives these accounts a degree of universalism (what might be termed a narrativization of reality) above and beyond the specificity of the details they provide about a particular time and place.

Marc A. Krell (University of Arizona)

The Saying vs. The Said: Reconstructing a Post-Holocaust Jewish-Christian Relationship Using Levinas's Theology of the Trace

This paper draws upon the work of Emmanuel Levinas in order to propose a postmodern Jewish-Christian theology that moves beyond the Jewish apologetic discourse created in response to the Holocaust by deconstructing the cultural and theological boundaries between Jews and Christians, while reconstructing Jewish identities in dialogue with Christianity. In response to the Holocaust, Jewish thinkers constructed Jewish identity based on Christian opposition throughout history. Yet, by developing theologies in conversation with Christianity, post-Holocaust Jewish theologians actually blurred the boundaries they wished to reaffirm. This shared Jewish-Christian cultural discourse forms the foundation for a postmodern redefinition of Jewish identities in relation to Christianity and God after the Holocaust.

This dialectical, theological symbiosis reflects the ongoing formation of a multiple and often contradictory Jewish subjectivity that has been constructed out of its historical interaction with a Christian Other. This notion of identity construction radically decenters the modern, autonomous self by shifting the locus of subjectivity from the self to the Other. Instead of constructing Jewish identity in response to Christian inflicted suffering culminating in the Holocaust, the postmodern Jewish self now becomes subject to the dialectical interplay of Jewish and Christian discourses.

Drawing upon Emmanuel Levinas's theology of the "trace," I will suggest that neither Jews nor Christians can construct their theologies without first being forced to recognize their ethical obligation to and responsibility for the Other to whom they are subjected. Only in the ethical encounter with the face of the human Other, does one discover a trace of divine transcendence that can never be located in a particular rational discourse. Yet, while I agree with Levinas's notion of ethical responsibility for the Other, his portrayal of the self as radically passive and ultimately persecuted by the Other is problematic for a post-Holocaust Jewish identity which although decentered, must not be held hostage to a Christian Other. Alternatively, Levinas's portrayal of Jewish identity in relation to Christianity does not always correspond with his philosophical position of ethical subjectivity, because of his periodic tendency to totalize the Christian and at times Jewish Other.

I would argue that Levinas's inconsistency illustrates the serious challenges involved in reconstructing the Jewish-Christian relationship after the Holocaust. While it is easy to revert to earlier anti-Christian polemics in an attempt to assert one's Jewishness, one cannot avoid the face of the Christian Other and the infinite obligation that she commands. In Levinasian terms, the Jew is already open to dialogue with the Christian through "the saying" (*le dire*) before "the said" (*le dit*) creates a "screen" between them. In other words, Jews together with Christians must reinterpret their shared cultural discourse by not allowing it to remain a static and totalizing representation of two essential cultures in conflict. Only through "the saying," can Jews testify of their responsibility for the Christian Other,

and consequently discover a trace of the Infinite or God. After the Holocaust, Jews must achieve a difficult balance between bowing to Christian culture and

reaffirming their uniqueness in spite of it.

Session Number: 1.6

Session American Jewish Women and the Zionist Enterprise

Session

Cosponsored by the Hadassah-Brandeis Institute and the Center for Jewish Studies, University at Albany, SUNY.

Chair, Shulamit Reinharz (Brandeis University)

Shulamit Reinharz is the Jacob Potofsky Professor of Sociology at Brandeis University, the Founding Director of the Women's Studies Research Center (2001) and of The Hadassah-Brandeis Institute (1997). She is the Chief Editor of the Brandeis Series on Jewish Women. Her most recent article is a discussion of the special properties involved in interviewing women and her most recent publication is a study of the ways in which women celebrate Purim in 100 countries today. Her next project concerns revolutionizing the concept of bat mizvah.

Joseph B. Glass (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
Settling the Old-New Homeland: The Decisions of American Jewish Women during the Interwar Years

For the some 5,000 American Jewish women who settled in Palestine between the two world wars, there was the question of where to settle in their old-new homeland. For those women with the opportunity to choose their new place of residence, the selection of a specific settlement took into consideration a number for factors: economics, religious beliefs, ideology, and personal preferences. To date, no study dealing with the period has isolated the migration process or location decisions of women. During this period in the United States women had great freedom in determining their places of residence and destinies as a result of the achievements of the women's suffrage movement and economic advances. This study examines the question of women and migration through a case study of American Jewish women and their moves to British Mandatory Palestine. To understand this process, the end result or the "spatial distribution" of American Jewish women in Palestine is first detailed. This is followed by a series of examples of location decisions made by American Jewish women when settling in Palestine which provide a deeper understanding of the different categories of factors behind the decision-making processes. The discussion also provides insight into the perceptions of Palestine held by American Jewish women in the interwar years and their expectations of life in Palestine. Joseph B. Glass is the Academic Coordinator of the Halbert Centre for Canadian Studies and Adjunct Lecturer in the Department of Geography and the Rothberg International School of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His latest book is *From New Zion to Old Zion, American Jewish Immigration and Settlement in Palestine, 1917-1939* (Wayne State University Press, 2002). Together with Ruth Kark, he is working on a second volume in their series dealing with Sephardi entrepreneurs in the Land of Israel. The latter focuses on the activities of a Jerusalem banking family - the Valeros.

**Baila Rouna Shargel (Purchase College, State University of New York)
Faith, Nationalism, and Female Autonomy: The Philosophy and
Practice of Bessie Gotsfeld, Founder of the Mizrahi Women of America**

Bessie Gotsfeld (1888-1962), the founder of Mizrahi Woman's Organization of America (MWOA) transcended several boundaries to find a place for modern Orthodox women in Israel and America. She advocated female education, a cause that patriarchal Orthodox Jewish culture regarded as trivial.

Within the Mizrahi movement she sustained female sovereignty by exercising the power of the purse. To expand membership and increase financial support she did battle with other women's groups. This paper will discuss Gotsfeld's personal style, the standards that she maintained, and the philosophy that governed her activities. Baila Round Shargel is a native of Baltimore, Maryland, and a graduate of Goucher College and the Baltimore Hebrew College. In 1982 she received a doctorate in Jewish history at the Jewish Theological Seminary. She has been teaching at the State University of New York, Purchase College since 1996. A social and cultural historian, Baila Shargel has written dozens of essays on Jewish life, culture, and religion, published in journals and books. She is the author of three books: *Practical Dreamer: Israel Friedlaender and the Shaping of American Judaism*; *The Jews of Westchester: a Social History*; and *Lost Love: the Untold Story of Henrietta Szold*, and is currently completing *A Female Voice in Orthodox Judaism: Bessie Gotsfeld and the Mizrahi Women's Organization of America*.

Peri Rosenfeld (New York University)

Women in Green: The Impact of Hadassah Nursing on Immigrant and Refugee Health in the Yishuv and the State of the Israel, 1918-1955

The contemporary image of health care in Israel is one of laser technology, nuclear medicine, and high tech research. Yet, the early years were reflected in the green uniform of the public health nurse who established a foundation of hygiene, sanitation, preventive medicine and, no less important, hope in the future for the Jewish pioneers and refugees who sought new lives in a Jewish state. This paper explores the contributions of nurses in the years before and immediately after the founding of the State of Israel in May 1948. The pre-state and early state era in Israel includes the time after World War I when the British maintained control over the land inhabited by Arabs and Jews, known as Mandatory Palestine (1918 to 1948) and Israel's nascent statehood (1948 to 1955). Throughout the pre-state era, the autonomous Jewish polity known as the Yishuv put in place a wide range of social institutions, structures and policies that served as the foundation of a Western, "developed" nation. The leaders of the Yishuv were predominantly secular European intellectuals whose goal was the creation of an independent Jewish state in the biblical homeland. Though different subgroups existed, the Zionist enterprise was predicated on the belief that as long as Jews were scattered throughout the world without a state of their own, Jews would be remain vulnerable to the whims of their host countries. The research here focuses on the sociohistorical context in which nursing, specifically public health nursing of the Hadassah School of Nursing, emerged as an important, though overlooked, component of the Zionist project. In addition to the American archives of Hadassah, this research also examines the holdings of the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem., which contains the historical records of the Hadassah School of Nursing from its inception in 1918 to 1977. Finally, ten interviews with Hadassah trained nurses who practiced during the late Mandatory and early state periods were conducted to supplement the archival data. The interviews not only validated archival findings but also provide important contexts from which to better understand the activities of nurses involved in immigrant health. BioPeri RosenfeldNew York Academy of MedicineI am currently Senior Research Scientist at the New York Academy of Medicine (one of the oldest health policy and research think tanks in the United States). I previously served as Associate Director of the Center for Nursing Research at New York University's Division of Nursing and Vice President for Research at the National League for Nursing. I have published widely on the nursing profession, health services research and the health care workforce.

Respondent, Mark A. Raider (University at Albany, State University of New York)

Mark A. Raider is Associate Professor of Modern Jewish History, Chair of the Judaic Studies Department, and Founding Director of the Center for Jewish Studies at the State University of New York at Albany. He is the author of *The Emergence of American Zio*

Session Number: 1.7

Session **Celebration and Collaboration in Community Projects:
Conceptualizing Commemoration in Studies of American
Jewish Life**

Session

Chair, Ted Merwin (Dickinson College)

Nora Faires (Western Michigan University)

Portraying Jewish Life in Autotown

Based on her work with independent scholar Nancy Hanflik, Nora Faires will address the issues raised in their study of American Jews in a city of boom and bust: Flint, Michigan. Hanflik and Faires, an Associate Professor of History and Women's Studies at Western Michigan University who specializes in the study of migration, jointly guest curated an exhibit at Flint's Sloan Museum, an institution until recently devoted to exhibits on the automotive industry and its leaders. The exhibit was based on a project to collect artifacts, photographs, and oral histories organized and funded by the Flint Jewish Federation. This presentation will focus on the multi-faceted collaboration between the local Federation chapter, the museum, and the authors of a manuscript in progress, "The History of Jewish Life in Flint," to be published by Michigan State

Phyllis Leffler (University of Virginia)

Shaping the Community's Consciousness in the American South

Phyllis Leffler has worked collaboratively on an exhibit and museum catalogue (*To Seek the Peace of the City*) on Jewish life in Charlottesville, Virginia used as the opening exhibit for the new quarters of the Albemarle County Historical Society. She has also been a co-convener and collaborator on a just completed conference called "Matriarchs and Magnolias: Jewish Women of the South-Agents of Change." She is Professor of History and Director of the Institute for Public History at the University of Virginia. Her presentation will explore the sensitive issues of race in building awareness of the place and role of Jews in the South, and will suggest some strategies for overcoming mere celebratory impulses.

Linda Borish (Western Michigan University)
Commemorating American Jewish Women in Sporting Communities in Documentary Film and Historical Writing

Linda J. Borish has written extensively on American Jewish women's history and sport history. She is Associate Professor of History and Women's Studies at Western Michigan University. Her presentation will discuss her ongoing collaboration with award-winning filmmaker Shuli Eshel to produce a documentary film and book with the working title, "Settlement Houses to Olympic Stadiums: Jewish Women in American Sport." She will explore the making of this project, which highlights how community-based sporting events both hindered and supported the development of individual athletes and of Jewish women in sport more generally. The diverse historical sources of Jewish Ys, local Jewish communities, the Olympic Games, and Maccabiah Games will be discussed to show how Jewish women contested gender and ethnic barriers in participating in and shaping American sport.

Joy A. Kingsolver (Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies)
Archives, Museums, and the Commemoration of Jewish Life in

Joy Kingsolver is Director, Chicago Jewish Archives, Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies. She will discuss several projects, including a recent exhibit on Chicago Jewish women and an ongoing exhibit on immigration to Chicago, organized in collaboration with the Spertus Museum. She will explore changes in Chicago's Jewish community and the ways in which examining this community's history provides a window on the commemoration of the 350th anniversary of Jewish life in America.

Respondent, Judith Endelman (The Henry Ford)

Session Number: 1.8

Session* **Memory, Transmission, and Rabbinic Commentary*

Session

Chair, Natan Margalit (Reconstructionist Rabbinical College)

David Brodsky (University of Pittsburgh)

Oral Transmission and the Nature of Variance: Parallel Sugyot in the Bavli and Yerushalmi

As Alyssa Gray has pointed out in her dissertation, sugyot in the Bavli are often closely related to their counterparts in the Yerushalmi. In this paper, I shall attempt to demonstrate the oral nature of that relationship. In particular, I shall focus on how alterations in the transmission of individual words can cause significant alterations in the content of the entire sugya. The nature of these changes would also seem to point to the nature of transmission. Not only would it seem that the passages are transmitted orally, they seem to be memorized and transmitted by the use of certain key words and phrases. When those key words are misunderstood or misremembered by a transmitter, significant variation arises.

In one example, both the Bavli and the Yerushalmi record the same two key words (גדול and קטן) as the case under consideration. The two words, however, are used according to different aspects of their definitions (*adult* vs. *minor* in the Bavli, as opposed to *stronger* vs. *weaker* party in the Yerushalmi), establishing the two sugyot as discussing significantly different cases. Nevertheless, both sugyot go on to include the same mishnah as a challenge to the original position, followed by similar (though necessarily different) solutions to that challenge. While one (or both) of these two texts has undoubtedly confused the topic under discussion, the key terms and the key text used to challenge the original case remain the same. Other examples reveal similar methods of memorization. They each retain key terms that establish the topic, even as the two texts differ regarding the relevant definition for the key terms, and they each retain other key aspects of the give-and-take of the sugya. Beyond that, however, the parallel sugyot differ significantly, revealing that these other aspects (such as wording) may not be as central to the process of transmission.

This type of confusion is quite similar to cases in the Bavli itself in which, after summarizing the give-and-take of a debate between two rabbis, the stam asks whether the two rabbis had not debated a different topic. The stam then goes on to repeat the entire sugya with all the key elements of the give-and-take of the sugya, but this time on the new rather than the old topic. While this type of variant within the Bavli itself has been taken by some scholars to suggest that the Bavli at times fabricates whole debates between rabbis (most notably R. Yohanan and Reish Laqish), the existence of this same type of variant between the Bavli and the Yerushalmi, suggests that this type of variant is not the result of fabrication per se, but of the nature of memorization being employed by the transmitters of these sugyot and proto-sugyot.

Serguei Dolgopolskii (University of California at Berkeley)
Orality and Temporality in the Stammaitic Argument

The continuing growth of researchers' interest to what post-Talmudic masters called *stamma de-talmuda* and the scholars of modern time identified as an unanimous editorial voice of the 6th-7th centuries calls not only for a historical explanation of the emergence and development of the *stam*, but also, and even in a bigger degree, to a hermeneutical interpretation of *stammaitic* arguments. As Leo Strauss suggested with regard to a different intellectual production, hermeneutical interpretation should precede historical explanation, not come after it. Since any historical image of the *stam* belongs to the realm of historical explanation rather than to that of hermeneutical interpretation, I would propose to analyze the hermeneutical structure of the "*stammaitic* argument" without beginning from a presumption of historical existence of either *stam* or "collective editorial voice". Not that I propose to deny such an existence, but I do propose to put the abstraction of "collective editorial voice" aside and explore possibilities of hermeneutical analysis of the *stammaitic* arguments before going to any historical abstraction behind them.

The abstraction of an "editorial voice" necessarily assumes that *stam* produces re-cording of the voice, either on paper or only in memory of the students who do *gemara* i.e. repeat and transmit, and possibly change the arguments or traditions they learned. What this abstraction immediately precludes is a possibility of thinking of the *stammaitic* argument in terms of its original orality.

In terms of its temporal organization, the original orality of the *stammaitic* argument may be very different from historical temporality, which, according to philosophical standards of the West, dictates that even if oral comes before writing, both oral and written are only intermediary, secondary record (re-cord) of a thought or idea behind them. I attempt going away from this Western metaphysical standard and aim at exploring precisely that possibility of original orality which that standard precludes.

One way of researching this precluded possibility is analyzing the inner hermeneutical temporality of *stammaitic* argument, as opposed to the temporality of its historical transmission. In my analysis of hermetical temporality of a *stammaitic sugiya*, I will start from the analysis of rhetorical temporality thereof proposed in the work of a fifteenth century Talmudic scholar, Rabbi Izhak Kanpanton *The Ways of Talmud* as opposed to a later work of Rabbi Chaym Luzzatto, *The Ways of Reason*. In the latter such hermeneutic of Talmudic temporality is approached logically rather than rhetorically. My focus however will be not on these later authors themselves, but rather on the Talmudic *stammaitic* argument, a temporality of which they proposed to analyze either logically or rhetorically. Through confronting their modes of analysis I hope to come to a better understanding of inner temporality of *stammaitic sugiya* itself, regardless of any later

Eliezer B. Diamond (Jewish Theological Seminary)
Comprehending the Spirit of the Talmud: An Assessment of Louis Ginzberg's Contribution to Yerushalmi Scholarship

In his introduction to the Yerushalmi, printed at the beginning of his commentary on Yerushalmi Berakhot Ch. 1-4, Ginzberg decries the study of Yerushalmi - and Bavli, for that matter - that is based solely on philology (p. 46 of the introduction). The result, he says, is that one grasps the form of the Yerushalmi but not its content. Instead one should employ philology in conjunction with what he calls "Talmudic understanding." In this way one can "penetrate [the Yerushalmi's] core and comprehend the living spirit within it." Clearly this credo is proclaimed in reaction to the Yerushalmi scholarship of his predecessors and contemporaries, but it is also the final stage of Ginzberg's evolving thinking about the proper form and content of Yerushalmi commentaries. There is an allusion to this evolutionary process in the preface to his Berakhot commentary; after the recent discovery of a manuscript containing his notes to his Sridei Ha-Yerushalmi we can track and characterize this process in a clear and concrete fashion. Basing myself on Ginzberg's Berakhot commentary, his notes on Sridei Ha-Yerushalmi and his soon-to-be published commentary on Yerushalmi Pesachim Ch. 1-5 (which I am presently editing), I will first describe and analyze the metamorphosis of Ginzberg's approach to Yerushalmi commentary. Next, using Lieberman's commentary on Yerushalmi Pesachim (in his Ha-Yerushalmi Ki-Feshuto) as a foil, I will try to identify the unique characteristics of Ginzberg's commentaries and use them to clarify what Ginzberg means by "Talmudic understanding." Finally, based on all of the above, I will delineate Ginzberg's complex relationship with the Yerushalmi scholarship of his day.

Rivka B. Kern-Ulmer (Bucknell University)

Citations of the Pesiqtot in Medieval Works

Pesiqta (Rabbati) material is cited or paraphrased throughout rabbinic literature. Manuscripts and early citations of the *Pesiqtot* often contain a hybrid text of Pesiqta Rabbati and Pesiqta de-Rab Kahana. For example, Pesiqta Rabbati material is quoted without attribution in the Tosafot, whereas Rashi's Bible Commentary and the Roqeah cite Pesiqta Rabbati as a source. Some excerpts from Pesiqta Rabbati are found in Mahzor Vitry which are presented by the editor of this work in order to substantiate liturgical minhagim. Further examples of medieval citations and references to Pesiqta Rabbati include the following: Rambam, Maharam Rothenburg, Ha-Rid and Arugat Ha-Bosem (1234) by Avraham ben Azriel who cites Pesiqta Rabbati as *midrash*. These medieval excerpts from Pesiqta Rabbati constitute relatively early citations of this rabbinic work. Another medieval work, Yalqut Shimoni, also utilizes passages from Pesiqta Rabbati. These excerpts in the Yalqut Shimoni were taken from a Vorlage that apparently was similar to the manuscript text that was used several centuries later for the editio princeps of Pesiqta Rabbati. The Pesiqta Rabbati texts utilized in the Yalqut Shimoni were edited and adapted by the editor who arranged rabbinic midrashic material in the sequential order that the scriptural verses appear in the Hebrew Bible. In this editorial process the artful form of the homily was lost and the Pesiqta material was rearranged into yet another form. The homily was transformed by the editor of the Yalqut into merely a commentary upon scriptural verses. This paper will evaluate these medieval excerpts in respect to the question of a transmission history of Pesiqta Rabbati and in attempting to establish the early textual identity of Pesiqta Rabbati as separate from Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana.

Session Number: 1.9

Session Teaching Yidl in the Middle: Issues in Teaching Jewish Studies to Non-Jewish Students

Session

Many of us teach classes in Jewish history, culture, and religion in which Jews may be the minority, if indeed they are enrolled at all. In addition to requiring us to teach more basic knowledge, such as the existence of different branches of Judaism, with which most Jews are at least vaguely familiar, teaching non-Jewish students presents some different issues and requires different strategies from teaching Jewish students.

For example, devout Christian men and women may sincerely accept as true beliefs that scapegoat or marginalize Jews, as Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ* has made very apparent this year. Some students may even hope to proselytize or "save" Jewish souls. Jewish studies professors need to be able to respect their students' religious values, while nonetheless challenging the less tolerant components of their faith. On the more extreme side, a small minority of students have been raised with more mean-spirited anti-semitic beliefs, posing a challenge for professors.

Questions of authenticity can pervade a classroom in Jewish studies. If we are Jewish, non-Jewish students frequently perceive us to be authentic or representative voices of the Jewish people, a perception that should obviously be discouraged. When there are no other Jewish voices in the classroom, however, it is difficult not to intervene with one's own. On the other hand, when Jewish students are in the classroom, they themselves may be tempted to present themselves as authentic representatives of Judaism, thereby silencing non-Jews and presenting a false portrait of a monolithic Jewish community.

Then, too, providing critical perspectives of traditional Judaism from a feminist or gay outlook, for instance, can encourage anti-semitic stereotypes, allowing students unfamiliar with the religion to view Judaism as narrow-minded or antiquated. Similarly, close examinations of Jewish practice, such as circumcision or the mikvah, can create an uncomfortable portrait of Judaism as exotic or primitive for non-Jewish students. Nonetheless, developing classes that present a version of Judaism that is saccharine and/or geared towards creating good public relations does not serve our function as teachers of Jewish studies either.

Teaching non-Jews offers many positive challenges as well. Non-

Jewish students can provide new and valuable perspectives on Jewish religion and culture. Students of other minority ethnic and religious backgrounds may perceive Jewish studies through a comparative lens that enriches our own understanding. And the reward of teaching non-Jewish students can sometimes be greater, as they are exposed to a new perspective on the world.

These issues, as well as others, will be addressed in our workshop on pedagogy. Each of our four discussants_Kirsten Fermaglich, Jeffrey Haus, Robin Judd, and Eric Silverman_will speak for five to ten minutes about the issues that they have encountered in teaching non-Jewish students in their Jewish studies classes, and laying out topics for discussion. Respondent Melissa Klapper will suggest strategies for addressing the issues raised by panelists. Chair Mark Roseman will then offer members of the audience twenty minutes to discuss among themselves the subjects that discussants have introduced. Finally, Roseman will act as a moderator for an interactive conversation among the four presenters and members of the audience.

Chair, Mark Roseman (Indiana University)

Kirsten L. Fermaglich (Michigan State University)

So When Do We Get to the Money?: Teaching American Jewish Culture as Diversity Training at a Midwestern Land Grant University

At Michigan State University, I have been charged with teaching a class on American Jewish culture that is one of a number of "diversity" classes among which all undergraduate students in entire university are required to choose. My classes have generally attracted a minority of Jews, who have made up between five and fifteen percent of the class. The large majority of students who take the class have absolutely no interest in Jewish culture when they sign up for the course, having selected the class for its time period and location.

For the past four years, this experience has posed a number of challenges that I never anticipated. One of the most significant of these challenges is the presence of students who have been raised with anti-semitic beliefs. One student last semester, who told me his grandfather and mother both hated Jews, did not seem to believe that I was genuinely explaining Jewish history to him until I specifically addressed and dispelled anti-semitic myths. Although this student was an extreme example, I believe he points to the existence of more subterranean and structural anti-semitic beliefs among many students. I would like to talk with colleagues about strategies for addressing student anti-semitism: is it worthwhile to describe and dismiss anti-semitic mythology early on in the structure of our classes and lectures in order to address students' prejudices, or does that subtextually allow anti-semitic prejudice to dominate the discourse of the class, rather than the internal needs and logic of Jewish studies itself?

Another challenge I would like to discuss with other Jewish studies professors is the question of authenticity. I tend to be fairly open with students when I teach_ I tell stories about myself and my family when they help to further a point or explain my own position on a subject. In my class on Jewish culture, however, I have found that when I employ this teaching style, non-Jewish students can interpret my comments as "authentically" Jewish, a perception that I would like to discourage, since the class is organized around guiding students to understand the divisions and differences among Jews. On the other hand, I find that when I limit my personal voice in matters of Jewishness, students become confused and I feel frustrated.

Then, too, I have found that presenting critical perspectives of traditional Judaism_ from a feminist or gay outlook, for instance_ can encourage students unfamiliar with the religion to view Judaism as narrow-minded or antiquated. Students who are not necessarily sympathetic to feminist criticisms of American culture can be surprisingly and disturbingly vehement in their agreement with feminist criticisms of Judaism. I would like to discuss with colleagues ways of exposing students to criticisms of Judaism without allowing those criticisms to become reified as my students' understanding of Judaism.

Finally, I would like to talk with other Jewish studies teachers about ways that

teaching non-Jewish students could become a more positive and productive

Jeffrey Haus (University of North Carolina at Greensboro)

Finding Southern Comfort: Teaching Jewish Studies in the South

My presentation will discuss the challenges of teaching Jewish Studies at a relatively large southern university. Chief among these issues is making Jewish Studies courses accessible to non-Jews. Small numbers of Jewish students, the influence of Evangelical Christianity, and personal political agendas complicate this process, as does administrative pressure to attract as many students to a course as possible. At the same time, I have found that these challenges also come linked to certain advantages. While dealing with Evangelical religious triumphalism can be problematic, these students tend to be respectful of Judaism and committed to learning the material. Ironically, they also tend to be more familiar with biblical texts than most Jewish students, and I have found them less likely to let their preconceived notions about Judaism block the learning process.

Addressing these issues involves creating a frame of reference in which students_ both Jews and non-Jews_ may approach the subject without discounting their own personal experiences. My remarks will discuss the ways in which I have attempted to do achieve this goal, and how dealing with these challenges has enriched my teaching.

Robin E. Judd (Ohio State University)
Jewish History in a Land Grant University

My presentation will share the experiences I have had during the past four years at a large mid-western land-grant university. The university has had a long history of supporting Jewish studies and Jewish history, and my courses include a Jewish history survey, as well as more specific studies of European Jewry, gender and Jewish history, American Jewish history, and Jewish cultural history.

I have deeply enjoy teaching at a public university, whose mission is serve the students of the state, and I have benefited from having a widely diverse student body. My students, mostly of whom are not Jewish, represent a variety of different classes, generations, ethnicities, religions, and races. They come from inner-city Cleveland, Appalachia, the farms of Western Ohio, and former industrial towns, as well as wealthy suburbs, major urban centers that are out-of-state, and other national settings (last quarter I had a number of Somali students, as well as two Russians). I've taught football players, state-chess champions, retired police officers, future lawyers, and National Guard soldiers.

I am unsure whether the challenges I face as a Jewish historian among a sea of non-Jews is any different than the challenges my colleagues in ethnic history face. My presentation will speak to that uncertainty, as well as to a few of the particular issues with which I have been wrestling. First, to what extent should I reveal information about myself, and if I do engage in such a policy of public self-reflection am I creating a culture in which non-Jewish students can participate as actively as those who share my religious background? Furthermore, since I have a large number of devoutly observant Christian students, I often think through how to present the history of Christian-Jewish relations, an issue that has come to the forefront this year, with the release of Mel Gibson's film. Finally, I would like to discuss how my colleagues best engage with students who reveal deeply antisemitic beliefs about Jewish bodies, natures, and desires.

Eric Silverman (DePauw University)

From the Melanesian Men's House to the Minyan: Anthropological Reflections on Teaching Jewish Studies after Teaching about New

As a cultural anthropologist with long-term ethnographic experience in Papua New Guinea, I once felt confident about my ability to master the pedagogical perils of exoticism. I portrayed the Other as neither a Rousseauistic utopia nor a Hobbesian horror. I imbued my classes with a sense for the passions of everyday experience so the proverbial Other became a little less otherly. Or so I thought. My anthropological comfort has recently faded since I started teaching about Jews and Judaism, a cultural formation that, frankly speaking, is only slightly less exotic to most of my Midwestern students than the Melanesian men's house.

In my presentation, I reflect on teaching about Jews and Judaism in the Midwest against my longer familiarity with teaching about New Guinea. While I strive to validate both cultures against European-Christian dominance, my own status as a Jew often introduces tensions into the Judaism classes that have no parallel when discussing New Guinea. For example Melanesian cultural resistance against the hegemonic assumptions of modernity strikes students as ennobling. By contrast, Hasidim appear rude and parochial. While non-Jewish students often look to courses on Judaism for validation of their Christian identity, a Jewish student recently asked me for assistance in countering Christian and secular criticism of certain passages in the Torah.

To implicate students in the history of Melanesian colonialism holds little potential to seem self-serving. Not so for Judaism, wherein discussions of Jewishness as a counter-discourse of gender, sexuality, and race, as well as discussions of anti-Semitism, can become a personal attack on students' ethnicity and, more importantly, their religious outlook. Cultural anthropologists often highlight radical alterity to de-center students' conventions of normative sociality. Menstrual prohibitions, penis cutting, gender segregation, food taboos, complex rules to avoid pollution, are commonplace topics in courses on Melanesia. But when I direct the same ethnographic gaze to my own cultural heritage, I often feel uneasy, even defensive, sometimes akin to an ethnographic curio. Worse, I fear that I am presenting the dark side of Christianity, such that Paul (from one angle) was right all along: Jews are preoccupied with picayune rules, staid rituals, sexism, arrogance, and a stubborn unwillingness to assimilate or even, as in the now-famous Postville encounter, to merely eat with Gentiles! (Actually, worse of all is when students don't care, thus consigning my own identity to irrelevancy, or when students view Judaism through the lens of evangelical philosemitism.) But to refuse to teach the dissonant, troubling, and morally ambiguous aspects of Judaism, which exist to no greater or lesser extent than in any other tradition, is to teach a pediatric version of the culture, befitting neither of the anthropological project nor the daily experiences of many Jews. In short, my presentation will seek to identify how an anthropologist strives to

"make the strange familiar, and the familiar strange" when teaching about

Respondent, Melissa Klapper (Rowan University)

Session Number: 1.10

Session* **Literary Creativity in Medieval Spain*

Session

Chair, Miriam Bodian (Graduate School for Jewish Studies, Touro

Shari L. Lowin (Stonehill College)

Sex and God: Religious Erotic Love Poetry in Medieval Andalusia

<I> An aristocratic Muslim gentleman once fell in love at first sight with a certain woman while at the Ka_ba. Overcome with love, the man approached the lady and recited,

_I have great passion for my religion while I like pleasures.

How can I have passion for pleasures as well as Islam?_

She replied, _Leave the one and you will have the other._ </I>

Such are the teachings of an Arabic anecdote illustrating commonly held wisdom regarding the natural division between the spiritual and the carnal realms of life. As most religious traditions teach, in order to be closer to God, one must distance oneself from pull of the material world. It is thus puzzling to the modern mind to find rabbis and imams standing proudly among the greatest composers of erotic love poetry in medieval Muslim Andalusia. Literarily speaking at least, they saw no need to follow the lady_s sartorial advice; instead, these religious teachers and authority figures appear to have celebrated their two opposing halves.

My proposal examines this surprising erotic love poetry penned by 10th-13th century Andalusian rabbis Shmuel ha-Nagid (993-1055), Moses ibn Ezra (1055-after 1135) and Yehuda ha-Levi (1075-1141), and imams Ibn al-Milh (11th century), Ibn Siraj (d. 1114,), Abu Hafs Umar b. Umar (d. 1207), and Ibn Hazm (994-1064). Previous scholarship on Andalusian poetry has made little distinction between the mass of general poets of the era and the risqué poetry of the religious poets; Raymond Scheindlin and Arie Schippers have thus argued that the sexual themes included by rabbis and imams are not to be taken literally but are simply stock images current in Andalusian literature during the period.

I propose a closer look at the imagery used by the religious poets and the ways in which those images are used. True, imams and rabbis followed the fashion of the era by utilizing stock imagery and themes, impersonalizing love, and recalling chaste, non-carnal `Udhrite love poetry. However, rabbi- and imam-poets alone turned to decidedly scriptural and exegetical characters and story-lines to flesh out their heterosexually and homosexually charged erotic love poems. These images derive from the religious genres of midrash aggadah and qisas al-anbiya_ (Stories of the Prophets)/ hadith (oral supplements to the Qur_an). Thus, for these religious poets, a surprise kiss from a pretty young maiden recalls (subversively, perhaps) the surprise Moses must have felt when he came upon the burning bush.

My study addresses several questions: Did these jurist-poets stay true to or adjust the Scriptural and exegetical narratives from which they drew? Were there religious tropes, as there were secular tropes, cutting across religious lines? In other words, did the Jewish and Muslim religious scholar-poets

employ the same image (ex.: Joseph) to transmit the same message (ex. standard for male beauty)? Or, were the images specific to each tradition?

Perhaps most importantly, how does their poetry shed light on their

Josefina Rodriguez Arribas (Harvard University)

Practical Astrology and Torah: A. bar Hiyya, A. ibn Ezra, and Y. ben

The purpose of this paper is to show how three Jewish writers of Hispanic origin _from the 11th, 12th, and 14th centuries_ related astrology to certain key episodes in the history of Israel, as they appear in the Torah. The use of astrology was neither an excuse to introduce astronomical knowledge in religious texts, nor a symbolical application of astral theories, as some people have maintained. On the contrary, as I am going to make clear, for these three writers, the biblical chronology was an expression of the so-called mundane astrology. This branch of medieval astrology dealt with the way stellar positions in the heavens affect the historical, political and religious development of peoples and countries. In this way, certain historical facts referred to in the Bible accorded with a horoscope, which controlled their beginning, length and result, in perfect synchrony with the cycles and movements of certain stars in the sky. This doesn't mean that only those biblical events whose horoscopes were given by these writers had a horoscope, but that they considered those events especially outstanding or those horoscopes for which they had enough astronomical information.

From the horoscopes considered, which we have reconstructed starting from the data in the original texts, the difference is evident between Abraham bar Hiyya on the one hand, and Abraham ibn Ezra and his disciple Yosef ben Eliezer on the other. This last closely follows his master in casting horoscopes starting from the biblical text and respecting Ibn Ezra's comprehension of astrology as an instrument of the divine providence. Bar Hiyya, unlike Ibn Ezra and Ben Eliezer, tries to give as much information as possible for his horoscopes. He also explains his interpretation as founded on the astrological aspects between stars that he refers. All this makes his texts clearer and more self-evident than those of Ibn Ezra, and even those of Ben Eliezer. On the contrary, we know that the degree of compromise between religion and astrology is deeper in Ibn Ezra's work (consequently in Ben Eliezer's) than in Bar Hiyya's.

Anyway none of them contest the scientific status of astrology, the elements involved in its practice (aspects, cycles, mundane astrology &) or the

legitimacy of applying astrology to the interpretation of
biblical facts that are fundamental in the history of

Israel.

Katja Vehlow (New York University)

Abraham ibn Daud and His Perception of Roman History

Since the dawn of modern scholarship, historians of medieval Spain have been interested in Abraham ibn Daud's (ca. 1120-1180) historical writings, the more so since the publication of Gerson Cohen's ground-breaking edition of *Sefer ha-Qabbalah* (Book of Tradition) in 1967. However, Cohen deals only with the first part of an originally tripartite work to the almost complete exclusion of Daud's remaining historical books, the *Annals of Rome* and the *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel* that will be taken into consideration in this paper.

Ibn Daud's writings offer, alongside with only a handful of other writings, rare glimpses at a Jewish understanding of medieval history and he is conventionally seen as an exception to the dictum that the Jewish Middle Ages were poor in history, a verdict that, at any rate, is only accurate when applied to the production of outright histories and negligible once other expressions of a historical consciousness are taken into consideration. His turn to historical narration was therefore unusual and should be seen on the background of the contemporary blossoming of historical writings in Iberia as a whole. This paper examines Ibn Daud's utilization of Jewish and non-Jewish sources and challenges Gerson Cohen's assessment of the role of messianism and harmonizing schemata.

Herbert Basser (Queen's University)

The Medieval Confrontation with Midrashic Myths

This paper studies the history of views of mythic language in classical midrash in medieval commentaries to Judges 5:4-5. The rational Spanish (exemplified by Abraham ibn Ezra) and Provençal (exemplified by the Kimhis) schools of exegesis attributed mythic references in the Bible to rhetorical, hyperbolic metaphor. These views were shared by some northern French (Rabbis Yosef Kara and Shmuel ben Meir, Rashbam). They were thus able to incorporate midrashized myths selectively in their commentaries. On the other hand, the Zoharic commentaries of Scripture used midrashic mythic language literally even if they found codes embedded in these myths which referred to mystical constructs. Maimonides considered the figurative, mythological motifs used in prophetic literature to be rhetorical extravagance and interpreted them into the narrative at hand. He could also explain these verses quite apart from their immediate context. Maimonides did not try to tie these two methods together when he studied Scripture because his goal in the Guide was to use these verses to illustrate some point or other and not to provide a running commentary. In each case our commentators balance the requirements of rhetorical usages, the context of the narrative and perhaps some theological or philosophic point. In sum, by methodically laying out the commentarial tradition (including rabbinic sources) on a single passage, we appreciate anew the study of medieval commentators. By looking at those who addressed midrashic tales we discover indispensable data for a critical, scholarly appreciation of the midrashic textual tradition, including its offshoots of mysticism and philosophy.

Session Number: 1.11

Session* **The Tabernacle in Jewish and Samaritan Thought of the Greco-Roman Period*

Session

This session is the first of a projected three over the next two years that will explore Jewish, Samaritan and Christian reflection on the Biblical Tabernacle during the Greco-Roman Period. The papers from these sessions will be collected as a volume edited by Steven Fine and Isaac Kalimi. The 2004 session will be chaired by Isaac Kalimi and include the following papers:

The Tabernacle in the Epistle to the Hebrews, John T. Townsend, Harvard Divinity School

The Tabernacle in the Samaritan Tradition, Reinhard Pummer, University of Ottawa

The Tabernacle as Completion of Creation, Michael Swartz, Ohio State University

Tabernacle and Torah in Targum and Tesseræ, Paul V.M. Flesher, University

Chair, Isaac Kalimi (Case Western Reserve University)

John T. Townsend (Harvard Divinity School)

The Tabernacle in the Epistle to the Hebrews

Were it not for the Christian Church, we should be viewing the New Testament books much as we view the Dead Sea Scrolls, namely as witnesses to sectarian Judaism in the first two centuries CE. One of the more Hellenistic New Testament books is the Epistle to the Hebrews. This lecture tries to understand why Hebrews discusses only the Tabernacle and not the Jerusalem Temple. Part of the answer concerns destruction of the Temple in 70. Another suggestion comes from occasional references in Shirot `Olat HaShabbat from Qumran (4Q403, 405) and Masada. Finally the essay will look briefly for similarities in various Rabbinic midrashim.

Reinhard Pummer (University of Ottawa)

The Tabernacle in the Samaritan Tradition

According to the Samaritan tradition, the Tabernacle was the only legitimate sanctuary in the history of Israel. It was set up on Mount Gerizim after the Israelites' entry into Canaan and was hidden when Eli moved to Shiloh and built a schismatic sanctuary there. This event was the beginning of the time of divine disfavor which will last until the end-times when the tabernacle and its implements will be restored. The Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim as described by Josephus (Ant. 11:322-324; 13:74 and 256; Bell. 1:63) and inferred from archaeological excavations is ignored in Samaritan sources, both written and pictorial. The paper will describe the role that the Mishkan plays in Samaritan religion and will discuss the distinctive features of the Samaritan traditions connected with it.

Michael D. Swartz (Ohio State University)

The Tabernacle as Completion of Creation

The myth that the Torah was created before the world and that it served as the blueprint for the world is well known. However, there is a corresponding myth concerning the preexistence of the Tabernacle and Temple. Several sources in Rabbinic and cognate literatures declare that the world was not complete until the Tabernacle was built. These sources further suggest that the world was created for the sake of the cult. The sources for this paper will be Palestinian Midrashim, Tosefta and Yerushalmi Yoma, and the Avodah piyyutim. This paper will explore these sources, the mythic assumptions behind them, and their implications for Temple and priestly piety in Palestinian

Paul Flesher (University of Wyoming)

Tabernacle and Torah in Targum and Tesseræ

One of the difficulties facing Judaism at the start of the Rabbinic Period was the loss of the Jerusalem Temple. How could Judaism maintain its link to G-d when the acts of worship prescribed in the Torah could not be performed? By the end of the period, the solution was obvious, the Torah itself served in place of the Temple.

This paper explores one aspect of how this solution came about. Symbolically, the Temple and the Torah were identified as two aspects of the same thing. In the synagogue mosaics from the second half of the period, for example, we see repeated representations of the Temple as the Torah Ark.

But this idea, the identification of the Torah and the Temple begins earlier in the Rabbinic Period. It appears in the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch, where the Mishkan becomes represented as the location for the consultation and study of G-d's revelation, i.e., of His Torah.

This paper will analyze the development of this identification from its earliest appearance in Targum Onqelos to its full presentation in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. Once this has been understood, we will briefly turn to an exploration of the characteristics of the social group responsible for promoting this identification, ultimately arguing that it indicates a priestly ideology.

Session Number: 1.12

Session **Political Theology**

Session

Chair, Dana Hollander (McMaster University)

Michael Gottsegen (Harvard University)

Two Stages in the Development of Levinas's Political Theology

In this paper I will explore an important shift in Levinas's political theology that transpires between *Totality and Infinity* and *Otherwise than Being*, a shift that is mediated by the development of his conception of illeity, Levinas's term of art for the unknowable divine source of the affective force that emanates from the face of the other and invests me with ethical responsibility. I will argue that this development entails a significant change in the meaning of the *social monotheism* that Levinas sets forth in the last part of *Totality and Infinity*, and an important change in his political theology.

I will also argue that this theological shift corresponds to an equally significant shift in Levinas's evaluation of politics from the negative view that is developed in *Totality and Infinity*, which in effect had lodged the possibility of ethical transcendence in the private sphere while denying it to public life, to a far more positive view of political life (as a venue of ethical transcendence) that Levinas develops in *Otherwise than Being* and subsequent writings.

I will also trace this shift to the maturation of Levinas's understanding of the relation between language and transcendence, a development that is still incomplete in *Totality and Infinity* and whose full implications are only fully worked out in *Otherwise than Being* in connection with Levinas's deployment of the distinction between the Saying and the Said. I will argue that while Levinas sets forth his conception of the linguisticity of the face-to-face relation in *Totality and Infinity*, and emphasizes its axiological primacy, he fails to emphasize sufficiently its ubiquity and fundamentality, treating it (despite himself) as though it applied only regionally -- akin in this respect to *Totality and Infinity*'s regional analyses of the economic, erotic, familial and political relations. Thus in *Totality and Infinity* the political is depicted as the site where the irenic idyll and transcendent possibilities of the face-to-face relation are crushed under the heavy heel of totality. In *Otherwise than Being*, however, in an analysis that places the linguistic and ethical relation of the face-to-face at the center -- now understood in terms of the Saying and Said -- the political, as the pursuit of justice, is given pride of place among the modalities of the Said, while the Said is accepted as the ontically necessary expression of the Saying. This establishes the basis for a richer and positively valenced politics and political theology in which the pursuit of justice is refigured as a mode of ethical response to the divine illeity that commands me through, and directs me to, the face of the other.

In my paper I will explore this shift and its significance for our understanding of

Jerome Copulsky (Virginia Tech)
The Political Theology of Emancipation

Modern Judaism in the West emerged within and was shaped by a profound theological-political predicament, to employ Leo Strauss's pregnant phrase. If the Jews are a people governed by a divinely revealed law, who adhere to a messianic hope of return to their ancient land and reestablishment of their polity, how could they be integrated into a modern and increasingly liberal and democratic state? Did such participation entail a renunciation of Judaism? Political liberalism, while advocating toleration and sponsoring a greater range of Jewish integration and economic and social opportunities, also undermined the communal arrangements of Judaism, by calling into question its social structure, its corporate existence, and its political theology. This situation called forth new theological responses and forced the reconstitution of the tradition as Jewish thinkers struggled with the prejudice against Judaism and advanced alternative understandings of the tradition in order to facilitate the Jews' entrance and adaptation into the modern world.

This paper traces the Jewish theological discourse that emerged during the late eighteenth century. This discourse sought to forge a novel path between a (defensive) traditionalism and an assimilation that entailed the wholesale surrender of Jewish religious identity. Its goal was to integrate politically and socially into the general society, while retaining a Jewish religious particularity.

It desired to establish that Judaism and modern politics were not incompatible, that the conflict between Jewish commitment and modern politics, did not, in fact, exist. The theologians of this "Liberal" Judaism, "modern" rabbis such as Abraham Geiger, Ludwig Philippson, and Samuel Holdheim, countered the political critique by maintaining that Judaism was no longer a theocracy, in the sense of a distinct political regime. Nor did Judaism necessitate embodiment in an independent corporation governed by revealed law. Now that the gentile nations were coming to maturity, at last recognizing the Jews as fellow men and allowing them to participate as equal citizens in the body politic, Judaism itself could be purified, the shell of law and superstition that had built up around the teaching could be scraped away. Liberated from a hostile environment and freed from medieval obscurantism, the true core of faith could now be recovered and reaffirmed.

And what was recovered? Judaism was an "ethico-theological" idea from which the very ideals of the modern, constitutional state were derived. Judaism thus provided the spiritual ground and orientation of the modern political order. This purified Judaism would serve as the light unto the nations, promoting the fundamental values which would support the modern constitutional polity. Emancipation thus marked the dawn of the Messianic Age. The modern condition would allow Judaism to assert its "authentic" nature which had been obscured by the long and difficult exile. The Jews would be at home in the modern state. And insofar as it incarnated prophetic values, every state could become a "Jewish" state.

Robin Podolsky (Hebrew Union College)

Justice Before Nature: Levinas and Politics

This paper will propose an orientation to political questions of the day that is informed by the thinking of Emmanuel Levinas. Most direct references will be from *Otherwise Than Being* and the collections of essays, *Difficult Freedom* and *Beyond the Subject*, a key essay being *Heidegger, Gagarin and Us*. Levinas insists that we be much less concerned with 'human nature' than with each human as a unique event in being, not an example of genus. This means that he rejects those nationalisms that promote narratives of natives and strangers, and he also privileges the demands of revelation over any that might be ascribed to instinct or genetic propensity. For Levinas, the human par excellence is expressed through responding to the summons of the Other, the divine command to respond with all one has to the widow orphan and stranger.

Furthermore, Levinas cautions strongly against anti-technological reaction, while expressing concern for the care of the earth. He endorses the potential of technology to ameliorate suffering, and also the potential of urban life, with its uprootedness from soil, to remind each one of his or her singular duty to every other one, from any parentage or place.

Levinas' approach offers a coherent challenge to conservative variants of natural law arguments that seek to naturalize competitive and individualistic values associated with capitalism. The argument can be extended further to challenge natural law-based arguments against the political gains of women and LGBT people, although that claim has to account to Levinas' own complicated approach to gender and sexuality.

A Levinasian perspective sees the question "what's natural?" as instrumental and secondary to the question: "what's just?"

This paper argues further that a defense of urbanity and cosmopolitanism, from this perspective, does not necessarily threaten the cohesion of traditional communities, which can function as effective constituencies in urban environments. Questions about the glut of possibilities offered by the city and its temptations away from social responsibility will be addressed.

Alan L. Mittleman (Jewish Theological Seminary)
Judaism in the Conversation of Mankind: Thoughts on Judaism and Michael Oakeshott

The thought of Michael Oakeshott (1901-1990) offers a number of promising openings for contemporary Jewish Philosophy. Unlike many others in the analytic and liberal traditions, Oakeshott had a generous appreciation for the category of tradition. Oakeshott, whose political thought is often associated with libertarianism, afforded traditional ways of life considerable

scope for the shaping of a humane society. Fusing Aristotle with the liberal tradition, Oakeshott saw traditions of moral practice as allies of liberty and liberal government. Rather than constitute the relationship of a modern liberal

society with pre-modern traditionalism as inherently antagonistic, Oakeshott, more than other liberal thinkers of his time, saw the relationship as cooperative. Oakeshott's "Rationalism in Politics" and "On Being Conservative" can be read to support a generous role for Jewish tradition in the life of a modern polity, such as Israel.

On the other hand, in Oakeshott's most abstract political thought-developed in "On Human Conduct"-a marked tension develops between traditional ways of life

and the ideal of human political community (the so-called "civic association"). Oakeshott's model of a polity, which at the level of a thought experiment partially resembles that of Rawls, rules out normative moral

purposes such as those inherent in religious traditions. Reconciling the tensions in Oakeshott's complex teaching on the relationship of politics and religion, with respect to the place of Judaism in a modern polity, will be one purpose of this paper.

Oakeshott's political thought is rooted in a rigorously developed epistemology and analysis of experience. In "Poetry in the Conversation of Mankind," Oakeshott develops his mature theory of the plurality of modes of human experience. "Conversation" emerges as the premier humanizing and civilizing praxis. Essentially non-purposive, the "conversation of mankind" is the multi-generational milieu which sustains the purposive experiences of theoretical and practical knowledge, and the non-purposive, "delightful" experience of art ("poetry"). Oakeshott's analysis of poetry is akin

to Heschel's analysis of wonder; indeed, the use that Oakeshott makes of the experience of poetry as a corrective to the possessive and purposive modes of experience is similar to Heschel's larger project of reorienting the secularized consciousness. Oakeshott would appear to offer a promising

point of departure for an epistemology of the Sabbath, as it were. However,

Oakeshott also appears to exclude religion from poetry, as he understands it.

Religion is, on his reading, a purposive, practical activity that falls short of the freedom of poetic experience. The second thrust of the paper

Session Number: 1.13

Session **Signs, Representations, and Structures of Meaning**

Session

Chair, Shai Ginsburg (Arizona State University)

Izidoro Blikstein (University of São Paulo)

The Signs of Prisoners in Nazi Concentration Camps: A Semiotical

1. Paper's objective

In this paper, my basic objective is the semiotical analysis and interpretation of the chart below, employed for the classification of prisoners by the administrative organization of Nazi concentration camps (as Auschwitz, Dachau etc.).

2. The Semiotics of Power

Controlled by a code of diagram and color (red, green, purple, brown, pink, black) combination, this prisoners classification chart is an authentic semiotical system, the signs of which indicate, in a clear and precise way, the prisoners' sociocultural and psychological characteristics, such as ethnic origin, ideology, religion, behavior, personality etc. As the investigation went on, however, the objective of the analysis, little by little, widened; in fact, in searching for a semiotical explanation for the prisoners' signs or marks, I realized the way this system of classification was tributary to a larger one, namely, concentration camp's administrative structure; such structure in itself was inserted in a macrosystem chart: Nazism's administrative organization.

2. The Nazi Praxis: Aryan X Semite

The Nazi doctrine relies on the exaltation of the simple, strong, erect individual attached to pure country life, involved by nature; it is necessary to escape false intellectuals polluted and corrupted by individualism and by political ideas marked by liberty and democracy. Nazism will elaborate these concepts and drive them to extremes.

It was necessary to have a doctrine that re-erected the Germans' morale, as they had been devastated by war, discord, poverty, hunger, and subversive political doctrines. The re-erection, purification, strength, and necessity to be united began to mould the great semantic "corridors" with which the Nazi doctrine was conceived.

Such "corridors" or isotopic lines were tied up by a semantic mark which gave them consistence and coherence: the myth of Aryanism. The German people would represent the Arya or the Arian: pure, white, strong and intelligent. In opposition to the Arian, the Nazi doctrine found, in the Semite, the negative characteristics which would allow the emphasis on Aryanism's meliorative marks. These oppositions between Arians' and Semites' semantic corridors will reflect on the various types of discourse produced by Nazism. Such theoretical-methodological assumptions decisively influenced the way I could perceive Concentration Camp Dachau, for example. In fact, I could find out how the Camp's organization and planning relied on a structure of semantic "corridors" such as verticality and alignment, the typical products of the Nazi praxis.

3. The semiotical obsession: prisoners' classificatory chart

The wish for social control goes as far as the classificatory paroxysm in the chart below into where there seem to flow all the great semantic corridors and stereotypes of the Nazi praxis. Let's observe the semiotic structure of the chart.

4. Conclusion

This paper chiefly shows how our perception can be manipulated and

conditioned by ideological coordinates. And it would be no exaggeration to

Brett A. Kaplan (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)
_Silence and Speech: The Yiddish Literary Response to the Shoah in Postwar Paris and New York

On a warm summer day in 1948, Willy, Maurice, and Sally* are sunning themselves on Brighton Beach. Sally sees a tattoo on Willy's arm—a long list of blue numbers—and she asks him what it is. Willy replies—this is my old girlfriend's telephone number.— Not wanting to shatter the peace of the day, he cannot bear to tell her that this is the number that was given to him in lieu of a name in a concentration camp; not knowing anything about the details of the war, Sally has no way to read these numbers.

This story was related to me by Maurice Friedberg, Professor Emeritus of Russian Literature at the University of Illinois. Maurice, who survived the war in Poland through a combination of—phony papers and good luck,— emigrated to Paris in 1945 and from there, in December 1948, he moved to New York. He began his studies at Brooklyn College, CUNY before becoming a professor at Hunter College. The story of his survivor friend Willy's unwillingness to discuss his concentration camp experience coupled with Sally's inability to make sense of what has now become such a potent Holocaust symbol, is at the heart of the project I propose for next year's AJS.

While Peter Novick's *The Holocaust in American Life* launched a series of reflections on the initial postwar silence of the Jewish-American community about the Holocaust, there has not been an enormous amount of scholarship on the Yiddish community's response to the Holocaust in New York and Paris in the immediate postwar years. This paper thus explores this silence about the war and the moments when that silence was broken in postwar Yiddish literature. I will look at texts from diverse genres—from poetry to tales printed in one of the many then extant Yiddish newspapers—in order to portray the outlines of the Yiddish community's response to the Shoah.

Jennifer Hoyer (University of Minnesota)

Nelly Sachs and the Wound That Will Not Heal: Reassessing the Poet of Jewish Destiny

Nelly Sachs's (Berlin 1891-Stockholm 1970) poetry occupies a precarious position between absolute canonical fame as one of the quintessential German-speaking Jewish poets of the 20th century and absolute obscurity. Since 1945, her work has constantly been in peril of not being read, and yet praised by critics and poets as a crucial element of postwar German writing and German-Jewish relations. Ironically, it is her calcified reception as a monolithic Holocaust poet that has led to her current precarious position as a major Nobel prize winning poet who is no longer studied. What are the implications for a Jewish poet of memory and memorial who is no longer read?

Nelly Sachs herself addressed this question in her poetry, and it is through examining other avenues than directly Holocaust-related material through which Sachs's statements on (Jewish) memory and her own immediate postwar reception become clear. In addressing these strands in her work, we may begin to reassess the poetry of Nelly Sachs, bringing her work into the critical current academic discussions that focus on the problems of memorialization and address the reception of the Holocaust. As poetry played a critical role in German postwar political, aesthetic and sociological discussions (Adorno and Celan for example), Nelly Sachs, a poet who figured so prominently in these discussions as a Jewish poet engaging the culture from which she fled must be addressed as well.

This paper seeks to examine the above-mentioned areas through the analysis of two poems, *Voelker der Erde* (Peoples of the Earth) and *Wenn nicht dein Brunnen, Melusine* (If not your fountain, Melusine...). Against the backdrop of literary politics between 1947 and 1957, I will analyze these two poems for what they demonstrate about memory/forgetting, and language. I will then address the question of how these poems problematize traditional readings of Sachs, which promote her as an optimistic poet who uses an *embattled, yet healing poetic language* to memorialize the Holocaust and restore the German language after its ruination through Nazi propaganda. In fact, these poems examine the double-edged quality of their themes. The *Melusine* poem, in which the fairy tale figure is defined through Jewish practice, asserts that memory is only possible after something has been forgotten, drawing on the history of German-Jewish relations since the Enlightenment. *People of Earth* draws a parallel between the poet's power with language and racial/national/political propaganda, questioning whether language can be healed or whether healing is false comfort. My analysis in no way seeks to undermine the importance of the Holocaust in Sachs's work; on the contrary, I demonstrate that Sachs takes a critical and complex position on two central aspects of the sort of healing attributed to her work: memory and language. In opening up these topics, we can draw the

Oren Baruch Stier (Florida International University)
Stars, Triangles, and Swastikas: Appropriating Symbols, Shaping

Among other legacies, the Holocaust bequeathed to contemporary society a visual lexicon, as it were, of symbols. These range in form from symbolic artifacts, through linguistic symbols, to badges and graphic markings. Utilized at the time to identify, in different ways, distinct groups associated with and identified by the unfolding events of the Shoah, these graphic symbols have taken on new lives after the war. In particular, yellow stars of David, pink triangles, and black swastikas have been variously employed to distinguish groups who affiliate with distinct aspects of the Holocaust experience as well as by groups wishing to capitalize on such associations. Though their histories and contemporary applications are distinct, taken together these three symbols point to the roles such symbols can play in advancing group identification with Holocaust-era communities and even in distinguishing one group's affiliation from another in the memorial sphere. Though many might see the use of these symbolic identification badges as abuse of some of the Holocaust's central, sacrosanct images, it might be more useful to understand them as political appropriations through which power (or, rather, the desire for power) is expressed, based on their association with the Holocaust.

This paper will discuss and analyze contemporary appropriations of these three symbols, both as bodily markers (worn or, in some cases, tattooed directly onto flesh) and as incorporated into select artistic and memorial projects. While the latter generally show the malleability of these symbols either as particular Holocaust referents or as vehicles for the universalization of the Holocaust, the former generally invoke the Holocaust in order to define a specific community of memory. My thesis is that not only is the Holocaust, or aspects of it, distilled into its perceived essence through the perpetuation of these symbols, but also that, once this semiotic effect has been achieved, the continued use of the symbol provides a platform for a re-appropriation of the Holocaust affiliation for ulterior motives. For example, the case of

the pink triangle displays a transformation of the Nazi
incarceration label into a badge of honor and

communal identification with a movement for rights and recognition, while the many uses of the yellow star by Jews, though similarly worn to solidify group identity, point more deeply to a memorial agenda. Finally, neo-Nazi appropriations of the swastika suggest counter-cultural, even chilling and dangerous, political affiliations and allegiances to alternative histories.

This paper is part of a much larger work in progress analyzing Holocaust symbols as the primary icons by which members of the public come to know about the Shoah. Within that broader study, these three symbols will be put in their historical context, one that can only be briefly alluded to in this presentation, which will focus specifically on contemporary appropriations of Holocaust symbols.

Session Number: 1.14

Session **Israeli Identity in Contemporary Hebrew Literature:
Memory, Morality, Language**

Session

Chair, Rachel Feldhay Brenner (University of Wisconsin)

Adam Rovner (Indiana University)

We Were the Second (and Half) Generation: Amir Gutfreund's Our Holocaust

Amir Gutfreund's Our Holocaust [Shoah Shelanu {2000}] discloses the threats posed to stable identity when Israelis confront the history and memory of the Shoah. Until the Eichmann trial (1961), survivors in Israel were often treated with impatience and contempt, as if their very survival was evidence of some sort of moral defect. Ben-Gurion set the tone for the early Israeli attitude toward survivors, considering them harsh, evil, egotistical people. Fortunately, the public image of the survivor has been rehabilitated over time.

As critic Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi points out: An historiographical campaign of massive proportions launched by governmental as well as academic institutions, and incorporated into the curriculum of every sector of public instruction, has ensured [&] a general consensus of interpretation [of the Shoah]. The sense of security provided by such cultural consensus has enabled Hebrew literature to represent the Shoah in ways that diaspora audiences still find unsettling. Israeli writers such as Aharon Appelfeld, Haim Gouri, David Grossman, Yoram Kaniuk, and Moshe Shamir, have long incorporated humor, the grotesque, and admixtures of fact and fiction in their depictions of the Shoah. Gutfreund's acclaimed first novel continues in this tradition, blending verifiable autobiography and biography with overtly fictional elements to create a hybrid form of testimony that is marked by both pathos and bathos.

Young protagonists Amir and Effi live in a neighborhood almost entirely populated by survivors. But their parents, relatives, and friends refuse to tell the children about the tortures they escaped from there in Europe. Instead, Amir and Effi enter into a disturbing (and amusing) bargain with an elderly survivor addicted to prescription drugs; the children will acquire the pills, if he will give them a first-hand account of the atrocities. The metaphor for Israeli society's struggle with the legacy of the Holocaust is compelling. Later, Amir meets Attorney Perl who insists that rather than hang Nazi perpetrators: We must leave them patiently to document every minute detail. His scheme envisions the guilty forever incarcerated: Where? In the camps, of course. [&] Every day we would have made them walk ten kilometers to the testimony stand. [&] Death to anyone who is careless with his testimony! For Attorney Perl, collective memory of the Shoah must be kept alive not only by victims, but also by perpetrators. He laments that Israeli identity after Auschwitz will be incomplete: We will all stand in front of the mirror that reflects us, reflects our side, and we will deny the other side, the dark one.

Our Holocaust complicates the notion that the Shoah has some nationally redemptive meaning. The novel rejects what scholar Gershon Shaked refers

to as the _mythology of martyrdom_ promoted by the _ideological Zionist establishment,_ and subverts the entrenched interpretive paradigm critic Yigal

Yaron Peleg (George Washington University)

Israeli Identity in a Post-Zionist Age: Literary Perspectives

Although the creation of a unified and coherent Israeli identity out of the multitude of immigrants who poured into the country in successive waves since its establishment has always been elusive, the attainment of that goal seems even more intangible today, during our so-called post-Zionist era. The eruption of the first Intifada in 1987 further impeded this process by ushering in a period of heightened self-critique, represented by the various new histories and sociologies that came out in the last two decades or so. Grouped together under the general designation *Post-Zionism*, these critiques by scholars from different disciplines challenge long-held notions about the course, nature and meaning of Israeli history, politics and culture since the country's creation. Although Hebrew writers offered similar critiques long before the post-Zionist era, so far Israeli literary criticism paid sporadic attention to these cultural appraisals in the context of post-Zionism. Moreover, since the conclusion of Gershon Shaked's synoptic literary study, which ended in 1980, most of the studies dedicated to the literature of the ensuing decades emphasized the dissolution and fragmentation of Israeli identity along ethnic, gender and other lines. While this very process of fragmentation seems to defy comprehensive mapping endeavors like those of Shaked, the attempt to examine and describe Israeli identity still animates some major Hebrew writers today. In my paper I examine three works by three of these writers, Etgar Keret, Ronit Matalon and Orly Castel-Bloom. While all three writers acknowledge the breakup and disintegration of a coherent and unified Israeli culture and identity, their works are often cited as prime examples of this very process; they also offer new definitions of Israeliness that counter these trends. In his 1994 *Missing Kissinger* Keret attempts to redraw the contours of an urban, secular, Ashkenazi middle-class. In her 1995 *The One Facing Us*, Matalon paints a rich Mizrahi identity, and in her 2002 *Human Parts*, Castel-Bloom presents an amalgamation of various parts of Jewish, Israeli society that are woven into a tapestry of separate identities that nevertheless make a cohesive, albeit tenuous whole. Common to all three writers is the attempt not only to draw a picture of the specific group(s) they focus on but to consider those groups as part of an Israeli collectivity as well. Taken together, these three writers offer a picture of an emerging pluralistic society that hints perhaps at the chance of a more harmonious coexistence

Shachar M. Pinsker (University of Michigan)

The Return of the Shtetl: Yiddish as a Double Agent in Israeli

Since the Language War, and the development of the Hebrew literary and cultural center in the 1930s, it seems that Hebrew literature and culture separated itself completely from Yiddish. Israeli culture suppressed Yiddish almost entirely as the language of exile, destruction and death, (as well as the marginal language of the ultra-orthodox Jews). Even the few important Yiddish writers who still live and write in Israel are not part of mainstream Israeli culture. However, a more thorough examination reveals that at the very heart of the hegemonic Hebrew-Israeli literature, there are many important writers for whom Yiddish is a fundamental literary, linguistic and cultural reservoir. I refer to writers as varied as Avot Yeshurun, Yossl Birshtein, Ya'acov Shabtai, Haim Be'er, Yoel Hoffman, Moshe Offir and others. This is an important phenomenon that did not receive enough attention.

In my presentation, I will touch upon these issues using the literary work of Yossl Birshtein (who died recently at the age of 83) as an example of a writer who serves as a double cultural agent in Israeli society. Birshtein was a prolific bi-lingual writer who wrote in Hebrew and Yiddish. In the 1980s, Birshtein appeared to abandon Yiddish and switched entirely to Hebrew with the publication of the successful book of short stories *Ketem shel Sheket*, which was followed by a number of novels. However, the main force of Birshtein's fiction is in the fact that it constantly crosses the borders of languages and cultures. Paradoxically, his way of entering the mainstream of Hebrew literature was by utilizing a literary persona of a modern day storyteller drawing on the long tradition of Yiddish storytelling and folktale.

Moreover, Birshtein's stories and novels are full of characters and situations that are in constant flux. This is one way for Birshtein to bypass the localism of Israeli literature and create a hybrid fictional portrait of Israeli society. For example, the Eastern European shtetl in his fiction is not only transformed into a powerful mythological space but also becomes undistinguishable from the development towns and neighborhoods of Israel in the 1960s and 1970s. The solid Israeli reality is revealed in Birshtein's fiction as a thin

Adia Mendelson-Maoz (University of California at Berkeley)

Good Guys/Bad Guys - Moral Identity in the Israeli Literature of the

Once the Israeli Soldier was considered moral - an Israeli born hero, forced to fight for his life. Then came the Lebanon War and the Intifada, and suddenly the face of the Israeli soldier has changed.

Yizhar's work, *Hirbet Hiz'a* which tells of a war crime committed by Israelis towards Palestinians was written in 1949. Though many critics have recognized the story's aesthetic, literary, and psychological qualities, for years they chose to underestimate its moral, historical, and political meaning, to observe the consensual public opinion in Israel, and preserve the favorable image of the Israeli soldier. Fifty years later however, writers, critics, and the public can no longer hold to this myth, as the stories of the Intifada, most of them written by young authors who served as combatants, reflect a visible and acute breakdown in the Israeli soldier's moral identity.

The presentation discusses four texts written in light of the first and second Intifada, describing the reality in the occupied territories. With a detailed representation of the brutal, these texts question the new profile of the Israeli soldier. Itzhak Ben-Ner's *Delusion* (*Ta'aton*), written in 1989 is a novel constructed in four monologues, from a soldier who serves in the territories, to his father, who lost his wife in a terror attack but still believes in peace, to a Security Services officer in a mission to arrest suspects, to a soldier that has lost his sanity. *Roof Rabbits* (*Arnavonei Gagot*), written in 2001 by Roy Polity, describes the lives of Samir, a Fatah activist Palestinian, and Ofer, an Israeli Security Services officer, and the unavoidable tragic encounter between them. Asher Kravitz's *I, Moostafa Rabbinovitch*, published in 2004, portrays the role of an Israeli sniper, waiting for the right moment to shoot the right person. Finally, Liran Ron Furer's *Checkpoint Syndrome*, an experimental work published in 2003, depicts the two sides of the checkpoint - the omnipotent Israeli and the helpless Palestinian.

The confusion of the moral identity is a major theme in these texts, articulated by variety of aesthetic devices as well as in the construction of the narrative. In the prologue of *Checkpoint Syndrome*, the author states: *you transformed me into something else, I wasn't I*. When the protagonist of *I, Moostafa Rabbinovitch* visits the army Mental Health Officer he finds it difficult to tell basic facts about himself - his name, the name of his dog, the high school he had studied in, and his hobbies. He constantly asks himself why the officer is asking all these questions feeling that they are irrelevant - as if all these details belong to a different person. By using stream of conciseness, moving from the realistic descriptions to surrealist and fantastic representations, and presenting dissonances between contrasting points of views, the texts illustrate the failure of the protagonists' search for a model soldier, and thus bring the characters to a process of self alienation, often to

the extent of checking the borders between sanity and madness.

Abstracts for Session 2
Sunday, December, 19, 2004 01:45 PM-03:45 PM

Session Number: 2.1

Session **Marshall Sklare Memorial Lecture**

Session

Chair, Sherry Israel (Brandeis University)

Rela Mintz Geffen (Baltimore Hebrew University)

Egon Mayer z"l: An Appreciation

The Marshall Sklare Award of the Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry will be awarded posthumously to Egon Mayer z"l, who died an untimely death last year. Reflections about Egon Mayer, as a person and as a scholar, will be offered.

Barry A. Kosmin (Institute for Jewish Policy Research, London)

An Appreciation of the Contribution of Egon Mayer to Jewish Population and Family Studies

This paper will attempt to assess the contribution of Egon Mayer z'l to the social scientific study of American Jewry. It will focus on the conceptual, methodological and analytical insights he offered particularly with regard the work on which we both collaborated in the areas of Jewish population studies, family studies and the sociology of religion.

Bruce A. Phillips (Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion)

Jewish Social Science and the Intermarriage Debate: Local and National Surveys Analyzed in the Framework of the Questions and Challenges Posed by Egon Mayer over the Past Three Decades

Session Number: 2.2

Session **Maimonides, Influence, and Legacy**

Session

Chair, Arthur Hyman (Yeshiva University)

Edward Halper (University of Georgia)

Maimonides' Aristotelianism in the Eight Chapters

There is no doubt that Maimonides' account of the mitzvot in his *Eight Chapters* has been inspired by Aristotle's treatment of the moral virtues. Just as Aristotle holds that the moral virtues are desires or feelings properly habituated through practice, Maimonides maintains that mitzvot are prescriptions that, if followed repeatedly, will habituate desires and feelings and, thereby, instill moral virtues. This account provides a brief justification for many mitzvot, and Maimonides elaborates it when he explains, in part III of the *Guide*, how practicing particular groups of mitzvot molds particular desires and, thereby, generates particular moral virtues. Like Aristotle, Maimonides holds that virtuous action lies in the mean, and that properly habituated desires are also means, neither excessive nor defective. Finally, Maimonides draws on Aristotle's account of the treatment of defectively habituated desires in order to explain the content of the mitzvot: just as someone who consistently misses the mean through either excess or defect acquires the proper habit by acting repeatedly with excess or defect in the opposite direction, so too the acts prescribed by mitzvot are slightly off the mean in order to compensate for natural human tendencies to err in the opposite direction. Thus, the mitzvot habituate desires and feelings by counteracting natural human failings.

Maimonides' obvious debt to Aristotle tends to obscure the differences in his account, some of which have not been appreciated. Most prominent among these differences is that the habits that Aristotle identifies as virtues are not, as Maimonides thinks, (a) tendencies toward particular actions or action types, but (b) tendencies to follow what reason prescribes in any set of circumstances. The latter obviously require that reason be capable of making correct judgments about where the mean lies—Aristotle calls this ability “practical wisdom”—and it implies that moral virtue has a significant intellectual component. Because Maimonides relies on already delimited mitzvot to provide the mean, his type of habituation lacks the same sort of intellectual component. He, thus, faces at least three difficulties: As predetermined means, the mitzvot cannot possibly be appropriate for every possible situation.

Even where they might be appropriate, they each fail to provide the precise mean because they aim to correct error; so that one who is already perfectly habituated deviates from the mean in following them. Finally, the person habituated by following the mitzvot is deprived of the opportunity to develop his rational ability to find the mean on his own.

The aim of the paper is to wrestle with these difficulties. I argue that we must look to Aristotle's discussion of the rule of law in his *Politics* to begin to understand Maimonides' treatment of the mitzvot, and that Maimonides counts on the person who is sufficiently wise not only to understand the inherent deviation of the mitzvot, but also to be able also to learn from it the nature of man and, thereby, willingly to subject himself to the mitzvot for the good of the

Howard (Haim) Kreisel (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)
Maimonides: The God of Aristotle or the God of Abraham?

The paper will focus on the cardinal question in the interpretation of the philosophy of Maimonides from a personal perspective. I will deal with the manner I see Maimonides answering this question and the implications of the answer for a post-Aristotelian universe.

Charles Manekin (University of Maryland)
Al-Ghazali and Maimonides Revisited

The question of the influence of the Muslim philosopher/theologian Al-Ghazali on Maimonides has interested scholars since the nineteenth century. I plan to revisit the question by comparing passages by both writers, and I will consider the question, "Did Al-Ghazali waken Maimonides from the latter's "dogmatic Aristotelianism"?"

Tamar Rudavsky (Ohio State University)
Maimonides and His Scholastic Legacy

Maimonides and His Scholastic Legacy

In a now classic paper published in 1966, Seymour Feldman surveyed the misappropriation of Maimonides' theory of divine predication in the works of Aquinas and Henry of Ghent. Feldman noted that in a number of texts, Aquinas and Henry either misunderstood or misrepresented Maimonides' theories. In my paper, I should like to revisit the appropriation of Maimonides in scholastic literature. Focusing in particular upon Henry of Ghent's analysis of God, and his conception of the essence/existence distinction, I should like to examine in more detail how Henry both uses and misuses the views of Maimonides. In my analysis, I am particularly interested in how Maimonides and Henry approach the limits of human language/thought in speaking about

Session Number: 2.3

Session **Colonialization, Modernization, and Emancipation in North Africa**

Session

Chair, Zion Zohar (Florida International University)

Daniel J. Schroeter (University of California at Irvine)
Colonial Emancipation in Morocco

Colonialism was one of the most important forces affecting Jews over the last two hundred years, and yet it is often ignored in discussions on the modern Jewish experience that assume a kind of universal, and hence, familiar trajectory: from emancipation to assimilation, from antisemitism to Zionism. Yet the forces of modernity affected the Jews somewhat differently in the colonized countries of the Middle East and North Africa. Emancipation, and the French principle of <régénération,> was also the rationale of Western Jewry in support of colonialism. As Jews in France came to identify with the French nation, they believed that the conquering Western powers would bring emancipation from the oppressive environment of Islamic despotism, rescuing the Jewish communities from the decay that surrounded them, and setting them on the course of western progress and enlightenment. Tensions, however, remained between the discourse of universalism and the social acceptance or exclusion of the Jews, especially as antisemitism grew in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The ambivalence towards the emancipation of the Jews also anticipated the ambivalence of the <mission civilisatrice> in late nineteenth century colonialism.

Entering into this picture were the complex realities of the colonial system itself. The tensions that continued to exist in France concerning the position of Jews in society were further complicated in the colonial setting, because of the triangular relationship between colonized Jews, the colonizing power, and French Jewish citizens. Furthermore, within the colonized Jewish society there were even more hierarchical layers: Jews with French citizenship and those without; Jews living in the major urban centers of Arab civilization, and those in predominantly Berber rural areas; those with a French, largely secular education and those with traditional schooling or those, especially women, with none at all. The timing of French colonial rule in the Maghrib was also important, with the French experience in Algeria having an impact on the Tunisian Protectorate, which in turn, influenced colonial policy in Morocco.

This paper focuses on the evolving meaning of emancipation in Morocco, the last country to be colonized by France. Emancipation had its advocates and detractors in Morocco, drawing from the perceived successes and failures of the colonial experience in Algeria (with full legal emancipation of the Jews) and in Tunisian Protectorate (with partial emancipation). Because of the later date of colonialism in Morocco, which also corresponded to the emergence of Zionism as a major movement in the international arena, there was a wider range of understanding of what emancipation meant for Moroccan Jewry (as compared to Algeria for example), and consequently, what changes should be made in the legal status of Jews in the protectorate.

Steven Uran (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique)
Colonial Emancipation in Algeria: Contentious Identities between France and the Maghrib

The movement of Jewish emancipation, as at once a cluster of ideas, as a model, and as policy born in Europe, was brought to Algeria by French colonial conquest and rule. That the end of the 132 years of French Algeria in 1962 also marked the end of the long history of the Jews in Algeria casts the decisive impact of this process into sharp relief. Nonetheless, their emancipation from the disabilities of their erstwhile dhimmi status was a process fraught with ambiguities, ambivalence and tensions, as it progressively separated them from the indigenous society with which they had lived in asymmetrical symbiosis, drawing them into the new, superimposed hierarchy of the embryonic colonial order of French and non-French Europeans. Thus, the ambiguities and tensions which marked the emancipation of the Jews of France under the French Revolution and in its wake, were compounded in the complex, multi-ethnic colonial situation of Algeria.

The Algerian case displays several important singularities. First, the proximity to the emancipation of metropolitan French Jewry, a mere four decades before the onset of the conquest of Algeria in 1830. Not only were the new consistorial structures of French Jewry imposed upon Algeria, but French Jewish leaders, fired with enthusiasm for their newly acquired emancipation and status as citizens, and consequently imbued with the ideology of regeneration and an associated mission civilisatrice, became direct actors in applying to their Algerian Jewish counterparts the model of their own emancipation, communal organization, and education. French Jewish leaders worked to bring them under the control of metropolitan agencies, with a view to obtaining full rights of French citizenship for Algerian Jews, an objective viewed with reservations and even hostility by many among the colonial authorities. Given the diversity of Algerian Jewry in terms of its exposure and receptiveness to the European presence and influence, with selectivity by social and geographical milieu, generation and gender - the urban elite and young in the coastal cities having greater experience of contact with the European presence and influence than those in rural areas and a fortiori those in the more distant oasis towns in the south - this process of acculturation and francization was necessarily an uneven one, and met with a correspondingly varied reception. With large-scale immigration of French and non-French settlers, Algeria is also distinguished by its status as a colonie de peuplement. The process of Jewish emancipation was therefore perforce located in the complex of inter-ethnic frictions and conflict, in the resulting politics of identity which gave rise, inter alia, to a virulent strain of colonial anti-Semitism.

The first and by far the earliest French colonial conquest in North Africa, Algeria as the terrain of an experiment in aggressive policies of assimilation

influenced the later colonial experiences in Tunisia and later in Morocco, serving variously as a model and foil. This paper proposes to examine the

problematica of Jewish emancipation in colonial Algeria, both for its intrinsic interest and importance, but also for its comparative implications at the confluence between the histories of metropolitan France and the Maghrib.

Joy Land (UCLA)

Women Educators of the the Alliance Israelite Universelle (AIU) in Tunisia, 1882-1940

Abstract: _Women Educators of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Tunisia, 1882-1940_

Joy A. Land

University of California, Los Angeles

As a scholarly inquiry into the experience of North African Jewry and its relationship to the surrounding Muslim environment, this paper will investigate the role of women educators of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU), in Tunisia, 1882-1940. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, the AIU established a network of schools in the Ottoman Empire, its Arab provinces, Egypt, Iran, and North Africa. By the turn of the twentieth century there were more than 100 schools with over 26,000 students. The first AIU School was founded in Tetuan, Morocco, in 1862 and served as a model for other schools throughout the Middle East and North Africa. By 1878 a school for boys opened in Tunisia and another one for girls followed soon after in 1882. The opening of the girls' school in Tunis in 1882 is circumscribed by the French occupation of Tunisia in 1881, and the official establishment of a French Protectorate in 1883.

The teachers of the Alliance, both men and women, spearheaded the creation of a largely urban elite that was educated and "Westernized"_. But it was the women who were truly revolutionary: they formed the cadre of the first Jewish professional females in the Middle East. That is not to say that theirs was an isolated case. In Tunisia, for instance, the first secular school for Muslim girls opened in 1900. But what was especially unique about the Alliance schools was that they accepted rich and poor, males and females, Jews and non-Jews.

A central theme of the paper will explore the nature of the newly emancipated, modernizing, Jewish elite of Alliance women educators. On the one hand, the women teachers and "directrices" held positions of power and certain degrees of autonomy within the confines of their school. On the other hand, their status as educated women limited their marital choices: they remained single, often married AIU men teachers or left the school system altogether. In their correspondence, women teachers were more likely to be restricted to pedagogical issues rather than the broader political and social conditions more likely to be addressed by the men. The correspondence of the women and their husbands or male counterparts in the boys' school would have to be read to understand the role of women as possible agents of social change, in the hybrid Muslim-Jewish culture of Tunisia.

In a recent essay, the two authors ask: "How does the clustering of women, apart from men, empower and/or limit women?". Continuing their discussion of women in cross-cultural contact, they assert, "Women are important intermediaries of cultural exchange.... Women may become empowered by their intermediary position: it may give them pivotal control of information or

material resources. On the other hand, as intermediaries they are sometimes marginal within their society of origin." The overriding theme of woman as

Lital Levy (University of California at Berkeley)

Modes of Enlightenment: Jewish Writers in Egypt and Iraq, 1870-1950

Lital Levy, U.C. Berkeley

Modes of Enlightenment: Jewish Writers in Egypt and Iraq, 1870-1950

My talk will present the contours of secular Hebrew and Arabic literature written by the Jews of the mashriq (Arab East) during a period of unparalleled historical transformation for those communities. This period begins with the tanzimat (Ottoman reforms) that paved the way for the secularization and modernization of Middle Eastern Jewry, and ends with the mass emigrations of Middle Eastern Jewish communities precipitated by the establishment of Israel in 1948. During this time period, Jews in Egypt and Iraq sought to re-situate themselves through their writing as participants in an emerging civil society and as members of newly independent nation-states. Those Jews who participated in the Arabic nahdah (literary revival) and in the formation of their respective national literatures bequeathed us a legacy of Jewish writing in literary Arabic. At the same time, however, many other Jewish writers attempted to harmonize their patriotism with their religious and cultural identities by writing in Hebrew. The result is a kaleidoscopic burst of Jewish literary production that ranges from original plays written in Egyptian colloquial dialect and community newspapers in both Hebrew and Arabic to secular Hebrew poetry and translations of haskalah literature into Arabic.

In presenting this little-known chapter of modern Jewish literature, I historicize it as a Middle Eastern Jewish response to enlightenment and modernity. This, I believe, is of crucial importance for reading and interpreting modern Hebrew literature written by non-European Jews. At present, the only literary-historical model available to scholars of modern Hebrew literature and Jewish culture is that of the European-Jewish haskalah and tehiyyah, whose narrative is not adequate for contextualizing writing by Iraqi, Egyptian, and other Middle Eastern and Sephardic Jews. I will also discuss the reasons for the elision of Middle Eastern Jewish writers from the literary histories of both modern Hebrew and Arabic, which, as I argue, were written to serve the needs of new nations just consolidating their own historical narratives. Here I consider the theoretical literature on literary histories and their role in national identity.

Against this backdrop, my presentation will also take a closer look at a few specific texts written by Iraqi Jewish authors in the 1920s and 1930s (two Hebrew poems, an Arabic poem, and one Arabic short story). My readings of these texts focus on the authors' engagement with competing discourses of modernity and enlightenment (eg. the haskalah, the nahda, cultural and political Zionism, Arab nationalism, Iraqi nationalism), illustrating how they used language and allusion to negotiate the cultural choices available to them amidst divergent (and often conflicting) ideological pressures.

Respondent, Norman A. Stillman (University of Oklahoma)

Session Number: 2.4

Session German-Jewish Discourses of Ethics and Power: Love-of-Neighbor, Ethics of Judaism

Session

The papers propose to build on earlier conceptualizations of German-Jewish thought by pursuing three relatively unexplored aspects of its particularist-universalist ambivalence. The intellectual history of German Jewry was until recently dominated by broad and overarching readings that tended to study this history from the vantage point of its tragic end. While such readings were helpful in discerning certain elements of Jewish existence within the German context, they tended to neglect the more subversive voices of individual works.

Attempts at redeeming and revisiting the crisis-oriented politics of German Jewry have often been situated between the particularism of claims to Jewish distinctiveness and the universality of the state and its legal institutions. Yet, as the three papers seek to show, individual German-Jewish intellectuals made substantial efforts to avoid and work against such dichotomies, from different political and ethical angles.

More specifically, the panelists approach German-Jewish thought by cutting across a variety of fields or discourses not usually construed as political per se. The texts under discussion reflect a situation in which the political sphere was viewed as a dangerous minefield, which led to a preference for drawing on themes internal to Judaism—themes that were then reflected back into broad reconsiderations of the political. Accordingly, the papers foreground the idea of *Jewish ethics* as a contentious/tenuous construct both within Jewish communal politics and in the realm of German political discourse; Jewish perceptions of politics, or power, as a hazardous moment, but one that offers a radical potential of change and reform both inside the community and toward the outside. Thus, some of the most important Jewish thinkers, such as Leo Baeck, Walter Benjamin, and Hermann Cohen attempted to reconceptualize a notion of collective identity that would escape the normative conflicts of the nation-state. **Thomas Meyer** (*What Does Ethik des Judentums Mean?*) discerns the connection many central Jewish thinkers forged between an *inner* religious perspective, and a wider commitment to universal values of tolerance and *monotheistic* morality. **Nitzan Lebovic** (*German Life and Jewish Thinking: German-Jewish Discourse of Power*) recasts Benjamin, Cassirer and Levin's decades-long interest in *Lebensphilosophie* (philosophy of life) as an attempt to critically rethink the concept of integration and cultural borders. Finally, **Dana Hollander** ("Politics Performs its Salutary Mediation": Hermann Cohen's Writings on "the Neighbor") points at Hermann Cohen's important reformulation of the credo *"love-of-neighbor"* from a Jewish viewpoint, as part of his contribution to a theory of ethics and political-legal philosophy.

David Myers, our proposed chair and respondent, has noted in his

recent <|>Resisting History</i>, that the radical voice of early 20th-century German-Jewish thought was often expressed as a resistance to historicity, a

normative view at the time, but was not limited to it. Our panel will examine

Chair, David N. Myers (UCLA)

Nitzan Lebovic (UCLA)

German Life and Jewish Thinking: German-Jewish Discourse of Power

Nitzan Lebovic

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German Life and Jewish Thinking: German-Jewish Discourse of Power

In a letter that Walter Benjamin wrote in June of 1930 to his friend since youth, Gershom Scholem, he noted that Ludwig Klages's work was "without a doubt a great philosophical work, regardless of the suspicious context in which the author remains." Benjamin also urged Scholem to purchase Klages's texts for the Hebrew University's library in Jerusalem and even offered to send it to him himself.

Klages, a major representative of *Lebensphilosophie* (Philosophy of Life) and a vehement anti-Semite was named by Thomas Mann and Georg Lukacs _the father of Fascism._ Strangely, he came to be adored during the 1920s not only by Benjamin, who had known him since 1914, but also by Ernst Cassirer, Theodor Lessing, and Georg Simmel, all key Jewish thinkers identified with the Left. Karl Löwith, a Jewish admirer from the Right, kept a secret and an intense correspondence with Klages for a short while, as he was writing his well-known thesis about _Nietzsche and the Eternal Return._

My paper will build on the notion, already described in previous historiography, that such radical Jewish thinkers as Benjamin "ran the risk of lapsing into the same bad mythologization of historical life to which Jung and Klages [fell] victim." I shall argue that Benjamin, like other Jewish thinkers, found his way out of that trap by radicalizing the philosophical core of Klages's thought, is to be seen in this paper as a typical attempt to subvert a discourse of power and institutions. As an alternative to a frontal critique of Klages's political and racial interpretations, Benjamin altered some of his concepts transforming them into a new theory of symbols and historical consciousness. He rejected Klages's cosmology and pan-Germanism and focused instead on his notion of dreams and images.

Using this notion as a springboard, this paper explores some unusual ties and interests that Left and Right, as well as both Jews and anti-Semites, held in common during the Weimar Republic. The result is a glimpse into the details of innovative and daring quests by the best thinkers of the generation, who were responding with sophisticated philosophical tools to immediate needs of the time, such as combating the imminent threat of Fascism.

More specifically, what Benjamin, Cassirer, Lessing, and Löwith understood was that to ignore the aesthetic and intellectual attraction of Fascism was a poor tactic. Consequently, they adopted some of the most dangerous tools of

Fascism itself, first and foremost the discourse found within the tradition of *Lebensphilosophie* , in order to force Fascism to confront its own

epistemological and ontological sources.

As a decades-long correspondence among Benjamin, Levin and Klages shows which I will present here for the first time, using Klages's *Lebensphilosophie* served these Jewish thinkers as a way to prove their control over the most radical expressions of this new language.

Dana Hollander (McMaster University)

Politics Performs Its Salutary Mediation: Hermann Cohen's Writings on the Neighbor

This paper will explore Hermann Cohen's writings on "the neighbor" as a distinctive approach to the relationship between ethics and politics--one that shares with the better-known philosophy of Levinas the concern to locate the source of ethics not in a solitary moral agent who may subsequently enter into ethical or political relationships, but rather in essentially relational structures or entities. For Cohen, these include especially juridical-political institutions and relationships. Rather than examining laws or political institutions against the background of ethical principles arrived at based on a model of individual moral agency, Cohen proposes law as the arena in which ethical principles are generated. (This is a departure from the philosophy of Cohen's principal teacher, Kant, for whom existing law has no significance for the ethicality of the actions of an autonomous [i.e., self-legislating] subject.)

Part I of the paper will show how Cohen's numerous treatments of "love-of-neighbor" in Judaism, beginning with his 1888 testimony at the trial of a schoolteacher accused of slandering Judaism, and culminating in the "neighbor" chapter of the posthumously published *Religion of Reason Out of the Sources of Judaism* (1919), analyze the political confrontation with the stranger and the juridical categories of the Noahide and the *ger toshav* (sojourner or resident alien) as key moments in the development of ethical principles (and, in doing so, intervene in a debate about the status of the non-Jew in Judaism that goes back to Maimonides and Spinoza, and forward to Steven Schwarzschild and David Novak). Of special interest is Cohen's ongoing attempt to refute Christian misinterpretations of the Jewish tradition as construing the command to love thy neighbor as applying exclusively to the fellow Jew.

Part II will focus on an aspect of Cohen's texts on neighbor-love that is especially interesting in view of his methodological emphasis on juridical institutions: the fact that on two noteworthy occasions they address--in 1888 directly, and in 1914 indirectly--court proceedings instituted under the law against "blasphemy" (*Gottesl sterung*), formulated as Sec. 166 of the 1871 Criminal Code primarily as a law against publicly offending a recognized religion (*Religionsbeschimpfung*) (and effective in a milder form even in today's Germany). If the Noahide and the *ger toshav* are Judaism's legal means for granting recognition to non-Jews, then the "blasphemy" laws in their broader reinterpretation thus became a way for the state to enforce tolerance toward non-Christians--and were regularly used by German-Jewish organizations to combat antisemitic defamation. Interestingly, the trials in which Cohen was a direct or indirect participant turn the tables on Judaism, in that they challenge expert witnesses to demonstrate its tolerance toward the non-Jew. In view of this, it is worth revisiting Cohen's endorsement of the Noahide prohibition against blasphemy, as well as Maimonides' interpretation

of the Noahide as one who in some sense must accept divine revelation, as a legitimate means to protect the state, and thus ethics, from subjective religious

Thomas Meyer (Uni München)

What Does "Ethik des Judentum Mean?

With the emergence of Reform Judaism, *ethics* and *Sittlichkeit* became prominent terms in various accounts of the Jewish religion. In the early religious-philosophical works of Samuel Hirsch or Salomon Formstecher, for example, emphasis is placed first and foremost on questions concerning ethics, morality, and the ethos of Judaism. In subsequent years, largely in response to Protestant Biblical criticism, Jewish scholars also elevated the status of the prophetic texts. As part of this trend, Moritz Lazarus's *Ethik des Judentums* (1898/1911) was the first work to proffer an interpretation of *Jewish ethics*, one that took recourse to non-Jewish *sources* in an attempt to move away from a merely *receptive* stance and towards a *productive* appropriation of the surrounding culture. Yet Lazarus's project faced a very real dilemma: For in propounding, on the one hand, the inseparability of the moral law and the divine order, and in Kant's concept of an autonomous moral law, on the other, the German-Jewish philosopher typified the problems that inhere in all efforts to establish an *ethics of Judaism*. Thus, critics have objected to Lazarus's project of demonstrating *systematically* the connections between ethics and Judaism. Hermann Cohen in particular argued that this objective was questionable (*Das Problem der jüdischen Sittenlehre*, 1899) In this regard it is important to refer to *Die Lehren des Judentums nach den Quellen*, published under the auspices of the "Verband der deutschen Juden" (1928-1930). The first volume introduces *The Foundations of Jewish Ethics*, the second informs the reader of *The Moral Duties of the Individual*. Leo Baeck opens the first chapter with the following words: *In Judaism the moral obligation is a fundamental, constitutional element of religion. Ethics is not added here to religion, but is part of its essence. (...) Israel's monotheism is ethical monotheism.*

My lecture will set out to trace the development of *Jewish ethics / Ethics of Judaism* along two distinct paths. First, it will examine its historical genesis as part of the *discourse on modernization*. In the wake of the Enlightenment, Jews had to contend with revolutionary changes, which not only affected their cultural environment but also influenced their own self-understanding. These changes, ranging from the transformation of the communities to the training of rabbis to the educational system as a whole, occasioned *even* necessitated a reevaluation of ethics for Judaism.

The second cornerstone of my lecture will be a systematic evaluation of the literature. As I will show, the classic questions, subjects, and formulae of ethical discourse that come through in the terms and analyses advanced by the proponents of this movement especially express a concern with the issue of particularism versus universalism, as well as with the question of whether there are binding grounds for moral behavior. Does this tradition of *Jewish ethics* play a systematic role in Modern Jewish Thought? And what are its consequences for a universalistic concept of ethics?

Session Number: 2.5

Session **The Holocaust and Gender (A Roundtable)**

Session

Respondent, Tim Cole (University of Bristol)

Respondent, Atina Grossman (New York University)

Respondent, Sara R. Horowitz (York University)

Session Number: 2.6

Session **Recent Research in Tannaitic Literature**

Session

Chair, David Weiss Halivni (Columbia University)

Shamma Friedman (Jewish Theological Seminary)
The Primacy of Midrash to Mishnah and Tosefta in Synoptic Parallels

Investigation of the relationship between Mishna and Midrash requires both the clarification of the origin of the forms themselves, and their literary expression in extant tannaitic literature. The second task will lead us to an analysis of the interrelationship of passages imbedded in the tannaitic corpora.

Regnant scholarship would subjugate the relationship of parallel passages to the relationship of the corpora. A midrashic passage appearing both in our Mishna and in one of the Halakhic Midrashim is taken as a quotation of the former by the later, just as the final compilation of these Midrashim was subsequent to that of the Mishna. A law in our Mishna couched in the form of abstract halakha is usually considered earlier than the midrashic derivation of such a law as formulated in one of the Halakhic Midrashim.

However, comparison of the passages based upon close reading often leads in the opposite direction. Namely, the Mishna is quoting an earlier midrash even though such a passage is also incorporated in extant Halakhic Midrashim, or the Mishna has formulated an abstract law based upon such a source. Each of the tannaitic corpora thus contains material of overlapping provenance.

Furthermore, regnant scholarship tends to assign a strict relationship among Mishna, Tosefta, and Halakhic Midrashim in that order, not only for the dating of the corpora themselves, a determination which can be based upon concrete evidence, but also for the relationship of parallel passages.

Our investigation has marshaled evidence exemplifying the developmental relationship of parallel or related passages specifically in the direction of Midrash > Tosefta > Mishna. When a law or homily found in the Mishna can be taken as dependent upon a midrash, the Tosefta often preserves a mediating source, where not only content, but also literary form presents a stage moving from midrash to mishna.

In Tosefta Atiqta (Ramat Gan, 2002) I wrote:

In such cases, passages in the Halakhic Midrashim present a primary source, with the Tosefta parallel secondary to them. Thus, where threefold parallelism exists, the developmental flow may be specifically Midrash>Tosefta>Mishnah (p. 76).

This lecture addresses itself to a demonstration of that thesis, and thus to a reexamination of the conclusions of existing scholarship, and a formulation of

Judith Hauptman (Jewish Theological Seminary)
Tosefta Atiqta and Matnita Hadeta

For the last fifteen years the scholarly world has paid considerable attention to the Mishnah and the Tosefta. Much research has been published that seeks to overturn the conventional understanding of the nature of the inter-relationship of these two collections. Because the name Tosefta suggests that it is secondary to some other work, and because the Tosefta appears to quote so often from the Mishnah, most researchers, over the centuries, have claimed that the Tosefta is a supplement to the M.

The problem with this theory is that it often requires the reader to impose interpretations onto the texts that do not fit the simple meaning of the words. P. Schaefer opened the door to rethinking the issue, in 1986, by asking which of these two works preceded the other. I showed in 1989 that many paragraphs of the Mishnah make better sense if we see them as rewrites of the Tosefta. S. Friedman claimed in 1993 that when the T presents materials parallel to the M, the T can be shown to be the basis of the M. Otherwise, the Tosefta is a supplement to the Mishnah. In 1995, upon systematically reviewing two whole Mishnah and Tosefta tractates, A. Houtman proposed that at times the Mishnah precedes the Tosefta and at times the Tosefta precedes the Mishnah. In 1997, I further suggested that the Tosefta, as a collection, preceded the Mishnah. More recently, I took that theory to its logical conclusion, positing that the Tosefta commented on an early Mishnah, traces of which can still be found in the Tosefta, and that both the early Mishnah (or urMishnah) and the Tosefta served as sources for our Mishnah.

The goal of all of this research has been to arrive at the simple meaning of the Mishnah. True, we learn more about the Tosefta along the way. It can now be seen as a unitary work, one that follows the order of some other work and comments on it, and not as a haphazard assemblage of texts. But the major impact of all of this research has been to understand the Mishnah in new ways, perhaps closer to what its authors had in mind. It is also possible, when reading the Mishnah as a reconfiguring of the Tosefta and other early materials, to determine the agenda of the redactor.

Respondent, Shaye J. D. Cohen (Harvard University)

Session Number: 2.7

**Session The Past, Present, and Future of Jewish Translations of
the Bible**

Session

The quantity and diversity of contemporary Jewish translations of the Bible into modern languages, especially English, are unprecedented. Moreover, these versions are being packaged and used in an increasingly varied number of contexts, including synagogues, educational institutions, and study groups. It is, therefore, an appropriate time to explore these issues in some detail at an annual meeting of the Association for Jewish Studies.

I propose a roundtable, consisting of myself as chair and respondent and with the following four individuals making presentations: Naomi Seidman (Graduate Theological Union), Frederick Greenspahn (Florida Atlanta University), Jonathan Rosenbaum (Gratz College), and Gary Rendsburg (Rutgers University). Under this format each speaker will make a presentation, after which I will respond and then open the discussion to both speakers and the audience.

Seidman's paper will deal with the past, in order to provide some context. In particular, the ancient translator/reviser Aquila will be singled out, with emphasis on differing evaluations of his largely word-for-word translation method and its relevance for later Bible translating among Jews.

Greenspahn's paper will cover aspects of Jewish translations at present, both in terms of the texts available and the uses made of these texts within major denominations in America. Fundamental commonalities, as well as significant differences, will be highlighted.

The last two presentations will offer differing approaches as possible frameworks for future Jewish Bible translators. Rendsburg's approach advocates strict adherence to the Hebrew, especially in difficult passages, so as to allow English readers to encounter the ancient text in as close and direct a manner as possible. Rosenbaum looks to the medieval practice of surrounding biblical texts with rabbinic commentaries as a model for presenting a new, unified translation of the Hebrew Bible in the electronic

age.

These four presentations, along with my response and further discussion, are not intended to be comprehensive; rather, they can serve as a springboard for extended consideration of the continuing role of Bible translation

Chair, Leonard J. Greenspoon (Creighton University)

Naomi Seidman (Graduate Theological Union)

Grecian Grace in Semitic Tents: Aquila between the Camps

In the discourse that regularly denigrates "word-for-word" translation, Aquila the Proselyte, the second century translator of the Bible into Greek, is Exhibit A. Patristic as well as modern writers describe his version, which attempted to retranslate the Septuagint "toward" the Hebrew, as virtually unreadable, "mutilating" Greek syntax in his faithfulness to formal aspects of the Hebrew. By contrast, the rabbinic literature on Aquila celebrates him for having brought "Grecian grace" to "Semitic tents," thus fulfilling Noah's blessing of Japheth. These two discourses, one focused on Aquila's methodology and the other focused on the narrative of his conversion and translation work, are seemingly unrelated. By analyzing them according to the single lens of postcolonial translation theory, I will attempt to demonstrate that Aquila functions in both discourses as a site for political and cultural contestation. From this perspective, Aquila's translation should be viewed less as the production of a linguistic equivalent and more as the negotiation between asymmetrical power structures. Thus, on the one hand, patristic texts charge him with an enslavement to the letter (of the Hebrew text, and less directly, of Jewish law), of "sacrificing Greek on the altar of Hebrew," that is, a kind of slumming on the part of a scion of the royal family. On the other hand, rabbinic texts view his circumcision and "Hebraicization" of Greek as resistance to colonial power and a transfer of Greek bodies and linguistic capital into the Jewish camp.

Frederick E. Greenspahn (Florida Atlantic University)
Synagogue Bibles at the Turn of the Century

Over the past twenty years, each of the major American Jewish movements has produced a commentary on the Torah to be used during worship. As a result, the unifying effect of the Hertz chumash, which was published in the 1930's, has given way to separate interpretations. This would seem to support the view of those who speak of American Jewry as becoming increasingly polarized and fragmented.

This paper will examine the Plaut, ArtScroll, and Etz Hayim chumashim, noting both differences and similarities. It will look at the Hebrew text, the English translation, and the commentary notes as well as the layout and other, accompanying features. The governing purpose of this inquiry will be to determine what these volumes can tell us about the current state of American Jewry and its attitudes towards the Bible. The appearance of diversity can be shown to mask much more fundamental commonalities. The factors contributing to this are attributable to both the sociological convergence of the three major religious groups and deeply rooted elements within Jewish tradition itself.

Gary A. Rendsburg (Rutgers University)

"And the woman took the two men and she hid him" (Joshua 2:4): On Translating Difficult Biblical Passages

This paper will address the problem of translating difficult biblical passages. The example given in the title of my paper is but one of many such verses. The typical route of the standard translations is to smooth out such difficulties. Thus, for example, in the case of Joshua 2:4, every single English translation which I have consulted reads *_them_* instead of *_him_* at the end of this clause, though naturally the Hebrew text discloses no such possibility (short of emending the text, that is). Furthermore, many English translations render the verbs in this clause in the pluperfect (NJV: *_the woman, however, had taken the two men and hidden them_*; RSV, NIV: *_but the woman had taken the two men and hidden them_*), even though the Hebrew wayyiqtol form indicates a simple past. My paper calls for a translation method which adheres strictly to the Hebrew text in such cases, reflecting the difficulties present in the original, thereby allowing the English reader to encounter the text in as close a manner to the Hebrew as possible.

Jonathan Rosenbaum (Gratz College)

Toward a Unified Translation for a Multi-faceted Era

The Jewish Publication Society's postwar goal of a new English translation of the Hebrew Bible grounded in contemporary scholarship, free of emendations, and critically informed by ancient and medieval Jewish sources reached fruition with the publication of TANAKH in 1985. As a modern translation, TANAKH was to encompass the thinking of the Conservative, Orthodox, and Reform movements, and JPS's translation committees formally worked in association with rabbis from each group. Over the last three decades, the publication of an authorized biblical translation and accompanying commentaries by each of those movements has marked theological divides that have become the tests of denominational loyalty as the idea of a common translation has grown concomitantly more remote.

The medieval Jewish device of surrounding biblical texts with rabbinic commentaries may serve as a model for presenting a new, unified translation of the Hebrew Bible in the electronic age. By publishing a translation that can be revised electronically as new discoveries clarify obscure words, the appeal of finding the basic meaning of the text can be used to attract students of all movements. By providing specialized but integrated commentaries covering such subjects as philology, theology (separately for each movement), biblical and rabbinic law, archaeology, and epigraphy, the fruits of contemporary scholarship would be made regularly available to the informed student of the Bible, whatever his or her religious outlook. This paper seeks to delineate the structure and preliminary rules by which such a revisable, inclusive Jewish translation can be produced.

Session Number: 2.8

Session **Rabbinic Philosophy, Theology, and Epistemology**

Session

Chair, Jay Rovner (Jewish Theological Seminary)

Arkady Kovelman (Moscow State University)

Philo's Epistemology and Rabbinic Midrash

Philo was often building his philosophical discourse around epistemological problems. As a Platonist, he believed that ordinary people could only perceive imprints of ideas through their eyes and ears, while ideas themselves were available only to philosophers through theoretical perception.

Yet,

in Philo's opinion, even philosophers could not see the "final cause", the Absolute Being. Certainly, we will find neither philosophy nor philosophical epistemology in

Rabbinic Midrash. Nevertheless a number of Rabbinic interpretations could be explained only through Philonic teaching. There are certain aggadic texts that look strange and casual unless we put them into the context of Alexandrian exegesis.

To convey their ideas about understanding the Rabbis, they made use of the same

biblical verses that Philo employed in order to demonstrate his epistemological

theory. Nearly all these verses belonged to the story of the Binding of Isaac

or to God's dialogues with Moses where Moses asked God to reveal Himself.

Actually, the Bible itself in the story of Binding of Isaac introduced a midrashic play on words in order to convey the idea of God's revelation. Both

Philo and the Rabbis treated these episodes to deliberate on human ability (or

inability) to perceive the wisdom of God, His nature or His miracles. That

ability was supposed to be different with the sages and the crowd, with Israel

and other nations. Sometimes, the midrashim contain Greek philosophical wording

either in Hebrew transliteration or in Hebrew and Aramaic translation. That

wording looks specifically Alexandrian and Platonic. Philo used similar

terms (mystery, etc.) to construe similar verses. Philonic "mysticism" looms

behind some Rabbinic interpretations. Could it have been, that Rabbinic Midrash

borrowed not only the interpretation but the wording as well? We may trace the

way of Philonic wording and interpretations coming through the
Fragmentary

Targum up to Palestinian Midrash. The Fragmentary Targum (in the story of Binding) contains the notion of a God who sees and is unseen. However, what appears to be an extremely serious philosophical exercise in Philo, comes in anecdotal, sometimes comical form in Talmudic literature. In the view of Y. Baer, Philo was drying out and darkening the poetical interpretations of Palestinian Rabbis. Yet it could have happen the opposite way: the amoraim inherited philosophical interpretations and made them poetic and humorous. Dispersed and shattered elements of Platonism in midrashic literature could hardly have appeared under the straight influence of Greek rhetoric and philosophy. Rather they preserve the legacy of Alexandrian Judaism.

Azzan Yadin (Rutgers University)

Rabbinic Models of Interpretive Authority: A Preliminary Typology

The need to justify interpretation is no where more pressing than in legal interpretation of divine texts. First, because legal interpretation have, or at least may have, non-textual, social repercussions; second, because the gap between the human interpreter and the divine text is so pronounced. In this presentation, I will outline a preliminary typology of rabbinic responses to the challenge of halakhic interpretation, all of which can be seen as attempts to minimize the _distance_ of the interpreter from Sinai. Among the types surveyed: extra-scriptural transmission as a means of being present at Sinai; the notion that all later interpretation is already present and known at Sinai; interpretive canons (middot) are also of divine origin; prophetic models of interpretation; and more. I will conclude by suggesting some of the cultural and historical factors that affect the prominence (or lack thereof) of different

Jonathan W. Schofer (University of Wisconsin)
Cosmology and Rabbinic Ethics: Rainmaking Stories as Pedagogical Discourse

The broad issue addressed in this paper is the relation between cosmology and ethics in late ancient rabbinic literature. By ethics, I mean both descriptions of human bodies, emotions, and desires, and also prescriptions for ideal actions and character states. By cosmology, I mean an account of the world at the largest spatial scale, often with attention to ways that it is ordered or regulated. Many cultures have multiple cosmologies, and my discussion will focus on the relation between two rabbinic accounts: a cosmological structure with upper waters, lower waters, and in between the world that humans inhabit; and a cosmological process shaped by divine justice, through which a deity assesses human action as right or wrong and responds with reward and punishment.

More specifically, I examine the literary and pedagogical employment of rainmaking stories in Genesis Rabbah and both the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds. There are notable sections of these sources in which the event of a drought and attempts to bring rainfall become the background for teachings concerning ideal behavior. Such passages reveal a strong intertwining of ethics with cosmology as well as theology, ritual, and asceticism, and one of my central concerns is to identify these various elements and their relationships. The work builds on scholarship addressing related topics such as individual pietistic rainmakers (Honi the Circle Maker and his descendents) and public fasts for rain. This paper has a unique focus upon the conceptual underpinnings of the rainmaking stories as well as their literary shaping and contextualization.

Through the theology of divine reward and punishment, rabbis ethicize the cosmos, for they present God acting in the world based on normative assessment of human action. One of the most concrete points of reflection concerning this ethical cosmos is rainfall. Rain brings crops, sustenance, and wealth, and it is a sign of blessing. Drought brings scarcity of food and suffering, and it is understood to be a punishment for which one response is a series of ritual fasts. In narratives, drought and the ensuing fast become occasions for various forms of ethical instruction. The result is that motifs of rainmaking and of individuals having sacred power, which were widespread in late antiquity, become assimilated into rabbinic ethical teaching, while the pedagogical discourse is infused with cosmic and miraculous elements. I show that the stories uphold virtues in three distinct ways: (1) a given sage gives up his divine merit or credit for the benefit of the community; (2) the event of drought becomes a test of virtue for the rabbi and the community, raising questions of who is fault for the drought and who has sufficient righteousness to bring rain; and (3) the occasion of rain ending a drought becomes an

Shai Cherry (Vanderbilt University)

A Rabbinic Theology of Nature

Although the creation account in Genesis 1 may not have been the earliest of the creation narratives to eventually be canonized in the Tanakh, it does have a privileged position. The Rabbis also paid a disproportionate amount of attention to Genesis 1. Indeed, in the Rabbinic period notions of creation underwent a comprehensive revisioning process.

(1) While in Genesis 1, we have creation out of premundane matter, the Rabbis express discomfort with that notion and begin to move toward a cosmogony of creation ex nihilo. (2) While in Genesis there is consecutive creation occurring on each day, the Rabbis insist that everything was created in the first instant of creation. (3) While in Genesis, creation ceases at the end of the first creation story, the Rabbis depict God as engaging in the act of creation daily.

While these changes are interesting in and of themselves, what is far more interesting is the parallel phenomenon in the Rabbinic understanding of revelation. (1) Within the Torah itself, there is no claim that the entire Torah is of divine origin. The Rabbis make such a claim. (2) Revelation is described by the Torah to have occurred at several different points within the biblical narrative. The Rabbis describe revelation as happening all at Mount Sinai, including the revelation of the (still unfolding) Oral Torah. (3) And while Dt. 5:19 is clear that God's voice ceased, Rabbinic tradition rereads that verse to indicate that revelation is ongoing.

What we have in these parallels, I believe, is an example of how theological convictions inform what we now refer to as scientific theories. For the Rabbis, God operates in natural history in the same manner as in human history. The Rabbis have offered us an ancient example of a Jewish theology of nature.

Session Number: 2.9

Session **Mystical Experience: From Early Kabbalah through Hasidism**

Session

Chair, Shaul Magid (Indiana University)

Yakov M. Travis (Siegal College of Judaic Studies)

Absorbed in the Light of Life: The Aural Effect of Mizvot in Early

In R. Ezra of Gerona's thirteenth-century exposition on the esoteric meaning of the blessings for fulfilling mizvot, he writes that:

"the mizvah is the 'Light of Life' (*or ha-hayyim*). . . . [One observing a mizvah] walks in the ways of that light and cannot turn aside, for he is absorbed within it (*sharui be-tokho*)."(1)

This paper examines the nature of this light by examining a series of early kabbalistic texts that illumine the sefirotic qualities of what Moshe Idel has called the "aura producing effect" of mizvot presumed in this text.

After identifying the biblical references of the expressions "Source of Life," "Life," and "Light of Life," the paper will uncover how *or ha-hayyim* is used as an early kabbalistic cognomen for a manifestation of Shekhinah, ultimately drawing from *Hokhmah/Binah* .

This analysis will result in an understanding of the passage that differs from Moshe Idel's assertion that this "energetic reading" of the mizvot is different from the more commonplace "theurgic" one. I will show that mizvot, suffused with the light of Shekhinah, sanctify the individual and in so doing enable the "theurgic" power of mizvot performance to maintain and strengthen Shekhinah.

Here we will see a kabbalistic view that ascribes to the centrality of *zorekh gevoha* , but also emphasizes the anthropocentricity of spiritual practice. Mizvot serve not only to illuminate a realm beyond, but to evoke an imposingly personal light. It is this personal impact that enables the cosmic one.

Finally, texts will be adduced to show that the luminosity of *or ha-hayyim* is identified as the divine face which "no person can see and live" (Ex. 33:20), also called the "Radiance of the Face" (*ha-zohar ha-panim*) and that the priestly blessings: "May YHVH shine His face toward you . . ." (Num. 7:25) is to be understood in this light.

These encounters with the "Light of Life" further nuance the emerging phenomenology of kabbalistic praxis being mapped by Idel and others in this generation of scholarship.

(1)This text has been discussed by several scholars. See Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar* III, pp. 1158-1159; Matt, "Mystic and the Mizvot," *Jewish Spirituality I* p. 378; and now Moshe Idel, "In the Light of Life: An Investigation into Kabbalistic Eschatology" (in Hebrew), in *Sanctity of Life and Martyrdom: Studies in Memory of Amir Yekutiel* , ed. Isaiah Gafni and Aviezer Ravitsky (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1992), pp. 191-211, esp. 192-198, and idem, "Some Remarks on Ritual and Mysticism in Geronese Kabbalah" *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 3 (1993): 111-130, esp. 118-123, 127-128.

Hartley W. Lachter (Vassar College)
Mystical Aspects of Worship in the Zohar

In this paper I will examine the ecstatic and mystical aspects of worship in the Zohar in order to further elucidate the medieval kabbalistic understanding of traditional prayer. It will be demonstrated that the underlying goal of sacrifice and prayer in the Zohar is the mystical annihilation of the self in God. Worship is, in that sense, radically reinterpreted in the Zohar as mystical praxis. Yet in another sense, the zoharic ecstatic/theurgic rendering of worship preserves and maintains the significance of traditional forms, despite the fact that the mystical goals of prayer may only be attained by the kabbalistic elite.

This paper will also situate the zoharic conception of prayer within the medieval debates over the nature of traditional liturgical worship. Many took great offence to the philosophical implication that animal sacrifice and prayer were instituted by God as a concession to human intellectual weakness. In the debate that ensued, the kabbalists developed their own ideas about the nature of sacrifice and prayer that are in one sense very similar to the philosophical position, yet in another sense radically different. Like some of the Aristotelian philosophers, the kabbalists maintain that there is an underlying purpose to the *korbanot* and prayer that is in many ways very different from the plain sense of worship. According to the philosophical position, the underlying purpose of worship is to establish the philosophical truth in the minds of the Israelites that there is a God, and that that God is a perfect incorporeal unity. The sacrifices become allegorical. According to the kabbalistic understanding as well, the sacrifices are transformed in a way that renders them very different from their more literal significance. The offerings that the priests brought in the Temple effected the same final result of *unio mystica* that the prayers of the kabbalists do in the exile. But, unlike the philosophers, the kabbalists consider the sacrifices to be symbolic, representing an ineffable and ecstatic experience between the soul and God that is just as applicable in the kabbalist's daily life as it was when the Temple was standing. Worship represents a real and enduring positive religious value for the kabbalists, even though they reinterpret it according to a mystical worldview that places primary emphasis on unification with God. The kabbalists do radically change the center of emphasis in the concept of sacrifice, but they do so by turning sacrifice into a symbol designed to enable mystical union with God, rather than an allegory for his existence and unity.

Joel Hecker (Reconstructionist Rabbinical College)

Kissing Kabbalists: Hierarchy, Reciprocity, and Equality

Ancient and medieval Jewish writers interpreted the kisses of the Song of Songs, "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth," as a reference to mystical union between the individual seeker and God. Nicholas Perella describes the use of this imagery saying that "the kiss image brings into relief the affective nature of a saint's relationship to God." In the hundreds of passages in which kissing plays a role in zoharic kabbalah, the kiss is most often a ritualized gesture that enhances mystical union and the conferral of blessing. Sometimes the kiss is given upon the head, sometimes the mouth, the hands, or the eyes. What are the contexts in which the different kisses are given? Are the kisses different when given to a senior kabbalist? to a junior kabbalist? In order to determine the range of spiritual meanings ascribed to kissing we will have to develop a grammar of these gestures. In this paper I intend to show the primary functions and meanings of the kiss as a first step towards developing that goal.

Most often, kisses are given by a master to his disciple as a sign of approval after the latter has delivered a mystical homily. Zoharic kisses are paternal, approbatory, signs of friendship, and erotic. They connote hierarchy in the paternal and approbatory modes, while signifying reciprocity in the friendship and erotic instances. One attraction of the metaphor of the kiss is that it lacks the physical "messiness" of sex. At the same time, the kabbalists are torn between competing impulses: the kisses that entail the union of souls and kisses that lead to reproduction, that is, the increased manifestation of God's Presence on earth. The kabbalists enjoyed the spiritual and intellectual life in male company while the Torah commanded them to marry and sire children. The demands of the law and the possibility of spirituality dwelling within the physical posed a challenge to the more pristine, if more austere, model of the ascetic.

In some instances, kisses are applied to the words of Torah and prayer themselves. In such contexts, what is the function of the kiss? Are kissing and blessing linked, perhaps even synonymous? Does the kiss signal the reception of the blessing and words of Torah? Does it confer blessing from above? Or, does it indicate the possibility of further ascent for those words of Torah? Or, taking a different approach, are kissing and blessing not analogous acts, perhaps the kiss establishes the link between the figures so that the blessing can flow? Perhaps the rabbis kissing each other is not about kissing the person but about kissing the word or a combination thereof, the person who reveals the word. This model de-eroticizes the kiss, abstracting the target of the kiss from the individual who has disclosed it. Ultimately, this paper will help serve as a point of juncture between three areas of recent

Or Rose (Brandeis University)

Moses and the Theophany at Sinai in the Teachings of Levi Isaac of Berditchev

This paper explores Levi Isaac of Berditchev's (d. 1810) understanding of Moses' experience at Mount Sinai. Through a detailed study of his sermons on the revelation, I examine the Berditchev's reflections on three interrelated issues: (1) Moses' ethical and spiritual preparation for Sinai (2) The prophet's encounter with God (3) and Moses' role as a mediating figure between God and the Children of Israel.

The purpose of this study is not only to gain a better understanding of Levi Isaac's theology, but also to examine how his interpretation of Sinai contributes to his self-understanding as a mystic and a communal leader. In this context, I analyze his comments on the similarities and differences between the revelatory experiences of Moses and the Hasidic master; his critique of Moses for his desire to disengage from the Israelites during the theophany; and his reflections on the creative power of the mystic who can attune himself to the eternal call of Sinai.

I have chosen to address the issue of Moses' experience at Sinai specifically in the teachings of Levi Isaac of Berditchev because he is a unique figure in the history of Hasidism. A close disciple of Dov Baer of Mezeritch (d. 1772) and one of the most influential religious leaders of his day, Levi Isaac played a pivotal role in the creation of the Hasidic movement. After his death, he grew to become a Hasidic legend and his major homiletic work, the *Kedushat Levi* (1799, 1811), was hailed as an instant classic. Many of the sermons in this book are dedicated to explorations of mystical experience and its relationship to Hasidic leadership, using the figure of Moses as a model for these discussions. Levi Yitzhak's treatment of Moses' experience at Sinai is particularly instructive because it provides the reader with a rich context in which to analyze several issues central to his life and thought.

Session Number: 2.10

Session **Popular Voices in Yiddish Writing: 1500-1950**

Session

Chair, Rivka Ulmer (Bucknell University)

Justin Jaron Lewis (Queen's University)

This Game is Getting Good: Tamar and Judah in 16th Century Yiddish

An untitled thirty-page Yiddish manuscript from the first years of the sixteenth century is a surprising precursor of contemporary Jewish feminist midrash. In rhyming Yiddish prose rich in humour and earthy idioms, it retells stories of Jewish women from Bible and Midrash with an emphasis on their power and sexuality. This midrashic section is preceded by an extended kvetsh about the difficult lives of married women in the author's own time, and followed by praises of the mitsves that these women undertake and the good, pious customs they follow. This entire text on women's lives, in turn, is hidden away between halakhic and ethical discourses much more conventional in tone and substance. I have been working for some time on the transcription, translation and annotation of this text.

One of the highlights of the midrashic portion is a four-page retelling of the story of Judah and Tamar (Genesis 38) which depicts Tamar as thoroughly enjoying her game with Judah. I will present my transcription and translation of this portion of text and discuss its midrashic sources. Through the identification of textual sources of this episode and the other midrashic passages, I am hoping to arrive at a clearer understanding of the author's knowledge base, and the ways in which he/she selected from and reworked available sources. To what extent is this text's lusty, spunky version of Tamar rooted in textual sources and to what extent is it new? Are there grounds for seeing this version as rooted in oral retellings? These determinations in turn should help to reach informed, if tentative, conclusions about the as yet unresolved questions of the authorship and readership of this fascinating text.

Amy Blau (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)
Yiddish Afterlives of the German Enlightenment

In "The Task of the Translator," Walter Benjamin proposes that "a translation issues from the original -- not so much from its life as from its afterlife. For a translation comes later than the original, and since the important works of world literature never find their chosen translators at the time of their origin, their translation marks their stage of continued life" (Benjamin 16). For Yiddish translations of German literary texts, the term "afterlife" further resonates with the specific historical and cultural relationships between German and Yiddish. Yiddish translations of G. E. Lessing's short play <I> Die Juden </I> and full-length drama <I> Nathan der Weise </I> appeared over one hundred years after the German originals, but helped to inaugurate modern practices of translating German literature into Yiddish. In contrasting the work of Yiddish translators to bring Goethe, Schiller and especially Lessing into Yiddish with Moses Mendelssohn's German translation of the Hebrew Bible, I discuss the role of Jewish translations of the German Enlightenment for the formation of concepts of universality and Jewish particularity as reflected in the categories of world and national literature.

The importance of the German Enlightenment to the Haskalah is well-known, as is the disdain in which Yiddish was held in German-speaking circles, Jewish or otherwise, in the 18th and 19th centuries. At a time when the ideals of German education, <I> Bildung </I>, were foundational for the Jewish Enlightenment in Eastern Europe, and reading German authors in the original was the height of refinement for its adherents, the translations into Yiddish of these classic texts show an effort not merely to bring these significant works and their Enlightenment ideals to non-readers of German, but also to expand the range of works written in Yiddish. Nineteenth-century translations of German literature into Yiddish thus took on multiple roles: they were part of a program to prove the worth of Yiddish as a literary language, demonstrating that it was equal to the challenge of presenting world masterpieces, thus supporting a Yiddish national literature, and they also propagated universal messages that would support acculturation to a German model of the universal. The plays of G. E. Lessing provide an example with which to articulate the exchanges between Yiddish and German cultural spheres.

This project is drawn from my dissertation on translations of German literature into Yiddish. The project as a whole is of interest beyond the fields of German literature, Yiddish literature, and translation theory as it offers a space in which to explore not only translation's role in the formation of canons of world literature, but also as a site of cross-cultural contact and formation of identities.

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York: Routledge, 2000.

Ellen D. Kellman (Brandeis University)
Entertaining New Americans: Leon Gottlieb's Fiction in the Forverts (1910-1930)

Entertaining New Americans: Leon Gottlieb's Fiction in the <Forverts> (1910-1930)

The <Forverts> (Forward) was the largest and most influential of the dozen or more Yiddish daily newspapers published in North America in the first half of the twentieth century. From the time of its founding in 1897, the <Forverts> published serialized novels. The roles of America and Americans in this fiction were consonant with the newspaper's politics of acculturation and important to its program of Americanization.

The first novels that appeared in the <Forverts> were Yiddish adaptations of serious works of European fiction. During the first decade of the twentieth century, however, Abraham Cahan, the talented and imperious editor of the <Forverts>, became convinced that the newspaper novel must be both entertaining and serve the broader purpose of acculturating the Jewish immigrant reader to North American life. Cahan, therefore, assigned writers on his staff the task of creating original 'American' fiction for publication in the paper. The most prolific of these writers was Leon Gottlieb, who produced his first serialized novel in 1909 and published continuously until 1931.

Gottlieb's novels were mainly set in New York City and portrayed romances between young Jewish immigrants. He followed a conventional romance formula with the addition of an innovative, distinctly American element. In each of Gottlieb's novels, a Jewish woman and man fall in love and decide to marry, but a significant obstacle, such as a domineering father, class differences between the protagonists or a jealous husband prevents them from doing so. A crisis then arises, which tests the depth of their commitment to one another.

The innovative element in the formula takes the form of a surrogate father - a non-Jewish American or highly acculturated Jew who comes to the aid of the protagonists and enables them to marry. Presented as an 'authentic' American, he embodies the values associated with Americanization which the <Forverts> promulgated. He is

culturally sophisticated, a respected professional, an
agnostic gentile or Reform Jew and a champion of social

justice. With fatherly concern for the couple's welfare, he plays the pivotal role in resolving their dilemma, supplanting the male protagonist, who is too weak or inexperienced to be effectual. Although they are self-possessed, capable individuals, Gottlieb's female protagonists learn that their agency within patriarchal society is limited. As each comes to rely on an American surrogate father for help, the American figure effectively replaces her biological father in the function of seeing her married off to a suitable partner. She is thus transferred from an autocratic paternal authority associated with the Old World to a new one, emblematic of liberal American culture.

The strongest evidence of the great popularity of Gottlieb's novels is the fact that the <Forverts> published thirty-four of them within a twenty-year period. They must have appealed to readers for their optimistic portrayal of the potential for Jewish immigrants to lead successful lives in America, as they read of protagonists who embraced American values and looked to acculturated figures for guidance in approaching life in the New World.

Elizabeth Ann Loentz (University of Illinois at Chicago)
American Children Writing Yiddish: Published Collections of Student Writing from the Sholem Aleichem Secular Yiddish Schools in Chicago

The Sholem Aleichem Yiddish schools in Chicago periodically published collections of their pupils' original Yiddish-language writing. This paper examines: 1) The purpose of these publications. The introductions to the collections and statements in other documents (yearbooks, letters, Jubilee volumes, etc.) suggest that the volumes were multi-purpose: serving to motivate and reward student achievements, to showcase the pedagogical successes (both linguistic and ideological) of the schools, to "put a finger on the linguistic pulse of new generations of American-born speakers of Yiddish" (ZEKHTSN), and to garner support (financial and otherwise). 2) To what extent published student writings reflect or conflict with the stated rationale of the Sholem Aleichem schools. It is important to note that the mission statements (as published in yearbooks and advertisements) of the Sholem Aleichem Schools in Chicago change markedly over time, reflecting or reacting to historical, political, and social changes (the Holocaust, McCarthyism and the Cold War, the founding of the State of Israel, assimilation and Americanization, etc.).

To date I have located 7 collections:

- 1)VEN MIR VILN (1929).
- 2)ZEKHTSN: A ZAMLUNG SIEM-KOMPOZITYES FUN ZEKHTSN TALMIDIM-GRADUIRER FUN DI ELEMENTARE SHOLEM-ALEYKHEM FOLK-SHULN, SHIKAGO (1930).
- 3)YUNG-YIDISH (1936).
- 4)AFN SHEYD-VEG: ZAMLSHRIFT FUN DER SHOLEM ALEYKHEM MITLSHUL (1937).
- 5)OYFN SHVEL: ZAMLBUKH. SHAFUNGEN FUN TALMIDIM FUN DI SHOLEM ALEYKHEM FOLKSHULN UN MITLSHUL (1939).
- 6)UNDZER YUGNT: GEZAMELTE ARBETN FUN SHIKAGER ARBETER RING MITL SHUL UN ELEMENTAR SHUL TALMIDIM UN TALMIDIM FUN SHOLEM ALEYKHEM FOLK SHULN (1946).
- 7)OYFN SHVEL: ZAMLUNG FUN DI GRADUANTN FUN DI SHOLEM ALEYKHEM FOLKSHULN (1950).

These collections range in scope and sophistication from small self-published pamphlets to an impressive book-length volume printed by L.M. Stein's prestigious Chicago art press with cover page art and illustrations from well-known artist Todros Geller. One volume even merited a review by Sh. Niger ("VOS DI KINDER ALEYN SHRAYBN" TOG 1930). The collections feature writings from students of all ages and abilities (early elementary school grades to the graduating classes of the MITLSHUL) and from a variety of genres (autobiographical compositions, position papers, historical essays, social reportage, stories, songs, even a collaborative dramatization of Sholem Asch's KEYN AMERIKE). My readings of student writings focus not on their literary, rhetorical, or linguistic merits but on the texts' topics, themes, and content, and how these reflect the interplay of the children and teenagers' own concerns

with the changing cultural, political, social, and pedagogical agendas of the Sholem Aleichem schools in Chicago. Of especial interest are autobiographical

essays that detail students' family composition and background (linguistic, political, religious, educational, and economic), as well as their reasons for attending the schools and learning Yiddish, and their future plans and goals; and essays that address current events and issues (the plight of Jews in

Session Number: 2.11

Session Jewish Cultural Hybridization in the Polish Lands

Session

Chair and Respondent: Moshe Rosman

Historians are beginning to take more seriously the impact of non-Jewish cultures on the development of the Jewish cultures in their midst. It is increasingly difficult to view Jewish culture in essentialist terms, as if it somehow developed in a vacuum. The recent accessibility of the Polish archives since the revolutionary events of 1989 has eased the task of discerning how the Polish context affected Polish Jewry, which constituted the world's largest Jewish community by the end of the eighteenth century. The first two papers consider how Jewish cultural movements were influenced by the context of Central Poland, a relatively economically advanced and urbanized area that was partitioned, conquered, or ruled indirectly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by several regimes—Prussian, Austrian, French (the Duchy of Warsaw), and Russian (the Congress Kingdom of Poland). Marcin Wodzinski describes the complicated relationship between Polish Maskilim and governmental authorities, which shifted substantially after 1830. Glenn Dynner considers how even an inward-looking movement like Hasidism was influenced by its Central Polish milieu in such areas as patronage, leadership succession, and even doctrine. In the third paper, Rachel Manekin looks at the brief Polish-Jewish alliance that emerged in Austrian Poland (Galicia) during the 1848 revolution, as well as its rapid dissolution. Moshe Rosman, who pioneered the integrated approach taken by all three panelists, serves as chair and respondent.

Chair, Moshe Rosman (Bar-Ilan University)

Glenn Dynner (Sarah Lawrence College)

Text in Search of Context: The Polishness of Polish Hasidism

While the delineation of schools of Hasidic doctrine by geographical regions should be treated with caution, there are discernible regional characteristics in post-partition Hasidism; and Central Poland is case and point. Central Poland, with its relatively urbanized and cosmopolitan centers amidst vast rural regions, put Hasidism's versatility to the test. For if the movement could prevail in villages and in cities such as Warsaw, Plock and Lublin, it would prove to be much more than a mystical upsurge in small-town Eastern Europe. How the movement's leaders adjusted to these conditions as they entered Central Poland, and how extensive was their success before 1830 shall be my primary concern in this paper. I will argue that Polish Hasidism's unique physiognomy is best appreciated in consideration of its non-Jewish, Polish milieu.

In contrast to Hasidism elsewhere, the Zaddikim in the constitutional Central Poland were seldom able to institute the monarchic practices and dynastic forms of leadership found in Ukrainian, Galician, and to a lesser extent, Belorussian Hasidism. Popular thinkers like Kollantaj and Staszic were criticizing feudalism and the nobility, while extolling the Christian townspeople as the source of the nation's vitality. This anti-feudal climate may have influenced Polish Hasidim to favor master-disciple succession, in contrast to the dynastic norms emerging in Hasidism under absolutist regimes. Nevertheless, it all held together, thanks to the stability afforded by Hasidism's extensive patronage network the mercantile elite. The application of Max Weber's theory of the "routinization of charisma", whereby charismatic leadership eventually succumbs to dynastic succession to obtain stability, simply does not hold true in the case of Polish Hasidism until late in the 19th century. The rise of economic liberalism and insipient industrial revolution in Central Poland heightened the prestige of economic pursuit. Members of Warsaw's Jewish mercantile and proto-banking elite became patrons of Hasidism. Expressions of appreciation for individual economic initiative surface in Polish Hasidic teachings, and Polish Zaddikim readily married themselves or their children into celebrity merchant families. Several Polish Zaddikim were merchants themselves before assuming their spiritual role. Their

worldliness and contacts with wealthy elites produced a more urban, cosmopolitan, and politically savvy Hasidism.

This occasioned a greater degree of acculturation than was found in Hasidism of other regions. Another important outgrowth of the experiments with constitutionalism and economic liberalism was steadfast individualism. Polish Hasidism was afflicted by a persistent cycle in which rebellious disciples appropriated part of their masters' following during the latter's lifetime, only to be subjected to the same fate by their own star disciples. The individualistic ethos also impacted Polish Hasidic doctrine—the sole distinguishing feature of Polish Hasidic thought is its very diversity. Polish Hasidism became divided between the Lublin school, which promoted material Zaddikism, and the Przysucha school, which emphasized character scrutiny and rigorous Talmudic study.

Marcin Wodzinski (Wroclaw University)

Changing Alliances: Maskilic Shtadlanut in the Congress Poland

The paper traces development of the maskilic involvement in the contacts with the authorities of the Kingdom of Poland and their influence on the _Jewish politics_ of the Polish government, especially its attitude towards the Hasidic movement. It focuses on the activities of Abraham Stern, Jacob Tugendhold, and Jecheskel Hoge as documented in archival resources, hitherto unknown. The thesis of the paper is that maskilic shtadlanut developed in two stages, directly linked with the political situation of the Kingdom. In the 1810s and 1820s the enlightenment tendencies in the government attracted many Polish maskilim, who endeavoured to cooperate on the projects to reform the Jewish people. This was based on the premise that government plans are consistent with the Haskalah_s programme and that the government supports reforms. This phase can be summarised as a close alliance with the government aimed at the reform of the Jewish society. Results of this cooperation turned out to be very meagre however, as the government remained suspicious of the Jewish reformers and indecisive regarding the general line of the reform. This optimistic attitude of maskilim lasted only until mid-1830s. From that period maskilim gradually withdrew from promoting reform projects, though still maintained close contacts with the government. In that later period their major focus in intercessions with government was however defence of the Jewish society from both government_s gzerot and extremist tendencies of the _pseudo-maskilim_ and preventing their influence on the government. The shift was caused by both general and Jewish factors: (1) conservative shift in the politics of the Kingdom after the failure of the November uprising of 1830-1831, which affected also the conservative change in the Jewish politics of the government; (2) disillusionment of the maskilim with the new politics of the government and their more realistic approach towards the alliance and its results; (3) growing pressure of the radical modernist tendencies in the Jewish society. All this caused that maskilim turned their attention to defending Jewish values and traditional Jewish society rather than transforming it. Maskilic shtadlanim at this stage transformed into allies of the orthodox, including Hasidic, representatives and distanced from both the government_s politics and radical circles of Jewish integrationists.

Rachel Manekin (Hebrew University)

Poles, Jews, and the Rhetoric of Brotherhood in 1848 Lemberg

In March 1848, a short time after the news about the outbreak of the revolution in Vienna reached Lemberg, a new type of coalition was formed in the city, a coalition between Poles and Jews. Until then Galician Jews associated themselves mainly with the Austrian authorities and the German culture, completely ignoring their Polish surroundings.

The paper will focus on Polish and Jewish pamphlets that were distributed during the spring of 1848, highlighting the new rhetoric of brotherhood on both sides. The pamphlets came in different forms: poems, direct appeals to the other side, explanations to different social groups, etc. In all of them there was a special effort to portray the other side (Poles or Jews) in a positive light. Moreover, Jews and Poles referred to each other as *_brothers_* and called on the people to extend their hands to their fellow citizens *_* Christians to Jews and Jews to Christians.

The pamphlets that will be examined are written in German and in Polish (translation will be provided), and were never published. They point to a special moment in the history of Galician Jews, when Jews and Poles tried to overcome past stereotypes and to forge a new alliance. Although the feelings on both sides were sincere, this alliance fell apart as soon as the revolution was crushed, when Jews discovered that their future lay in the hands of the Austrian authorities and not in those of the Poles. Nevertheless, the first seeds of the Polonization of Galician Jewish society were sown, and these seeds would bear fruit decades later.

Session Number: 2.12

Session **History, Rhetoric, and Hebraism during the Renaissance and Beyond**

Session

Seth Jerchow (University of Pennsylvania)

co-author with Heidi Lerner

Chair, Adam B. Shear (University of Pittsburgh)

Martin Jacobs (Washington University)

Exposed to All the Currents of the Mediterranean: Capsali of Candia on Muslim History

In the proposed paper, I will offer a fresh look at Eliyahu Capsali's Hebrew chronicle, *Seder Eliyahu Zuta*. The fact that this 16th century rabbi composed a chronicle that deals primarily with non-Jewish history has been regarded as an indication that he was influenced by Renaissance historiography. This interpretation of Capsali's work is supported by the fact that he lived for most of his life in the city of Candia on the Mediterranean island of Crete, which was then a part of the Venetian Empire, and in his youth studied for some time in the mainland cities of Padua and Venice. Moreover, the major subject matter of his chronicle reveals a distinctive Venetian perspective: he writes mostly about the history of the Ottoman sultans, who as Venice's primary rivals in the eastern Mediterranean were also the subject of numerous Venetian historical works.

However, neither Capsali's views on history nor his writing style have very much in common with contemporary humanist historiography. He continues the religious patterns of medieval chronicles, which ultimately go back to biblical and rabbinic literature. Moreover, it can be shown that even though the Jewish chronicler occasionally makes use of contemporary rhetorical devices, he rejects the secular tendencies of Renaissance historiography.

Another striking ambivalence that characterizes Capsali's chronicle is his view of Muslim history: Capsali opens his work with several lengthy chapters about the early history of Islam, as do contemporary Italian writers. In these chapters, intended as a historical introduction to the Ottoman history about which he writes in the main part of his chronicle, he adopts the highly polemical tone of Christian sources, depicting Muhammad as an impostor and the Qur'an as a forgery. However, when the rabbi-turned-historian comes to the Ottoman chapters of his work, the overall tone changes from one of anti-Islamic polemics to an idealization of Muslim rulers. Looking back at the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula, Capsali sees the Ottomans as having been sent by God to repatriate the Jews to the Holy Land. While Christian authors depicted the Turks as extremely bloodthirsty, Capsali paints a highly apologetic picture of the sultans, and tries to refute popular notions regarding the cruelty of the Ottomans.

In this paper, I will try to explain the ambivalent attitudes expressed in Capsali's chronicle in the light of the specific situation of a Jewish author living at an eastern outpost of the Venetian Empire, with the Christian world on one side

Arthur M. Lesley (Baltimore Hebrew University)

Rhetoric in Jewish Exegesis and Hebrew Composition

Jewish Bible commentary, like medieval Christian exegesis, long disregarded, or was ignorant of, the guidance available from classical rhetorical texts. The commentaries on Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* by Arabic philosophers and the classification of those disciplines by epistemological validity and ethical application, rather than as guides to composition, rendered them inapplicable to practice. When, in the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth centuries, Jewish scholars in Spain, Provence and Italy became acquainted with classical rhetorical texts and with Latin and vernacular rhetorical practice, some tried to revise Hebrew exegesis and new composition through use of rhetoric.

The medieval use of Latin *accessus ad auctores* as an introduction to Bible commentary has been studied comprehensively, notably by A. J. Minnis and Rita Copeland, as the framework for grammatical interpretation of texts and rhetorical production of them, and Eric Lawee has recently studied Jewish applications of the *accessus* to exegesis. For Latin, the reciprocity of the manner of producing texts with the manner of interpreting them has been especially productive; evidence for something similar in Hebrew should assist understanding of the evolution of the distinctive character of fifteenth-century and later Hebrew writings. Instead of attributing the character of these Hebrew writings to a diffuse *Renaissance* spirit, to *imitation of the gentiles*, to a generalized *humanistic* learning, or even to knowledge of one or another rhetorical practice, it is possible to trace particular choices of individual writers to their understanding and practice of the discipline of rhetoric.

The manuscript notebooks of the fifteenth-century Jewish scholar, Yohanan Alemanno, offer two examples of Hebrew *accessus* in the process of formulation. Both written in Florence in 1488-90, one is for a commentary on the Song of Songs, *Hesheq Shelomo*, and one for his autobiographical allegory of education, *Peqah Koah*, the first part of *Hay ha-Olamim*. Along with adjacent entries about ethics, rhetoric and the other verbal arts, Alemanno's drafts enable us to follow the composition of these two books from the kernel of the argument to the completed version. In the process of composition, Alemanno reformulated Hebrew exegetical and literary practice in ways that influenced later Hebrew writers in Italy. Although his applications were one set among several parallel trends of Jewish experimentation, his example of the mutual dependence of

Daniel Stein Kokin (Harvard University)
A Holy Language? Christian Hebraism and the Status of Hebrew in the Renaissance

The significant number of Christian scholars engaged in the study of the Hebrew language and Kabbalah in the Renaissance period brought forth a range of responses from the Jewish authorities and scholars of the time. We possess indications of nervousness over the use to which sensitive Jewish sources were put by Christians students and of anger against those Jews who either taught or supplied them with such texts. At the same, responsa literature and other textual evidence demonstrate that the teaching of gentiles was defended and/or justified on a variety of grounds. Examination of these Jewish sources reveals the central importance assumed by the status of the Hebrew language in the ongoing debate concerning what, if any, aspects of the Jewish tradition could be shared beyond its confines.

Focusing on the responsa of Rabbis Johanan Treves (1534) and Elijah Menahem Halfan (1544), as well as on Elijah Levita's *Massoret ha-Massoret* (1538), this paper will chart the shift in attitudes towards the Hebrew language indicated in these and other texts, and argue that it at least in part stems from the phenomenon of Christian Hebraism. For in the course of defending at least some Jewish teaching of Christians, all three figures attempt to disentangle the connection between Jewish teachings and the Jewish language. In so doing, they implicitly and at times explicitly (Trevis at one point states directly, *there is no holiness in the [Hebrew] language*) cast doubts on the degree to which the Hebrew language is, in fact, holy.

But what is at stake in the question of the holiness of Hebrew? What exactly does it mean to regard a language as holy or to strip a *holy* language of its sanctity? And to what degree does this apparent de-evaluation of Hebrew reflect the true beliefs of these three figures? The remainder of the paper will attempt to answer these questions by placing these figures and texts in context. In particular, I will note an interesting irony occasioned by the attempt to separate Jewish sources and language from each other. One of the principal reasons adduced in support of Jewish teaching of Christians claimed that it was through such instruction that Christians would be led to perform the seven commandments incumbent upon the descendants of Noah. But, of course, if in fact wisdom is not dependent upon a particular language, then it is unclear why such a goal necessitates Christian study of Hebrew at all. Additionally, though the book of Genesis does present a covenant between God and Noah's offspring, the notion of seven specific commandments is a product of the oral law, which our two responsa largely deem as off-limits to the Christian student. This is but one example of the complexities and contradictions occasioned among Jewish reactions to the Christian Hebraism of the Renaissance.

Seth Jerchow (University of Pennsylvania)
Theologians, Orientalists, and Bibliographers: Swiss Christian Hebraists and Their Role in the Systematic Organization of Jewish

Heidi G. Lerner (Stanford University)

Theologians, Orientalists, and Bibliographers: Swiss Christian Hebraists and Their Role in the Systematic Organization of Jewish

Co-author: Seth Jerchow. This paper will explore the influence of Swiss Christian Hebraism on the development of Jewish bibliography, most particularly in the creation of classification schemes for the systematic organization of Jewish knowledge.

Many catalogues of Hebrew and Judaic literature adhere to a fairly standardized topical arrangement of their contents: Bible, Midrash, Talmud, Halakhah, Liturgy, Rites, Kabbalah, Philosophy, Ethical Literature, Homilies, Polemics, Poetry, Philosophy, Science, Medicine, and Varia. Comparisons with older retrospective catalogs reveal similar patterns of breakdown by subject.

In an article entitled *The Classification of Jewish literature in the New York Public Library*, Joshua Bloch claims that Shabbetai Bass (1641-1718) was *really the first to essay the difficult task of creating a classification of all Jewish literature, as far as he knew it.* Bass' catalogue, entitled *Sifte yeshenim* (Amsterdam, 1680), lists over 2200 Hebrew titles and organizes them, not only alphabetically by title and/or author, but also according to specific classification schemes. Bass also provides a listing of about 150 books on Jewish-related topics not in Hebrew in the last section of the book, entitled *Sha'ar hitsoni* (*the gateway to the outside*), written primarily by Christian Hebraists. Among the works cited are two earlier bio-bibliographical catalogues: the *Bibliotheca Rabbinica nova* by Johannes Buxtorf the elder (in the Basel 1640 edition of *De abbreviaturis Hebraicis*), and Manasseh ben Israel's *Conciliador* (Francofurti [i.e. Amsterdam]: *Auctoris impensis*, 1632-1651). Along with these, Bass cites a third bibliography, Johann Heinrich Hottinger's *Promptuarium, sive Bibliotheca Orientalia* (Zurich, 1658). About this third work Bass states: *u-vo mazkir sefarim harbeh mesudarim le-khol inyan ve-inyan.* This succinct note refers to p. 1-58 of this work, in which Hottinger elaborated a detailed classified prospectus for Hebrew literature. Several early booklists found in the Cairo Geniza and medieval European Hebrew codices concord on a basic bibliographic genre structure of Bible, Mishnah, Talmud, Theology, Halakhah, and Liturgy. However, these early booklists are simple inventories, neither analyzed nor arranged into sets of any sort. The *Sifte yeshenim* still remains the earliest analytic Judaica bibliography of Jewish production, and its appearance is relatively late, as compared with other endeavors in Europe, and even more precisely within the Swiss Humanist culture of the Reformation. Konrad Gesner incorporated Hebrew literature as an integral part of his *Bibliotheca universalis* (Zurich, 1545) and outlines the classes it falls into within the context of his *Pandectarum*. In Basel in 1613, Calvinist theologian Johannes Buxtorf the elder publishes the first edition of his bio-bibliographical *Bibliotheca Rabbinica nova* (in the *De abbreviaturis Hebraicis*). It is true that Manasseh ben Israel, in part one of his *Conciliador* published in Amsterdam 1633 proposed a very brief outline for an analytical bibliographic structure. However, it is not until

Zurich polymath Johann Heinrich Hottinger, credited as the founder of modern Semitic philology, that a detailed and autonomous classification system for

Knowledge Hebrew analytical bibliography is finally proposed. Although Bass's analytical system varies, and an otherwise anonymous Gesnerian influence is clearly present, his brief statement credits Hottinger's

Session Number: 2.13

Session Spectacular Jews: Self-Promotion as Spectacle in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-Jewish Culture

Session

Literary representations of Jews in the nineteenth century--by Jewish writers such as Amy Levy and Julia Frankau, as well as by Anthony Trollope, George Du Maurier, and even George Eliot--frequently emphasized the ostentatiousness of middle- and upper-class Jews. Elaborate dress and jewelry, often combined with social or political self-assertion, defined Jewish characters as vulgar sources of amusement, embarrassment, or danger; for both English Jews and Christians, the gaudiness of Jews' clothing, the size of their houses, and their attainment of celebrity, marked a widespread cultural anxiety over the extent to which English Jews had or should become socially and culturally integrated.

Given the widespread association of Jewishness with vulgar ostentation and self-promotion, one might think that influential and prominent Jews would do everything possible to distance themselves from such attributions. Instead, as the papers in this panel argue, Jewish-identified leaders in business, politics, and letters in nineteenth-century Britain confronted the dominant Christian culture with lavish displays and pictorial representations that challenged stereotypes, often by appropriating them, rejecting ostentation in favor of spectacle. As Judith Page explains, illustrations in Benjamin Disraeli's *Tancred* and prints of elaborate country houses owned by Jews all worked to dispel the notion that Jews were detached from the land, although in ways that did not necessarily confirm their Englishness. Heidi Kaufman examines how Disraeli in effect endorsed images of himself as a masquerading Jew by embracing both exoticism and performance. And Meri-Jane Rochelson delineates the aggressiveness with which Israel Zangwill made use of the periodical press to create a celebrity identity simultaneously Jewish, English, and transatlantic. Michael Galchinsky will respond to all of these papers.

Chair, Nadia Valman (University of Southampton)

Judith W. Page (University of Florida)

Jewish Spectacle: Culture and Cultivation in Early 19th Century Britain

In 1830 William Cobbett challenged his readers to "produce a Jew who ever dug, who went to the plough, or who ever made his own coat or his own shoes, or who did anything at all, except get all the money he could from the pockets of the people" (Good Friday). Cobbett here repeats the old canard that Jews, as international vagabonds have no connection to the land and thus cannot be legitimate Britons. Cobbett resented Jews for allegedly refusing to do real work, and he also feared that if unfettered Jews would buy up and degrade the land meant for others to work. In response to the sort of worldview promoted by Cobbett, writers more friendly to Jews and Judaism made land and cultivation central to their sense of Jewish identity in nineteenth century Britain.

These writers returned to the biblical notion of the Jews as cultivators of fields and vineyards and presented Jews as adaptors of ancient traditions to contemporary Britain.

Malcolm Brown has documented the developing tradition of Anglo-Jewish country houses, both in the environs of London and more far afield, in Leicestershire and Sidmouth. The purchase or design of country houses was often accompanied by a parallel interest in gardening and horticultural display, including the cultivation of seeds and cuttings from as far away as America. Todd Endelman examines the movement of well-to-do Jews to country houses (often in addition to the London townhouse), distinguishing in general between the Sephardim who began the practice in the eighteenth century and the Ashkenazim who continued it in the early decades of the nineteenth. According to Endelman, Sephardim were more likely to break ties with the Jewish community than the Ashkenazim. For Sephardim, "the purchase of a country property represented more than conformity to the social ideals of the landowning class. It also indicated a willingness to live, either permanently or temporarily, outside Jewish social circles and without access to synagogues and other religious institutions that are essential to Jewish observance"(Radical Assimilation, 13).

Beginning with William Hazlitt's passionate defense of Jewish emancipation in 1831, looking at several prints of spectacular "Jewish" country houses, and considering the representation of London's Jews celebrating Sukkoth in Disraeli's *Tancred*, I will argue that "the land" and displays of ownership were central to the position of Jews in early nineteenth century Britain.

Paradoxically, Disraeli's contrast between the landscapes of England and Palestine actually challenges the possibility of a "fit" between Jews and their adopted land. The paradox of Disraeli's project is that the more keenly he developed his myth of Jewish "Eastern" superiority, the less comfortable his represented Jews seemed on British soil. A proto-Zionist, in his fiction Disraeli more easily imagined Jews on the hills of Palestine than in the English countryside. In this sense Disraeli fulfilled the counter-argument of the naysayer in Hazlitt's essay, who could not imagine Jews as permanent residents on or developers of British soil because of their hankering for their biblical home--no matter how hard historical Jews worked to display their

Meri-Jane Rochelson (Florida International University)
I, Zangwill: The Making of an Anglo-Jewish Celebrity

The late Victorian era is known for the professionalization of literature and, concurrently, for the development of the literary personality. As the periodical press flourished in the 1890s, its vast resources for disseminating gossip and literary logrolling enhanced reputations and turned writers into celebrities. Among the most avid in taking advantage of the new publicity opportunities for authors was Israel Zangwill, who built upon a career as journalist and author in the 1890s to become the first Anglo-Jewish celebrity of the twentieth century.

What sets Zangwill's self-promotional efforts apart are the ways in which he advertised his identity as a Jew in a print culture that on the one hand was fascinated by Jewish difference and on the other perpetuated antisemitic stereotypes. In this context Zangwill displayed his Jewishness as a signally important facet of a persona simultaneously British, Jewish, and transatlantic. The American writer Hamlin Garland described his signature of "I. Zangwill" as "quaintly egoistic" (Garland 404); a few years later, British author G. B. Burgin recounted how Zangwill "whimsical[ly]" replied to an inquirer, "I have no Christian name" (Burgin 266). Both writers sidestepped the ambiguity in Zangwill's use of an initial to replace the name <I> Israel </I> . And yet Zangwill counted on the distinctiveness of his Jewish identity to define him in a crowded literary landscape. These laudatory memoirs by non-Jewish writers, presenting Zangwill as a Jew with wider appeal, exemplify the kind of publicity Zangwill courted and that helped make him a hero to Jewish readers.

This paper will examine how Zangwill created a celebrity identity in the 1890s, at the start of his career, through well-placed articles, interviews, and photographs in British and American periodicals. It will examine the verbal and pictorial representation of Zangwill as Jew and Englishman, exploring in particular the ways in which Jewish identity was essential to his public persona. By the 1910s and '20s Zangwill was a successful dramatist (author of <I> The Melting Pot </I>) who had built on his earlier fame to become a leading and often controversial spokesperson on Jewish issues, as well as on women's suffrage, opposition to censorship, and support of the peace movement during the first world war. Although the Jewish press was often exasperated by him it never ignored him, and both the <I> New York Times </I> and the <I> Times </I> of London covered his appearances and published his letters. By September 1923, in preparation for a major address at Carnegie Hall, Zangwill was featured on the cover of <I> Time </I> magazine, and his speech drew an audience of 4,000. Unfortunately, however, the celebrity status so carefully cultivated in earlier years was obliterated by the unsparing criticism of Zionists in Zangwill's address. Zangwill's gadfly persona had gone too far, and the Jewish community that had taken pride in his achievements and supported his fame now turned away, in favor of other heroes.

Burgin, G. B. "Israel Zangwill as I Know Him." *The Critic* 42 (1903):
266-69.

Heidi Kaufman (University of Delaware)

In Jew's Clothing: Disraeli, Dress, and the English Masquerade

Benjamin Disraeli was famously portrayed in Victorian political cartoons in dresses, gowns, and outrageous garments that called attention to both his Jewish heritage and English anxiety about his Jewish heritage. As numerous critics have pointed out, these "dressed-up" images fit into a host of discourses connecting clothing and English Jews or clothing and Disraeli; for, not only was Disraeli well-known for wearing dandified costumes in his youth, but Jewish old-clothes men were one of the most pervasive stereotypes in England throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Clothing and Jews, it seems, are undeniably linked in English culture. It is no surprise then that political satirists and illustrators would draw from this discourse in their cartoons of Disraeli.

Although the discourse of Jewish clothes was pervasive throughout the nineteenth century, Anthony S. Wohl reminds us that there is nothing simple or easy about the production and proliferation of cartoons of Disraeli. He explains that these images convey two ideas at once. First, "In the liberal society of late-Victorian England, which prided itself on its openness and toleration, cartoons offered a release and a vehicle for the public expression of prejudices" (108). Second, these caricatures "claimed to unmask or reveal the inner motivating forces behind his [Disraeli's] outward actions" (108).

Building on this important work, my paper takes a parallel path by reading political cartoons for what they suggest about the culture that insisted upon viewing Disraeli in this manner. Specifically, I question the cultural work of depictions of Disraeli in costume on the stage of Englishness, such as "Dressing for a Masquerade"(1851), "'The Game of Speculation.:' as Performed at the Theatre Royal, St. Stephen's"(1852), "Dressing for an Oxford Bal Masque" (1864), and "The Political Egg Dance" (1867). Disraeli's role as a performer in such texts, indeed as a spectacle on stage, is not an identity thrust upon him by his culture exclusively. Disraeli in fact thrived on the opportunities for self-exposure created by his political career. In an early speech he admitted, "'I love fame; I love public reputation; I love to live in the eyes of the country'" (Richmond and Post 79). My paper focuses on what Disraeli's performances, and the depiction of his performative role in political cartoons, suggest about the so-called "eyes of the country." By dressing for the masquerade, his image in these texts exposes not only Disraeli's performative role within British culture, but the charade of Englishness projected onto him through these depictions. While such theatrical political cartoons certainly recall Disraeli's early proclivity toward dandyism and the discourse of Jewish old clothes dealers, I maintain that they also reveal the importance of seeing the Jew, on stage and in costume, in order to disguise the masquerade of Englishness.

Works Cited

Anthony S. Wohl, "Ben JuJu': Representations of Disraeli's Jewishness in the

Victorian Political Cartoon" in *Disraeli's Jewishness*, eds. Todd M. Endelman and Tony Kushner. (London and Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2002), 105-161.

Respondent, Michael Galchinsky (Georgia State University)

Session Number: 2.14

**Session The Impact of the Methodologies of Rashi on Ashkenazic
Legal and Biblical Exegesis**

Session

Chair, Naomi Grunhaus (Stern College)

David Malkiel (Bar-Ilan University)

Rashi Was Right: Jews and Apostates in Medieval Europe (1000-1250)

Rashi Was Right: Jews and Apostates in Medieval Europe (1000-1250)

David Malkiel, Bar-Ilan University

The prevailing image of medieval Jewish apostasy posits: (a) that apostasy was rare; (b) that the (few) apostates were almost all forcibly baptized, rather than true converts to Christianity; (c) that the (few, coerced) apostates were steadfast in their observance of the commandments and reverted to Judaism at the earliest opportunity; (d) that in the eyes of his family and community, an apostate ceases to exist; (e) that ideological apostasy was more significant than venal apostasy.

The present study proposes a less idealized image. How numerous apostates were during the first quarter of the second millennium remains unknown, but coerced apostates did not necessarily outnumber voluntary ones, and the distinction was generally unimportant to medieval rabbis. Even coerced apostates did not always revert, or did not necessarily do so promptly, and there was also the phenomenon of serial reversion. Apostates did not vanish, but were, rather, a fixture of medieval Jewish society, with whom members of the Jewish community interacted freely and often without ill will. Finally, while there were those who apostatized because they became convinced of the truth of Christianity, there were also those whose apostasy was venal. These apostates hurdled the Jewish-Christian divide with ease, as if they did not consider it terribly significant.

Taken together, these elements present an alternate image of apostasy, and by extension of the character of the Jewish community and the nature of Jewish-Christian relations in medieval Europe. For the image of Jews and Christians separated by an enormous spiritual and cultural gulf and locked into a state of unremitting confrontation and hostility, we substitute one of unrestricted social and cultural intercourse, with the two communities separated by a low barrier of beliefs and taboos. Of course, both of these pictures of Jewish-Christian relations are caricatures, but they provide useful

Martin I. Lockshin (York University)

Joseph Bekhor Shor's Conception of Peshat

Much has been written about the way in which peshat first arose in northern France. Particular attention has been paid to the works of Rashi and Rashbam. In general, scholars have argued that there was a development from a more hesitant use of peshat in the works of Rashi and Joseph Kara to a bolder use of peshat by Rashbam. In general scholars have often argued that after Rashbam's days peshat became less popular than before.

This paper will examine one of the great peshat exegetes from the generation after Rashbam with particular attention to the way that Bekhor Shor understood the concept of peshat. (Almost none of the exegetes of traditional Ashkenaz ever defined what they understood peshat to mean. Definitions have to be inferred from their writings.)

Yitzhak Berger (Hunter College of the City University of New York)
The Climax of the Northern French Peshat Tradition: Rabbi Eliezer of Beaugency's Integrative Exegesis

Scholars have long noted that the Bible commentaries of Rabbi Eliezer of Beaugency (mid-late twelfth century) represent a culmination of the golden age of creative <I> peshat </I> exegesis in Northern France. Despite R. Eliezer's occasional citation of rabbinic material, scholars have observed no clear examples in his works of interpretations, rabbinic or otherwise, that follow a method not consistent with a <I> peshat </I> orientation, and the independence of <I> derash </I> in his extant commentaries might well be absolute. Where he does--rarely--identify a rabbinic interpretation as <I> derash</I>, it is to alert the reader that the interpretation is not in fact a legitimate <I> peshat </I> reading. Thus, unlike his predecessors, R. Eliezer did not feel at all compelled even to acknowledge rabbinic interpretations manifestly in the category of <I> derash</I>. In a very small number of cases it has been claimed that R. Eliezer offers his own midrashic interpretations; however, one of these has been misunderstood, and the others are in reality metaphoric readings that are consistent with R. Eliezer's <I> peshat </I> exegesis.

Among the salient characteristics of R. Eliezer's exegesis, scholars have observed his fidelity to context in interpreting words or phrases, his integrative interpretations of series of phrases or verses, and his concern for compositional structure and order within biblical books particularly as this pertains to chronology. All of these observations highlight his sensitivity to context and desire to provide integrative readings. I suggest that his integrative exegesis--and his greatest ingenuity--is manifest most sharply where he interprets entire units or subunits of text in substantively novel ways due the influence of their broader context, a category that scholars have not yet isolated. Thus, beyond his use of context for the micro-exegesis of words or phrases, and his cohesive interpretation of strings of verses, R. Eliezer maintains a sweeping vision of a biblical book's sustained themes and their flow, which prompts him to offer creative readings of large blocs of text, and ingenious and consequential interpretations at points of transition between units. This broad integrative approach extends well beyond his more obvious structural and chronological observations that scholars have noted, and is consistent with his recently documented use of sophisticated structural principles to address more subtle problems of chronology and sequence. Of particular interest is the profound influence of broad context in R. Eliezer's rationalistic interpretation of the description of the messianic figure in Isaiah 11, despite his apparently non-metaphorical understanding of the wolf-lamb segment of the same prophecy; and in his interpretation of the servant of God at the beginning of Isaiah 49 as Israel, despite his understanding of the servant as the prophet himself in Isaiah 53 and elsewhere.

Ephraim Kanarfogel (Yeshiva University)

Rashi and Peshat in the Torah Commentaries of the Tosafists

The regnant perception among scholars of medieval biblical exegesis is that the search for peshat, begun by Rashi and continued in earnest by northern French exegetes such as Rashbam and Joseph Kara, ends abruptly in the late

twelfth century with the Torah commentary of Joseph Bekhor Shor (of Orleans). The biblical commentaries that were produced in northern France and Germany during the thirteenth century and beyond (the so-called Torah Commentaries of the Tosafists, such as Hadar Zeqenim and Da'at Zeqenim) appear to have little interest in peshat interpretation.

The disappearance of the search for peshat has been argued on the basis of both internal and external phenomena. From the internal perspective, it has been suggested that peshat exegesis had simply run its course. The fundamental disagreement between more radical forms of peshat and rabbinic interpretation may have hastened peshat's demise in medieval Ashkenaz. At the same time, the polemical value of peshat as a reason for its popularity in the twelfth century wanes in the thirteenth, as responses to Christian biblical interpretation became the purview of Jewish polemical handbooks.

Sara Japhet has suggested, on the other hand, that the Tosafist Torah Commentaries do cite peshat interpretations alongside the more common derash material. Although peshat as the preferred mode of interpretation recedes in the thirteenth century, it does not disappear. I will argue that in fact, a series of Tosafists writing in the late twelfth century and in the first part of the thirteenth century sought to build on the approach of Bekhor Shor, which ultimately hearkens back to the commentary of Rashi. Eschewing the more radical peshat of Rashbam, they nonetheless embraced the style of Bekhor Shor that also included explicit questioning and analysis of Rashi's Torah commentary. Included in this group of Tosafists are Jacob of Orleans, Isaiah di Trani and Moses of Coucy. (Interestingly, the Torah commentaries attributed to Judah the Pious of Regensburg also betray many of these characteristics.)

These Tosafists often engage in what amounts to a kind of super-commentary on Rashi. Although they do not discuss his comments systematically, they question and explain and (occasionally argue with) Rashi not only on the basis of rabbinic literature and exegesis but also on the basis of peshat issues and approaches. In addition, these Tosafists frequently raise peshat questions on the text of the Torah itself. It is only later in the thirteenth century that the more varied Tosafist compilations emerge, where a form of peshat is but one voice in a very crowded field. These commentaries, which also contain comments from thirteenth-century rabbinic figures unknown in Tosafist schools and circles, were perhaps directed to a broader, more popular audience and therefore offered multiple approaches and directions.

The history of biblical exegesis in medieval Ashkenaz is thus much more nuanced than has been thought. Although a number of

leading Tosafists appear to have evinced no interest in peshat exegesis, the existence of the group of Tosafists noted above suggests that both the

longevity and the geographic scope of the search for peshat have to be

Abstracts for Session 3
Sunday, December, 19, 2004 04:00 PM-05:30 PM

Session Number: 3.1

Session Israel Studies at North American Universities

Session

American institutions of higher learning are sometimes slow to respond to student demand, faculty initiatives, or paradigm shifts in the structure or knowledge. Israel studies is an underrepresented field at many American universities, even where there may be significant student and faculty interest. Our panel of four speakers will explore the need to develop such programs, sites of resistance to be overcome, and suggestions for overcoming them. I will moderate, and open the meeting to discussion among the panelist and with the audience.

Our first panelist is Prof. Kenneth Stein of Emory University, where he is William E. Schatten Professor of Contemporary Middle Eastern History, Political Science and Israeli Studies and Director of the Middle East Research Program and Institute for the Study of Modern Israel. Prof. Stein's title is "(Not)Knowing the Israeli Narrative: what pre-collegiate teachers in Jewish schools tell us." He will summarize the results of a survey of North American teachers in Jewish schools which reveal severe gaps in their students' knowledge about Israel.

Our second panelist is Prof. Mervin Verbit, a social scientist at the City University of New York and Director of the Program for Study in Israel. In a paper entitled, "Normative and Structural Contexts for Israel Studies in American Universities," he will explore some of the theoretical and structural problems involved in the creation and development of Israel studies programs.

Our third panelist, Ilan Troen, teaches political science and other courses in Middle East studies at Ben Gurion University. Troen is also involved in a summer program at Brandeis University, which he will outline, designed to train faculty who specialize in other areas to offer Israel-related courses within their own disciplines and departments.

Our fourth panelist is Dr. Michael Kotzin, Executive Vice President, Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago. He will outline a plan whereby federations might broker "marriages" between donors willing and able to support Israel studies and colleges or universities wishing to establish faculty positions.

The moderator will be Michael Shapiro, Director of the Program in Jewish

Chair, Michael Shapiro (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

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Kenneth W. Stein (Emory University)

(Not) Knowing the Israeli Narrative: What Pre-Collegiate Teachers in Jewish Schools Tell Us

Mervin F. Verbit (Brooklyn College of the City University of New York)
Normative and Structural Contexts for Israel Studies in American Universities

S. Ilan Troen (Brandeis University)
no title

Respondent, Michael Kotzin (Jewish Federation of Metropolitan

Session Number: 3.2

***Session* **Textual Reasoning: The Jewish Political Tradition (A
Roundtable)****

Session

After our meeting (see proposal) in which we study select texts from Volume one of the Walzer, Lorberbaum, Zohar JEWISH POLITICAL TRADITION volume, we propose to have a panel in which we discuss the volume. Our commentators will be A. Eisen, D Biale, Z Braiterman with responses by M Walzer and M. Lorberbaum.

We would focus on topics from ch. 1 "God_s Law and Kingdom," ch. 3 "Monarchy" and ch. 10 "The Modern State of Israel"

Our participants cannot arrive until Monday and have to leave on Tuesday. So we need either Monday afternoon or Monday evening for this panel

Chair, Steven D. Kepnes (Colgate University)

David J. Biale (University of California at Davis)

Zachary J. Braiterman (Syracuse University)

Arnold M. Eisen (Stanford University)

Menachem Lorberbaum (Tel Aviv University)

Session Number: 3.3

Session Jewish Historians and the American Century: Jewish America in World War and Cold War

Session

Drawing on this year's Conference theme of the 350th anniversary of Jewish settlement in the US, this panel will explore the relationship between Jewish studies and American historical narrative, focusing on the World War II and post-war era.

In his famous 1941 editorial in *Life* magazine, Henry Luce declared the beginning of what he called the "American Century." Luce's term has become historical shorthand not only for American global leadership during and after World War II, but also for the economic expansion and social prosperity which characterized national life during and after the war.

As Deborah Dash Moore has noted in *To the Golden Cities: Pursuing the American Jewish Dream in Miami and L.A., Jews in the United States* embraced Luce's American century as "their century." This panel gathers a group of scholars who are working on subjects traditionally viewed as part of the "grand narrative" of the American Century- such as the experiences of the American G.I. and the domestic politics of the Cold War- in the context of Jewish history. Focusing on social and cultural change, the panel will consider the relationship of Jewish history to "mainstream" historical accounts of America during and after World War II, and explore how the American Century intersects with the "Golden Age" of American Jewry.

Chair, Jonathan D. Sarna (Brandeis University)

Deborah Dash Moore (Vassar College)
American Jews and the Good War

Jewish historians call the years 1939-1945 the Shoah/Holocaust. American historians call the same years World War II. American Jewish historians, located uneasily between the two, usually speak of the Holocaust, especially given its currency in American popular culture. Each of these terms carries with it a historiography, including ways of thinking about Jews. Within the framework of the Shoah/Holocaust, Jews figure primarily as victims and only secondarily in other roles. One of those other roles, that of bystanders, is usually applied to American Jews who watch, from the safety of the United States, the disaster unfolding in Europe. But in the context of World War II, Jews rarely figure as significant actors on the American historical stage. From the perspective of American historians, they are conscripted into military service as are other white Americans and they undergo the rigors of regimentation and the terrors of combat alongside their comrades in arms. Jews do not suffer segregation like African Americans, nor are they singled out like Japanese Americans. Even their religious differences appear muted, part of a democratic and American _Judeo-Christian tradition._ Their history seems to be primarily one of integration and acceptance. Assuming that the main Jewish story lies overseas, American Jewish historians have concentrated their attention on the home front, and on the character and adequacy of Jewish responses to the Holocaust. Politics takes center stage, with ideology and tactics preoccupying many historians. The pervasive anti-Semitism of those years also figures in historical scholarship. But American Jewish historians have largely ignored the experiences of over half a million Jews in uniform, seeing that as more a part of American history and less of interest to Jewish history.

This paper challenges these historiographies and asks why they misinterpret the wartime experiences of a generation in military service, experiences that changed men_s attitudes toward themselves as Americans, as Jews, and as men.

Riv-Ellen Prell (University of Minnesota)

Suburbs and Subversions: Postwar American Jewish Youth

Suburbanization was not only one of the most important transformations of American society, but American Jewish culture as well. This paper will examine the ways in which suburbanization was a contested domain of American Jewish experience and its implications for how to socialize the Baby Boom cohort as Jews and Americans. The paper will look at some of the spheres developed for American Jewish youth and how they sought to subvert the culture that was associated with suburbanization.

Mia Bruch (Stanford University)

American Jews and American Religious Pluralism: The Cultural Impact of World War and Cold War

This paper traces the impact of World War II and the Cold War on Jewish acculturation, focusing on American religious pluralism. During and after World War II, the ideologies of anti-fascism and anti-communism configured religious pluralism as part of the "American way of life." I explore how these ideologies shaped the acculturation of American Jews and the cultural ratification of religious pluralism in the United States.

I first discuss how World War II reshaped the place of Jews and Judaism in American culture, showing how the struggle against fascism created an imperative to unite the nation by proposing an alternative set of American values in opposition to Nazism. In the crucible of World War II, the notion of America as a "Christian nation" became increasingly incompatible with the pluralistic principles espoused as the rationale for the fight against fascism, and religious bigotry began to be seen as a violation of American democratic values. I then turn to the Cold War, discussing how religious faith and freedom of religion became touchstones for Americans to distinguish between the national systems of the US and USSR. As a result, public recognition and validation of Judaism as a religious institution became an exemplar of the American commitment to freedom of worship, even as secular Jews were singled out for persecution as Communist sympathizers. Examining material from a selection of key areas in American Jewish life during this period, including popular culture, the military, and civil religion, I assess the role that American Jews played in the long-term legitimation of pluralism in the United States.

Respondent, Beth S. Wenger (University of Pennsylvania)

Session Number: 3.4

Session Perspectives on Ottoman Judeo-Spanish Culture and Community (Mid-18th Century - Early 20th Century)

Session

The goal of this panel is to explore major changes in Sephardi worldview and experience from the mid-eighteenth century through the early twentieth century.

The paper of the first prospective panelist, Matthias Lehmann, examines an emerging modern Jewish experience of place through the diaries of a Sephardi rabbi who traveled across the Mediterranean during the late eighteenth century. Traveling at a time of Enlightenment and burgeoning nationalism in Europe, Rabbi Azulai began to see Sephardi, Ashkenazi and non-Jewish European communities according to a new optic rooted in the Haskalah.

Within the following century, dramatic socio-political changes occurring in the Ottoman empire accelerated a process by which Sephardim began to redefine their role within the Ottoman state as well as well as a larger Jewish world.

The work of the second prospective panelist, Olga Borovaya, discusses the impact of the emerging Ladino press as a powerful agent of westernization and a major actor in shaping a new worldview of the Ladino reading audience. This steady process of transformation, occurring amongst Ottoman Sephardi communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, saw a marked shift with the coming of the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, when the Ottoman constitution of 1876 was re-introduced and censorship was lifted. The work of the third prospective panelist, Julia Cohen, discusses the new, open and diverse expressions of political allegiance offered by Sephardim in this post-revolutionary period through a case study of the reception of Sephardim to their new sultan's tour through Ottoman Macedonia in 1911.

Chair, Aron Rodrigue (Stanford University)

Chair, Aron Rodrigue (Stanford University)

Matthias B. Lehmann (Indiana University)

A Rabbinic Tourist in the Eighteenth Century

For a long time, the dichotomy of home and exile, or the Land of Israel and the Diaspora, has dominated the approach to the understanding of place and memory in Jewish history. Both the traditional Jewish imagery and modern Zionist historiography have focused on the experience of homelessness and homecoming in Jewish history. In my paper, I am going to propose a more nuanced understanding of place in the Jewish experience, based on a close reading of Rabbi H. Y. D. Azulai's travel diaries.

Azulai, born in Jerusalem in 1724, undertook two major trips to Europe and North Africa as a fundraising emissary of the Jewish communities in Palestine in the 1750s and 1770s.

A comparison of Azulai's travel diary, *Ma'agal Tov*, with earlier accounts by Jewish travelers illustrates well a change in Jewish culture in the latter half of the eighteenth century. I will focus on the representation of different places in the diary in order to show the diversity of Azulai's own experience, and how this personal testimony can be linked to the emerging modern Jewish experience of place. Cases that I will look at are the description of Palestine and whether or not it is seen in opposition to places outside the Holy Land; a comparison between Sephardi and Ashkenazi worlds that Azulai visits and that he describes in very different terms (e.g., cities in southern Germany as opposed to Amsterdam); Azulai as a site-seeing tourist and his sense of what is exotic (London, Paris) and what is closer to his own world (Constantinople); finally, his prolonged stay in Tunis raises interesting questions of the interrelatedness of the Sephardi world in Europe and the Islamic world.

Julia Cohen (Stanford University)

The Jews of Salonika and the Sultan's Visit of 1911

In the summer of 1911, the Ottoman sultan visited Salonika in an attempt to secure support for his empire in Macedonia. The local Sephardim put up a united front of support, welcoming him with speeches, publications, and elaborately-decorated "arcs de triomphe" which they erected throughout the city. Speaking constantly of the need for unity among the Ottoman peoples, to support the empire and to learn Turkish, the Jews in Salonika, from Zionists to Alliancists, expressed what seemed a common goal and vision for the future.

Given the intense competition between Alliancists and Zionists in the Ottoman Sephardi communities at precisely this time, the nearly indistinguishable image and message offered by competing Sephardi groups during the sultan's visit is striking. The Zionists and Alliancists in the city not only avoided mention of the differences in their platforms, they also hid any signs of the on-going and bitter conflicts that existed between them.

The patently united face of Salonikan Jewry may, however, be explained by the reality of a basic, shared understanding among all Sephardi groups that the preservation of the empire was their clearest guarantee for the security and stability of the Jewish community. Their message of unity between different millets can be understood as part of an Ottomanist vision that similarly offered them the best prospects for a future within the empire.

This vision of inter-ethnic harmony too, however, belied a stark reality of economic and religious competition in Salonika during precisely the years leading up to the visit, especially between the Greeks and the Jews in the city. Yet, neither inter-ethnic strife nor Jewish intra-communal discord disappeared at the time of the sultan's arrival. Nor, this paper will argue, was it merely pushed aside in recognition of the greater good of supporting the empire. While this common goal existed, a closer reading of the nearly identical tactics used by all of the Jewish groups indicates that they were competing over which of them might outdo the rest in their celebrations and expressions of loyalty, thereby earning themselves the

legitimacy needed to secure their leadership role within the Jewish community of Salonika. Similarly, expressing

themselves as constituting the Ottoman millet who most fervently espoused the message of Ottomanism, the city's Jews were spreading words of cooperation while, in reality, vying with the other ethnic groups for the status of the most faithful millet.

Ultimately, the celebration of the sultan's tour appears to have been as much of a local struggle over leadership roles in the city as it was a straightforward expression of admiration for the Ottoman sovereign.

Olga Borovaya (Russian State University for the Humanities)
Evolution of the Sephardic Press and Readership in the Late Ottoman Period: A Case Study of the Audiences of Two Salonican Newspapers

This paper will explore the evolution of the audiences of two Sephardic periodicals published in Salonica by the Halevi family at the turn of the 20th century. The first one -- La Epoka (1875-1911) came out in Ladino and was initially addressed to the Sephardim who could read only in this language and, consequently, had limited access to the information on international events, science and culture. The second newspaper -- Le Journal de Salonique (1895-1911) was published in French and aimed at a different readership consisting not only of Jews but of all Francophone residents of the city including Greeks, Turks, Serbs, and a few other ethnic and religious groups.

The original aim of La Epoka was to enlighten and educate Sephardim in accordance with the goals of Jewish emancipation set by the Alliance Israélite Universelle. But, like every other paper in the Ottoman Empire, it had to survive in the conditions of severe political censorship, which required from the editor great creativity, as well as remain profitable, which meant keeping the interest of its wealthy readers. Given these factors and the need to meet the growing intellectual demands of its readers, La Epoka had to modify its structure and emphasis. Nevertheless, in about thirty years, it became evident that, even though part of the audience was still content with the paper, the rest, having become fluent in French, was ready to move on to a less parochial and more advanced Francophone periodical that would also satisfy its Jewish sensibilities. This meant that La Epoka's original goal had been achieved, and by this time its editor was ready to offer his now advanced readers the kind of paper they required.

Thus in 1895 was born Le Journal de Salonique _ a newspaper for the Westernized residents of Salonica which claimed to be equally interested in the life of every community in Salonica. In fact, one may infer that for the educated readers it indeed mainly served as a local paper, since there were always available a few French, German, English, and Italian periodicals which, unrestrained by censorship, offered a much better coverage of political events both inside and outside the Empire.

However, due to the processes to be discussed in the proposed paper, after a few years of its existence, Le

Journal began to focus more on the Sephardic community and Judaism, while La Epoka, in order to satisfy its ever more sophisticated audience, significantly expanded its interests and cultural scope. As a result, by the time of the Young Turk revolution (1908) one could observe considerable convergence of the two, to the extent that they sometimes published translations of the same materials without changing anything.

My paper will attempt to explain the reasons of these transformations and demonstrate that the evolution of the press and readership reflected the major changes in the life of the Sephardic community at the time of Westernization.

Respondent, Daniel J. Schroeter (University of California at Irvine)

Session Number: 3.5

Session* **Historiography, Gender, and the Holocaust*

Session

These papers examine: 1) the role of gender in Nazi sociology and eugenic politics 2) the role gender played in the politics of rescue; 3) the use of Jewish historiography to oppose the investigation of gender as a category of establishing Holocaust memory as initially attempted by Jewish feminists

Chair, Alan T. Levenson (Siegal College of Judaic Studies)

Susannah Heschel (Dartmouth College)

The Grey Zone: Feminist Historiography of the Holocaust

Historical scholarship on women and the Holocaust began to emerge in the 1980s at the same time that the Jewish feminist movement came into being. Yet while Jewish feminism won enormous victories almost immediately, despite its radical demands such as synagogue equality, ordaining women rabbis and giving women the right to initiate divorce, feminist scholarship on the Holocaust died as soon as it began, the victim of a concerted campaign against consideration of gender in studying Jewish victims of the Holocaust. My paper will present the most important feminist historiographical results and discuss how Holocaust memory in the US has been used to oppose feminist

Brian D. Amkraut (Siegal College of Judaic Studies)
Saving Boys or Girls?

In reflections upon the Holocaust particular emphasis is often placed on the figure of one and half million children who perished at the hands of the Nazis. Psychologically, it seems, the slaughter of these innocents weighs even more heavily than the host of other Nazi atrocities. Similarly, attempts to rescue Jewish youth, whether successful or not, capture the imagination, inspire or dishearten as the case may be. Often times those involved in the various rescue projects had to make difficult choices regarding who would be saved and what criteria would be utilized in the often heartrending selection process.

This paper looks at three specific organizations created to bring Jewish children out of Nazi Germany and asks what role gender played in determining who would participate in these programs. Youth Aliyah, which brought young Jews to Palestine, The Kindertransporte, which mainly brought refugee youth to England, and German Jewish Children's Aid, which found homes in the United States, each utilized its own criteria in selecting suitable candidates, and gender, even if not stated explicitly, was indeed a factor. Yet the three programs do not exhibit the same biases with respect to choosing among the many applicants. This paper demonstrates the ways in which the needs, desires, and political circumstances of the various host communities impacted the demography of Jewish children who were fortunate enough to be saved.

Alan E. Steinweis (University of Nebraska at Lincoln)
Gendered Representations of Jews in Nazi Scholarship

In an attempt to generate intellectual respectability for its antisemitic ideology and policies, the Nazi regime sponsored and encouraged scholarship on the "Jewish question." This scholarship was conducted under the auspices of academic institutions, the German government, the Nazi party, and quasi-official research agencies set up specifically for this purpose. The antisemitic scholarship covered a range of disciplines, including "race science" (which drew on anthropology as well as biology), history, sociology, theology, and economics. This body of "learned" antisemitism is the focus of a book-length project I now have in preparation.

The paper I am proposing for AJS 2004 will concentrate on one thematic element that arises frequently in this genre of antisemitism, that of gender. It was common in Nazi anti-Jewish scholarship to attribute specific characteristics and behaviors to Jews based on gender. This went beyond the familiar stereotypes of the neurasthenic male, the neurotic female, or the sexually predatory male. Especially in the social sciences, Nazi scholars carried out elaborate research projects that encompassed thousands of Jewish subjects, exploring such questions as intermarriage, partner selection, and fertility/fecundity. My paper will describe several examples of such projects, critically examining their methodologies, ideological presuppositions, and policy-related implications. An important question will be that of how Nazi scholarship appropriated and exploited the fruits of Jewish social science.

Session Number: 3.6

Session **Studies in Lurianic Kabbalah**

Session

Chair, Lawrence B. Fine (Mount Holyoke College)

Orna Triguboff (University of Sydney)

Who Contributed More to Lurianic Cosmology Isaac Luria or Hayim

It is generally opined amongst Kabbalistic scholars that Isaac Luria was the main fountainhead of the ideas of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century

Lurianic Kabbalah. Scholem makes regular reference to Luria and Lurianic Kabbalah even though the works quoted were actually mainly written by Vital.

Examination of the writings of Luria and the work of his disciples suggests that in fact the greatest contribution came from Hayim Vital who was not _restricted

to a post mortem revelation of Luria_s teachings_ but contributed mightily with his own ideas. The extent of Vital_s contribution is not yet fully

established but it appears that it might be more substantial than Luria_s. This

paper examines the evidence, some of which is contributed in existing

scholarly sources. For example Mordechai Pachter_s work allows a comparison to be made between different kabbalists on the subject of devekut.

Pachter_s _The Concept of _devekut_ in the Homiletical Ethical Writings of Sixteenth Century Safed_ and his exposition of the development of the ideas

of devekut amongst the Kabbalists of Safed in the sixteenth century closed

with the study of the concept in Hayim Vital_s book Shaçarei Kedushah. It

showed how Vital developed the idea beyond the thinking of his fellow

Kabbalists and, further, the claim that there is an essential bond between

prophecy and devekut was a concept that comes principally from Vital and not

from Luria. Yosef Avivi examines very carefully the publication history of Luria

and Vital_s writings in his Binyan Ariel. In his third chapter two sections are

devoted to the writings of Luria and nine to the writings of Vital giving us a

solid basis of comparison between the two.

Another example of comparison between the work of Luria and Vital relates to

the Parsufim. Meroz, argues that the concept of the fivefold model of Parsufim

was one of the few elements of Lurianic cosmology that appear in documents

which are considered to have been written by Luria in Egypt before his move

to Safed. Thus, if Meroz is right in her assessment of authorship, not only does

this show that Luria had developed his theory of the Parsufim at an early

stage of formulating his cosmology, but also that Vital received at least some

of his ideas on the Parsufim from Luria. Of course the original writings of Luria

on the Parsufim are scant in comparison with the large amount of material on

the subject available to us by Vital (father and son) in the Shmoneh Sheçarim.

Thus it would seem that whilst the basic ideas are Luria_s the majority of the

formulation about the Parsufim in the Lurianic Kabbalistic literature is not

visibly evident before the transcriptions of his disciples.

A conclusion of this paper is that even though it was Luria who sowed the

seeds of Lurianic cosmology it was his disciples, especially Hayim Vital, who

brought it to fruition.

Pinchas Giller (University of Judaism)
Doctrinal Distinctions in Late Lurianic Prayer

The content of the mystical prayer intentions, or <kavvanot>, varied widely in the respective systems of early Polish Hasidism and the parallel and related school of Shalom Shar_abi in Jerusalem. These distinctions are as evinced in the mystical prayerbooks produced by both schools of thought. Of the two major distinctions between these two systems, one was rooted in the adaptation of different aspects of the Lurianic myth. The Polish system, in general, was deferential towards the earlier teachings and incorporated more mythic motifs from the Cordoverean system and the common religion of Safed.

Shar_abi_s version, which generated a vast subsidiary literature to this day in the eastern centers of Aleppo and Baghdad, was largely based in the lattermost compositions of the Lurianic canon, including the <Sha_ar ha-Shemot>. The second distinction between the Polish tradition and Shar_abi_s system is that the latter adopted the linguistic theory proposed by the <Sha_ar ha-Shemot> and implemented it across the context of the prayer service. The Polish system emphasized two other classical sacred name traditions, the 42-letter name and 72 sacred names, well as the tradition of <milluyim>. This latter tradition vocalized the sacred name YHVH in different ways, resulting in different numerical coefficients of the letters. Shara_bi_s system, which reduced the Lurianic system to pure linguistic theory, persisted, while the Polish system was eventually suppressed by the Hasidic movement. Nonetheless, the Polish system is arguably theologically superior to the Jerusalem, or Eastern tradition. In any case, the distinctions may be demonstrated through the examination of three rituals: the counting of the <Omer>, the Sabbath table and the High Holiday rite.

David Seidenberg (Graduate Theological Union)

Wolfson's Missing Whole and the Qomah of the Feminine

Elliot Wolfson has convincingly shown that the major gender paradigm in Kabbalah is one in which the feminine is reabsorbed into the masculine and thereby neutralized. However, there are passages in Luria and other Kabbalistic systems which imply that the goal of redemption is to "build the qomah" of the feminine so that she is autonomous and equal to the masculine.

Several later exponents of Kabbalah base their systems on this model of "feminine redemption", belying Wolfson's claim that such passages read in the broader context of Kabbalah have significance as countertexts to what he describes as the "male androgyne." The use of such countertexts as theological foundations in works like *Tsadiq Yesod Olam* and *Or Hameir* raises critical issues not just for the study of the history and texts of Kabbalah, but also for feminist scholarship and theology. Kabbalistic passages related to two tropes, one being the Biblical passage describing Ruth lying at Boaz's feet, detailed in the author's own research, and the other being the midrashic tale of the diminution of the moon, detailed in Sarah Schneider's popular work on Kabbalah, will be brought as evidence for this thesis. This paper will conclusively demonstrate that the phallogocentric paradigm of Wolfson, however powerful, is not and cannot be a complete explanation of Kabbalah. Finally, this paper will explore the significance of this issue for contemporary Jewish feminist theology and for constructive Jewish theology in general.

Session Number: 3.7

Session Reconceptualizing the Shtetl: New Perspectives from Old Sources

Session

This session proposes to revisit the central locus of Yiddish Studies, the shtetl, in light of new critical methodologies in ethnomusicological, historical, and literary studies. By drawing on an interdisciplinary approach, our panel seeks to address both the historical reality of traditional Jewish small-town life in Eastern Europe at the end of the 19th century, and the representation of this culture from the modern perspectives of ethnographic research, bureaucratic administration, and belles lettres. Out of the tension between lived experience and objectifying representation, reality and image, the shtetl emerges as a dynamic, unstable, and fragmentary landscape--which is to say, an ideal subject for scholarly reappraisal.

At the close of the 19th century the shtetl as a construct of traditional Jewish life suggested a variety of associations to the many modernizing factions viewing it from the outside. Our panel will evoke this multi-dimensionality by considering how the shtetl was represented in these diverse discourses. Seen in this light, the shtetl distinguishes itself primarily as a disobedient space: never representing itself, but challenging the attempts to represent it; resistant to programs of change or reform, but constantly in flux; considered a collective totality of Jewish experience, but calling attention to its inner contradictions and conflicts. Where classic studies of the shtetl have treated this social space as a

metaphor for

Jewish life, our panel will view it primarily as a metonymy-an assemblage of associations more provocative and revealing when viewed in parts than when coalesced as a whole.

In broader terms, this panel will speak to a central dilemma for Jewish studies in general: how a traditional culture can be represented through modern academic discourses, and how the tradition resists a modernizing agenda's attempt to objectify, appropriate, and define it. Our presentations will affirm that no one methodology is self-sufficient to understand the complexity of shtetl culture, and that each discipline benefits from a

Chair, David G. Roskies (Jewish Theological Seminary)

Amelia Glaser (Stanford University)

Market Days and Shtetl Time

The East European Jewish shtetl community functioned according to the Jewish calendar; market days were dictated by the Sabbath and holidays. Likewise, Christian festivals in Imperial Russia often inspired the creation or cancellation of a seasonal fair. In this paper I will discuss the debate over market and fair days in shtetls in the Kyiv, Podolian and Volhyn districts of the Russian Empire. My presentation will be a synthesis of findings from a series of archived correspondences from both Ukraine and Russia, which negotiate the scheduling of commerce within a small town's Jewish and Christian communities, and demonstrate how Jewish law surrounding trade was often borrowed and incorporated into local Christian communities. Constant discrepancies between "holy" and "secular" time within coexisting religious communities were both a frequent cause for animosity and crucial to protecting a shtetl's economy.

Marc Caplan (Indiana University)

Shattering the Mirror: The Fragmentation of Narrative Perspective in Y. L. Peretz's *Bilder fun a provints-rayze*

Long recognized as one of Peretz's central achievements, the

1891 *Bilder fun a provints-rayze* ("Impressions of a Journey Through the Tomaszow Region") is in formal terms among the most provocative experiments in 19th century Yiddish literature.

Where previously authors such as Mendele, Linetski, and the young Sholem Aleichem had privileged a quasi-picaresque structure in which a single protagonist's adventures among various

elements of shtetl society served to embody the shtetl in the story

of one individual, here Peretz advances a formal principle of

multiple speakers, evoking the shtetl through a process of aggregation, rather than incorporation. The shifting and fragmentary mosaic of narrative segments in this work thus goes

against the principles not only of previous Yiddish literature, but

also of literary realism, the dominant trend among Peretz's contemporaries. Where realism seeks to create an impression of

psychological depth and chronological progression, Peretz in the

Rayze-bilder substitutes a notion of narrative space; instead of

using the narrative to depict a single individual in relief against a

wider society, the author here invokes the shtetl as a dystopic and

multi-voiced totality against the backdrop of the narrator's

increasingly passive, ineffectual modern perspective. The ostensibly ethnographic portrait of the Tomaszow province

therefore creates a collective, decentralized depiction of contemporary reality not available through a single,

"representative" consciousness. By focusing on the formal components of this narrative, my presentation will suggest

a

means of understanding the *Rayze-bilder* as a deterritorialized

narrative response to the problem of territory confronting

the Jews
of Eastern Europe in the heyday of nationalism.

James Loeffler (Columbia University)

Sounding out the Shtetl: Russian Jewish Musical Ethnography, 1898-

This paper will examine two historic episodes in early Russian Jewish efforts to document and interpret the musical culture of the Jewish shtetl in the Pale of Settlement. Using unpublished memoirs, correspondence, written logs and field recordings, I will compare and contrast the early research of P. Marek and Sh. Ginsburg on Yiddish folk song (1898-1900) with the musical division of the Ansky Historical-Ethnographic Expedition (1912-1914) led by J. Engel and Z. Kisselgof. Each research effort sought to define a Jewish sonic space through the music of the shtetl. The goal of this paper will be to explore how factors such as the academic disciplines of folklore and ethnography, modern recording technology and changing Russian Jewish ideas about nationalism and populism produced vastly different musical models and sonic snapshots of the shtetl.

Respondent, Steven J. Zipperstein (Stanford University)

Session Number: 3.8

Session* **Philosophy and Scriptural Exegesis*

Session

Chair, Howard (Haim) Kreisel (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

Michael Rony (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)
The Maimonidean Tradition in Jewish Medieval Philosophical
Commentary to the Story of the Tower of Babel

1) The proposed presentation will review the developments and changes in politico-religious ideas that appear in Maimonides' descriptions of the conflict between Abraham and Nimrod in the *Guide of the perplexed* and in the *Laws of Idolatry*.

The ideas reappear and are developed throughout the Middle Ages in a variety of Jewish philosophical commentaries to the story of the Tower of Babel (for example: Samuel ibn-Tibbon's *Ma'amar Yikavu Hamayim*, Levi ben-Avraham's *Livyat Hen*, Menahem Hameiri's *Seder Hakabalah*, HaRaN's *Sermons on the Torah*, and Isaac Arama's *Akedath Yitzhak*). Each commentator elaborates upon ideas, found in Maimonides' aforementioned discussion, concerning the relation between politics and religion. No doubt the commentators who belonged to the Maimonidean-Tibbonite circle in Provence believed that they were merely introducing exoterically the isoteric themes hidden in the Maimonidean writings.

2) The main contributions of the presentation to scholarship in the field of the research of Medieval Jewish Philosophy in general, and Political and Social Medieval Jewish Philosophy in particular are:

This is the first time an attempt is being made to examine the various medieval Jewish philosophical commentaries to the story of the Tower of Babel in general, and in the aspect of social and political thought in particular.

Furthermore, this is the first time, for the best of our knowledge, that an attempt is being made to inquire the development of political ideas as reflected in philosophical commentaries to a specific biblical story throughout the Middle Ages (along an axis of time and place). Such an inquiry presupposes that philosophical commentaries to biblical narratives were used as appropriate means and useful instruments for promulgating social and political ideas. It also demands a close inspection of the historical (Jewish and general) background of the writing of each commentary. This is done in order to try and determine to what extent the philosophical (and usually allegorical) interpretation of the biblical text was either influenced by contemporary political events or encapsulates an actual political message to contemporary readers.

Another contribution of the presentation is that it examines the political discussions of some writers who usually are not considered as political thinkers. Therefore, by doing so, it contributes to the capability of fully evaluating the richness of their thought and writings.

Finally, our presentation will also shed light on a so far unexamined aspect of mutual relations within the Jewish Provençal circle and will serve as a further example of the extent to which the members of this circle were influenced by the thought of Maimonides and felt loyal to it as representing the deep and

Arthur Hyman (Yeshiva University)
Maimonides as Biblical Exegete

In Guide of the Perplexed 2:2 Maimonides states explicitly that his book is not a book on physics, metaphysics, or astronomy since “the books composed concerning these matters are adequate.” He additionally advises his reader to consult the general philosophic literature (in Arabic) should he have any further philosophic questions. While it is clear that Maimonides uses philosophic notions and arguments throughout the Guide, it is also clear that the work is not a book on philosophy. According to Maimonides’ own description the subject of the Guide is the explanation of certain biblical terms, biblical parables, and other biblical topics. Alternately, he describes the content of his book as “the science of the Law in its true sense,” and the exposition of the “Secrets of the Law.” Whatever else the Guide may be, it is fair to say that it is also a book of biblical interpretation.

Maimonides’ biblical interpretation proceeds in two ways. In thirty of the first fifty chapters of the first book of the Guide, which are addressed to ordinary people as well as to those who have studied philosophy, he uses philological methods spelled out in his Treatise on the Art of Logic, to show that already in the Bible there are anthropomorphic (and to some extent, anthropopathic) terms predicated of God that have non-anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic meanings. He, therefore, feels entitled to interpret anthropomorphic and anthropopathic terms in the entire Bible in a non-anthropomorphic and non-anthropopathic sense. Maimonides exegetical-philological method will form the first part of the paper.

In the remainder of the Guide, the major portion of the work, he addresses such issues as creation, prophecy, and individual providence. In this section of the Guide he addresses readers who, having studied philosophy, have become perplexed about the relation of Biblical teachings of to the teachings of philosophy. To these he wants to show that correct interpretations of the biblical text, that is, philosophic interpretations, will demonstrate that there is no conflict between biblical teachings and the teachings of philosophy. To accomplish this task he once again turns to the Treatise on the Art of Logic making use of the three types of arguments—demonstrative, dialectical, and rhetorical—discussed in this work. Maimonides exegetical-philosophic method will form the second part of the paper.

The paper will conclude with a brief summary description of Maimonides as a biblical exegete.

Robert J. Eisen (George Washington University)

The Hermeneutics of Order in Medieval Jewish Philosophical

This paper will explore how a number of important medieval Jewish philosophers derived philosophical meaning from the biblical text by focusing on the question of the order and sequence of elements within it. I will examine the philosophical exegesis of Maimonides, Samuel ibn Tibbon, Gersonides, and Kaspi.

Maimonides provides no detailed discussion of this issue but furnishes critical insights that would be utilized by later philosophers. There are some examples in which Maimonides reads philosophical meaning out of the biblical text by focusing on its order. For example, Maimonides notes that certain elements in the vision of Ezekiel are ordered as they are, for pedagogical reasons. The concern for order is found in Maimonides' reflections with respect to his own philosophical writing. He says explicitly in his introduction to the Guide that only one who is adept in philosophy will understand the true order of ideas within the treatise. Thus, Maimonides distinguished between a disordered exoteric reading of the Guide and ordered esoteric one.

Samuel ibn Tibbon expands on Maimonides' reflections. First, in numerous places, he draws out philosophical meaning from the order of elements in specific passages in the biblical text. Ibn Tibbon also utilizes the principle that Maimonides established for his own philosophical writing by claiming that the lack of order in the biblical text is evidence of an esoteric doctrine. Ibn Tibbon explicitly links this idea to the principle of *ein mukdam u-me_uhar ba-torah*.

Ibn Tibbon's usages of this last principle is expanded upon by Joseph ibn Kaspi who sees the principle of *ein mukdam u-me_uhar ba-torah* as a critical tool for understanding the esoteric meaning of the biblical text. Here we have an intriguing example of how medieval Jewish philosophical exegesis interprets a midrashic hermeneutic principle in a philosophical vein.

An interesting contrast to all the thinkers above is Gersonides. Gersonides is highly focused on one might say obsessed with the question of sequence in both his exegetical and philosophical writings. What differentiates Gersonides from the other figures is that there is no esoteric agenda here and therefore his search for the proper order and sequence of elements in the biblical text are meant to uncover philosophical meaning that is for all to understand.

The concern for order in the exegesis of all these thinkers is clearly due to the very nature of the philosophical enterprise. A key goal of medieval philosophy is to show that the world is ordered both in physics and

Session Number: 3.9

Session Communal and Personal Identity in Modern Hebrew

Session

Chair, Anne Golomb Hoffman (Fordham University)

Gilead Morahg (University of Wisconsin)

Personal Identity and National Destiny in A. B. Yehoshua's *Mr. Mani*

The regressive structure of A. B. Yehoshua's masterful novel, *Mr. Mani*, mimics the dynamics of psychoanalysis. This structural attribute, combined with Yehoshua's capacity for creating compelling psychological contexts for his characters' actions, has fostered a significant body of critical writing that regards the interest of this novel as being primarily psychological. My paper will argue that while this interest is undoubtedly present, the novel's concern with individual psychology is consistently subordinate to a deeper interest and a higher cause. The psychological dimensions of this novel are metaphorical constituents of a broader, more complex, signifying structure. Using the constructs of psychological mimesis, this narrative structure asserts the metaphorical force of fictionality in its exploration of the novel's complex themes.

One area of exploration in *Mr. Mani* is the possibility of establishing a sustaining confluence of personal and cultural identity. Here, as in many of Yehoshua's other works, the boundaries between personal and communal identity are highly permeable. The central characters' personal attributes are typically consequences of the national condition as well as signifiers in a fictional exploration of this condition. This confluence of the personal and the communal informs a narrative effort to determine whether national identity is irrevocable destiny or whether it is subject to deliberate choice and intentional alteration. The narrative nexus of ideology and psychology is sustained and expanded in all of the novel's five sections. But the psychological configurations in each of the sections are always designed to advance the novel's intense ideological preoccupations. The psyches of the characters constitute the fictional means and provide the narrative force for the exploration of a broader and more general set of themes. Governing the attributes of the powerful obsessions that infuse each of the novel's characters with a distinct individual life is a pattern of signification that delves constantly deeper into a shared matrix of ideological preoccupations that are

Lincoln Shlensky (University of South Alabama)
Traumatic Modernism: Aharon Appelfeld's Literary Politics

The novels of Aharon Appelfeld, Israel's preeminent novelist of the Shoah, are

by now safely ensconced in the canon of modern Hebrew literature and, indeed, figure among the most familiar and prominent titles in foreign translation. Despite (or perhaps because of) their canonicity, however, the formal and political import of Appelfeld's work often has been decontextualized and misunderstood. This is due at least in part, I will argue,

to the fact that Appelfeld has been ghettoized as a "Holocaust writer" while his complex literary affiliations with other Modernist Hebrew (and European) writers have been minimized or ignored. I want to discuss why Appelfeld's work has been poorly understood and how a reconsideration of his formal methods and literary influences can draw out some of the obscured aesthetic

implications and political ambivalences of a literary project that is at once canonical and peripheral.

Because Appelfeld's writing has been so closely identified with the canon of Shoah literature in Hebrew (and, to an extent, in other European languages),

few commentators have managed to understand how trenchantly his work challenges the late-Romantic and early Modernist Hebrew writing that gave rise to the literary conception of the Israeli nation. Appelfeld's 1990 collection of autobiographical essays, *Sipur Hayim* [Life Story], offers a case in

point: in it Appelfeld tacitly rejects the models of self-knowledge and the heroic identification of poet with nation that characterize the oeuvre of the primogenitor of modern Hebrew literature, H. N. Bialik. Attempting to come to terms with the shattering of collective memory that resulted from the Shoah, Appelfeld turns instead to aesthetic ideas most closely associated with

the Beat-inspired poet Natan Zach. Zach's proto-manifesto of Modernist minimalism, published in *Ha'aretz* in 1966, corresponds closely to Appelfeld's

own understanding of the formal qualities of the traumatic language of survivors. Appelfeld's writing particularly echoes Zach's injunctions regarding

the fragmentary and metonymical aspects of Modernist poetry, and Appelfeld's survivor-characters exhibit their traumatic symptoms much in the way that Zach had theorized the distinction between progressive (or Romantic) and regressive (Modernist) repetition. In developing his own minimalist forms, Appelfeld returns, nevertheless, to the Bialik of "gilui ve-kisui ba-lashon," suggesting perhaps that Zach's Modernism lacked a sufficient political critique of its own disruptive poetics.

Appelfeld's literary project is also, despite his affiliation with the radical

tradition of Modernist absurdism, a politically ambivalent one. Appelfeld's writing appears to oscillate - perhaps traumatically - between a desire to recuperate a lost collective identity and an acknowledgment that collective structures are implicated in the persistence of trauma. Appelfeld's writings at

Aryeh J. Wineman (Independent Scholar)

Agnon's 'Ir umelo'ah – Ordinary People in High Beam

Proposal for AJS conference paper

Aryeh Wineman

Agnon's 'Ir umelo'ah -- Ordinary People in High Beam

Agnon's posthumously-edited 'Ir umelo'ah is a collection of stories which go together to tell the story of the Jewish presence in Bucacz, the town of the author's birth, from its beginnings until its destruction. The volume, which resembles a folk-chronicle, utilizes various principles of organization including the buildings and physical layout of the town and its Jewish quarter, along with the houses of Jewish worship and study and their artifacts, and also the chain of communal leaders and rabbis of Bucacz.

Early on, however, the reader notes that often the most striking stories in the collection are told not concerning well-known figures, even on a local level, the recognized leaders of the community or its religious leadership, but instead concerning rather everyday Jews who inhabited Bucacz. Conveying that the seemingly ordinary can be very unordinary, several stories cast the spotlight upon commonplace persons who exemplify a remarkable depth and wholeness of devotion to the community and its tradition, to Torah-study, and to lovingkindness and compassion. It is precisely those stories telling of the unsung, even anonymous spiritual and moral heroes, which tend to possess the greatest intensity among the collection's stories.

The place of Torah-story in the life of the town, while certainly personified in the lives of various rabbis of note, is most strikingly depicted among Jews who work at the most menial occupations or who intentionally flee from any recognition or public awareness of their amazing erudition. Similarly the prime examples of devotion and of compassion, of inspiring and altruistic actions, are to be found among the average, everyday members of the community who in no way stand out and who are fully committed to their values. While many stories in the collection serve a function of providing information, its stories exhibiting the greatest narrative power are those that focus upon the remarkable qualities and deeds of the commonest of people. That very characteristic serves as a subtext linking various stories in the collection.

Without failing to reveal some decidedly questionable aspects of life in the Jewish town in Eastern Europe, the collection conveys a distinct sense of the community as a kehilat kodesh ("a holy community") which is confirmed in the lives of its very ordinary and commonplace members. The context of the edited collection is an elegy not for any particular individuals of note, but for a community that was destroyed. This emphasis implicitly allows the story of one such community to serve as a memorial to any and every Jewish community that perished in the Holocaust.

Session Number: 3.10

Session The Poetics of the Pentateuch

Session

Chair, Adriane Leveen (Stanford University)

Gary A. Anderson (University of Notre Dame)

Septenary Structures in the Priestly Source

Milgrom, in his commentary on Leviticus 8 (*Leviticus 1-16*, 542

-543), noted that this chapter was characterized by a seven-fold repetition of

the phrase: "Moses did exactly as the Lord had commanded him." Every time

a piece of the ritual was completed we are told that it was done just as God had ordained it in Exod 29 (see Lev 8:4, 9, 13, 17, 21, 29, 36). But not only is this feature found here, but also in Exod 39:1-32 (the manufacture of the priestly garments) and Exodus 40: 17-34 (the erection of the Tabernacle). In

this paper I wish to ask two questions: First, how is this septenary structure deployed to fit the unique contents of the chapter? Though there are strong

verbal affinities between the three literary units there are also some considerable differences. A close reading of these materials will reveal that each chapter uses the formula in an idiosyncratic fashion that reflects a quite

David T. Stewart (Southwestern University)

Is There a Poem in Leviticus 26? The Poetics of the Holiness Code

Leviticus 26:3-39 contains a long "priestly poem," albeit with some invasions of commentary. The richness and the interconnectedness of the poetic tropes in this passage belie the wooden ears of earlier commentators who tried to reconstruct an underlying "liturgical poem." Prior attempts by Reventlow, Elliger, Lohfink, and Cholewinski produced anti-poetic results. In all cases they privileged a Lowthian definition of parallelism but were insensitive to parallels at levels larger and smaller than the poetic line. They also arbitrarily pared or retained elements like the <I> nota accusativi </I> to make up hypothetical meters. Though alert to the possibility of the poetic, their methodology did violence to the poetic text as it stands.

Francis Andersen and David Noel Freedman use an alternative strategy to recognize a lament in Micah when it is not set out as a poem. They draw on Shurr's <I> New Poems of Emily Dickinson </I>, and his method for finding epigrams and longer poems in her letters (evidenced by her characteristic gestures: fourteener meter, dashes, parallel parenthetical commas, capitalization of key words, etc.). Shurr asks: Did any of her prose stand out from the mundane? Did it treat the boundary between poetry and prose fluidly? Did it stand as an apparent <I> Vorlage </I> to a known poem? These questions set out a line to follow here.

Dickinson's poems themselves had been reshaped by her first editor to conform to the "known standards of poetry," obscuring experimentation that also appears in the <I> New Poems </I>. Oddly, this editorial gesture is similar to that of the twentieth century biblical scholars mentioned above who destroyed larger parallel structures to gain parallel couplets for their normative poem. Elliger allowed for sing-songy verse stripped of striking imagery. Reventlow offered the drone of passive voice in place of the I-You rhetoric of address. These men were not poets.

This paper explores what elements of the passage resonate with a putative poetics of the Holiness Code and how the passage functions within the narrative structure of the book. Songs elsewhere start and end the narratives they frame (e.g., 1 Sam. 2 with 2 Sam. 22-23) or enter at pivotal points in the action (e.g., Exod. 15). The poem of blessings and cursings in Lev. 26 is not unlike that in Deut. 27-28 (but there proclaimed by the Levites), or collections of imprecations in Near Eastern treaties, except that unlike both, it presents the blessings first and elaborates the curses with a structure of intensification. This poem falls at the end of the book, just before the appendices of Lev. 27, and a little before the end of the action at Sinai when Moses and Aaron initiate the <I> cultus </I>. Miriam, having sung once in the narrative, her victory song at the sea, perhaps also sings here.

Mark Leuchter (Hebrew College)

The Historical Setting of Deuteronomy 32

Recent stylistic and morphological studies into the provenance of Deuteronomy 32:1-43 ("Deut 32") have provided compelling evidence that the text should be dated to the pre-exilic period, though a more specific date has remained elusive. A specific historical setting, however, may be determined by examining the <l> function </l> of the poem in the book of Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic narrative of Josiah's reign (2 Kgs 22-23), and relevant prophetic traditions (Hosea and especially Jeremiah). The present study argues that the use of Deut 32 in these literary works points to its origins among the Shilonites, when it was composed in response to a threat from an anti-Shilonite king earlier in Israel's monarchic history. The likely historical setting for its composition is during the reign of Saul: specifically, after the slaughter of the Shilonite priests at Nob (1 Sam 22). An examination of the idioms and lexemes of Deut 32 reveals a high degree of correspondence with the reported speech and events of 1 Sam 22, as well as other important Saulide texts. The results of this examination point to the poem's origins in the latter part of the 11th century BCE, as well as a long oral tradition persisting in subsequent periods concerning its meaning and potential re-application.

Session Number: 3.11

Session **Harmonizing Judaism and Modernity in the Nineteenth**

Session

Chair, Hillel J. Kieval (Washington University)

Zvi Jonathan Kaplan (Touro College)

The Thorny Area of Marriage: Harmonizing Jewish and French Law in Nineteenth-Century France

The Thorny Area of Marriage:

Harmonizing Jewish and French Law in Nineteenth-Century France

In 1806-07, the Assembly of Jewish Notables and Napoleonic Sanhedrin attempted to separate the ritual sphere from the civil sphere in Judaism. Ritual law was to remain applicable while Jewish civil law was to be subsumed under the authority of the state under the rabbinic principle *dina de-malkhuta dina* - the law of the kingdom is law. Because marriage was both a civil institution that fell under the jurisdiction of the state and a religious ritual that fell under the jurisdiction of the rabbinate, conflicts between the two systems arose. Through an examination of the innovative halakhic efforts of the French rabbinate during the nineteenth century to resolve tensions and contradictions between civil and Jewish law in the thorny area of marriage, this paper will shed light on the extent to which French rabbis were prepared to reform Judaism and harmonize Judaism with French civic norms. First, it will analyze rabbinic responses to clandestine marriages, which were illegal according to French law but technically valid according to Jewish law. It will then discuss the efforts of the French rabbinate to harmonize Jewish and civil law in the wake of halakhic problems that arose from the collective naturalization of Algerian Jewry after the establishment of the Third Republic.

The naturalization of Algerian Jews presented an interesting test case in the realm of marital law. French rabbis had to address the problem of men who refused to release their brothers' widows through the ceremony of *halizah*. In Algeria, where until 1870 French law did not apply to questions of personal status, levirate marriage, which French law prohibited, was sometimes performed. Levirate marriage even took place in cases where brothers of the deceased were already married because, unlike both the Ashkenazim and Sephardim of France, the Jews of Algeria did not exclusively practice monogamy. Thus, while *halizah* was by no means rare in Algeria, it was not a mere formality, and some Algerian Jews refused to perform the ceremony even after 1870 when levirate marriage was no longer an option. Thus, women who were single according to French law were prohibited from marrying according to Jewish law, creating an inconsistency between Jewish and French marital law.

Finally, the paper will address several controversial rabbinic proposals for the harmonization of Jewish and civil divorce following the institution of civil divorce during the Third Republic. In the end, as I shall argue, the efforts of French rabbis to address the marriage question reflect their dexterity in balancing tradition with modernity and in formulating positions in response to the challenges of their times.

Daniel B. Schwartz (Columbia University)

Spinoza, the First Modern Jew: The Beginnings of an Image

Next to Moses Mendelssohn, the seventeenth-century heretic Baruch Spinoza has been probably the most oft-mentioned candidate for the title of first modern Jew. Steven B. Smith and Yirmiahu Yovel are among the most recent thinkers to confer scholarly respectability on this appropriation. In works that explore Spinoza's meaning for Jewish modernity, both ultimately claim Spinoza to be the founder of Jewish secularism, despite disagreeing over whether his thought offers more support for an integrationist or Zionist solution to the Jewish Question. But when did this image of Spinoza as an originator of Jewish modernity first emerge in the history of his Jewish reception? My research into this question, connected to a dissertation on the nineteenth and early twentieth-century rehabilitation of Spinoza in modern Jewish culture, points to the 1830s as a watershed in this respect. While Spinoza had been revisited by a few earlier Jewish thinkers--most notably, by Mendelssohn and Solomon Maimon--it was in the 1830s that the rehabilitation of Spinoza for a self-consciously modern Jewish identity began in earnest. This endeavor was led by an rising class of young German-Jewish freethinkers. Both Heinrich Heine and Moses Hess were among this group, yet arguably the most prominent attempt to portray Spinoza as the first modern Jew was made by the German-Jewish author Berthold Auerbach (1812-1882), whose earliest writings included both the historical novel *Spinoza*, first published in 1837, and a German translation of Spinoza's *Opera Posthuma* that appeared four years later. In this paper, I present some of the arguments for regarding the 1830s as a turning point in Spinoza's Jewish reception. What were the sources for this association of Spinoza with Jewish modernity? I contend that a critical condition for this new paradigm was Spinoza's image within early nineteenth-century German thought. Not only was Spinoza himself lionized by many of the leading German minds at this time; his monistic philosophy was increasingly regarded as a defining juncture in the origins of modern thought--a challenge that had to be confronted by friends and foes alike. The view of Spinoza as a prototypical modern thinker provided a crucial horizon for the possibility of seeing him as the prototypical modern Jew. While drawing attention to Jewish foundations for enlightenment and emancipation, the reclamation of Spinoza by Jewish thinkers in this period also conveyed a profound ambivalence about the enduring *raison d'être* of Jewish particularity. Auerbach--who, in the mid-1830s, espoused a reformist approach to Jewish modernization indebted to the writings of his friend Abraham Geiger--struggled in particular with the question of whether Spinoza could be seen as a progressive Jew *avant la lettre*, or if he symbolized a transcendence of all historical religions and breakthrough to a radical universalism. By looking at some of the hints of this tension, we see how even a believer in Spinoza's formative significance for Jewish modernity might nonetheless remain uncertain about the exact nature of this legacy.

Session Number: 3.12

Session Faith, Halakhah, and Commitment in Early Modern Europe

Session

Chair, Bernard D. Cooperman (University of Maryland)

Matt Goldish (Ohio State University)

Hakham David Nieto's Argument for Jewish Latitudinarianism

Latitudinarianism was a trend in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Anglicanism that allowed the Church to "swallow", or include, a certain range of dissenting Christians with dogmatically unorthodox views. Such a movement would seem superfluous to Judaism because orthodoxy and heresy had historically been fairly nebulous categories. Nevertheless, under the impact of changing Jewish authority structures and ideas in the early eighteenth century, the Hakham of London's Spanish and Portuguese congregation, David Nieto, articulated a form of Jewish latitudinarianism. His pro-rabbinic polemic, *The Second Kuzari*, contains a spirited exposition of the Jews' openness to various positions on scientific and metaphysical issues. The passage raises several questions. Whom was he addressing in this Hebrew book? Was he attacking specific attitudes in the Jewish or Christian communities? How might this argument have related to the Anglican Latitudinarian movement and other contemporary matters? Was this outlook connected with larger changes in the Jewish world? All these questions will be addressed in the paper.

Jay R. Berkovitz (University of Massachusetts - Amherst)
**Order in the Courts: Civil Law and Justice in the Rabbinic Tribunals of
18th Century Metz**

This study seeks to fill a serious gap in Jewish cultural and legal history by investigating the proceedings of the rabbinic court of Metz in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, just prior to the French Revolution. Its primary focus, the development of a system of jurisprudence in an era when Jewish communities still exercised authority in civil affairs, promises to provide a basis for establishing how the beit din as an institution worked in practice. This remarkable manuscript -- the pinkas of the Metz beit din -- is the property of YIVO; it contains more than two decades of judicial decisions, which, to my knowledge, have not as yet been examined.

The range of subjects taken up by the Metz rabbinic court draws heavily on the areas of law subsumed under Hoshen Mishpat, and to a lesser extent, Even Ha-Ezer. Topics rarely treated in the historical literature include the division of estates and/or inheritances; guardianship and expenses for orphans; partnerships; loans and debts disputes; inheritances for woman and children; overcharging (ona'ah); devaluation of local currencies; disputes between husbands and wives; and the relationship to local French civil courts (arkha'ot). As far as jurisprudence is concerned, several important questions arise: (1) Precisely what were the mechanics of legal decision making? (2) How did rabbinic courts enforce their decisions? (3) How did the practical decisions of beit din relate to Jewish statutory law? (4) How did the beit din's methods compare with those of the French civil courts? (5) What was the intended purpose of the transcripts? It may be noted that preservation of the Metz proceedings diverged from the practice of the civil courts in France, where there was a determined disinclination to keep trial transcripts before 1791.

Beyond these questions about the dynamics of law and justice, the pinkas holds much promise for adding substantively to our knowledge of the social and economic history of the Metz community. In particular, the court proceedings will shed light on the place of women in eighteenth century Metz, on the nature of marriage, the vagaries of youth, and the role of gender. On the basis of the data culled from the pinkas it will be possible to fashion a more detailed picture of the areas of life shared in common by Jews and gentiles in the ancien régime, and of the areas that set them apart as well.

Adam Teller (University of Haifa)

Lighting a Candle in Shul: On the Nature of Social and Religious Boundaries in Pre-Modern Polish-Jewish Life

Pre-modern Jewish Society is generally regarded as separated from non-Jewish society by impenetrable social and religious boundaries. In internal terms, it is viewed as highly stratified, with rigid social and economic boundaries and clearly demarcated gender and generational roles. In this paper, focusing largely (though not exclusively) on Jewish society in early modern Poland-Lithuania, I shall examine the nature of these boundaries and the ways in which the various groups interacted. The focus of the discussion will be the customs involved in making and using candles for use in the synagogue. The process of candle manufacture will be seen as the outcome of economic relations between Jews and non-Jews; the significance of making and lighting the candles will reveal the interplay between male and female religiosity as well as cross-religious influences with the Catholic environment. Finally, the problems involved in lighting and extinguishing candles on the Sabbath and Holidays will shed light on social relations between Jews and non-Jews as well as on some generational issues. Thus, it should become clear that the social and religious boundaries which formed such an integral part of Jewish life were not as impenetrable as has been supposed and that as well as separating various groups, they also served to bind them together with invisible threads.

Session Number: 3.13

***Session* Religious Ferment in East Central Europe, 1750-1850**

Session

Chair, Antony Polonsky (Brandeis University)

Pawel Maciejko (The University of Chicago)

The Frankists and the Emissaries of the Moravian Church

The aim of the paper is to examine the contacts between the Frankists and the emissaries of the Moravian Brethren. In 1743, the leader of the Moravians, Count Zinzendorf, preached that no pagan nation would accept Christianity until the Jews were converted. As an effect of this sermon, the Moravians began to send emissaries to various Jewish communities in Central and Eastern Europe. The Judenmission of the Moravian Brethren was based on the premise that pure Judaism, freed from rabbinic superstitions and additions confirms the truth of Christianity uncorrupted by papal deformations. The Moravians identified themselves with the Israelites of the Old Testament and developed a kind of eschatological philosemitism, believing that Jewish emancipation is a necessary condition for redemption. The acceptance of the theological validity of pristine Jewish religion was paralleled by the efforts to bring about religious unity by leading Christianity back to its Jewish form. This in turn resulted in the idea of creating Judaeo-Christian communities, in which Jews and Christians could meet and interact on neutral grounds. Although the Jews were supposed to undertake baptism, the Moravians were prepared to grant the converts far reaching concessions regarding their traditional way of life and belief.

In 1757, emissaries of the Moravian Brethren went to Poland and encountered the Frankists. They wrote unique accounts of the public disputations between the Frankists and the rabbis in Kamieniec Podolski (1757) and in Lwow (1759). Although they were all too ready to find in Judaism material that confirmed their assumptions, predispositions, and prejudices, they gained an unparalleled knowledge of Jewish internal debates, and, in a backhanded way, influenced the Jews. The interactions with the Moravians forced the Frankists to define more precisely their attitude towards the Christians and Christian religion, make precise distinctions between their respective attitudes to different Christian denominations, and to develop a doctrine of selective assimilation of Christian values, rites, and notions.

The paper is based on the archive material housed at the Moravian Church Archives in Herrnhut and the Archives of the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle. None of this material was ever published or utilised by scholars.

Ekaterina Emeliantseva (Insitute for Jewish Studies, Basel University)
Situational Religiousness - Situational Identity: A New Approach to the Social History of Prague Frankism

Situational Religiousness - Situational Identity:
A New Approach to the Social History of Prague Frankism

My paper will examine the social behavior and religious self-identification of the Prague Frankists in the early 19th century by emphasizing the relevance of social situations for the analysis of religiousness and intercultural relations.

The situational approach to religiousness illuminates the fact that variability is the essence of religiousness in terms of structuring social relations in diverse situational contexts.

Using the case of Prague Frankism, I will exemplify the possibility of varying Jewish religious identity; of the interplay of secular and religious, Jewish and non-Jewish elements in different social situations as a strategy of everyday behavior; and of the significance of this interplay for Jewish-Christian relations. This approach also allows for more differentiated insights into the process of German-Jewish negotiations described as assimilation and acculturation.

Having never renounced Judaism, the acknowledgement in the 1760s of Jacob Frank's religious leadership led his adherents in Prague into a simultaneous affiliation with the religious commune of Frank on the one hand, with the Jewish community on the other.

This peculiar situation forced the Frankists to split their religious practice into a public profession of faith to Orthodox Judaism and a "privately" practiced Frankist creed. They would secretly meet in Prague houses in order to read cabalistic texts and perform certain, as of today little-known Frankist rituals. Otherwise, the Prague Frankists attended synagogue and partially observed the ritual law.

This dual religious affiliation places them on the borderlines of traditional religiousness in late 18th and early 19th century Prague. Even their children failed to classify them among the established categories of religious affiliation: "I saw that my parents were good Jews, and yet did not associate with Jews and were different from them," Frederika Dembitz Brandeis (1828-1901) wrote in 1884 about her ancestors, who had belonged to Prague's leading Frankists.

Historical research has emphasized either Jewish or Christian aspects of the Frankist doctrine, analyzing various religious texts of the group. However, the social history of the Frankists and their strategies for everyday life have never been the main subject of any study. I shall introduce the model of situational religiousness as a key concept for understanding the social practice of the Prague Frankists.

A main source of my paper will be the memories of Frederika Dembitz

Brandeis, which she wrote down for her son Louis from 1880 to 1886. I will show how the Prague Frankists' subjective sense of belonging - i.e., as a Jew, as a Frankist, and as a German bourgeois of protestant cultural imprint - would vary greatly in different social situations: in domestic life (e.g., when decorating the house, during festivities), in friendship, marriage, in club and

Howard N. Lupovitch (Colby College)

The Social Politics of Education Reform in Hungary, 1790-1850

This paper will re-examine the expansion and development of Jewish education in Hungary between 1789 and 1850, with particular attention to the connection between education reform and religious identity. In general, Hungarian Jewish historiography has presented the decades between 1790-1850 as an interim period between two state-sponsored, super-communal initiatives to reform Jewish education: the creation of *Normalschulen* by Joseph II during the 1780s, and the introduction of mandatory secular schooling for Hungarian Jews by the National Education Fund Act of 1851. Historians have emphasized the latter, in particular, as a central element in the crystallization of Hungarian Orthodoxy, noting that the spread of secular education alongside the concurrent increase in the number of *Yeshivot* epitomized the schism between traditional and progressive Jews.

By focusing almost primarily on the second half of the nineteenth century, however, this perspective overlooks the efforts to reform Jewish education prior to 1851. These earlier initiatives were undertaken by individual Jewish communities over a period of two or three decades, and often combined elements of tradition and innovation. Thus, they provide a useful venue to explore the middle ground mentality that is overshadowed by the more strident expressions of Orthodoxy, Neology, and Assimilationism.

With this venue in mind, this paper will consider the pre-1851 debates and discussions over Jewish education in seven Jewish communities: Pest, Óbuda, Papa, Miskolc, Nagyszombat, Arad, and Nagyvárad. The choice of these communities was prompted partly by available source material but also because they form a representative geographic, demographic, and religious cross section of Hungarian Jewry. The common thread in the course of education reform in these communities is two-fold. First, the debates over Jewish education began only after the community had come of age, that is, after the Jewish community had exceeded one thousand and had established multiple schools for each age-group; as long as the community was too small to support more than a single school, the concern for supporting this lone school superceded conflicting curricular aims.

Secondly, education reform entailed a working alliance between affluence, rabbinic authority, and expertise in education. This brought the pragmatic aims of affluent laity into conflict with the ideological aims of rabbis and educators. Typically, the pragmatic concerns prevailed initially. The first steps toward improving education consisted of improving the physical environment of the schools themselves, and providing high quality education to all Jewish children _ rich, poor, and orphaned. Subsequently, the debate turned to the more heated question of adding a secular component to the traditional curriculum, particularly instruction in the vernacular language. Remarkably, there was comparatively little dissent to teaching a vernacular in addition to Hebrew, but no consensus as to whether this vernacular should be German or Magyar.

Finally, this paper will suggest that the hybrid solution to the question of

education reform, and the willingness of rabbis and educators to view the incorporation of secular subjects as a practical measure rather than an

ideological stance laid the basis for the emergence of a Magyarized

Session Number: 3.14

Session Theology in and from the Bible

Session

Chair, Isaac Kalimi (Case Western Reserve University)

Shaul Bar (University of Memphis)

The Faith of the Patriarchs

Reading the book of Genesis shows no mention of conflict with idolatry in the patriarchal period. More than that, there seem to be no major religious differences between the belief of the patriarchs and their neighbors. The monotheistic faith of Israel is linked to the divine name Yahweh after the Name is revealed to Moses (Ex 3:3-15; 6:2-3). But in Genesis God makes Himself known to the patriarchs under other names, such as El Shaddai, El Olam, El Elyon, El_roi, God of My Father, The Fear of Isaac, The Mighty One of Jacob . Can we say that these different names point to the presence of polytheistic concepts among the patriarchs? Or could it be that these names are traces of a special theistic religion?

Religious customs among the patriarchs include prayers of blessing, giving of tithes and making cultic vows. In this period there was no temple and there was no priesthood. The patriarchs built altars, planted sacred trees, and set pillars on which they poured oil. In addition we read about the custom of circumcision.

In this paper we will try to identify the patriarchs_ historical beliefs by examining the different names attributed to God and religious customs as described in Genesis.

David Lambert (Yale University)

Living Sinners: The Exegetical Construction of Repentance in Ancient Biblical Interpretation

Biblical narrative hardly emphasizes the possibility of repentance. There is apparently no such recourse in the book of Genesis. Who among the sinners of Genesis would not have jumped otherwise at the opportunity to repent? The situation in the Deuteronomistic History differs only slightly. Kings are, for the most part, either good or evil; they rarely change mid-stream.

To read the same narratives through the lens of ancient biblical interpreters is an entirely different matter. Already in Chronicles, one discovers that many kings have had occasion to repent; the categories of good and evil become less absolute as the potential for biographical development is embraced. Texts such as the *Life of Adam and Eve*, *Jubilees*, and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, along with parallels in rabbinic midrash, assume that repentance plays a vital role in the Genesis narratives. Outside of the garden, we meet Adam and Eve settling into their new surroundings more as penitents than farmers. Cain reduced his original punishment not through an expression of helplessness (as the plain sense suggests) but rather contrition. Even the great Enoch did not always walk with the Lord. Reuben and Judah engaged in penitential rites to atone for their respective sins, and they were not alone among the sons of Jacob in so doing. If repentance was originally sparse in the Hebrew Bible, it was no longer so by the advent of the Common Era.

These late biblical and post-biblical texts, with their remarkably unified approach to biblical narrative, constitute an excellent example of how ancient biblical interpretation can be used to identify the timing and nature of key transitions from biblical to post-biblical religion. In this case, they reveal the existence of a penitential lens through which post-biblical interpreters read and have continued to read the Bible.

An important detail of this ancient interpretive effort is the consistency with which it connects the themes of sin, suffering, and repentance. Nearly all of these texts assume that sin could only mean death unless averted by repentance. Illness and other forms of affliction thus take on the role of the biblical prophets, threatening destruction unless the sinner repents. Pain comes to presage the total annihilation that lies beyond the immediate experience of it. The relationship between sin, suffering, and repentance--too often assumed by scholars to be operative in biblical religion--becomes fully embodied only in this period with the striking belief that repentance alone stands between the sinner and actual death. While sin and suffering are certainly linked in biblical religion, the introduction of repentance, on one hand, and death, on the other, casts suffering and affliction in a new role that differs dramatically from its traditional functions. It is this development--itself a development in the interpretation of suffering--more than a concern to

find models of repentance in the biblical text, that sparks the exegetical construction of repentance identified above. Living sinners become an

interpretive problem requiring solution.

Carl S. Ehrlich (York University)

A Contradiction in Terms? Jews and Biblical Theology

For a long time Jews avoided any engagement with the biblical text based on a critical theological approach. The reasons for this are complex and were ably spelled out in Jon Levenson's classic "Why Jews Are Not Interested in Biblical Theology." Nonetheless, in recent years Jewish voices have been raised advocating just what Levenson seemingly rejects. This paper will begin with a discussion of what Biblical Theology is, or at least what it means to different scholars/theologians. I will then survey, analyze, and evaluate different specifically Jewish approaches - both pro and con - to the topic (e.g., those of Levenson, Tsevat, Goshen-Gottstein, Brettler, Magonet, Kalimi, Sweeney, Gesundheit, etc.) with a view toward engaging with the question of the relevance and applicability of Jewish participation in the enterprise of Biblical Theology, both within the context of the Biblical Theology movement and within the Jewish community. Among the questions to be considered are: What are the models that have been proposed by Jewish scholars interested in Biblical Theology? How do they define the aims of their endeavors? Is what they propose specifically Jewish and/or part of a broader (non-sectarian) Biblical Theology? Has their work made any impact in either the Jewish community or the non-Jewish world? Is it indeed "Biblical Theology"?

Session Number: 3.15

***Session* Directors of Jewish Studies Meeting**

Session

Chair, Arnold Dashefsky (University of Connecticut at Storrs)

Vanessa Ochs (University of Virginia)

Ellen M. Umansky (Fairfield University)

Lawrence Baron (San Diego State University)

Abstracts for Session 4

Monday, December, 20, 2004 08:30 AM-10:30 AM

Session Number: 4.1

Session The Art of Biblical Narrative: A Retrospective

Session

Robert Alter's *The Art of Biblical Narrative* sought to enhance our understanding of the Hebrew Bible by calling for a heightened sensitivity to its literary artistry. What impact did Alter's work have on our understanding of the Bible? Did it change the nature of biblical scholarship and if so, how? And what is the future of the literary approach to the Bible? Reflecting on Alter's work from the vantage point of two decades later, panelists will reflect on the contributions of *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, engage its approach, or measure where the literary study of the Bible has gone since its publication.

Chair, Steven P. Weitzman (Indiana University)

Robert Alter's *The Art of Biblical Narrative* challenged the existing paradigms of biblical scholarship by calling for a heightened sensitivity to the Bible's literary artistry. What impact did Alter's work have on our understanding of the Bible? Did it change the nature of biblical scholarship and if so, how? And what is the future of the literary approach to the Bible? Reflecting on Alter's work from the vantage point of two decades later, panelists will reflect on the contributions of *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, engage its approach, or measure where the literary study of the Bible has gone since its publication. The four invited panelists include Ilana Pardes, Regina Schwartz, Robert Kawashima, Chaya Halberstam, and Robert Alter will

Ilana Pardes (Hebrew University)

The Art of Biblical Narrative and the Question of Reticence: Between the Poetic and the Political

The paper will consider Alter's innovative analysis of the art of biblical reticence, focusing on his reading of the interrelations between the private and political spheres in the story of Michal and David. Special attention will be given to his debt to and departure from Erich Auerbach's treatment of biblical silences in *Mimesis*.

Regina Schwartz (Northwestern University)

Revelation and Revolution

No abstract at present

Robert S. Kawashima (New York University)

Comparative Literature and Biblical Studies: The Case of Allusion

To draw out the theoretical significance of *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, I will examine the role of comparison in Alter's study, using the case of allusion to probe the value of the novel, an analogue essential to Alter's understanding of how to read biblical narrative, as opposed to other more ancient analogues for illuminating the Bible's literary artistry.

Chaya Halberstam (King's College, University of London)

The Art of Biblical Law

This paper reflects on Robert Alter's seminal work, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, by exploring how the invaluable methods and insights provided in that work can be extended beyond the narrative genres of myths and histories to the technical but literarily crafted biblical law codes. The interdisciplinary study of law and literature can contribute much to the study of the Hebrew Bible, but this work would not have been possible without Alter's fundamental reconceiving of how the Bible could be read as great literary art. His contribution to the field has moreover provided the impetus for the study of biblical law to emerge from the rationalist and historicist mode that has previously dominated. This paper examines one narrative from 2 Samuel (Nathan's parable of the ewe-lamb) and one legal pericope from the book of Deuteronomy (lost property), demonstrating that words and motifs resonate across generic boundaries. It will formulate a biblical relational concept of ownership which draws from the careful construction of Nathan's parable and the lost property law, each of which presents a distinct perspective on a bereft owner and a lost sheep. Such an intertextual reading can enrich our understanding of both property law in the Pentateuch and the use of property as a literary metaphor throughout the prophets.

Respondent, Robert B. Alter (University of California at Berkeley)

Session Number: 4.2

**Session The Future of Jewish Feminism and Jewish Feminist
Scholarship (A Roundtable)**

Session

This roundtable brings together leading contemporary Jewish feminists writers, scholars and activists to consider the current state of Jewish feminism in all of its various guises. More specifically, the roundtable addresses the future of Jewish feminist scholarship and the gender section of the AJS as feminist panels and papers, queer panels and papers continue to become integrated into the various subfields of Jewish studies. What is the role of gender studies as a distinct venue of critical inquiry as we enter the 21st century? How is Jewish feminist activism and writing related to the work we do in Jewish studies? What are the questions and concerns that need to be addressed and have, as of yet, not been a part of our conversations at the AJS? This roundtable brings together feminist scholars, writers, critics and activists, many of whom are often not a part of conversations at the AJS to help confront these questions and open up a broader conversation among Jewish Studies scholars around issues of gender, sexuality, and feminist writing and activism more broadly conceived

Chair, Rebecca Alpert (Temple University)

Lori H. Lefkowitz (Reconstructionist Rabbinical College)

Danya Ruttenberg (University of Judaism)

Judith Plaskow (Manhattan College)

Susan Schneider (Lilith Magazine)

Chava Weissler (Lehigh University)

Session Number: 4.3

Session Understanding the Holocaust: Studies across Contexts

Session

If the body politic is said to produce collective memory, then schooling is certainly one of its most prolific organs. The panel we are proposing would examine schooling about the Holocaust, asking fundamentally what shape the Holocaust takes in different educational contexts, what is taught as the Holocaust in each, what understandings that teaching reflects, and what learning it subsequently enacts in students. Because of its tremendous availability as a symbol (Novick, 1999; Bernstein, 1999; Rosenfeld, 2002), the Holocaust has become (or shown itself to be) eminently flexible; this plasticity provides a rich venue through which to study the narrative and rhetorical patterns embedded in educational environments and the extent to which they fashion teachers_ and students_ historical thinking (Wineburg, 1999). Whereas it has been typical for Holocaust studies at the AJS to focus on the propagation of collective memory, this panel will center attention on the somewhat neglected domain of Holocaust reception, carefully disentangling what is taught from what is learned at particular sites of memory.

The panel will include four papers, each based on empirical data generated in K-12 schools. One paper will discuss teaching and learning about the Holocaust in an American, ultra-orthodox Jewish girls_ Yeshiva, using as a counterpoint case the teaching and learning of the Holocaust at an evangelical Christian fundamentalist school. Another paper will compare the historical understandings of students at two non-sectarian middle schools, one in which the population of students is all White, the other in which the population is almost entirely African American. A third paper will rhetorically examine the positionings of groups involved in Holocaust history as taught in a middle school literacy class within a public school. And the fourth paper will discuss Israeli students_ understandings of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, comparing students enrolled at a religious yeshivah, a Covenant school and a school which mainly serves Russian, Ethiopian and other immigrant students. In sum, then, the panel includes papers that inspect Holocaust reception, specifically covering religious, national, ethnic/racial, and grammatical implications of Holocaust teaching in lived contexts. The noted Holocaust historian, Peter Hayes, has graciously agreed to serve as a discussant.

Chair, Peter Hayes (Northwestern Univesity)

NA

Mary Juzwik (Michigan State University)
Narrative Voices and Collectively Remembering in a Middle School Classroom Context

At an intersection of the fields of history education, linguistics, and social psychology, James Wertsch (1998, 2000, 2002) has built on Halbwachs_ (1980, 1992) sociological conceptualization of collective remembering to focus on how history is interactionally transmitted in educational contexts. In the sociocultural view put forth by Wertsch, narratives can be seen as one important cultural tool through which the collective remembering of a nation-state takes shape. An important site of such processes of collective remembering are public school classrooms, where historical topics are addressed not only in history classes and through history books, but also in literacy classrooms, through literary texts and other verbal arts. In many US middle school classrooms, literary and thematic study of the Holocaust have become parts of the literacy curriculum.

In a recent study, I have examined how collective memory about the Holocaust is shaped in literacy classrooms, through a case study of vicarious oral narrative performances in classroom discourse. I have focused in particular on one middle school classroom in the midwestern US. A recent paper qualitatively examines a single teacher narrative example and how it responds to prior student discourse and how it is taken up in subsequent discourse, thus examining the face-to-face, moment-by-moment unfolding of collective memory in the local forum of the classroom (Author).

Expanding on that previous paper, this paper analyzes collective memory in the classroom context from a broader lens. This paper is based on analysis of 75 vicarious oral narratives that were uttered by teacher and students during a six-week unit that focused on the theme of the Holocaust. All classroom discourse was audio and video recorded and the narratives were transcribed for analysis, forming a corpus of 65 teacher narratives and 10 student narratives. I investigated the rhetorical positioning of various groups across the narrative corpus through quantitative analysis of noun clauses referring to persons and social groups in the entire narrative corpus. This analysis is supplemented with qualitative examples to illustrate the findings from the large-scale analysis.

The analysis yielded identification of over fifty groups and persons_ identities and affiliations including, yet extending beyond the confines of the classroom_ that were referred to in these vicarious oral narratives. Exploring specifically the more personal references to family members and ethnic affiliations, I argue that this finding suggests the contested nature of collectively remembering the Holocaust in the pluralistic arena of a public school classroom. Beyond this, I find that the categories Hitler/Germans/Nazis were most often cast in superordinate positions, while Jews more than any other group were cast into subordinate positions through the narrative discourse. My findings suggest that Jews are rhetorically positioned as outsiders even within the contested collective memory being negotiated in this public school classroom.

I elaborate the exclusions and inaccuracies that occur through narrative processes of collective remembering in classroom contexts. Problems such as

representations of Jews as a) essentialized and b) lacking agency are particularly highlighted. I further suggest how the rhetorical form of narratives can undermine their thematic messages.

Karen Spector (University of Cincinnati)

A Narrative of Hope

Holocaust literature units are common in English classrooms in the United States. *Night* and *Anne Frank* are ubiquitous titles on approved book lists across the country. In a recent survey, 99% of teachers surveyed in three states in the Midwest replied that literature classes are appropriate places to address Holocaust education and that the lessons gleaned are tolerance and acceptance of others (University of Cincinnati Evaluation Services Center, 2003).

While much evidence suggests that people *hope* and *think* that the Shoah teaches these kinds of lessons, little evidence suggests it actually does. Schweber (2004), for example, found that the lessons of the Holocaust are not self-evident to high school students. In one Holocaust unit in a fundamentalist Christian school, moreover, Schweber (2003) found that the Holocaust's teaching served to distance the students from Jews, who were exoticized rather than accepted or understood. The funnel of collective memory within that particular fundamentalist Christian community had constrained the students' possibilities for religious acceptance of others. Building on that work, the research questions that this paper poses are: 1) What do students learn when they descend into the world of Auschwitz and Buchenwald through literature? And, 2) What countervailing forces constrain their deep engagement with the Holocaust? Theoretically and methodologically framed by activity theory (Cole & Engestrom, 1993; Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998; Leont'ev, 1981; Wertsch, 1998), the data reported in this paper were taken from two six-week Holocaust literature units in Midwest public high schools.

Interestingly, nearly all of the students in the study relied upon some mechanism that seemed to reduce their engagement with the literature, perhaps in an effort to reduce the pain. In this paper, however, I will discuss only one such mechanism, which I call *a narrative of hope*, whereby students pointed a salvific light onto the moral canvas of Holocaust literature.

This narrative is fed by several streams: American pop culture, children's understandings of history, and Christian theodicy. Because the students in the study shared in a popular culture in which the Holocaust is shape-shifting and iconic at the same time (Flanzbaum, 1999; Novick, 1999), they could mobilize American cultural ways of knowing in order to inflect the Holocaust with hope (Rosenfeld, 1980). Further, their belief in the idea of historical progress and the history of individuals rather than systemic structures (Barton & Levstik, 2004) allow inconvenient truths about the Holocaust to be suppressed. Additionally, Soulen (1996) explains that some Christian theologies have removed Jews from foundational stories. As a result, I found in this study that some of the Christian students interpreted Jewish suffering as being the will of God. Others blamed the Holocaust on Satan or saw Christ figures in the literature. In each of these cases, the Holocaust becomes theologically redemptive, as my paper will show. Finally, I will close by using moral

philosophy (Bakhtin, 1981, 1993; Benhabib, 1987) to theorize the

Simone Schweber (University of Wisconsin)

Blackened Lines: Learning about the Holocaust in a Girls Yeshiva

My previous work revealed that in American public high schools, as in other public spheres (Young, 1998; Novick, 1999; Loshitzky, 1997), the Holocaust _emplotment_ (White, 1990) is often _Americanized,_ that is, the subject is molded to fit particularly American cultural paradigms (Rosenfeld, 1995; Flanzbaum, 2002). In one case, for example, though a teacher viewed the Holocaust as a mass phenomenon, understandable mainly in collective terms, his teaching funneled it into a cultural mold that emphasized individualism, lauded heroism as individual accomplishment, and required redemption (Schweber, 2004).

The project I am proposing to report on here juxtaposes the shape of the Holocaust as taught in two religious schools: one a fundamentalist, evangelical, charismatic Christian school, the other an orthodox Jewish, Chabad yeshiva. The research thus uses empirical data to highlight the role of formal schooling in the dynamics of collective memory (Halbwachs, 1941), more specifically, how collective memory functions to solidify particular communal loyalties at the expense of other possibilities (Anderson, 1983; Maier, 1998).

The research was designed to answer the question: How do religious master narratives shape Holocaust history and impact students' historical understandings? Although hinted at in previous works (Gourevitch, 1995; Peshkin, 1986; Schweber, 2003, 2004), the role of religious meta-narratives in forming teachers' and students' notions of history in general and of this history in particular has been mostly undeveloped. Moreover, while many authors brilliantly illuminate the ways in which history and memory interpenetrate as cultural constructs (among them: Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, James Young, Edward Linenthal, Sarah Farmer,) none examine how the sociological work of collective memory occurs at the individual level, picking apart the production and reception of _lieux de memoir._ Thus, in addition to examining educational emplotments as sites of memory production, I will report on the reception of the Holocaust by individuals in both schooling contexts.

The data on the fundamentalist Christian school has already been gathered through classroom observations and interviews with the teachers, select students and their parents. (In fact, this paper has been presented previously and published in *Teachers College Record* in 2003.) The data generation on the Chabad school is currently in process and due to be completed by June of 2004. All observations and interviews are being tape-recorded, transcribed and coded using an adaptation of _grounded theory_ (Strauss and Corbin, 1999). From them, I will capture as a portrait (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997) the religious master narratives at play in each school and how they contribute to teachers'

and students' understandings of the Holocaust. In the interest of brevity, my paper will focus on the representation of the Holocaust enacted in

the 8th grade Chabad girls_ yeshivah, drawing on the Christian school mainly as a counterpoint. The proposed title of the paper refers to the fact that occasionally, lines from the official curricular texts that the girls were given to study from were blackened out so as to shelter them from ideologically unacceptable features of lived Jewish life.

Dan Porat (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
Shades of Holocaust among Israeli Youth

Over the past few years, Israel's education system has gone to great lengths to communicate the memory of the Holocaust to Israeli youth. Today, Israeli teenagers wander through the death fields of Poland in search of memory. They hear survivors' testimonies; they read *The House of Dolls*; they watch *Schindler's List*. With the blow of the siren on Holocaust Memorial Day, the students become living monuments.

In recent years much scholarly work has been dedicated to Holocaust education. Yet, as important and interesting as these investigations are, they do not address one fundamental question, namely, what is the historical perception of the Holocaust among the recipients of these representations? Much of the literature on the memory of the Holocaust in Israeli society assumes that this memory is homogenous. This study questions this assumption and demonstrates the different shades of memory that teenagers in Israel have of the Holocaust.

In this study I interviewed 16 teenagers about their historical memories of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. The students came from three divergent schools: A. Covenant School, a yeshiva high school located in Jerusalem B. Valley School a secular public school located in a development town largely populated by Mizrahi, Russian and Ethiopian families C. City School is also a secular public school, however, it caters to middle-upper class and is located in Jerusalem. The views of the different groups of students of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising diverged. Students from Covenant School and Valley School viewed the Warsaw Ghetto in terminology that resembles Holocaust memory in Israel of the 1950s. In that terminology the rebels represent the epitome of Jewish standing and the victims the humiliation of Jewish honor. For example, one of Covenant School students said that *by the mere fact that they [the Jews] went like sheep to the slaughter and almost did next to nothing, they simply accepted reality, and this is what gave the Germans the force and even the legitimization to believe that they [the Jews] are inferior to humans.* On the other hand, students from City School strongly defied what they viewed as the over emphasize on Jewish spiritual standing in the Holocaust within the education system. In this spirit one of the students from City School pointed out that defining the common association of a victim's will to live with spiritual resistance is in her mind ludicrous. *I think that with all my love for life, to live is not heroism. The desire to live, the desire to survive, & this is something natural, this is not something super-human. It is instinctive, totally basic.* In sum, while many scholars speak of the shared memory of the Holocaust in Israeli society, this study begins to explore the different shades of Holocaust memory among Israeli youth. As I will demonstrate the students from the different social sectors of Israeli society view the Holocaust in significantly

Session Number: 4.4

Session **National Identity in Israel**

Session

Chair, Calvin Goldscheider (Brown University)

Na'ama Sheffi (Sapir Academic College)

Childhood Heroes: Highbrow and Lowbrow Israeli Children Literature, 1948-1968

The creation of a collective national identity depends on a shared past, be it real, imagined, or as is mostly the case, a combination of both. Creating a link between a shared past and an envisioned future is often supported by heroic characters. To help create a nation, heroic figures, whether real or constructed, rooted in a particular history or in an adopted universal myth, must be prime representatives of the nation's consensual ideology. Adult cohorts are recruited to the national project mostly through cognitive processes, albeit while often experiencing a cognitive dissonance. Children and youth on the other hand are an excellent reception target for national ideology.

In this paper, I wish to examine the impact of children's literature on shaping the ideas and ideals of heroism, and indoctrinating Israel's youth to belief in the national project during the first two decades of statehood.

My aim is to uncover, classify, and analyze the ideological patterns that infiltrated children's literature. On the face of it, one may expect that different genres will present different mindsets. Indeed, comparative readings reveal several discrepancies. The lowbrow demonstrates severe lingual inferiority and wide use of general vernacular and jargon created especially for a specific series. The series' authors weave the plot around a fictional other that is rooted to some extent in reality – usually a male of Arab origin or one with an active Nazi past – that is characterized by extreme stupidity or is a ruthless rascal.

Highbrow literature uses rich language and upholds correct grammar rules. Its characters are divided into two major categories. One is of real protagonists of the past, where the authors are faithful to history, although at times they needed to fill historical gaps with imaginative constructions, and attune to story to suit young readers. The other sorts of stories are based on celebrated model-type characters in Israeli society, such as parachutes, frogmen, intelligence and other heroic tasks. In these stories the description of the other, usually an Arab, alternates between the wish to befriend the locals and arrogance toward the natives' intellectual inadequacy. Highbrow literature always demonstrates the use of violence as inevitable, though as a non-solution last resort option. It may grant heroic status not only to brave acts, but also to the "right" death, especially in the course of military action, which allows for martyrdom and faith to be interchangeable.

Despite those disparities between the two genres, one can also trace several similarities: the Israeli hero is always pure, just, and strong both physically and mentally; he is excessively loyal to his country, and is willing to sacrifice even his life. Naturally, the highbrow literature describes such heroes, whereas lowbrow series tends to present super-human heroes who can withstand all kinds of injuries and still survive for the next episode.

Rivka Bliboim (Hebrew University, Columbia University)

The Debate over the Name of the Jewish State-to-Be, 1947-48

Abstract: "The Debate over the Name of the Jewish State-to-Be, 1947-48"

This lecture examines the ideological implications of the vigorous debate over the name of the Jewish State-to-Be in letters published in the daily press and in extensive correspondence directed to the Yishuv's leaders between 29 November 1947 to 14 May 1948. During this period, the press and documents referred to the state-to-be as the Jewish State_ or _the Hebrew State._ Based upon newspapers, Zionist archives, Israeli state archives, and several books of scholarship on this period, my research uncovered at least twenty-seven proposals raised for its name. Previous research has focused only on the alternatives Judah, Zion, Eretz Yisrael and Israel (<I> What's in a Name </I> by Yedidya Berry and <I> Toward a New Israel </I> by Mordechai Nisan).

To date, the research either ignores or mocks the many other names that were proposed by various individuals: the public-at-large and Yishuv leaders. Some of the names suggested were HaTikva, Carmel, Israelitania, and even Lilliputia, echoed recently in Amos Oz's <I> A Tale of Love and Darkness </I> (2002: 397; Hebrew). Not only does this debate have linguistic aspects, it also reflects ideological issues, including historical-geographical loyalty to Jewish sources.

These letters speak not only to their writers' deep involvement in the subject but also to a vast knowledge of the history of the land of Israel, exceptional proficiency in the Bible, a feeling of urgency, and a desire to play a role in determining the state's name. Indeed each writer's proposal or objection is anchored in his ideological-spiritual world. This debate must also be examined against the background of the Hebraization of personal names preached by such figures as Israel's second president Izhak Ben-Zvi, and by David Ben-Gurion, who made it official army policy in May 1948. Another issue that arose was the gender of the future name, with some arguing against its 'feminization' represented by such names as Israelita or Israelitania (Y. L. Baruch, <I> HaBoker </I> , 1948). The alternatives Israel, Judea, and Zion were discussed by Minhelet Haam (provisional administration) on 12 May 1948 and the final decision in favor of Israel was also influenced by consideration of the Arab reception of these names.

The unpublished letters I have traced reflect beautifully the mood of the nation on the threshold of statehood. The letter writers came from varied ethnic groups, and included religious and non-religious, old and young, scholars and simple people; strikingly, however, not even a single woman letter-writer was represented in any of the sources I examined. That fact, too, deserves analysis. Not only do these letters mirror the socio-linguistic reality of their day, they also have the ability to shed light on changes in Israeli society from 1947 to the present.

Dr. Rivka (Rikki) Bliboim
Department of Hebrew Language Instruction

Rothberg International School

Aviva Halamish (The Open University of Israel)

The Israeli Left and the Soviet Union: Anatomy of a One-Sided Love

The Soviet Union served as a point of reference, subject of identification, recruiting myth and ethos-molder for the Zionist/Israeli Left from the 1920s to the 1960s. The initial purpose of the proposed paper is to depict some expressions of the adoration for the Soviet Union by the Israeli Left in the cultural, social and political spheres. Next, it will elaborate on the rationale underlying this phenomenon and offer some explanations for it. Finally, it will examine the long-lasting impact that this Soviet inclination had on the group's status in Israeli society.

A few terminological clarifications: The <I> Zionist/Israeli Left </I> (the first adjective relates to the pre-state period) is a variant of socialist Zionism. Both share the unequivocal primacy of the Zionist component in their ideology and praxis, but the "Left" is distinguished from mainstream "Labor" in that it adheres to one or another version of Marxism. As to the adjective <I> Soviet </I>, its political meaning is self-evident: on the cultural level it indicates that the paper deals with motifs radiating from the USSR (after the Bolshevik Revolution) rather than from an earlier Russian heritage.

The paper's <I> time frame </I> is the period between 1947 and 1967.

Although 1956 was a turning point in the attitude of the Israeli Left toward the "World of the Revolution", the conceptual role of the Soviet Union did not immediately disappear, but rather, gradually dwindled up until the Six Day War, a watershed event which acted as a moral and ideological shock for many members of the Left who participated in combat.

To date, the issue of Soviet influence on the Zionist/Israeli Labor movement and the Left has been dealt with mainly on the political level. This paper intends to focus on the cultural and social aspects of the phenomenon, and to offer new insights and perspectives at which I arrived during my work on the biography of Me'ir Ya'ari, the leader of ha Shomer ha Tza'ir (encompassing the political party, Mapam, and the Kibbutz movement, ha-Kibbutz ha-Artzi). The main thesis of this paper is that the Soviet orientation had a functional role: it provided answers to the needs of the Israeli Left and enhanced the status and authority of its leadership. It was motivated by local circumstances, almost irrespective of the Soviet attitude towards Israel and internal Soviet policy (including its policy toward Soviet Jewry), and evolved as a one-sided love affair (except for the short period of 1947-1948). Furthermore, the intense involvement with the Soviet issue in the early days of statehood caused the Left to overlook the central experience of Israeli society at that time - the absorption of mass immigration - and thus to lose much of its relevance to Israeli society. The Left's Soviet orientation alienated many of the new immigrants, mostly from Muslim countries and later on from the Soviet Union, and thus was one of the reasons for the weakening of its political appeal and power.

Session Number: 4.5

Session Heavenly Secrets and Human Authority in the Thought of Sectarians, Sages, and Early Jewish Mystics

Session

What is _engraved on heavenly tablets?_ What can only be achieved by ascending on high, or by entering the company of holy angels? Does legitimate leadership derive from communal consensus, or from special access to the secrets of the supernal realm and to religiously altered states of consciousness? Is the fulfillment of Jewish humanity to be sought in heavenly palaces, or in the confines of the _four cubits_ of earthly halakha? Does the classical rabbinic canon represent an interruption of Judaism's fascination with the heavens, or does it pave a pathway to the mystical tradition _s Merkavah? Recent scholarship--in particular, the work of Rachel Elijor--has proposed a sharp divide between the celestial, mythological, esoteric traditions of the Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls and of Heikhalot and Merkavah literature, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the formative rabbinic tradition of human interpretation, subjective judgment, and learned debate that declares of the Torah, _It is not in heaven!_ Yet the rabbinic Sages, too, were absorbed with the question of what was bestowed from above, with the nature of their enfranchisement from on high, and with the quest for a pure and godly life. The papers in this session bring current scholarship into conversation, considering parallels as well as distinguishing elements in the traditions of Sectarians, Sages, and Early Jewish mystics.

Chair, Rebecca M. Lesses (Ithaca College)

Nehemia Polen (Hebrew College)

A Moon for the Misbegotten? Rabbinic Judaism's Ideology of the Lunar Calendar

Recent scholarship, in particular the work of Rachel Elijor, has argued that for some Second Temple Jews, the solar calendar was promoted in part for its association with angelic perfection, and expressed the unchanging and powerful action of the sun, in contrast to the variable and corrupted workings of the moon. This presentation will argue that rabbinic literature was aware of this view and sought to counter it with an ideology celebrating the moon and the lunar-based calendar. For the rabbis, the moon is indeed associated with change, vulnerability and weakness _understood by them as _feminine_ qualities_ but precisely for that reason is the heavenly sign of renewal and redemption. Our analysis will focus on the well-known passages in b. Sanhedrin and Hullin, but will point to previously unremarked points of engagement with Second Temple sectarian views. In particular, we shall explain the origin and significance of the theme that the moon was/is the same size as the sun.

Alan F. Segal (Barnard College)

Were the Dead Sea Scrolls-Sectarians Mystics?

This will be an investigation of the ways in which religiously interpreted states of consciousness were experienced and expressed by the sectarian authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The motif of heavenly journeys will be discussed as a representation of the altered states of consciousness that the sect appears sometimes to have achieved.

Jonah Steinberg (Hebrew College)

The Appropriation of an Angelic Prerogative-Rabbinic Calendrical

Recent scholarship has supposed that markedly different world-views and concepts of self separate formative rabbinic thought from the priestly interests of the Pseudepigrapha and the Qumran scrolls of the late Second Temple period. Most recently, the divide has been investigated and argued by Rachel Elior in terms of the calendars, solar and lunar, championed respectively by the secessionist priesthood of the Dead Sea Scrolls and by emergent rabbinic authority. Disenfranchised temple priests expressed their kinship with the host of heaven, and their identification with eternal, cosmic cycles, by clinging to an immutable, mythologically resonant solar calendar, in line with celestial secrets transmitted, for example, by Enoch and in Jubilees. On the other hand was a flexible, subjectively determined lunar calendar, reliant on human testimony and judicial process, representing the terrestrial concerns of emerging rabbinism. However, it may be more circumspect to say that the keynote of early rabbinic thought, when it comes to the interplay between human authority and the celestial world is not "The Torah is not in heaven," but rather, "They established on high that which was accepted below." Taking determination of the calendar as a case-in-point, we can discern, in our canonical reports of the early rabbis, something of a bid for angelic status--the finding of a place in the divine bureaucracy, so to speak, the staking of a claim in the heavenly world. It could hardly be otherwise among sages who usurped the priestly order of Jewish Late Antiquity. The classical rabbinic emphasis of human interpretation and communal authority did not necessarily entail disinterest in the supernal world and its denizens. Preoccupation with the four cubits of quotidian halakha did not preclude self-glorification and the wish to become divine. In later imagination, heroes of the rabbinic house-of-study slipped easily into the role of ascenders to the heavens, because the mantle that the people behind these personae had assumed was fringed, from the start, with heavenly glory.

Lawrence H. Schiffman (New York University)

The Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Hekhalot Literature, and the New Testament

This paper will evaluate the relationship between the differing portraits of the priesthood found in Qumran literature (the the priestly legal texts as well as other genres like prayer and exegesis), early Jewish mystical literature (including some rabbinic material) and the New Testament, especially the Epistle to the Hebrews. We will argue that despite the similarities in the approaches of these corpora of texts, the differing religious systems have each left an indelible stamp on their traditions that separate the various portraits in significant ways. Overall, this data argues for caution in postulating continuity among movements just because of even a large number of shared

Session Number: 4.6

Session* **After al-Andalus: Hebrew Literature in Christian Iberia*

Session

This panel explores Hebrew literature in Christian Iberia. Of particular interest is the consciousness of authors as inheritors of the Andalusian tradition and the ways in which they imitate and exploit earlier texts and themes. The Hebrew literature of Christian Iberia has often been referred to as epigonic, but a dim reflection of "Golden Age" of al-Andalus. The papers in this panel seek to understand novel developments within this corpus, to appreciate more fully the relationship of this literature to its parent literature, i.e. the ways in which it pays homage to Andalusian Hebrew writings and the ways in which it reuses earlier material for novel and ironic purposes. Attempts are also made to situate Hebrew writings within the context of non-Jewish Iberian writing.

Chair, Raymond P. Scheindlin (Jewish Theological Seminary)

Esperanza Alfonso (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
In Praise of New Patrons: The Remaking of Hebrew Panegyrics in Christian Spain

In the past two decades, scholars of Hebrew and Arabic literature have shed new light on medieval praise poetry, a long neglected genre. Recent studies on the Arabic polithematic qasida have highlighted the central role that the qasida played in early Islamic and _Abbasid literature, as well as in the later Andalusí poetical tradition. Similar studies have been carried out in the context of medieval Hebrew poetry (10th-15th centuries) written in the Iberian Peninsula. The most current approaches to the study of medieval panegyrics focus on the analysis of rhetorical strategies and stylistic devices, emphasize the ethical function and social projection of the poems, and scrutinize the structure of the poetical form.

This paper aims to explore the transformations in Hebrew praise poetry that came about in the mid-twelfth century as a result of the transition of Jewish life in al-Andalus to Jewish life in Christian Spain. Writing in a dominantly Christian context in the 13th and 14th centuries, poets such as Meshullam de Piera, Todros Abulafia, Shem Tov ibn Falaquera or Samuel ibn Sason perpetuated the use of stock of elements and poetic forms inherited from al-Andalus. They also adapted, however, to new realities and were influenced by new literary trends. I will consider how 13th and 14th century Hebrew panegyrics reflect changing social and political circumstances, how these poets adjusted to new forms of patronage and how they reconciled their fidelity to tradition with the seduction of innovation and change.

Jonathan Decter (Brandeis University)
Imitation and Exploitation: Jacob Ben El'azar's Rewriting of "Asher Son of Judah Spoke"

"Asher Son of Judah Spoke" is the earliest Hebrew rhymed prose narrative from medieval Iberia. Jacob Ben El'azar includes an imaginative retelling of this text in chapter nine of his "Book of Stories." This paper compares the two texts in order to gauge shifting cultural mentalities and social values between al-Andalus and Christian Iberia. The paper shows that Ben El'azar, far from merely imitating the parent text, conspicuously inverts its literary and cultural

Maud Kozodoy (Jewish Theological Seminary)

The Urjuza in Hebrew: Medieval Hebrew Medical Poetry

Generally speaking, medical poetry can be considered a subcategory of didactic poetry in which the principles and some of the details of medicine and/or hygiene are put into verse form. Most poetic traditions, such as those of Greek and Latin Antiquity as well as the medieval Arabic, Latin and Hebrew traditions, include some examples of this genre.

In Arabic, by far the most famous is the *urjuza-fi-t-tibb* of Ibn Sina, although many other Arabic medical poems are extant. As indicated by the term *urjuza*, Ibn Sina's poem, as many others, was composed in the *rajaz* meter, a meter and rhyme scheme employed primarily for didactic poetry. The *urjuza* of Ibn Sina was translated into Latin at least twice in the medieval period, once by Gerard of Cremona in the mid-twelfth century and by Armengaud de Blaise in the thirteenth. It was also translated into Hebrew in 1260 by Moses ibn Tibbon and a year later Shlomo ibn Ayyub ben Joseph made a verse translation. In the Latin tradition, the best-known is the *Regimen sanitatis salernitatum*, a poem probably first composed in the twelfth century, but added to into the thirteenth century. Marbode of Rennes (1035-1123), Gilles de Corbeil (1195) and John of Aquila (13th c.) also composed medical poetry.

In Hebrew, there are three outstanding examples of the genre, from twelfth- and thirteenth-century Christian Spain: *Battei ha-nefesh* by Joseph ibn Zabara (c.1140-c.1200, Barcelona); *Refuat ha-gviyah* by Judah al-Harizi (1170-1235, Toledo); and *Battei hanhagat haguf habari* by Shem Tov ibn Falaquera (1225-1295, Barcelona). All three were composed in a prosodic form unusual for medieval Hebrew poetry, rhymed couplets. This form, like the *rajaz* form it seems to mimic, makes possible the production of lengthy versifications of scientific works. Latin poetics, while eschewing rhyme in general, also employed a system based on internal rhyme (each line makes up a kind of rhymed couplet) the so-called *leonine* verse form, for much of the medical poetry written in the twelfth century. Both the *Regimen sanitatis* and the extensive versifications of Salernitan lore produced by Gilles de Corbeil used this form.

This paper will consider the Hebrew medical poems in the context of contemporary medical and non-medical didactic poetry in Hebrew, Arabic and Latin. It will deal also with the introductory passages that preface many of these poems and treat the justification and literary purposes of these poems, as well as touching on the nature of the medical and scientific content.

David Wacks (University of Oregon)

The Fruits of Convivencia: Casual Collaboration Between Jewish Readers and Christian Writers in 14th Century Spain

Jews, Muslims and Christians living in Medieval Iberia were in constant social and intellectual contact: they worked and played together. While it is difficult to document specific personal relationships between Jews and Christians, medieval Castilian texts by Christian authors clearly reflect this reality. Literary structures and materials from Hebrew works such as Ibn Zabara's <I> Sefer sha`ashu'im </I> (ca. 1200) and Ibn Sahula's <I> Mehsal haqadmoni </I> (ca. 1281) appear in later works of Castilian literature such as the <I> Libro de buen amor </I> (ca. 1330) and the <I> Conde Lucanor </I> (1334). The Christian authors of these now-canonical Castilian texts moved in circles frequented by highly educated Jewish physicians and other elite who discussed and paraphrased their favorite Hebrew books with their Christian associates. In particular, the <I> Libro de buen amor </I> echoes the post-classical <I> maqama </I> structure and loosely reinterprets the dialogue between `Enan Hanatas and Yosef Ibn Zabara in the discussion between Don Amor and the Archpriest Juan Ruiz. In <I> Conde Lucanor </I> we find a Castilianized version of Ibn Sahula's Sorcerer tale that novelizes the same story in a Christian environment set in Toledo. Both of these texts are literary fruits of the much-vaunted convivencia between Muslims, Jews, and Christians in Medieval Iberia.

Session Number: 4.7

Session Befangenheit ist das Normale?: German/Jewish and Jewish/German Relations Today

Session

The Holocaust remains the main reference point for pondering both German and Jewish collective identity. Dan Diner depicted the post-Holocaust relationship between Jews and Germans as a *negative symbiosis* and Gert Mattenklott described it as characterized by *Befangenheit*, i.e. a sense of awkwardness and uneasiness. At the same time, one also finds a longing for normalization. The contributions in this panel wish to address both aspects and explore if there can (ever) be any sense of normalcy in these relations and what shape(s) it could take.

I selected the four papers for this session with a focus on representing the diversity of discourses within which German/Jewish and Jewish/German relations are currently explored. These discourses range from suggestions for including German-Jewish culture in German language classes at American universities, to reflections on the academic discipline of Jewish Studies at German universities, to German/Israeli relations as expressed in oral history interviews by German non-Jews living in Israel as well as by fictional German and Israeli characters in Israeli literature.

In the first paper George Peters discusses possibilities for including aspects of the long tradition of German-Jewish culture as an important minority voice in beginning and intermediate German language courses at American universities. He also critically self-reflects on the *Befangenheit* which affects an American teacher of German when discussing Jewish topics.

Joachim Schl+r continues this exploration of Jewish culture within German academic settings and its interconnection with critical self-reflections. He undertakes a meta-analysis of the academic discipline of Jewish Studies at German universities and ponders his subject position, which he shares with a significant number of his German colleagues, of being a non-Jewish German academic conducting Jewish Studies in Germany. He contextualizes this unique academic situation within and reflects on individual and collective motivations for the general German *obsession with things Jewish*. His discussion is intertwined with thoughts on his own research, particularly a recent project conducted in Israel.

My own paper similarly draws on research conducted in Israel and integrates this with critical self-reflection. I will present an analysis of an oral history project I am currently conducting among German Gentiles who live in Israel. While their individual motivations for and duration of living in Israel are diverse, all of them reflect on being German and non-Jewish in a Jewish State in a post-Holocaust time. As I share this subject position, my analysis is integrated with self-reflections for coming to Israel and conducting this project

Maria Diemling presents yet another discourse within which German/Jewish and Jewish/German relations are currently negotiated: the representation of Israeli/German romantic and sexual relationships in Israeli literature. She seeks to explore this sensitive topic of interpersonal relations within the context

of normalization in German/Israeli and Israeli/German relations on a

collective-political level on the one hand and the religious and Zionist condemnation of intermarriage with non-Jews and the rejection of anything

Chair, Dennis B. Klein (Kean University)

Joachim Schloer (Potsdam University)

What Am I Doing Here? Field Research in Germany's Jewish Studies

Research in ethnography allows for a personal introduction: I was teaching a course on "History of the Jewish People" for Berlin's newly founded Touro College in the winter term 2003/04. But I could not sign the official papers, because I am not Jewish, my (Jewish) director had to do that for me. Because of this strange experience, I declined the offer to teach the second course. But the ethnographic curiosity was awakened: What am I doing here?

In the last ten or fifteen years, the field of Jewish Studies in Germany has been growing immensely. New institutes and chairs have been founded, and the number of students is impressive. Both faculty and students are, as a rule, not Jewish. This is not so different from the situation in, say, Bulgarian or Japan Studies - but it is very different from the situation in Jewish Studies in the United States, France, or England. This new interest can be interpreted in the context of an overall growing interest in "things Jewish", like music, literature, travel, or memorial culture - and while these fields do indeed attract scholarly attention (to name only Ruth Ellen Gruber's book *Virtually Jewish. Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe* (Berkeley 2002) or Sabine Offe's *Ausstellungen, Einstellungen, Entstellungen. Jüdische Museen in Deutschland und Österreich* (Berlin/Wien 2000), the academic area has not yet been researched.

For a start, this paper will try to collect some of the motifs that may have lead to this expansion on Jewish Studies in Germany. I will concentrate, again for reasons of personal experience, on the role of encounters with Israel and

George Peters (Michigan State University)

Teaching About Jews in German Class: Achieving Normalcy?

This paper addresses the problems faced by teachers of German language and culture in the United States when it comes to the issue of Jews in Germany. While courses on the Holocaust may have moved from the periphery to the center of the German Studies curriculum (Jennifer Redmann), acknowledgment of the Jewish presence in the Federal Republic today has not. Mention of Jews in Germany after 1945 is virtually absent in the communicative textbooks that introduce American students to German at the post-secondary level. Multiculturalism has become a staple in the lower-division curriculum, and our students hear the voices of various ethnic minorities, particularly Turkish and Afro-Germans, but not the voice of Jews. The Holocaust, though no longer a taboo subject in German class, arouses much the same *Befangenheit* in the American German teacher than it does among Germans themselves. Caught between the obligation to acknowledge the Holocaust as a defining event in the development of modern Germany and the desire to promote a positive image of a diverse and democratic society, the German teacher is likely to avoid the subject of German Jews altogether. For if Jews are mentioned, the association with the Holocaust is immediate and visceral. Until recently, it can be argued, there was no need to bring up Jews in Germany outside the topic of the Holocaust anyway, for the tiny Jewish presence there after 1945 seemed to exist primarily as a forceful reminder of that event, a watch guard to warn Germans and the world of the slightest sign that anti-Semitism was again gaining ground. But the situation has now changed dramatically, and even if it is still too early to say whether the resurgence of the Jewish presence in Germany marks a *renaissance of German Jewry* or a *reemergence of Jewish culture* (Y. Michal Bodemann), one thing is clear: an estimated 100,000 Jews are living in the Federal Republic. Older Jewish communities in the bigger cities have mushroomed in size and new ones are reappearing in towns where they have long been absent. Literature by and about German Jews floods the book market and debate about anti- and philo-Semitism captivates the German media. A new generation of younger Jews in Germany is asserting itself and having a profound effect both on the Jewish community itself and on the perception of Jews by Germans. In this paper I propose that it is time for German teachers in America to acknowledge this revitalized Jewish presence in Germany and to move toward a normalization of discussion about German Jews. I offer concrete suggestions for injecting relevant information into the beginning and intermediate levels of language instruction which, according to the *National Standards*, should also include the teaching of culture. I suggest how appropriate shorter texts can be integrated into the communicative curriculum and explain how the teacher might best handle the sensitive transition from focus on the Holocaust to an objective examination of

Anne Rothe (Wayne State University)

What are We Doing Here? Memory and Identity of German Gentiles in

In my paper I wish to present an analysis of an oral history project I am currently conducting, which examines a virtually unexplored aspect of post-Holocaust German/Jewish relations between *Befangtheit* and (a German desire for) normalcy: the motivation for and experiences of non-Jewish Germans living (temporarily or permanently) in Israel.

The individual motivations for and durations of living in Israel are diverse, ranging from marriage, religion and study to volunteering, and from a few months to several decades respectively. However, all of my interviewees (have to) reflect on their collective identity of being German and Non-Jewish in a Jewish State, on German collective memory and on German/Jewish relations in a post-Holocaust time.

Theoretically informed by a wide variety of psychological, historical and cultural research on individual and collective memory; self-identity; oral history; as well as historical, cultural, and literary studies of German-Jewish and German-Israeli relations, I discuss the role of the past in constructing an individual and collective identity as a (non-Jewish) German. I raise questions about different ways of commemorating the past, critically examining not only the collective forms of memory in East, West and united Germany but also in Israel. Together with my interviewees I will further ponder questions of nationality, ethnicity, religion, and Orientalism in our shared effort to understand what it means to be a German Gentile in Israel today, and, more generally, what it means to be a German Gentile in a post-Holocaust age.

Since I am not interviewing an Other but rather am in the same subject position as my interviewees, a German Gentile in Israel, my research is integrated with critical self-reflection on my own motivations for doing the project.

Maria Diemling (Trinity College Dublin)

Sleeping with the Enemy? German Lovers in Contemporary Israeli

Dominique Valentin's novel "Die Schickse", published in a German translation from the French in 1996, is an intensive and painful settlement of accounts with the Jewish family of her husband. The first-person narrator describes the mother of Moses, whom she loves, as an obstinate, grim and heavily traumatised woman who is incapable to accept the inappropriate choice of her son for whom she desperately wanted a Jewish bride. Having chosen to live in Germany after the war, the mother is convinced that she survived the Holocaust only to secure future generations of Jews. The conflict between mother and son can only be solved by the death of the former.

Sexual and romantic relations between Jews and Gentiles and, even more poignantly, between Israelis and Germans, are arguably one of the most sensitive topics in the delicate relations between the two groups. In this paper I wish to explore the contemporary Jewish, and more specifically, Israeli perspective on this still rather controversial topic. Do contemporary Israeli writers echo Dominique Valentin's experiences?

Undoubtedly Israelis and Germans encounter each other under the heavy shadow of the Holocaust. However, decades of careful political and cultural measures tried to instil Israeli trust in Germany and Germans. Perhaps simply the maturing of a new generation indicates that there is indeed some "normalisation" in the so-called "special relationship" between Israel and Germany. Do Israeli writers reflect this potential change in these charged relations in their work? Has it become legitimate to depict non-Jewish German speakers as personalities in their own right without resorting to stereotypes? Is there more to the German lover than either being represented as a blond Arian monster or a strangely desired off-limit fantasy? Fania Oz-Salzberger decided in her impressions on Israelis living and loving in Berlin to draw a line between sex and love, being interested in the strange intricacies of the former, but not wishing to intrude the later. Is this a difference maintained by Israeli writers? Is sex between Germans and Israelis with its many implications, not least as an expression of power, a topic Israeli writers are interested in? Last but not least, has it become permissible for an Israeli to fall in love with a German without having to fear ostracism?

I want to discuss in my paper mainly writers of a younger generation who might be less known outside Israel. It would be interesting to contrast their depictions with those of Israeli writers belonging to a different generation, such as Aharon Appelfeld who, in his book "Caterina", sketches the disastrous pre-WWII marriage of a young Jewish woman to the violent "Goy" Adolf. My main lines of inquiry, however, focus on the religious and Zionist condemnation of intermarriage as a threat to the physical survival of Judaism and on the "German Sonderfall" which is directly related to the experiences of the Holocaust.

Is Dominique Valentin's bitter account a concession that "normal" love between Jews and Germans after the Holocaust is nearly impossible or do

Session Number: 4.8

Session Evolution of Jewish Prayer and Ritual

Session

Chair, Eliezer B. Diamond (Jewish Theological Seminary)

David Bernat (Wellesley College)

Phinehas and Intercessory Prayer

The major motif in the interpretive literature, related to the Torah character Phinehas, is the Aaronide's zealotry. A secondary trope, however, in Ancient Jewish literature, involves the association of Phinehas with intercessory prayer. This link is quite remarkable, in that not once in scripture is Phinehas portrayed as engaging in the act of prayer. My presentation will examine sources in Josephus, Pseudo-Philo, Midrash and Targum that manifest the Phinehas -prayer nexus and attempt to account for the phenomenon. The inquiry will focus upon "micro" factors, such as the singular verbal usage of PLL in Psalm 106:30, as well as broader concerns, such as evolving Jewish attitudes toward atonement, prayer and the role of the Priesthood.

Reuven R. Kimelman (Brandeis University)

Pesukei De-Zimrah: Origin and Composition

This study attempts an explanation of how the section of the morning liturgy, Pesukei De-Zimrah, came into being. Ensnared between the section of "The Morning Blessings" and "The Shema Liturgy," Pesukei De-Zimrah has received insufficient scholarly attention. The major exceptions are the three studies of Leon J. Liebreich, "The Compilation of the Pesuke De-Zimra," PAAJR 18 (1948-49), pp. 255-267; "The Impact of Nehemiah 9:5-37 on the Liturgy of the Synagogue," HUCA 32 (1961), pp. 227-237; and "The Pesuke De-Zimra Benedictions," JQR 41 (1950), pp. 195-206, that of Ezra Fleischer, *Eretz-Israel Prayer and Prayer Rituals As Portrayed in the Geniza Documents [Hebrew]*, (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988) chapter four; and Israel Ta-Shma, *The Early Ashkenazic Prayer* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2003), chapters 3-4. In its present form, Pesukei De-Zimrah follows the standard rabbinic model of creating units of liturgy by encasing biblical lectionaries with blessings. The result is a tripartite pattern of blessing(s), Bible, blessing(s). This pattern in the classical liturgy accounts for the structure of the Temple service, the Hallel service, the Shema service, the lectionary readings of the Torah, the Haftarah, the Scroll of Esther and in some rites the liturgical reading of the other Scrolls. The difference is that whereas the others are of Late Antiquity, Pesukei De-Zimrah is of medieval vintage. The structure of Pesukei De-Zimrah opens and closes with a hymn/blessing, entitled Barukh she'amar and Yishtabah respectively. Encased within the blessings are an assortment of biblical materials. The first, Yehie kavod, is a medley of verses from all three sections of TaNaKH, though primarily from Psalms. Next comes the last six psalms of Psalms (145-150) with some other psalm verses attached to Psalm 145. Next is a series of Barukh verses culled from the conclusions of the various books of Psalms. This is followed by a series of biblical lectionaries from 1 Chronicles 29, Nehemiah 9, Exodus 14, Exodus 15, and a selection of verses from Psalm 22, Obadiah 1, Zachariah 14. The purpose of this study is to explain the meaning and structure of such a heterogenic unit by tracing its historical development from the classical rabbinic material through the medieval witnesses. The contention is that by uncovering its diachronic development light will be shed on its synthetic meaning. Indeed, it will argue that theories of synthetic meaning that ignore its diachronic development are misleading. The point is that liturgical studies must follow that of critical biblical studies in uncovering the history of the text before postulating the meaning of its final form. This study follows the model employed in my study "The Shema' Liturgy: From Covenant Ceremony to Coronation," ed. Joseph Tabory, *Kenishta: Studies in Synagogue Life*, Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan Press, 2001, pp. 9-105. Abstract Pesukei De-Zimrah Origin and Composition Reuven Kimelman Pesukei de-Zimra is not a hodgepodge of biblical selections. Rather it is composed of two sections with one climaxing with Psalm 150 with its theme of all praising God, and the other climaxing with Az Ysashi with its theme of all acknowledging divine kingship. Since the telos of the whole is the recognition of divine sovereignty in nature and history it serves as a prelude

to the Shema Liturgy.

Jay Rovner (Jewish Theological Seminary)

Two Early Witnesses to the Formation of the Miqra Bikkurim Midrash and Their Implications for the Evolution of the Haggadah Text

The midrashic elaboration of the Exodus narrative encapsulated in Dt 26, 5--8 is basic to the Passover Haggadah liturgy. Because Mishnah Pesahim 10.4 prescribes the expounding of that passage (*doresh me-Arami oved avi*), it is generally assumed that the Midrash found in standard, i.e., Babylonian, medieval European, and modern Haggadahs dates in large part to the Tannaitic period, even though the corresponding Erets Israel version contains very little midrashic adornment. A manuscript fragment from the Cairo Genizah reveals that the standard text began with precious little midrash as well, and a second one provides an equally brief, but very different, alternative which shows a process of augmentation that, in combination with the first version, would eventually lead to the fulsome standard midrash. The latter did not really evolve until post-Talmudic (Gaonic) times. The unique style of the full midrashic composition will be examined to show that liturgical concerns, as well as midrashic ones, combined to produce the standard midrash. A handout provides a synoptic table of early Haggadah midrash texts in comparison with the standard one.

Jonathan S. Milgram (Jewish Theological Seminary)

The Cohen and Levi's Exemption from Pidyon Ha-ben

Pidyon Ha-ben, the redemption of the first-born son, is performed on a child when neither his father nor his mother are of Cohen or Levite ancestry. That is to say, the child of a Cohen or Levite man or woman is exempt from redemption.

This paper will examine the nature and historical development of this exemption. The relevant biblical and rabbinic sources will be examined. We shall see that in the biblical texts the rationale for the exemption is unclear. In some works of tannaitic literature the exemption, although unstated, is assumed whereas in others the exemption may be stated outright.

However, some scholars have cast doubt on whether the mishnaic halakha to this effect is actually talking about the redemption of first-born sons. It would seem that not until the middle generation of Amoraim is the exemption clearly stated.

The main questions to be dealt with in this paper, therefore, are what is the earliest source which assumed the exemption and what is the earliest source to state the exemption? Furthermore, if indeed the earliest sources assumed the exemption, to what is this assumption due? Through the analysis of exegetical possibilities in the biblical text as well as rabbinic sources and parallel non-rabbinic materials we shall present the historical development, as

Session Number: 4.9

Session **From Mysticism to Reconstructionism**

Session

Chair, Christian Wiese (Universität Erfurt)

Martina Urban (Vanderbilt University)

Mystical Experience and Sprachkritik: Buber's Early Religious Poetics

The first decade of the 20th century was a period of *Sprachkritik* (criticism of language). Nietzsche's observation that language was inherently *fraudulent and faulty* and cannot serve as a cognitive vehicle to gain knowledge of the world and ultimate reality challenged all subsequent cultural and philosophical discourse. Science, as Mauthner contended, cannot *grasp reality through the gross pliers of language*, and Landauer maintained that *"language cannot serve to bring the world closer to us."* But Mauthner offered a new prospect when he claimed that *"critique of language is the road to mysticism."* Buber sought to demonstrate precisely that. In this context of language skepticism, I examine the role and use of language in Buber's first sustained interpretation of mystical experience.

Buber's early writings on mysticism make evident that his interpretation of Hasidism served him also as a contribution to the *Sprachkritik*, for they abound in fin-de-siècle rhetoric. Terms are often directly drawn from Nietzsche's *Geburt der Tragödie* denoting the primordial origins of both Greek tragedy and the human condition. To the Nietzschean *Urschmerz* Buber adds similar neologisms, *Urbeginn, Urseele, Urtruebung, Urmensch*, each of mystical inflection. He also invents terms conjoining a pantheistic perception and a unitive experience of reality (*All-Einung, Allgewohnte, Allgeschehen, Allheit, Alltrieb, Allzeugung*) and introduces terms from the then nascent existentialism: *Einsamkeit* (loneliness), *Leid* (suffering), *Angst* (anxiety), *Schuld* (guilt). The abyss (*Abgrund*) is yet another important trope of the crisis of culture invoked by Buber. The abyss denotes the void wrought by the collapse of the certainties of ordinary knowledge. The Hasidic mystic encounters the abyss through speech. In acknowledging the divine source of language, the mystic knows that speech can also be a gateway from the outer, *illusory* reality of the world to the noumenal, *inwardness of reality.* In this respect he overcomes Mauthner's 'godless' mysticism. Buber speaks of *the word as an "abyss through which the speaker strides."* Although rational knowledge of the noumenal is unattainable, it may be approached through speech borne by an intuitive feeling of the world's inner unity. That Buber appropriates Hasidism as a means to engage in a wider discourse on the meaning of reality, truth, illusion and symbolic representation of reality is also attested by his rendering of a well-known trope from Beshtian Hasidism. *Ahizat eynayim* *an illusion* is in Hasidism transmitted as part of a parable of *the king who built a magical palace.* Significantly, *ahizat eynayim* denotes for Buber a *Spiegelung* (reflection) rather than an *illusion.* Here he alludes to Nietzsche's view that the perception of reality as governed by phenomenal experience is but a veil of Maya, obscuring one's lived-experience of the true essence of things. Transcending the divisive phenomenal world and language, lived-experience is *but a & reflection (Spiegelung) of the Ur-Einen* (primordial unity). For

Buber, as I will argue, language need not necessarily be an impediment to

Eric Caplan (McGill University)

Must, Ought, May: Contemporary Reconstructionism's Retreat From Mordecai Kaplan's Language of Obligation

Promotional material on the Jewish Reconstructionist Federation's web site states that Reconstructionism "does not view inherited Jewish law (halakha) as binding" and, instead, "recognizes that in the contemporary world, individuals and communities make their own choices with regard to religious practice and ritual observance." This assertion raises a central question: does the movement believe that individuals should enjoy complete freedom in crafting a personally meaningful Judaism or do they see being a member of the Jewish people as carrying with it certain demands? In short, are Reconstructionists obligated to do anything? This paper compares and contrasts Mordecai Kaplan's response to this question with perspectives evident in contemporary Reconstructionism.

Mordecai Kaplan believed that traditional Jewish law was inoperative in the modern age. At the same time, however, he believed that all civilizations must articulate standards to influence group behavior and make their presence felt. Accordingly, he argued, for example, that synagogue membership should be contingent on the commitment to provide one's children with a Hebrew and religious education, to marry only within the faith, and to attend religious services at "fixed, and not too infrequent, intervals." He believed that communal institutions should formulate general ethical standards to govern their activities and set in place a process to deny membership and positions of leadership to those who violate these principles. He encouraged groups of Jews to formulate a set of ritual guidelines that they would adhere to voluntarily. His "Guide to Jewish Ritual", published in "The Reconstructionist" in 1941, was meant to facilitate this process. It set forth minimalist and maximalist standards for ritual observance, but made clear that individuals who did not live up to the minimalist program were not fulfilling their responsibilities to the Jewish people.

Contemporary Reconstructionism avoids the assumptions of obligation that permeate Kaplan's thinking. This is evident in a variety of Reconstructionist documents including: the "Kol Haneshamah" prayerbook series, the position papers delineating the movement's view of lay-rabbinic relations and the role of the non-Jew in the synagogue, the first volume of the new "Guide to Jewish Practice" (the other volumes have yet to appear), and the discourse that has taken place in "The Reconstructionist" and in "Reconstructionism Today" on the movement's relationship to halakha. This hesitance to use a language of obligation is evident not only in discussions of Jewish ritual, but also permeates the movement's treatment of foundational principles that are understood to be defining beliefs of the movement.

Dean Hoge's study of contemporary American Presbyterianism and Donald

E. Miller's portrayal of America's new paradigm churches make clear that the Christian denominations that are presently thriving are the ones that make

Randy L. Friedman (Brown University)

Kaplan and Dewey on the Reconstruction of Religion

The similarities between John Dewey and Mordecai Kaplan's notions of reconstruction are striking. Though there is a good bit of debate surrounding this branch of the American pragmatist family tree -- Mel Scult maintains that William James was much more influential than John Dewey in Kaplan's work, pointing out that Kaplan's work on reconstruction pre-dates Dewey's Reconstruction by approximately fifteen years -- Mordecai Kaplan can be read as an inheritor, interpreter, and advocate of Deweyan pragmatism. Kaplan's groundbreaking work in modern Judaic thought sought to reorient Judaism much in the same way that Dewey sought to challenge and redirect philosophy, and, at least in *A Common Faith*, to reconstruct certain categories of religion. Kaplan and Dewey share a belief in the value and function of the community at the heart of a pluralistic society. And both appreciate the function of the religious, freed from the weight of supernaturalism, mythology, and dogma. Kaplan's philosophy of religion is pragmatic in the Deweyan sense of judging beliefs as true by looking to their value in and through experience (which is shaped by and which shapes the life of the community). Kaplan also shares with Dewey a functionalist pragmatism, which emphasizes the utility of certain beliefs and ideals at the level of community. Following Dewey, he understands truths to be more akin to hypotheses than fixed principles whose authority lies beyond the horizon of the past, and so beyond reconstruction.

Three themes or aspects of Kaplan's pragmatic functionalism stand out. The first deals with the traditional notion of truth, often expressed in religious traditions as a fixed principle, linked with the past and sacred texts. For my purposes, it is sufficient to note that Kaplan takes on James and Dewey's understanding of truth as something that happens to an idea. For these pragmatists, truth is best understood as an adjective that describes an idea or practice which works. Un-anchoring a tradition from its past is itself a pragmatic tradition which dates to Emerson's last sermons, *The American Scholar*, and the *Divinity School Address*. The future is seen as the most important and leading horizon (it determines our present more than the past). The second theme is compound: Kaplan recenters authority in our present experience. Like Emerson and James, Kaplan urges an unmediated appreciation of the *rightness* of the individual to determine the meaning

and force of her obligations. Like Dewey, he does not turn to individual experience, but to the needs and demands of

the community to flesh out the possibilities of the present. Finally, Kaplan argues for a thoroughly naturalistic or *transnatural* understanding of God or, as he puts it, the God-idea. Through all of this, Kaplan and Dewey share a functionalist understanding of the central categories of religion which focuses on their dynamic and pluralistic possibilities.

Session Number: 4.10

Session On the Production of Jewish Culture

Session

Chair, Caryn Aviv (University of Denver)

Marc M. Epstein (Vassar College)

Silence is Golden: Making Sense of the Golden Haggadah

PLEASE NOTE:

Following standard art historical practice, I'll need left and right slide projectors and screens. I hope that this can be accommodated without additional charge, as this is a session on art, and I imagine other contributors will require similar resources. Thanks!

Scholarly focus on the Golden Haggadah, a manuscript written and illuminated in Barcelona around 1320, and now add ms 27210 in the British Library, has long been centered upon its mode of production. Two different artists have been identified, the style has been analyzed comprehensively, and the quality of its illustrations has been assessed, and held up by some as an indicator of the fact that the work could not have been illuminated by Jews. These concerns have largely eclipsed interest in the apparently *conventional* sequence of narrative iconography that proceeds the haggadah text. My paper explores the choice and order of the iconography, as well as certain details of the illuminations that situate it within what can be understood as an extremely learned Jewish patronage context, and in a social milieu with specific implications for our understanding of this masterpiece of medieval Spanish illumination.

Jeremy Stolow (McMaster University)

Orthodox By Design: On ArtScroll and Its Audiences

<I> Please note that I have also been invited to participate as a discussant on a roundtable, proposed by Prof Jeffrey Shandler (Rutgers U), "Jews/Media/Religion: Mapping a Field, Building a Resource". I would like to request, if possible, that should my paper be accepted for inclusion in the conference, that it be scheduled on the same (or an adjacent) day as this roundtable. </I>

Abstract:

This paper reports on an ongoing investigation of contemporary articulations of religious identity and their mediation through urban markets for print commodities. My specific site is a cultural field encompassing a prominent and rapidly expanding English-language Judaica publishing house, ArtScroll Publications, the cadre of authors, editors and activists who constellate around this press, and the communities of (predominantly Jewish) readers and consumers of ArtScroll products, who are transnationally dispersed across several settings, including New York, London and Toronto. Through the analysis of textual and historical sources, interviews, and an ethnography of local consumer and reading practices in the 'Jewish neighborhoods' of these three cities, I seek to shed light on the patterns of mediation, negotiation, assimilation and resistance that are shaping emergent relationships between Jewish religious authorities and the (real or imagined) communities of adherents to whom they address themselves.

ArtScroll in fact constitutes a major cultural and religio-political initiative within the context of contemporary Jewish society. Since its inception in the late 1970s, this press has become one of the leading Judaica publishers in the English-speaking world, furnishing an international market with a broad range of material of interest to Jewish readers, including bilingual Bibles, liturgical and Talmudic texts, translations of rabbinic literature, popular history books, biographies and memoirs, youth literature, novels, pop-psychology and self-help books, curriculum material, etc. Through these efforts, the ArtScroll seeks to promote, legitimate and inculcate in its readers fervently Orthodox standards of religious practice, and Orthodox orientations and values. The aim of the press is to supplant what they regard as illegitimate representations of Jewish knowledge, ritual practice, and historical imagination with new translations and new representations of the Jewish canon and Jewish tradition in the form of accessible, popular texts. On this basis, they seek to transform the patterns of adherence, identification and the everyday life practices of Jewish communities throughout the English-speaking world.

In my analysis, I assess ArtScroll's goals by examining them against the backdrop of the specific economic and cultural conditions of a reading public made visible through its expressions of demand for (both canonical and

popular) Jewish texts. I argue that an examination of the variety of local practices (such as are found in the communities of London, New York, and

Toronto) of consuming, reading, using ArtScroll books sheds light on the shifting patterns of technological mediation, commodification, and the

Eve Jochowitz (New York University)

Gefilte Variations: Dining Out in Russian-Jewish New York

Ethnographers, for many years, made the distinction between great traditions and little traditions to contrast the formal literary traditions of an elite group with the more informal or oral traditions that exist within the same culture, sometimes within the same homes. Following this somewhat problematic distinction, I divide the culinary venues of any cuisine into great theaters and little theaters. Restaurants, groceries and nightclubs are what I call great theaters of culinary performance to distinguish them from the little theaters of the home kitchen and table. My paper will examine the great theaters of restauration with attention to issues of hybridization, esoteric and exoteric interaction, gender, and identity within the context of the study of culinary tourism.

Great theaters in general and restaurants in particular have been fertile fields of enterprise for new Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, as they have proved for many New York immigrant groups in the past. Many new restaurateurs had other professions in their native countries. For immigrants facing a language and cultural barrier, opening a small business is easier and more practical than negotiating the labyrinthine bureaucracy needed to practice their own professions. Raising the necessary capital and running a restaurant are by no means easy, but being independent offers fewer obstacles than attempting to become licensed in one's own field. One crucial way in which great theaters in the Jewish context differ from little theaters is in the observance or indifference to kashruth, the Jewish dietary laws.

In the non-Ashkenazic Russophonic communities, many restaurants are traditionally kosher by consensus. In such a situation, the clientele knows the proprietor and knows that he or she (almost always he) adheres to a strict standard of kashruth, and they do not need independent rabbinical supervision to confirm this. In fact many Russophone restaurateurs in America whose restaurants are kosher have chosen to work with rabbinic supervision both for the sake of attracting guests from the non-Russophonic communities and because within the larger American Jewish community, a kosher business is understood to be under rabbinic supervision.

In exoteric interactions, eating establishments emphasize pan-Russian, or Russophonic identity rather than regional identity. Arbat is the name of a major street in Moscow; Rasputin, a figure from Russian history. The National could be named for this nation or the one left behind, but all of one or the other. Best Pearl Café and many others have generic names. Restaurant Rafael, Gan Eden, and The Kosher Restaurant refer to Jewish identity in their names but not to their geographic origins. Mels restaurant is not a restaurant that belongs to a man named Mel, as an Anglophone might assume, but takes its name rather from the initials letters of the names of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. The acronym, familiar in the former Soviet Union, is used ironically in

Respondent, Harvey E. Goldberg (The Hebrew University of

Session Number: 4.11

Session Medieval and Early Modern Jewish Philosophy

Session

Chair, Tamar Rudavsky (Ohio State University)

Andrew M. Hahn (Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion)

The Way Up and the Way Down are One and the Same: A Proposed Solution to Solomon ibn Gabirol's Form-Matter Matter-Form

A central issue in the study of Solomon ibn Gabirol's *Mekor Hayyim* concerns the nature of the relationship of form to matter. Scholars have long remained uncertain which of the two is "prior" in Gabirol's thought: Is form "higher" because it distinguishes and lends knowability to matter? According to this first view, matter is seen initially as an undifferentiated mass which needs to be distinguished by differing forms if it is to become a something. Or is the relationship precisely the reverse for Gabirol? Is matter that which is "higher." In such a schema (a notion whose consideration seems practically unique to Gabirol) form is likened to a uni-form overflow, and it is the nature of the matter's capacity to receive which makes for the distinctions between things in the world. The *Mekor Hayyim* seems to make both claims--one here and one there, such that Gabirol's thought seems at best inconsistent and at worst to contradict itself. In this paper, I attempt to resolve this dilemma and show that Gabirol's thought is both consistent and coherent. To do this, I will avail myself not only of the *Mekor Hayyim* but also of Gabirol's philosophical poetry.

Gregg Stern (Hebrew College)

Why Did Jewish Scholars in the South of France Engage in Scientific and Philosophic Study?

The Hebrew translations of no less than a well-stocked and selected library of the most significant Greco-Arabic scientific and philosophic works were produced and copied by the Jews of southern France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The remarkable prominence and proliferation of these texts and ideas among southern French Jews certainly calls out for explanation. And yet, just as intriguingly, the intense engagement with momentous new understandings and perspectives transmitted from another culture betokened by the existence of these texts in numerous copies never resulted _ to any significant extent _ in an independent critical engagement with science and philosophy.

Gad Freudenthal has sought to explain these developments within the framework of the sociological theories developed by Weber and his students largely to explain rise of the Western scientific enterprise in the seventeenth century. Freudenthal argues that the fundamentally theological and metaphysical interests characteristic of the Maimonidean program to which southern French Jews were wedded provided the context and motivation for their significant scientific interests as well as ultimate impediment against the pursuit of science and philosophy for their own sake

In this paper, I would like to critically examine Freudenthal_s explanation from the unusually rich perspective of the controversy over philosophic study that took place in the South of France at the beginning of the 14th century (1304-1306). Profound Maimonidean commitments clearly animated all of the southern French scholars who participated. Abba Mari_ ben Moses of Montpellier became concerned that the philosophical works recently translated _ into Hebrew _ especially the epitomes and middle commentaries of Averroes _ and the biblical and rabbinic interpretation that they had inspired were endangering the foundations of Judaism. Abba Mari_s discourse in the context of the controversy is thoroughly Maimonidean. He argues that the philosophic secrets of the Torah are being inappropriately interpreted and revealed, and that the authority of Maimonides as the final arbiter between Greco-Arabic philosophy and Jewish tradition on central religious issues is not being respected properly.

Abba Mari was probably most concerned about the work of Samuel ibn Tibbon of Marseilles (d. 1235), his son Moses, and his son-in-law Jacob Anatoli, who together provided some of the most important philosophic translations out of the Arabic as well as the most controversial biblical commentaries to southern French Jewry. The centrality of the Maimonidean legacy is no less prominent in the discourse of the southern French philosophic translators, biblical exegetes, encyclopedists, poets and talmudists who opposed Abba Mari_s efforts to restrict scientific and philosophic study. Such voices include Jacob

ben Makhir ibn Tibbon, Levi ben Hayyim of Villefranche, Yeddiah ha-Penini of Béziers, and Menahem ha-Meiri of Perpignan. Like Abba Mari, his opponents

believed that the Torah hid scientific and philosophical truths and saw Maimonides as the founder of their spiritual path.

While Maimonidean discourse is clearly pervasive in southern French Jewish

Jacob Adler (University of Arkansas)

Epistemological Categories in Joseph Solomon Delmedigo and

It has long been suspected that the *_Rabbinsch Mathematisch boeck_* listed in the posthumous inventory of Spinoza's possessions, is in fact *<I> Sefer 'Elim </I>*, by Joseph Solomon Delmedigo (YaShaR mi-Kandia) (Amsterdam, 1628). It can be shown that Spinoza's epistemological categories--Experience, Reason, and Intuition--are derived from the parallel categories laid out in Delmedigo's treatise, *<I> Ner 'Elohim </I>*, which is contained in *<I> Sefer 'Elim </I>*. Not only do Delmedigo's categories correspond with those of Spinoza, but there are tangential similarities too striking to be coincidental. Both, for example, use the same example to illustrate their categories, namely, the proportion 2:3::4:6, and both cite the same proposition of Euclid's *Elements of Geometry* in support of this proportion. Both, in contrast with the Aristotelian-Scholastic tradition, assert that the same thing can be known by Experience, Reason, or by Intuition, as opposed to the more conventional view that accords to each kind of knowledge its unique object. Perhaps most strikingly, both Delmedigo and Spinoza assert that an assertion can be made by a single concept, as contrasted with the generally prevailing view that an assertion is made only when two concepts are conjoined (a view to which there seem to be no exceptions before Delmedigo and Spinoza).

It is not claimed that Spinoza simply took over Delmedigo's categories unchanged: indeed, Spinoza's epistemological views changed over his own lifetime, so that the initial borrowing was reworked in Spinoza's hands. Still, the similarities are striking enough so that Delmedigo's work is of great help in understanding Spinoza's categories. We stand in need of such help, because Spinoza's own descriptions of his categories are notoriously terse, with the result that interpreters have come up with the most varied understandings of what Spinoza means to say. Delmedigo, by contrast, is quite loquacious--many find him unpleasantly so--but this characteristic results in a fuller description of the epistemological categories.

One striking result is the deprecation of knowledge by tradition, one of the pillars of traditional Judaism. This deprecation is somewhat obscured in Delmedigo, who did not want to break with the Jewish community, but quite blatant in Spinoza, who did.

Another significant result is that Delmedigo's categories are essentially those of medical epistemology. He calls Galen, not Aristotle or Boethius, *<I> ha-hegyoni ha-me'uleh </I>*, *_the eminent logician_*. This connection with medical epistemology is not surprising, since Delmedigo was a medical doctor, having earned his degree at the leading European medical school of his day, the University of Padua. Medical epistemology, a field that has fallen into obscurity, was once a thriving field of inquiry, which developed in relative independence from philosophical epistemology. (Indeed, the words *_rationalist_* and *_empiricist_* were used to describe schools of medical

thought before they were used to describe schools of philosophical thought.)
The roots of Delmedigo's thought in medical epistemology help explain some

Session Number: 4.12

Session **Another Look at the 2000-2001 NJPS**

Session

Chair, Vivian Klaff (University of Delaware)

Ira M. Sheskin (University of Miami)

Density of Jewish Settlement and Jewish Identity

Jews and geography are inextricably related. This paper examines NJPS 200-01 results for four Density of Jewish Settlement strata. The first stratum is the New York Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area (CMSA), a 26-county area in southern New York, northern New Jersey, and southern Connecticut. The second stratum is South Florida (Miami, Fort Lauderdale, and Palm Beach). The third stratum includes 37 other metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) with relatively large Jewish populations. The fourth stratum (Rest of U.S.) includes the rest of the United States outside the top 40 MSAs.

This paper examines differences among these strata for about 40 different variables. Important demographic variables examined include age, household size, secular education, and income. Level of Jewish connections is examined via 1) the traditional measures of “Jewishness” (home religious practice, intermarriage, membership, and philanthropic giving), 2) measures of cultural connections, and 3) through some of the attitude questions included in NJPS 2000-01.

New York is by far the youngest and South Florida, the oldest. Average household size and secular educational levels are by far the lowest in South Florida, while home ownership is the highest. Median household income is highest in New York and lowest in South Florida and Rest of U.S.

But it is the geographic variations in religiosity and cultural/ethnic attachment that are the most instructive. Rest of U.S. shows the highest level of respondents who indicate they are “Just Jewish” and relatively low levels of home religious practice and Jewish philanthropy. But the fact that synagogue membership in the Rest of U.S. is quite high (in fact, the same as in New York!) reflects the fact that in these areas, if one even wants to interact with other Jews at all, synagogue membership is necessary. In larger metropolitan areas, one can maintain Jewish friendships without the necessity to specifically seek out other Jews. In places like Ames, Iowa one must go to the synagogue to find other Jews. This is an example of the lack of a Jewish milieu influencing behavior.

Jews who have moved to Rest of U.S. are much less Israel-oriented and are also much less likely to use most of the traditional Jewish media as a form of cultural or ethnic attachment, but are more likely to use the Internet for Jewish-related information! Jews in Rest of U.S. are most likely to view themselves as part of a cultural group and are much less likely to have all or most of their friends be Jewish.

This paper also examines certain results by U.S. Census Division and notes that the division of the data into the four Density of Jewish Settlement Strata is considerably more instructive than is examination by Census Division.

Sergio DellaPergola (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

U.S. Jewish Population, 1945-2001

Controversy accompanied the 2000-2001 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) since inception and through the final report release. This paper focuses on the plausibility of Jewish population size as estimated from the 2001 NJPS. The more recent data are discussed in the light of various sources of evidence on U.S. Jewish population since 1945. These include local Jewish population estimates, the 1957 CPS, the 1970 and 1990 NJPS, the 2001 AJIS, and independent population projections based on these various baselines. While the U.S. Jewish population size is difficult to ascertain, the momentum of growth tended to slow down over time. U.S. Jewry probably reached its peak around 1990, followed by incipient decline. Population aging – reflecting low Jewish fertility and increasing intermarriage rates – and a blurred willingness to identify underlie the more recent trend toward Jewish population stagnation and decrease, notwithstanding the continuing input of international migration.

Sidney Goldstein (Brown University)

Changes in the Geographic Dispersion and Mobility of the American Jewish Population: Evidence from the 1990 and 2000/01 National Jewish Population Surveys

This study makes use of the 1990 and 2000/01 NJPS to trace changes in the geographic distribution and internal migration patterns of Jews across the country. Our findings show a continuation of the long-standing decline in the proportion of American Jews living in the Northeast but at a slower pace. By contrast, the proportion of Jews in the Midwest has experienced modest growth. The two sunbelt regions exhibited different processes: the South saw a slight increase in its percentage of Jews, while the percentage of Jews in the West has declined.

As compared to 1990, a higher proportion of Jews in 2000 was geographically stable in the previous five years. Among those who moved, a higher proportion chose to relocate outside their 1995 town of residence, in a different state and particularly in another region. Migration status varies by area of residence: the Northeast, Midwest and the West have experienced growth in the proportion of interstate migrants. Only in the South did the proportion of interstate migrants decline slightly despite the fact that the region maintains the highest rate of Jews who changed their state of residence during the five-year interval. Both in the Northeast and Midwest, net interregional migration amounted to a loss of Jewish residents, for the former at a much stronger pace than in the late 1980s and for the latter at a lower rate. The South and West continued to gain Jewish population through slightly accelerated interregional movements.

The percentage of Jews who have never made an interstate move has declined. At the same time, the proportions of primary migrants (i.e. persons who lived five years ago in their state of birth and since then changed state of residence) and repeat migrants (i.e. persons who resided five years ago in a state different from their state of birth and since then moved to another state) declined, and that of return migrants (i.e. persons who moved back to their state of birth over the last five years) increased slightly. Primary, repeat and return migration tends to decline with increasing age. Very similar tendencies, both across time and between age groups, were revealed for types of interregional movements.

The proportion of Jews living in metropolitan areas declined. This reflects changes in metropolitan-nonmetropolitan residence in the Midwest, and to a lesser extent also in the South and West. Nonmetropolitan residence is strongly related to recent migration, with the relationships being increased over time. Finally, the overall percentage of bilocal residence increased very

Uzi Rebhun (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
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Paul Burstein (University of Washington)

Social-scientific Work on American Jews: Marginal or Mainstream?

Around 1980, Samuel Heilman was invited to contribute an article on American Jewry to the *Annual Review of Sociology*, one of the most important periodicals in mainstream American sociology. It was somewhat ironic, therefore, that the article described a sociology that was quite parochial—written almost entirely by Jews, read mostly by Jews, appearing in journals directed at Jews, or in books on publishers' Jewish lists. Much of the work focused on the internal concerns of the Jewish community rather than on broader issues. Although researchers who wanted to succeed at major universities had an interest in publishing in mainstream non-Jewish publications, few seemed to do so. Heilman concluded (1982:156) by expressing the hope that when in the future someone else is asked to review the literature on the sociology of American Jewry, the literature may appear less an expression of parochial interests than an American attempt to understand the Jewish experience.

This paper considers the extent to which social-scientific work on Jews has moved into the mainstream. It reviews work on American Jews appearing in major social-scientific journals, primarily sociology, but also economics, political science, and other disciplines—work on American Jews meaning both articles that focus on Jews exclusively and articles that consider Jews in the context of broader concerns. It addresses four issues:

1. To what extent has social-scientific work on American Jews entered the mainstream—that is, how many articles on American Jews have appeared in major disciplinary journals over the past few decades? The answer is, less than 20 per decade.
2. What are the concerns of such articles? To what extent do they focus primarily on Jews and their own communal concerns, as opposed to Jews in the broader context of social science? As might be expected, work in mainstream journals is less likely than work in Jewish-oriented publications to focus on Jewish continuity, and more likely to focus on Jews' economic attainment and political behavior and attitudes.
3. What do the articles have to say about American Jews? If our knowledge of American Jews were based primarily on articles in mainstream journals, what would we know? Among other things, the literature shows that Jews are very successful economically, but has no good explanation for this; and that Jews are becoming like other Americans in some interesting ways (the percentage believing in life after death has increased dramatically; observant Jews, like religiously conservative Protestants and Catholics, are moving toward the Republican Party). Overall, though, the literature is so sparse and diffuse that it provides little sense of what Jews are like.
4. Finally, what are the intellectual costs of the apparent divide between the literature Heilman described and work on Jews in mainstream journals? It may be argued that not only does the literature on Jews suffer from the division, but the mainstream literature suffers as well. The mainstream literature on racial, ethnic, and religious groups has impoverished views of both community

organization and assimilation, and could benefit by paying more attention to work on Jews appearing elsewhere.

Respondent, Moshe Hartman (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

Session Number: 4.13

Session* **What's So Minor About Jewish Literature?*

Session

The categories of "major literature" and "minor literature" have become ubiquitous in criticism and literary history.

This roundtable will examine questions such as: How are texts determined to be minor or major? Do these categories adequately represent Jewish literatures in their many languages, historical periods and genres?

Chair, Avi Matalon (Harvard University)

Monique R. Balbuena (Clark Honors College, University of Oregon)
Reading Jewish Literatures in Different Keys

Major and minor have become current and almost unquestionable categories in literary criticism. Following Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's <|> Kafka: Pour une littérature mineure </|>, the idea of a minor literature as something positive and revolutionary has dominated critical discourse, even as the a concept continues to be confused with the earlier and more traditional, or popular, view of the minor as unimportant.

Deleuze and Guattari discuss Jewish literature only insofar as their model, Kafka, is chosen for his position as a minority, as a Czech Jew within German culture, and for his interlinguistic negotiations. To follow this model, since Jewish communities have traditionally lived with or within other larger communities and manipulated multiple languages, we could conclude that Jewish literatures tend to be minor. But, of course, there are two problems here: one is the assumption that a minor literature can be produced only in a major language (usually an imperial and colonialist language), and the other is the exclusive identification of minor with oppositional, namely, politically oppositional. Those two conditions imposed by the Deleuze and Guattari model have the added effect of excluding from a minor canon several works that might be recognized as part of Jewish literature.

These are the issues that interest me, and if I cannot answer them I will, at least, look to problematize questions such as: Is Jewish literature always minor? Can literatures written in a non-major language (vernacular Jewish languages, for example) be minor? What is the role of the language used by the author in defining his or her literature as minor or major? Must a work be oppositional in order to be minor, and then recognized by academia and those who shape the canon? How historicized are the categories of major and minor themselves? How might the use of major and minor in music have influenced literary discourse and terminology?

My discussion will be informed by specific cases taken from Jewish literatures produced in colonial Algeria and in contemporary Israel and Latin America. It will encompass many languages (French, Hebrew, Ladino, Spanish), as well different historical and political conditions. I will combine a linguistic and neo-formalist approach with a sociological and historical one, in a critique that embraces both stylistic analysis and cultural theory.

Chana Kronfeld (University of California at Berkeley)
Jewish Literatures Beyond Deleuze and Guattari, Take II
"Jewish Literatures Beyond Deleuze and Guattari, Take II"

In this roundtable I hope to re-open for discussion my 1996 critique of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's theory of minor literature (cf. "Introduction" to my *On the Margins of Modernism*). In the light of recent discussions of Hebrew, Yiddish and Ladino literatures, there is an even more compelling argument today against this still influential thesis that the "truly minor" work can be written only in the language of the major culture. I show why this thesis is particularly tempting -- and dangerous! -- in the age of globalization, and as a counterpoint I offer an analysis of the common theoretical implications of studies by Gluzman, Mann, Hochberg and Balbuena. These theoretical implications compel a renewed focus on literature written in Jewish languages as the prototypical example for Jewish literatures at large.

Yehoshua Shay Sayar (University of California, Berkeley)

Tractatus Escatologico-Politicus: Biblical

Allusion and Intertextuality in the Poetry of Sami Shalom Chetrit

What does it mean for a poet who writes in Hebrew but is self-consciously marginal in Israeli culture and politics, a poet who is also a leading activist for social justice and ethnic equality, to make use of allusion and reference to the most canonical of Hebrew texts, the Hebrew Bible? In this discussion I will explore the relationships between several poems by Sami Shalom Chetrit and biblical texts to which these poems make express or oblique reference. I will show how the modern poems make use of the contexts of the ancient verses to communicate their political messages and how they capitalize on the displacement of Biblical Hebrew locutions and ideologies into a Modern Hebrew context. In several of the poems that I have chosen, Chetrit avoids apostrophe and instead makes use of a lyrical engulfment of the collective entity into a first-person plural subject. This 'choral mode' interpolates a posited collective into a political protest from the margins, allowing the poems to interact with biblical apocalyptic and eschatology in a way that re-orientes guilt and righteousness, re-localizes and re-nationalizes universalisms in the original sources, in order to produce an indictment of the speaker's specific body-politic regarding contemporary political calamity. Rejecting the eschatological exultation of the righteous nation and its self-exclusion from the terror of apocalypse, while at the same time clearly marking God's absence from the contemporary situation and from the poems' "modern apocalypse", these poems reorient the biblical material to include the collective of their poetic speaker in the eschatological event, disallowing withdrawal to a safe-haven, to the space of the unimplicated spectator, to apathy and self-righteousness. Opting to identify with classical-prophetic, rather than eschatological layers (e.g., of the Isaianic corpus,) Chetrit's poems engage and reactivate elements of social-criticism in the prophetic layer, thus mobilizing meanings embedded in the canon for a specifically contemporary political project. I will show how Chetrit's poetry generates its own modern apocalyptic in the absence of God and implicates the nation in apocalyptic wrath, thus appealing for national self-examination and political accountability.

Sarah Bailey (University of California at Berkeley)
Aestheticized Borders: Yiddish and German in Kafka's Rede über die jiddische Sprache

"The imminence of a revelation that never comes is the aesthetic experience."

-Jorge Luis Borges in "The Wall and the Books"

A growing body of literary criticism today draws its inspiration from concepts like "transgression," "border-crossing," and "hybridity." Seemingly more than ever before writers consciously play with genres, multiple subjectivities, and multiple languages in their works. It is with a critical eye turned toward this trend that I propose a re-evaluation of the relationship between German and Yiddish as expressed in Franz Kafka's "Rede über die jiddische Sprache." [Speech on the Yiddish Language]. The 1912 speech was given to an audience of German-speaking Prague Jews as an introduction to an evening of Yiddish-readings by the actor Yitzhak Löwy. In "Rede über die jiddische Sprache," Kafka is less interested in how to appropriate Yiddish for the German language (as the scholars Gilles Deleuze, Felix Guattari and Sander Gilman have claimed) than in conveying to his contemporary, German-speaking audience their paradoxical distance from the Yiddish language. In spite of the seemingly obvious similarities between the languages, a German-speaker's understanding of what Kafka might call the "essence" of Yiddish is severely limited--even more limited than that of speakers of other, less etymologically related languages. In fact, according to Kafka, Yiddish can not be translated into German. Kafka writes: "durch Übersetzung ins Deutsche wird [der Jargon] vernichtet. 'Toit' zum Beispiel ist eben nicht 'tot' und 'Blüt' ist keinesfalls 'Blut.'" [Via translation into German, Yiddish is annihilated. "Death" (Yiddish), for example, is simply not "death" (German) and "blood" (Yiddish) is in no way "blood" (German)]. By constructing this boundary between what would normally be considered lexical equivalents: "Toit" and "tot," "Blüt" and "Blut," Kafka fosters extreme attentiveness in his German-speaking audience, each member of which is forced to question his understanding of every word. Kafka's impermeable and almost invisible (surely, on some level "Toit" is indeed "tot") boundary between Yiddish and German not only provides the essay's vital tension, it is also reminiscent of the imminence in Borges' definition of the aesthetic experience itself quoted above. Reading Kafka's

essay in this way places it, and other works like it, in tension with the present-day discourse of "hybridity." This

discourse, which valorizes hybridity and transgression, can undervalue, or even ignores, the aesthetic purpose ascribed

Session Number: 4.14

Session The Passion and the Jews

Session

The four papers on this panel are concerned with depictions of the Passion in two distinct time periods: the medieval and the Modern. Michael Mark Chemers discusses the identification of the Muslim enemy with local Jews who deny the sacraments as revealed in the "Play of the Conversion of Ser Jonathan the Jewe By the Miracle of the Blessed Sacrament." Vivian Mann will consider a body of Aragonese altarpieces in which contemporaneous Jews figure prominently. Edna Nahshon will examine the presentation of the first Passion play in America, by its Jewish impresario. Matthew Baigell discusses "Barnett Newman's Fourteen Stations of the Cross--a Jewish Take."

Chair, Kalman P. Bland (Duke University)

Michael Chemers (Carnegie Mellon University)
Mohammed in their Mouths: Strategic Forgery and Forgetting in the
Croxton Play of the Sacrament

Focusing on the tendency of Jews in medieval cultural products to call out to the Prophet Mohammed, this paper attempts to trace out a plausible precedent for conflation of the Jew and Muslim that enables *The Play of the Conversion of Ser Jonathas the Jewe By The Miracle of the Blessed Sacrament* to be read as evidence of a trend of anti-judaism so pernicious that even a slight or remote source of cultural tension can cause anti-Jewish feelings to flare violently into the fore even in the utter absence of Jews. It is odd that scholars have made so little of this strange habit of medieval *ôImaginary Jewsö* to salute the Prophet of Islam in their speech. Scholars have assumed simply that Christian authors merely projected the practice onto Muslims, inferring incorrectly that Mohammed was the god of the Muslims (a mistake rendered popular in the *Chanson de Roland*), and compounded their error by placing the trumped-up oath in the mouths of their fictitious Jews. When seen in the light of the long, complex history of the collision and collusion between Jewish, Christian, and Islamic cultures during the Middle Ages, however, the evidence suggests that the Jew calling out to Mohammed may in fact be one trace of a far more complicated cultural practice of erasure, strategically ignoring certain distinctions between cultural groups while exacerbating others. Contextualizing these practices within the bloodlines of medieval antijudaism may render the *Croxton Play of the Sacrament* a far more lucid document than has otherwise been imagined. The patent anachronisms necessary to render the Jew and Muslim co-deicides, the intentional and strategic blindness towards Jewish law and custom necessary to lay blood libels and host desecration accusations upon Jews, and to put Mohammed in their mouths, and the cultural amnesia necessary to achieve through these myths the surrogation of the Imaginary Jew for the distant Muslim are all examples of the partial presence that Homi Bhaba has predicted is an inevitable result of the colonial discourse. What better example than the *ôImaginary Jew,ö* with his diabolical hatred of Christian sacraments and alliances with the Muslim enemy? There and Not-There, present through his very absence, his invisibility to official culture only magnifying the threat that he might be there somewhere, calling out to an alien prophet as if he were God, imprisoning his creators in a laughing/screaming wrack of fear of the unknown, local tendrils of the monstrous threat devouring Christian nations just beyond the borders of what to them was all they could conceive of a sane, spiritual world. Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ*, with its undeniable anti-Semitic and pre-Vatican II ideologies, may itself be seen as merely the latest eruption of medieval Christian anti-Jewish sentiments as a direct result

Vivian B. Mann (Jewish Theological Seminary)

Medieval Jews in the Retablos of Aragon: Actors in Christian History

The history of the modern period has accustomed us to think of Christian art as portraying Jews in demonic guises designed to inspire blame and hatred and to assume that Jews have always been similarly treated. A notable exception is the depiction of Jews in the "retablos," the altarpieces of Aragon, created during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Scenes from the Hebrew Bible in Christian art express one aspect of the Church's relationship to Judaism, its view of itself as the successor to the Jewish religion. In the medieval period, Christian antipathy toward Jews was expressed in themes such as the blindfolded Synagoga or by showing Jews performing heinous acts. A different portrayal of Jewish "Otherness" appears on Spanish "retablos." The Christian figures are standard types, but the Jewish figures surrounding them are late medieval Jews. Characterized by their beards, their dress, and physiognomic features, these Jews are sometimes sympathetically portrayed, while others are caricatures with exaggerated facial features. Both types may appear in a single panel.

Any attempt to account for the variety of Jewish images on the "retablos" is complicated by the fact that Jews were professional painters of altarpieces in Aragon. It is too simplistic to say the sympathetic portrayals are the work of Jews and the others are the work of Christians. Rather, the different depictions seem to reflect the Church's fear of Judaizing after the mass conversions of 1391, and writings by Christian theologians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Edna Nahshon (Jewish Theological Seminary)
Entertainment, Religion, Proprietorship: Protestant America, The Passion, and The Jew (1879)

The first American production of *The Passion Play* (1879) triggered one of the most explosive controversies in the country's theatrical history. Though it preceded by 125 years Mel Gibson's film *The Passion of the Christ*, the issues that were hotly debated then are surprisingly similar to those we grapple with

now: censorship and communal sensitivities, the religious identity of the artist as a marker of sincerity, the shifting boundaries between entertainment and sacred material, commercialism, and antisemitism.

Unlike the present, in 1879 the clergy, especially of Protestant denominations, was strongly opposed to the production, regarding the theatrical embodiment of Christ's sufferings as obscene and sacrilegious. The fact that it was not grounded in a devotional performance like the much-admired Oberammergau *Passion*, but was produced on a commercial stage, was deemed scandalous. The Jewish identity of Salmi Morse, the play's author, added fuel to the fire, with opponents using antisemitic stereotypes of the greedy and alien Jew in order to discredit the playwright and ban *The Passion Play*.

Yielding to pressure, the city authorities in San Francisco and New York managed to "kill" the production. However, though Morse's venture failed, it succeeded in engaging America for the first time in a serious debate concerning the trajectory of religion and entertainment in the public sphere.

This paper will examine the cultural and religious issues that were raised in 1879 in their historical context, and will relate them to the current debate on the fusion of entertainment and religion.

Matthew Baigell (Rutgers University)

Barnett Newman's *The Stations of the Cross: "Lema Sabachthani"* – A Jewish Take

Barnett Newman created the fourteen paintings that make up *The Stations of the Cross: Lema Sabachthani* from 1958 to 1966. He was one of several Jewish American artists, including Ben-Zion, Adolph Gottlieb, Louise Nevelson, Abraham Rattner, Mark Rothko, and Max Weber, to have used Christological themes during the 1940s and 1950s. Newman did not illustrate particular narrative episodes, but rather he used written texts to explain his choice of title and the suggested subject matter of what are, after all, fourteen canvases composed of black stripes on white grounds. His subject was the abandonment of man by God.

Through the middle 1940s, Newman often wrote about the unknown and the terror of life, and described how artists in other cultures dealt with these issues. By 1948, Newman came to the conclusion that people had to confront life alone, without external help and without sideward glances at the ways other cultures coped with the world mystery. He said that *"Instead of making cathedrals out of Christ, man, or life, we are making [them] out of ourselves, out of our own feelings."* This helps explain Newman's reasoning behind his stripe paintings begun in 1948—that the artist must, like God, create out of the void, that the artist must re-enact God's primal gesture. (Newman admitted the influence of Rabbi Isaac Luria's conception of the creation of the world here.)

But Newman was less convinced of his public, hardboiled self-assertiveness than his words seemed to have suggested insofar as he admitted that the subtitle of *The Stations*, the phrase *Lema Sabachthani* (Why have You forsaken me?), was part of the basic meaning of the Passion and therefore of his work. In various statements, Newman realized that the question, that of human suffering, had no answer. But he kept asking about it. He knew that the phrase, *"Lema Sabachthani,"* in the Gospel According to Matthew was based on Psalm 22:2 and ultimately ended in a plea for Heavenly deliverance. Newman also included in his *"Statement"* about *The Stations* passages from Pirke Avot 4:29 concerning birth, life, and death, but omitted the parts about the existence of God and of God's judgment. Newman, evidently, was hardboiled enough to refuse to invoke the Deity, but remained uncertain about his own strength in a world over which he exercised no control.

One meaning of *The Stations*, then, is that trust and belief in one's own self was not enough, but that ultimately there was nothing out there in which to have faith. Newman's real problem, then, was that he knew that he seemed to lack the faith to have faith. However much he wanted to build cathedrals to the self, he was still a solitary individual and a solitary Jew, scorned by the world, symbolically murdered in the Holocaust, with no recourse except to the never-ending cry, demanding an explanation that in

Abstracts for Session 5
Monday, December, 20, 2004 10:45 AM-12:15 PM

Session Number: 5.1

Session Jewish Studies, Cultural Studies, and the New Academy

Session

Chair, Paula E. Hyman (Yale University)

Todd M. Endelman (University of Michigan)

The Gate-Keeping Issue in the Development of Jewish Studies

The question of qualifications has troubled the field of Jewish studies in the United States for more than three decades and, in recent years, become entangled with the debate about the place and purpose of the fields comprising the "new" academy. This paper will trace the history of the "gate-keeping" issue and explore the political, administrative, and intellectual dimensions of how Jewish studies is defined and who is allowed to enter and

Steven J. Zipperstein (Stanford University)

On Cultural Studies and Recent Jewish Historical Writing

This talk deals with the degree to which it remains sensible to speak of Jewish Studies as a coherent field, with -- roughly speaking -- a consensual understanding of what is and isn't part of it, how to best master it, what it means to do it well or poorly? By way of example, the various ways in which some of the more thoughtful journals in the field -- Prooftexts, Jewish Social Studies, Studies in Contemporary Jewry, and Modern Judaism -- have wrestled with these, and complementary, issues will be analyzed in his presentation

Alan L. Mintz (Jewish Theological Seminary)

In Praise of the 'Backwardness' of Jewish Studies

In the second half of the twentieth century, Jewish Studies were exuberantly and hopefully liberated from the Hebrew colleges and seminaries to take their place in the curriculum of the American university. In light of the contested state of the humanities and the political turmoil in Middle East departments, it makes sense to reexamine the gains and losses of the this naturalization. I will make an argument on behalf of the salutary gap between progress in Jewish Studies and the disciplinary revolutions in cultural studies.

Session Number: 5.2

Session The Life and Thought of Emil Fackenheim

Session

Chair, Susan Shapiro (University of Massachusetts - Amherst)

Benjamin Pollock (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
Thought Going to School with Life? Reversals in Fackenheim's Philosophical Position

The question of the relationship between thought and life has stood at the heart of Emil Fackenheim's philosophical pursuits since his *Religious Dimension of Hegel's Thought* declared "the central problem of Hegelian philosophy" to be "the problem of the relation between all of human life and an all-comprehensive philosophical thought." But Fackenheim's unparalleled contribution to post-Holocaust thinking lies in his recognition that in order for thought to confront the fragmentation of life in the wake of the Holocaust with the requisite "intellectual probity", it must abandon aspirations for the kind of all-comprehensive sublation of life in thought which Hegel's own system sought to achieve. Thought today, Fackenheim famously announces in *To Mend the World*, must "go to school with life." The result of such schooling for Fackenheim's own thinking is his recognition of resistance itself "on the part of the most radically exposed" during the Holocaust not only as a novum in the history of human life, but also as an "ontological category" that lays a foundation for post-Holocaust thought. It is therefore with some surprise that one discovers that in his last years, Fackenheim raised serious doubts about his earlier conclusions regarding the relationship between thought and life. Indeed, in his last years, Fackenheim goes so far as to suggest that thought and thought alone has to power to lead life towards the mending of its fragmented condition after the Holocaust. Since such a suggestion implies a total reversal of Fackenheim's well-known post-Holocaust philosophical position, it demands our most serious attention. This paper will investigate Fackenheim's late reflections in the context of his career-long preoccupation with the question of the relation between thought and life. It will try to determine whether such a reversal of positions on this question is as revolutionary as it seems, or whether in fact, such a reversal has roots in Fackenheim's own early thought. And it will explore the kind of ramifications such a reversal has for post-Holocaust philosophy, ramifications that appear sharply opposed to the conclusions Fackenheim himself drew when he went

Michael L. Morgan (Indiana University)
Fackenheim on Judaism and Modern Philosophy

For Emil Fackenheim, Judaism and Jewish existence raised important challenges to modern philosophy, and at least from his writings of the 1960s through the publication of *To Mend the World* he reflected on how and why this was so. Unlike others, however, Fackenheim did not take these challenges to recommend a rejection of philosophy or its preeminence. They did, however, lead to significant revisions in understanding the content and nature of philosophical reflection. Tracing his thinking on these issues will reveal a deep and underappreciated continuity in his philosophical and

David Tracy (University of Chicago)

Emil Fackenheim: Between Philosophy and Theology

Emil Fackenheim's contribution has been on the boundary between philosophy and theology, a boundary he both reinforces and transgresses. One of the neglected aspects of his thought is the role of the "fragment" in mediating between these two different modes of discourse. I will address the philosophical and theological significance of the fragment, as well as other figures of discourse, in his thought.

Session Number: 5.3

Session The Canadianization of the Holocaust

Session

This session contributes to the study of the impact of the Holocaust on the post-war Jewish community; more specifically, we intend to build on the existing research on Canada. (For recent research see Franklin Bialystok's *Delayed Impact*, and the special issue of *Canadian Jewish Studies* 4-5, edited by Paula J. Draper and Richard Menkis).

Several characteristics distinguish the Canadian Jewish context. In 1945, the Canadian Jewish community largely consisted of eastern European Jews who were more recent immigrants than their counterparts in the United States. The survivors who arrived made up a proportionately large group in the Jewish communities of Toronto, Montreal and Winnipeg. Finally, with its state-sponsored multiculturalism, there exists in Canada an inherently difficult relationship between the retention of ethnic historical memory and nation-building.

In this session we will look at the survivors and the memory of the Holocaust in the Canadian milieu. We will examine: the tensions between the survivors and the rest of the of the Canadian Jewish community in the decade after their arrival (Bialystok); the distinctive developments in the 1960s, set against the transformation of the Canadian Jewish community in that decade (Troper); and the way in which narratives of Canadian multiculturalism were affected by the publication of of the monograph *None is Too Many*, which described and analyzed the Canadian government's inaction in the face of the persecution and destruction of European Jews (Menkis).

Chair, Haim Genizi (Bar Ilan University)

Richard Menkis (University of British Columbia)
The National Conscience Challenged: The Reception of Abella and Troper's None is Too Many

In this paper, I examine the reception of the best-selling historical monograph, *None is Too Many* (1982). In this book, Irving Abella and Harold Troper analyzed the Canadian government's adamant refusal to offer refuge to European Jews between 1933 and 1948. Many English Canadians felt that the book forced them to confront the myth of a historically benevolent and open Canada. Others feared that *None is Too Many* (and other works which were re-examining the relationship between Canada and its minorities) would fragment national narratives, and lead to an excessive tarnishing of the Canadian self-image. Within the Jewish community, it caused some to reflect on the role of antisemitism in Canadian society, and the ability of the Jewish community to counteract it. For both Jews and non-Jews, it brought the Holocaust closer to home after there had been much exposure of the Holocaust in the media, but never with a Canadian angle.

The work received little notice in French Canada, and was never translated. It certainly did not lead to a public debate on the relationship between French Canada and its minorities, and more specifically its Jews. This book on federal politics would not capture the attention of Quebec readers, unlike the later works of Mordecai Richler and Esther Delisle, which focussed on the antisemitism of French Canadian nationalist icons such as Lionel Groulx.

Franklin Bialystok (University of Toronto)
Greener and Gayle: Relations between Holocaust Survivors and Canadian Jews

This paper discusses the relations between Canadian Jews and survivors in early years after the arrival of the survivors, from 1947 to c1960. It examines the gap between these two groups in

the Jewish community. Canadian Jews could not, and did not want to comprehend the enormity of the Holocaust. They were more concerned with integrating into a post-war society that was more tolerant and more prosperous than in the inter-war period. These years witnessed a transition from the communal institutions of an immigrant culture to the establishment of a secure ethnic minority fully confident of their inclusion into the Canadian social mosaic. Consequently, the Holocaust was a tragedy that was not part of their world. The established community's collective memory, therefore, was based on historical amnesia. With the influx of the survivors, who ultimately represented some 15% of the community (the highest proportion of any country, second only to Israel), the make up of the community was changed. The established community regarded them as the newest cohort of greeners, or greenhorns, little different from the hordes of immigrants of earlier times. The survivors found their reception by the gayle, the yellowed ones, i.e. the establishment, to range from benign acceptance to hostility. The gap rested upon mutual misperceptions and expectations. Consequently, in Montreal and Toronto, where the vast majority of the survivors settled, there were two distinct groups with the Jewish community. This trend was less prevalent in smaller cities.

Harold Troper (University of Toronto)

Echoes of Holocaust and Canadian Jews in the 1960s

This paper discusses how a cascading series of events that occurred during the 1960s --events local, national and international in scope--helped reshape Holocaust memorialization and Jewish Holocaust consciousness in Canada. Taken together, these events moved the Holocaust from being, in the early 1960s, an intellectual landscape largely dominated by survivors and their children to become, by the end of the decade, part of the core foundation on which the organized Jewish community built an activist agenda and around which the larger Jewish community rallied. This shift can be traced from the 1960 capture of Eichmann and his subsequent trial in Jerusalem. It echoes through a succession of Canadian media events which inflated fears of a resurgence of Nazism in Europe and North America, through mid-decade in-your-face confrontations between Jews and neo-Nazis in Montreal and Toronto and into the Canadian Jewish experience of the 1967 Six Day War and the late-decade organized Canadian Jewish community's institution of a full-court press on behalf of Soviet Jews and Jews in Arab lands.

Session Number: 5.4

Session Dispassionate Analysis? Perspectives on the Public Debate Over a Controversial Film

Session

This panel considers the recent sociocultural phenomenon of *The Passion of the Christ*. Its purpose is not to revisit the film itself but rather to explore the implications of the public debate and near-culture war that emerged around the film. Panelists Susannah Heschel, Stewart Hoover, David Morgan, and Peter Ochs will draw on their own disciplinary backgrounds in history, media & communications, art history, and religious studies to contextualize both the film and the debate around it. While no doubt many scholars are "passioned out," nonetheless the film itself, the DVD release, and the inevitable debate over the awarding or non-awarding of cinematic prizes remain present in the public mind. More importantly, the phenomenon is and will remain a teachable moment for students in the many fields touched by

Chair, Michael G. Berenbaum (University of Judaism)

Chair, Jonathan Shawn Landres (University of California, Santa Barbara / University of Judaism)

David Morgan (Valparaiso University)

The Quest for a Manly Jesus in American Religious History

Gibson's cinematic portrayal of Jesus takes its place in more than a century of history among American Christians who have been anxious about representing the masculinity of Jesus. My paper will situate the film within this context and explore the enduring significance of this obsession, especially in light of Gibson's Traditionalist Catholicism, in which Mary plays a prominent role.

S. Brent Plate (Texas Christian University)

Transmediating Mythologies: Mel Gibson's Audio-Visual Spectacular

This paper will address the various mythical and ritualistic structures Mel Gibson employs in "The Passion of the Christ." As a film, it is both a new mythic creation and one that relies on very old means of relating a story. It borrows from hundreds of years of Christian rituals surrounding the "stations of the cross," medieval to modern Passion plays, the mystical visions of Anne Catherine Emmerich, and Baroque and Renaissance paintings. In the end, I argue, religious studies scholars must pay attention to the media of myth, and the ways that old myths are put into new media.

Respondent, Peter W. Ochs (University of Virginia)

Session Number: 5.5

***Session* Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation**

Session

Chair, Hindy Najman (University of Toronto)

Symbols and Constellations in Early Biblical Interpretation

Pamela Barmash (Washington University)

The Sabbath Laws in the Dead Sea Scrolls Revisited

The relationship of the legal interpretation of the Dead Sea Scrolls to rabbinic interpretation has been hotly debated. Added to this is the disputed linkage of the Dead Sea Scrolls to Karaism, an alternate stream of Jewish legal interpretation. This paper will focus on the continuities and discontinuities between the Sabbath rules of the Dead Sea Scrolls and rabbinic and Karaite and will argue that the Dead Sea Scrolls reflect a formative stage of biblical interpretation that was neither a proto-rabbinic nor proto-Karaite interpretive

Isaac Kalimi (Case Western Reserve University)
The Book of Esther and the Dead Sea Scrolls' Community

The Book of Esther and the Dead Sea Scrolls_ Community

By

Isaac Kalimi

Case Western Reserve University

This paper introduces one of the most aggravated problems in Qumran scholarship, namely the absence of the book of Esther among the manuscripts. It critically reviews variety of proposes by scholars and suggests that Esther was unacceptable since it included: (a) intermarriage between the Jewess Esther and the gentile Ahasuerus; (b) by asking the Jews to fast on the thirteenth day of the month Nisan for three days, Esther was asking Jews to fast on Passover and to abstain from eating the unleavened bread. These clear cut transgressions of Esther means, as a mater of fact, that either Esther did not know about the existence of the Torah at all or she knew the Torah_s laws but preferred to ignore its divine commandments. Both cases are far beyond the very fundamental theological principles of the members of the Qumran community who built their entire life around the Torah commandments. Nevertheless, the absence of the book of Esther altogether from among the Dead Sea Scrolls cannot be a model representing the general attitude of the Jews towards the book.

Alan Cooper (Jewish Theological Seminary)
On the Typology of Jewish Psalms Commentary

In this paper, I will discuss three kinds of traditional Jewish Psalms commentary, relating them to aspects of the persona of David, the putative author of Psalms. During the Graeco-Roman period, a three-fold understanding of "David" developed: he was viewed variously (and sometimes simultaneously) as an historical character, a messianic figure, and an "Everyman." Those three representations gave rise to three modes of interpretation: historical / biographical, eschatological, and personal, that is, with past, future, and present orientations, respectively. After a general introduction to this typology, I will provide some specific illustrations using

Moshe J. Bernstein (Yeshiva University)

The Prophecies of Balaam in Aramaic Garb

The four _oracles_ or prophecies of Balaam contained in Numbers 23 and 24 constitute a linked group of texts whose meaning is certainly enigmatic in their biblical Hebrew original. In addition to the intrinsic difficulty in the terse, poetic language, the ambiguity of the prophecies themselves leave room for a variety of interpretations. Such texts have therefore always provided fertile ground for Jewish biblical interpreters throughout the ages.

The Aramaic targumim _ Onqelos and the several Eretz Yisrael traditions reflected in the Fragment Targum, Neofiti, and pseudo-Jonathan _ represent some of the earliest systematic exegesis of these texts. The same lexical, grammatical and syntactical ambiguities which face an exegete today confronted the authors of the targumim, and, unlike the modern translator or commentator, they could not leave a series of dots to mark an untranslated text, comment in a footnote that the text being translated is emended, or present an alternative reading in the margin. The targumim had to render the text somehow or other, and it is in their grappling with texts of this sort that they give us the greatest insights into their techniques.

There has been no systematic attempt to study comparatively the translation technique, exegetical method and theology of the targumim of these texts, although attention has been paid to a few of the _messianic_ references in them. In this paper, I shall present the initial results of a comparative study of these Aramaic versions, employing methodology which I have used in the analysis of other targumic texts, focusing on areas of both convergence and divergence among these targumim in translation, exegesis and theology.

Session Number: 5.6

Session **Zionist Ideology**

Session

Chair, Mira Katzburg-Yungman (The Open University of Israel)

Dan Laor (Tel-Aviv University)

Szenes or Kasztner: Ideological Shifts in Israeli Responses to the

Dan Laor

Tel Aviv University

Szenes or Kasztner : Ideological Shifts in Israeli Responses to the Holocaust

March 18, 60 years ago, Germany invaded Hungary and undertook the extermination of Hungarian Jewry.

The Holocaust in Hungary is associated with two major figures: Hannah Szenes, who infiltrated into Hungary as an emissary of the Haganah, but was caught and executed (November 7, 1944) before she managed to save even one Jew from extermination ; and Rudolph Kasztner, a Hungarian journalist and a Zionist leader, who negotiated with Eichmann for exchanging Blut für Ware ("Blood for Merchandise"), which finally led to the rescue of probably few thousand Jews.

Both Szenes and Kasztner play a major role in shaping Israeli memory of the Holocaust. From the forties up to the late sixties, Szenes was commemorated as, so to speak, an Israeli Joan of Arc : buried in 1950 in the Mount Herzl national graveyard, she was constantly hailed in public ceremonies, in numerous books and articles, on stage, in the educational system etc. Kasztner, on the other hand, was treated as a villain - as it is reflected in the rhetoric of the so-called 1954 "Kasztner trial" in Jerusalem, where he was described by Justice Halevi as a person "who sold his soul to the devil" - an attitude which was acclaimed at the time by the Israeli press.

Though the Supreme Court of Justice - led by Justice Agranat - has rejected most of Halevi's arguments (1959), the change in public opinion in regard to either Szenes or Kasztner took place in the eighties and throughout the nineties: whereas Hannah Szenes was gradually moved to the margins, the attitude towards Kasztner has changed dramatically, up to a point where he has been represented as the real "hero" of that period.

Since Yehuda Kaweh's television documentary in 1982, this change can be perceived in television, in the theatre and other modes of performance (the opera), the press, and definitely by the new historiography of the Holocaust, culminated by the publication of a laudatory biography of Kasztner by historian Yechiam Weitz in 1996. However, this trend was recently attacked by attorney Shmuel Tamir (who played a major role in the 1954 trial) in his posthumous autobiography (2002), where Kasztner's mode of behaviour during the Holocaust is vehemently criticized. As for Tamir, the person who has gained the right to be fully admired in regard to that period is obviously Hannah Szenes.

The long term, still on going Szenes-Kasztner controversy - which plays an active role for so many decades - definitely reflects the ideological shifts in the

responses of Israeli society to the Holocaust, moving from an unquestionable solidarity with "gevurah" (heroism) to a more humble position which enabled an understanding of the complexities of the Shoah, and granted legitimacy also to

Gideon Katz (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

Aharon David Gordon as Secular Thinker

This paper will discuss the secularity of Gordon's thinking. The main argument is this: Gordon's thinking is secular in the sense that it rejects divine revelation as the source of Judaism; this rejection stems from an analysis of man's existence. Internal tensions in this thinking are revealed because of the size of its scope. The nature of man's existence requires Gordon to reject revelation and eternal truth and at the same time to affirm religion and the nation as the most authentic expressions of the expansion.

The yearning for expansion stems from the individual's incompleteness and culminates in the indispensability of the collective and its tradition, but expansion's drive also ends by rejecting the traditional meaning of religion and reducing the link between the individual and tradition only to what consciousness is dependent on. In short, from man's incomplete existence and the yearning for fullness, two contradictory trends emerge: collectivism and subjectivism.

At the end I will present the relevancy of Gordon's outlook to contemporary trends in secular-Jewish-Israeli life, through what is termed the return to the Jewish bookcase.

Avi Bareli (Ben-Gurion University)

Self-made Women, Men, and People: Voluntarism in the Public Writing of Nathan Rotenstreich

Nathan Rotenstreich was one of the main thinkers in the ruling party of early Israel, Mapai, and a gifted and well-known academic philosopher. At the core of his thought on the process of nation building in Israel in the fifties we find a Kantian concept of rational will. He puts the state at the center of his public thought, as an expression of Jewish collective will, but demands that the state of Israel base its functions on active citizens. Therefore Rotenstreich made an effort to unveil the inter-dependence _ and conflict _ between seeking sovereignty and adhering to the pre-state voluntarism of the Yeshuv.

There is a clear tension between establishing Jewish sovereignty in an effort to re-activate Jewish collective will and the political will of individual Jews, on the one hand; and, on the other, the fact that political sovereignty demands civil discipline and thereby somewhat contradicts voluntarism. Nevertheless, this tension is only partial, according to Rotenstreich, because sovereignty in a modern state consists in politicizing individual as well as collective will - in a rational or irrational way.

These two concepts, sovereignty and rational will, are two key concepts in the worldview of the European secular Enlightenment and Republicanism. They carry a break with Jewish tradition by focusing on earthly political self-rule, instead of promises for heavenly redemption. Modern secularism was clearly characterized by political activism or voluntarism and by an ambition to mold human society and politics in accordance with the imperatives of human rationality.

Rotenstreich_s Zionist and socialist worldview was an explicitly voluntaristic one. His thought aspired to a life shaped by rational volition, even though he was aware of the deep disparity between human reality and human aspirations. But in his eyes, realism should be used for finding a feasible way to mold human society, not to abandon altogether the very idea of a society shaped by collective and individual rational will. Rotenstreich was thus an overt left-wing Zionist, in the original sense of the term _left_ in demanding that the individual and the public should not bow their heads before social or national reality as it took shape, but rather deviate from it and modify it as they saw fit.

Rotenstreich_s first commitment was to the voluntaristic point of view that posits the centrality of volition guided by reason. This commitment was at the foundation of his strong bond with Kantian ethics and the values, interests and hopes of Labor Zionism. Voluntarism was the common ground for Rotenstreich_s convergence of Kantianism, Zionism and Socialism. Insistence on the volitional shaping of social and national reality is the main thread that connects Zionism with Socialism in Rotenstreich_s political view. And the essence of the secular Jewish identity that Rotenstreich advocates for the

Session Number: 5.7

Session **American Jewry's Relationship with Israel: 1970-2004**

Session

**Chair, Shaul Kelner (Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies,
Brandeis University)**

Ariela Keysar (CUNY Graduate Center)

The Rise in Attachment toward Israel Since 2000: New Data from the Longitudinal Study of North American Conservative Youth 1995-2003

One of the most striking findings of the third phase of the Longitudinal Study of North American Conservative Youth is the participating students' increased attachment to Israel in their college years. Emotional ties to that country have strengthened since 1995. While only 56% said that Israel was *very important* to them when they were age 13, presently 66% feel that Israel is *very important*. We attribute the increased attachment to Israel of this cohort over the years to the increase in trips to Israel and teenage exposure to formal and informal Jewish education. Among the college students 60% have now visited Israel compared to only 24% in 1995. Some have visited Israel more than once since entering college.

This panel study has followed the development of Jewish identity, behavior and attitudes from age 13 to age 22 of a representative sample of over 1,000 Americans and Canadians who *grew up* in Conservative synagogues. The project began in 1995 with The Bar/Bat Mitzvah Survey and continued in 1999 with the *4-Up* High School Survey. The 2003 College Years Survey is the third phase of the study.

The third phase of our study, like the previous two, involved a survey using telephone (CATI) interviews. For the first time, we added qualitative components. These innovations were in-depth discussions with some of the college students who participated in the telephone survey aimed at enriching the quantitative survey data with insights from the students. We used two qualitative methodologies: traditional face-to-face focus groups and new moderated on-line bulletin board group discussions. This qualitative material was collected to put *flesh* on the skeleton of the telephone survey.

Despite, and often in reaction to, experiences of anti-Zionism and the general assault on Israel on some campuses, most of the students in our sample report a remarkably high and increasing level of loyalty toward Israel. In the group sessions, students were especially revealing about how their Zionist commitments had intensified. Some students say that their Judaism is based on their relationship with Israel. They are grateful for the existence of a Jewish homeland. They are proud about Israel's accomplishments. Many of the modern Jewish heroes that the students named were Israelis.

Strong ties to Israel are linked to strong Jewish identity. Willingness to visit Israel was the most important factor predicting very strong Jewish identity among bar/bat mitzvah students. This paper will further explore whether this link continues to hold for college students.

Ephraim Tabory (Bar-Ilan University)

One Nation, Divisible, with Freedom and Justice for Some: The Discourse of American and Israeli Jews Regarding Israeli Political and

Theodore Sasson, Middlebury College

Ephraim Tabory, Bar Ilan University

Arrangements that mediated relationships in Israel between religious and secular Jews, Arab and Jewish citizens, Israelis and Palestinians, are increasingly coming undone. How can Israel respect the plural expressions of Judaism without encouraging fragmentation and schism? How can Israel maintain its democratic character while also preserving its nature as a Jewish state? How can security be guaranteed to all while also honoring the rights and aspirations of the Palestinians?

These dilemmas are increasingly core problems for Jews throughout the world, including in the United States. The non-Orthodox streams that dominate American Jewish life, for example, are increasingly unwilling to abide by constraints on their movements in Israel that, ultimately, question the legitimacy of their Jewish identity. The debate over Zionism, post-Zionism and the rights of Israel's non-Jewish minorities implicates Israel's relationship to the Diaspora: Is Israel a state of its citizens or a state of the Jewish people worldwide? Finally, Israel's protracted conflict with the Palestinians has contributed to a global surge in anti-Semitic sentiment and activity; it has also made the political support of American Jews for Israel more indispensable than ever.

At this formative stage in Israel's national development, we know surprisingly little about how American and Israeli Jews think about the major issues that impact on their relations with one another. This paper reports on a research project that involved over fifty 4-6 person peer group conversations conducted among nationals in Boston and New York, and in the greater Tel Aviv area. The respondents are mostly middle-class and middle aged (30-60) and at least moderately engaged in Jewish public life. Discourse analysis is used to examine the frames that characterize the manner in which the Israeli and the American respondents view four issues on the Israeli agenda: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; religious pluralism in Israel; Israel-Diaspora relations; and the Jewish character of the state of Israel. During the interview, each issue is first raised with a general question and then with trigger statements aimed at evoking the core cleavages evident in the public discourse. Identical interview schedules were used for the Israeli groups (in Hebrew) and the American groups (in English). Drawing mostly on responses to the question on the Jewish character of the state, this paper will present findings on the tensions between Zionism and Liberalism in the discourses of Americans and Israeli Jews. The American Jews from centrist Reform and Conservative communities, we find, tend to

express far more ambivalence than their Israeli counterparts concerning the possibility of a state that is both Jewish and Democratic. Borrowing from the

Social Issues discourses of civil rights in the United States, they are troubled by the notion

that a democratic country should make distinctions between its citizens. Israeli Jews, on the other hand, are more inclined to view the country as *prima facie* their own, and to regard the rights of Arab Israelis as contingent upon loyalty

Michael Galchinsky (Georgia State University)
The American Jewish Committee and the Birth of the Israeli Human Rights Movement

This paper will investigate the response of one Jewish non-governmental organization, the American Jewish Committee, to charges leveled by the international community in the late 1970s that Israel was violating Palestinians' human rights. In the contexts of the Cold War, the changing majority at the United Nations, and the General Assembly's Zionism=Racism resolution of 1975, I will trace the attempts of the AJC's Foreign Affairs Department to balance the NGO's commitments to international human rights, Israeli national security, and a secure Diaspora. I will demonstrate that the AJC staff took a double course: in public they stood in solidarity with Israel, at some cost to their perceived credibility as proponents of international human rights and American civil rights. In private, they devoted considerable efforts to the formation of a strong, liberal, human rights organization in Israel.

Drawing on original archival material from the Hilda and Jacob Blaustein Research Library at the AJC offices in New York, I will show that the AJC provided funds and technical assistance, quietly and through a confidential channel, to a fledgling group of Israeli human rights activists. The purpose was to build the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) into what the head of AJC's Israel Office called a "proper, non-political organization for the protection of the civil rights of all citizens of the country, in accordance with US models" (M. Bernard Reznikoff, Report from the Israel Office, Nov. 16, 1978).

At the same time, the AJC worked to undermine the legitimacy of the Israel League for Human Rights, which under the leadership of Israel Shahak had become affiliated with the communist movement.

I will argue that the AJC's involvement with ACRI and the League marked a new moment in the relations between Israelis and Jews in the Diaspora. For the first time, Diaspora Jews intervened in Israeli affairs in order to bring about changes in the state's approach to human and civil rights. I will analyze the risks associated with AJC's intervention, as well as the AJC staff's complicated motivations for undertaking it.

Session Number: 5.8

Session **Rethinking Rabbinic Views of Gender, Sexuality, and**

Session

Chair, Gwynn Kessler (University of Florida)

Ishay Rosen-Zvi (Tel-Aviv University)

Why Was Bilhah Drunk and Naked? Temptation, Inclination, and Gender Economy in the Testament of Reuben

This paper suggests a new look at the sexual ethics presented in the Testament of Reuben and the gender economy it implies. It does so by conducting a close reading of the story of Reuben's sin with Bilhah in T. Reuben 3:11-15, as well as other related material.

The observation laying at the basis of this paper is that the Testaments systematically retell the biblical stories on sexual sins in a way that present them as matters of thoughts and inclinations rather than actions; intra rather than inter-personal issues. I suggest that this transformation is related to yet another distinctive phenomenon of the sexual narratives in the testaments, in all of which women, rather than men, are presented as the offensive side of the forbidden act.

As various scholars (most notably M. de Jonge and J. Kugel) have already shown, the Testament's presentation of Reuben's sin owes much of its detail to existing Jewish traditions (as can be seen especially in the parallel story in Jubilees 33). These scholars, However, have not given enough attention to the deliberate modifications of these traditions by the Testament. They especially failed to explain why in the testament's version, and only in it, Bilhah is presented as being drunk and naked when Reuben come to her (T. Reuben 3:13). This unparalleled detail, I shall claim, is related to yet another unique characteristic of T. Reuben's version of the story: the emphasis lay no longer on the action itself (as in Jubilees, and, indeed, in the biblical story itself), but on the thoughts and inclinations preceding it. These two phenomena are in fact two sides of the same coin: The transformation of fornication (*porneia*) from a matter of actions to that of thoughts and inclinations, imply also a new gender economy in which women, rather than men, become the new danger. It is they who risk, in their very existence, men's struggle for singleness of heart and purity of mind.

This connection is further proven from the Testament's version of yet other biblical stories of sexual sins, namely The Watchers (T. Reuben 5:6-7), Judah and Bat-Shua (T. Judah 13) and Joseph and Potiphar's wife (T. Reuben 4:8-11 and T. Joseph 1-10). In all these cases the women are presented as dangerous temptresses - including an unparalleled description of the Watchers being tempted by the daughters of man - while, at the same time, the focus is transferred from the forbidden act to man's inner struggle with his thoughts.

I further place these transformations in a larger context, both that of the Testaments' own anthropology (the Evil Spirit and the ethics of singleness of the heart) and that of second temple Jewish-Hellenistic ethics in general. Finally, I suggest that the specific amalgamation, found in these texts, between the discourse of (female) temptation and that of (male) inclination, is an important shift toward a new discourse of sexuality (in Foucault's terminology)

Gail Labovitz (University of Judaism)

More Maidservants, More Lewdness: The Role of Freedom and Honor in Rabbinic Constructions of Female Sexuality

Rabbinic Judaism presupposes the permissibility of slavery, and legislates, at least on the theoretical level, for a slaveholding household and society. Yet the place of slavery in rabbinic literature has attracted very little scholarly attention. All the more so, the intersections of gender and slavery are at best peripheral to what literature does exist on slavery in rabbinic Judaism. Yet studies of slavery in other slaveholding cultures — for example, in the American South and elsewhere in the Americas, Islamic societies, ancient Greece, and in the Roman Empire of late antiquity (of which — some — rabbis were part) — have recognized that gender and slavery have important areas of conceptual overlap and interaction. In previous work, I have explored the ways in which the social categories of slavery and gender were intertwined and interdependently defined in rabbinic literature. However, although slavery and femaleness share similarities as forms of subordination to the male free householder, there are also important differences of power and social standing which differentiate free woman from slaves. In particular, it has been argued in the literature, what distinguishes the free woman from the enslaved woman is honor — honor which is accorded to the free woman and denied to the enslaved — and that one highly significant dimension of this honor is sexual in nature. Enslaved women are almost always considered available for sexual use by (or at the direction of) their masters, other free men, or even enslaved men. The free woman, on the other hand, is generally granted and is (thus) expected to maintain a bodily integrity which is unavailable to the enslaved woman. The chastity of the free woman, then, becomes both a highly valorized social expectation and a defining characteristic of the free woman.

So too in rabbinic literature and culture: while the male householder's sexual access to his female slave and her concomitant lack of sexual agency is rarely if ever addressed directly, the reality of such sexual contact is presumed in several ways, including the legal presumption that a freed female slave is not a virgin, and provisions denying any legally efficacious relationship between free male Jews and their half-siblings or offspring born to a slave woman. Similarly, female chastity for free daughters and wives is idealized, expected, and legally enforced (at least theoretically) in the rabbinic system. The nexus between these facts, however, has not yet been explored in works either on slavery in the rabbinic system, or on rabbinic constructions of (female) sexuality. This paper will thus explore how these conceptual linkages have served to shape rabbinic ideas about modesty, chastity, female sexual agency, sexual exploitation and violence, and the like.

**Dvora E. Weisberg (Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of
The Woman in the Middle: Family and Loss in Baba Metzia 59b and 84a
The Woman in the Middle: Family and Loss in Baba Metzia 59b and 84a**

This paper examines two talmudic stories (b. Baba Metzia 59b and b. Baba Metzia 84a). Each story features two rabbis, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. In both cases, the rabbinic brothers-in-law quarrel and at least one of them dies as a direct result of the conflict. The woman in the story attempts to mediate or forestall the escalating conflict, but she fails, losing her brother and, in the second story, her husband as well.

What role does the wife/sister play in these stories? In both passages, the woman is given a voice, but her voice is ignored by her male relatives. What does the Bavli achieve by placing women in the middle of a dispute between rabbis? What do these stories suggest about the efficacy or value of marriages between rabbinic families? How does the Bavli portray relationships between husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, and colleagues who are also kin? Which relationships are privileged and which are downplayed? What creates alliances in rabbinic culture, the exchange of women or the exchange of Torah, shared kinship or shared study?

My interest in these stories has been sparked by anthropological and literary studies of marriage and kinship ties. Many traditional cultures employ the exchange of women to create kinship ties between individuals or groups. Through the marriage of a daughter or sister, a father or brother builds relationships with another man; the stranger becomes kin and a (potential) rival becomes an ally. Unfortunately, the goals of this type of exchange are not always realized. While woman exchange may be designed to overcome past enmity or to prevent its emergence in the future, alliances created through marriage do not always prevent hostilities between in-laws. Lynda E. Boose notes that in the epic poem *Beowulf*, hostilities frequently break out between tribes despite marriage clearly intended to prevent those hostilities. Ironically, the exchanged woman is the greatest loser when war breaks out; she stands to lose both her husband and the male members of her family of origin. Moreover, although she is the gift that cements the alliance, she has no influence over the parties to the exchange; she cannot prevent the violence that destroys her family.

The Jews of antiquity created alliances through marriage. Rabbinic texts encourage men to seek marriage with the daughters of scholars, and sources indicate that sages often married into other rabbinic families. These marriages, sometimes involving the marriage of a younger sage and his teacher's daughter created or strengthened alliances between rabbis. The stories found in Baba Metzia 59b and 84a suggest that such alliances can fall short of their desired ends, and that when they do, the results can be

Session Number: 5.9

Session Images of Travel in Poland From the First World War to the Shoah

Session

This panel seeks to analyze images of travel to Poland written in Yiddish and German between the First World War and the Shoah. In so doing, it seeks to frame in a new comparative context questions of how Jewish writers wrote about Jewish life in Poland, and how, in turn, their experiences shaped their writing. To be sure, this problem has been dealt with in the past - by Steven Aschheim in his ground-breaking study *Brothers and Strangers* (1982), by Leah Garrett in her recent study of Yiddish travel narratives, *Journeys Beyond the Pale* (2003), and others. This panel differs in two respects. First, it sets differing images of travel through Poland in a comparative context by including writers who worked in Yiddish and others who worked in German. These writers were, moreover, based in three different regions - the U.S., Germany, and Russia. Second, the panel crosses disciplinary boundaries by including papers from the fields of literary studies (Skolnik, Grossman) and history (Finder), and a respondent from anthropology (Kugelmass).

Jonathan Skolnik's paper focuses on Alfred Döblin's *Journey to Poland* (1926), situating that text within a wider German-Jewish "literature of discovery" of Eastern Jewish life after World War I. Skolnik further relates Döblin's portrayal of Polish Jewry to the images of masses and crowds in his novels *Wallenstein* (1920) and *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (1929), showing that such images were for him emblematic of modernity and urban life. Gabriel Finder turns to the American Yiddish writer Jacob Glatstein, suggesting that his two novels, *Ven Yash is geforn* (When Yash Went, 1938) and *Ven Yash is gekumen* (When Yash Came, 1940), published after his 1934 trip to Poland, enrich our understanding of the period with their insights, often expressed symbolically, into the emotional lives and sensibilities of Polish Jews in the turbulent decade before the Shoah. The novels further mark a caesura in Glatstein's work, which by the mid-1930s became preoccupied with the fate of the Jewish people. Where Skolnik focuses on German and Finder on Yiddish, Jeffrey Grossman draws on texts from both contexts, exploring how the Yiddish writer An-ski and the German Jewish writers Arnold Zweig and Joseph Roth present Polish Jewry in the wake of World War I. Grossman focuses specifically on how cultural position helps shape each writer's perception of Polish Jewry and the war itself. Noting the important differences between Yiddish and German writers, Grossman argues further that all three writers share as a problem the position of the intellectual seeking to describe the broader Polish Jewish population in a period of duress.

Their disciplinary differences notwithstanding, all the panelists seek to explore how various writers constructed images of Polish Jewry that varied with the foreknowledge they brought to their subject, and with the ideas they sought to promote for their target audiences. The panel thus seeks to open

new paths for analyzing the images of travel across various Jewish contexts,

while also exploring points of contact among the disciplines for studying Jewish culture. **Chair, Jack Kugelmass (Arizona State University)**

Jeffrey A. Grossman (University of Virginia)

The Writer's Position and Polish Jewry during WWI

In *Brothers and Strangers* (1982), Steven Aschheim writes of World War I that it "became the testing ground of various prewar German images of the Ostjude," adding that "opposing forces vied with one another to influence the way in which the Ostjude would be treated and perceived" (139). Focusing on the East European context, David Roskies similarly points to competing narratives that emerged with the war when in *Against the Apocalypse* (1984) he writes of "the selective recording of history" that "came into play" at the time (92).

Writing against the backdrop of divergent histories in East and West, Aschheim and Roskies show how Jews within different cultural traditions responded to World War I and its impact on the Polish Jewish population at the time. This paper seeks a different approach to these texts and cultures. It does so by focusing on three Jewish writers who wrote of travels in Poland during or just after the war -- the German Jewish writer Arnold Zweig, the Galician-born Joseph Roth who wrote in German and lived much of his adult life in Germany, and S. An-ski (Shloyme Zanvl Rapoport) who had written in Russian and worked among the Russian narod before returning to Yiddish, and eventually writing his four-volume account of Polish Jewry during the war, *Khurbm Galitsiye* (1917).

This paper argues that, confronted with the shock of the war and its affect on the Polish Jewish population, each of these writers sought new ways to write about the people and events they witnessed, but underscored the problem of writing from their position as intellectual observer-writers. To be sure, as both Aschheim and Roskies suggest, the writer's situation within a specific cultural context -- German or East European -- did inflect his response to Polish Jewry during the war. But juxtaposing three different writers from three different contexts also highlights how, somewhat paradoxically perhaps, they shared a common problem -- that of writing as intellectuals about a population for which they felt affinities, but from which their own experience and place in society also distinguished them. Responding to this problem, these writers sought at various moments to foreground it and suggest ways in which it affected their presentation of Polish Jews. Thus, in his 1922 preface to the second edition of *Das Ostjüdische Antlitz* (The Eastern Jewish Visage, orig. 1920) Arnold Zweig claimed that "what was said and how [it was said] no longer concur upon my re-reading with the person I am today" (10). The newly positioned Zweig would thus have written a very different book about Polish Jews. By focusing on such self-reflexive moments, this paper seeks to open up new possibilities for analyzing the literary accounts of Polish Jewry in the

Gabriel N. Finder (University of Virginia)

Jacob Glatstein's Yash Novels between Fiction and History

In 1934 Yiddish poet Jacob Glatstein (1896-1971) returned after twenty years in America to his native Lublin to visit his dying mother. That journey transformed him. After his return to America he wrote two autobiographical novels based on this journey, *Ven Yash iz geforn* (When Yash went, 1938) and *Ven Yash iz gekumen* (When Yash came, 1940). The first novel describes the autobiographical protagonist's journey to Poland and his reminiscences of his youth in Lublin, the second his stay in a Polish sanatorium before his return to America. While the first novel calls attention in blunt, anti-nostalgic images to the fragmentation and corrosion of Polish Jewish life by World War I, the second evokes the impending doom of Polish Jewry. Glatstein's poetry published after this journey is likewise suffused with foreboding, loss, and alienation, but the Yash novels are milestones in his development from an experimental modernist, a leader of the Yiddish *Inzikh* (Introspectivist) circle of writers, into a chronicler of Jewish tragedy wrought by the Shoah, or *Khurbm* in Yiddish.

Literary scholars have published astute studies of the inner voice and the dislocated, homeless Jewish self present in the Yash novels. (See Leah Garret, *Journeys beyond the Pale* [2003].) A historian of modern Polish Jewry, I am interested in exploring how these autobiographical novels might illuminate our historical understanding of Jewish life in interwar Poland. The deteriorating position of Polish Jewry in the 1930s is common historiographical currency, but the emotional lives of Polish Jews in the turbulent decade before the Shoah have proven much more elusive to historical examination. Always intrinsically tenuous, historical reconstruction of personal experience is even more complicated in this instance because it is invariably tinged by the process, akin to a reflex action, of collapsing Jewish perceptions formed under Nazi occupation into the prewar period. As Glatstein visited Poland in the mid-1930s and published his Yash novels before the full force of the destruction of Polish and European Jewry was underway, his account, shaped by his acute literary sensibility, affords us unalloyed insights into Polish Jews' frame of mind before the catastrophe.

The sanatorium in *Ven Yash iz gekumen*, whose patients are mostly Jews, is a case in point. This sanatorium is a pointed metaphor for the frayed nerves of Polish Jews in the 1930s, frayed because by mid-decade they lived under extreme pressure and their future in Poland seemed excruciatingly uncertain. This experience would be hard to reconstruct using conventional historical sources, but its pervasiveness in the Yash novels adds texture to our historical understanding of what it meant to be a Jew in Poland in the 1930s.

The aim of this paper is, therefore, to add the historian's perspective to this panel's interdisciplinary exploration of images of travel in Poland before the

Jonathan S. Skolnik (University of Oregon)

Alfred Doebelin's Journey to Poland

This paper investigates ways in which Alfred Doebelin's writing strategies in his historical novel about the 30 Years' War and anti-Jewish persecutions shaped his perceptions of Eastern European Jewry in his *Journey to Poland*, and how both of these works anticipated some of his later political positions on Jewish questions. My thesis is that Doebelin developed a new conception of the "masses" that nonetheless was sensitive to the specificity of Jewish identity in

Session Number: 5.10

Session Performing in Jewish: Queer Perspectives on Jews and Entertainment (A Roundtable)

Session

This roundtable builds on the influential work of Jay Geller, Sander Gilman, Daniel Boyarin, among others, who have documented long-standing stereotypes of male Jews as unmanly, soft, a little bit queer. The figure of the *_unmanly_* Jewish male has fascinating resonances with stereotypes of male homosexuals, who have historically been portrayed as effeminate. As this panel notes, these stereotypes have hardly gone away, but continue to circulate in both American and European popular culture. But, this is not just about men. Jewish women and lesbians, too, have long been associated with *_gender trouble_*: Jewish women have been stereotyped as *_unladylike_* in their self-assertion; and lesbians have been *_masculinized_* by virtue of their desire for other women. Taking off from Judith Butler's influential theorization of gender performativity (although in no way limited by that analytic), we turn to the field of popular entertainment to ask how the putatively non-normative sexual and gendered embodiments of *_the Jew_* and *_the homosexual_* have been staged and negotiated in modernity.

Chair, Robert Baird (Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation)

Ann Pellegrini (New York University)

Matti Bunzl (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

Lori Harrison-Kahan (Harvard University)

Daniel Itzkovitz (Harvard University)

Session Number: 5.11

Session The Bavli in Its Middle-Persian Context

Session

Chair, Herbert Basser (Queen's University)

Yaakov Elman (Yeshiva University)

Between Rabbi and Dâdwar: R. Nahman as a Member of the Exilarch's Court and of the Rabbinic Acculturated Elite of Mahoza

R. Nahman, known in the Bavli as, son-in-law of the Exilarch (Hullin 124a), was also known as an expert in civil law, and a member of the exilarch's court. It is clear from an account that illustrates his strained relations with rabbis from outside Mahoza, that he represented to them a member of the acculturated elite that was perhaps more greatly influenced than was good for a rabbi by Persian mores (Qid. 70a-b). He was one of the two rabbis of whom it is recorded that he contracted temporary marriages in accord with Sasanian practice (Yeb. 37b, Yoma 18b). In addition, he was one who was influenced by upper-class Persian values in his judicial decisions (BB 14a, 148b). He was also the Bavli's exemplar of an expert in Sasanian law, and was therefore well placed to criticize it (BB 153a-b). Considering all of the data that the Bavli presents on R. Nahman, we find him to have been a pivotal figure who served as a bridge between the exilarch's Persianized court and rabbinic circles.

Geoffrey Herman (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Exilarch and Catholicos: Towards A New History of the Talmudic

As a line of rulers claiming descent from the royal House of David, the Exilarchate, which commanded a central place in Babylonian Jewish history for about a millennium, has stirred the imagination of many, from ancient times to the present day.

The Talmudic period of the Exilarchate has not received full-length scholarly treatment since the late 1960s with studies by Beer and Neusner. These works themselves suffered from serious methodological shortcomings; among other things, both were too naive in their reading of the rabbinic sources and, at the same time, marred by a tendency towards highly speculative historical reconstructions. Studies that have appeared in the interim have gone only some of the way in advancing the state of the scholarship on the Exilarchate, and have not addressed more than select issues. In view of the developments in Talmudic scholarship, including the literary analysis of rabbinic material and new methodologies in the study of the Babylonian Talmud, and also new MS discoveries, a systematic re-examination of the Talmudic and Geonic sources on the Exilarchate is necessary.

Current studies tend to be based exclusively on Jewish sources since no contemporary non-Jewish source mentions the Talmudic Exilarchate. In order to understand its role and position within the broader context of the Sasanian Empire an attempt to determine Sasanian religious policy, in general, should be undertaken. To this end comparison with the situation of other religious minorities living under Sasanian dominion should prove helpful. The institution of the Catholicos, the bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon and supreme and officially acknowledged leader of Persian Christianity, about which there is an abundance of source material, much of it contemporary to the Talmudic era, serves as a good parallel for the study of the Exilarchate. The sources include detailed synod proceedings, correspondence, historical and ecclesiastical chronicles, sermons, hagiographic accounts, and patriarchal lists. Whilst the history of the Catholicate is not straightforward, with many issues of contention surrounding such questions as its date of origin, powers, and legitimacy, and with propaganda, polemic, and legend filling the sources to blur the historian's vision, the comparison may serve to enhance our understanding of both institutions. A comparative study may also prove mutually complementary for whilst our knowledge of the Exilarchate is best until roughly the 5th century, the information on the Catholicate tends to be richer for the period from the 5-7th centuries. Likewise, whilst our rabbinic sources on the Exilarchate tend to be hostile, much of our source material on the Catholicos derives directly from the desk of the Catholicate, itself. Similarities in rhetoric and perception may be discerned. The Jews and Christians on occasion even evoked the same, or similar, biblical proof texts to voice their criticism of their leadership institutions or express their enthusiasm when Persian kings befriended their leaders. The largely untapped (for our purpose) wealth of mostly Syriac source material on the Catholicate should be central to future

Samuel Secunda (Yeshiva University)

Locating Babylonian Rabbinic Study-Culture in its Zoroastrian

Perhaps the most significant feature of Amoraic and Stammaic rabbinic culture was the intensity, complexity, as well as the value attached to religious learning. Recently, a number of scholars have noted through analysis of both the legal and narrative material contained in the Babylonian Talmud (BT), that this feature becomes more prominent with the passage of time. Additionally, an investigation of the relevant data reveals that rabbinic study-culture underwent a punctuated development with the most notable level of energy and sophistication around the time of Rava in the fourth generation, and that of the Talmud's redactors in the early sixth century. Our understanding of this development would benefit greatly by examining the BT's cultural context, and especially by looking at Zoroastrianism, the State-religion of the Sasanian Empire. An initial probe reveals a number of interesting results that show striking parallels to, and important departures from Babylonian rabbinic culture.

1.) One of the most important sources for our subject is the *h_rbedest_n*, a work consisting of Avestan passages with their accompanying Pahlavi Zand (commentary) that is devoted to the subject of Zoroastrian study. Among other things, this text shows us some of the techniques that Zoroastrian priests employed in oral learning, a deep cultural fear of forgetfulness, as well as the extent of obligation placed upon teachers to teach and upon students to learn. Moreover, as David Goodblatt has written regarding the institutional character of rabbinic academies, we find that Zoroastrian *h_rbeds* (teachers) also taught small circles of students without any indication of institutional permanence.

2.) Learning was undoubtedly a prominent aspect of the Zoroastrian priesthood. Yet unlike the rabbinic texts, most of the sources that describe Zoroastrian study highlight memorization of the Avesta and accompanying Zand without much reference to intellectual creativity. At the same time, we are able to locate a number of legal and hermeneutical techniques that the Zoroastrian exegetes employed in the study of sacred texts which imply that there was a strong Zoroastrian creativity.

A number of Iranists have shown the profound impact that various heretical movements had on both Sasanian kings and priests — a fact that can help us navigate our paradox. One result of the clash between the authorities and religious revolutionaries was a decision to limit the unfettered access to Zoroastrian learning, while at the same time encourage an intensification of Zoroastrian teaching by those priests who could be trusted. This led to proclamations directed to the masses stressing the value of listening to, and studying the sacred texts, though especially the importance of respecting and obeying the priests who knew them intimately.

While knowledge of these events is certainly important for understanding the evolution of Zoroastrianism, it also has great bearing on similar issues faced

by the rabbis. These include but are not limited to: The attitude of acculturated Jews towards rabbinic authority and vice versa, rabbinic _outreach_ projects

Session Number: 5.12

Session Health Status and Jewish Life and Continuity

Session

The physical and health status of American Jewry, and the impact of the health status of members of this community on communal life is an issue of great importance that has hardly been studied. Few studies of American Jews have included health questions, and most general health studies either contain too few Jewish respondents for analysis or do not ask questions about Jewish identity and identification.

This panel is designed to address this issue by bringing together three studies using three different methodologies to examine issues of health and illness in Jewish life. The first paper, by G. Glicksman, uses quantitative methods to examine the impact of poor physical health on communal and ritual behavior of American Jews. The second paper, by A. Glicksman, uses qualitative methods to explore a mental health issue for Holocaust survivors in the context of the American Jewish family. The third paper, by W. Kavesh, will look at the relation between quality of life as defined by the contemporary clinical (medical and psychological literature) and contrast that to how high quality of life has been understood in classical Jewish texts.

We hope that the panel will not only provide important information on the impact of health issues on the Jewish community but also serve as a stimulus to encourage other researchers to consider these issues in their own work.

Chair, Roberta Sands (University of Pennsylvania School of Social

Gail Glicksman (Reconstructionist Rabbinical College)
Physical Health Status and Jewish Communal and Ritual Life

The 2000/1 National Jewish Population Survey data gives us a first chance to examine the relation between health status and aspects of Jewish communal and ritual life. While Jews are often regarded as having strong interests in health and health-related issues, there is little data on how health status affects the lives of American Jews.

Of the 5148 respondents in the survey, 5114 (99.3%) answered a question regarding self-rated health. This single question has been shown to be an important predictor of both morbidity and mortality, although it is not clear why the question works as such a strong predictor. This question gave respondents a four point scale (excellent, good, fair, and poor) from which to select. Of the respondents providing an answer, 17.8% (n = 914) said that their health was fair or poor. Additional questions asked about health conditions that limit activities (13.5% of the respondents) and how services for such persons are paid for.

This presentation will examine the impact of poor health and restricted activities on the Jewish communal involvement and ritual lives of the respondents who report health problems. The presentation will be divided into two parts.

Part One will provide a socio-demographic picture of which members of the community report health problems. While it must be understood that the sickest members of the community are probably not represented in a survey such as this, the sample does provide enough information on health impairment among American Jewry that we can draw a general picture by age, gender, income, family status, etc. Are there systematic differences along specific socio-demographic characteristics between those who report poor health and those who do not?

Part Two of the presentation will focus on the ways in which the respondents in poorer health participate (or don't participate) in Jewish communal and ritual life. We will also seek to determine if there are attitudinal differences between the two groups. Finally, we will determine, using regression techniques, whether health status or some other socio-demographic characteristic(s) are the key determinants of responses to questions about involvement in Jewish

Allen Glicksman (Philadelphia Corporation for Aging)
The Role of the Holocaust in the Family Lives of Survivors

Much of the psychological literature on Holocaust survivors is built on the assumption that the experience of the War has a direct effect on the lives of survivors into old age and therefore the way in which the war experience affects the family lives of survivors. This presentation will argue that in fact the experience of the war is sometimes mediated through the prism of current-day needs of the survivor in their family situation. By comparing comments from two groups of Holocaust survivors regarding the way they deal with the War in their family lives, we will come to understand how current needs and exigencies mediate their attitude toward speaking about their war experiences.

The two data sets, both collected by the author of the paper, were designed to better understand the experience of refugees in old age. One data set focused on the needs of older refugees living in the community, and included a sample of Soviet Holocaust survivors and their adult children. The second data set was collected for a study of the experience of trauma survivors in old age, and also includes interviews with survivors and their children. However, the second data set was collected among survivors who came soon after the War ended, mostly from Eastern and Central Europe.

Both data sets included open-ended and close-ended materials. Interviews were transcribed and analyzed. Some quantitative analyses were completed as well.

The differences between the two groups were striking. Among the survivors who came right after the War, a great deal of tension existed between the survivors and their children (when there were children) over speaking about the experiences of the survivors. Many felt that for a number of reasons the details should be kept from their children, even when the children were fully grown. On the other hand, many of the older Soviet survivors, seeking something to pass on to their grandchildren, and having no formal system of belief (Judaism, Communism) or culture (Russian, Ukrainian) to pass on, found that their own family legacy of triumph and survival against tremendous odds became their bequest, and so these elders desired to tell their stories. It was the context of the elder_s relationship with family members, especially children and grandchildren, rather than the nature of the war experience itself, that

William Kavesh (Philadelphia VA Medical Center)

Quality of Life: Jewish and Secular Perspectives

“Quality of Life is the territory of novelists and philosophers”, writes one of the foremost social scientists active in the field. It is also an area of ferment within Jewish academic and religious circles, particularly with regard to decision making at the end of life. Some halachic thinkers question whether quality of life has any legitimacy as a factor to be considered in decisions related to the use of life saving technology. More broadly, the question arises as to whether such a concept is so imprecise as to defy useful application.

In this presentation, major advances in multidimensional social scientific definitions of quality of life will be presented and compared with aggadic, halachic and other parallels in Jewish sources. Quality of life is no longer perceived in narrowly defined disease or functional parameters. Cognitive functioning, self-maintenance, social functioning, psychological well-being, pain and discomfort, self-esteem, sense of mastery, sexual functioning and intimacy, life-satisfaction, and spiritual well-being are all dimensions that have been identified as important parameters of the quality of life.

Of these elements, the most wide-spread agreement across Jewish religious streams is found regarding pain. Based on ample aggadic and halachic precedents, there is a broad Jewish consensus that pain serves no spiritually redeeming purpose and that relief of pain, even at the risk of indirectly shortening life, is a key quality of life consideration. But Judaism also offers useful perspectives on many other quality of life parameters identified above. Examples of these parameters in Jewish sources will be given and the impact of those most germane to end-of-life decision making will be addressed.

Respondent, Samuel Z. Klausner (University of Pennsylvania)

Session Number: 5.13

***Session* Jewish Texts in American Contexts**

Session

Chair, Gary P. Zola (Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion)

Jody Myers (California State University, Northridge)
The Popularization of Kabbalah in America: The Contributions of Levi Krakovsky

Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (1886-1955) was prolific and innovative in his Kabbalistic writings, producing complex interpretations of previous literature. Unlike most of his predecessors, Ashlag believed that it was a religious duty to disseminate mystical teachings to a wide Jewish audience, and he predicted that eventually all humanity would accept the Kabbalah's path to salvation. Ashlag promoted the notion that the Zohar had anticipated by centuries many discoveries of modern science, and he described its teachings as the antidote to social conflict and hostility between nations. While the social-intellectual setting in which Ashlag lived and wrote was Jewish, he raised disciples in which he planted his conception of a new type of Kabbalist: a devout, venerable Jewish sage who reveals formerly hidden wisdom to Jews and non-Jews alike. These elements of Ashlag's teachings were well suited to devotees of Theosophy, New Age, and other occult-metaphysical traditions that grew stronger in America in mid- to late twentieth century. Jewish followers of Ashlag, especially those living outside of his immediate circle and within a largely non-Jewish society, have found a common language with these truth-seekers and would include them in their audience. Consequently, their popular versions of Kabbalistic teaching are eclectic and synthetic, containing a mix of different strains of Kabbalistic teachings, as well as symbols and concerns taken from the public discourse on science, world harmony, and the search for religious truth. This eclecticism is fundamental to the growth of a mass following incorporating peoples of all religions, and it has been adopted by Rabbi Philip Berg of the Kabbalah Learning Centre. However, while Berg has been most successful in promoting himself in this new role of Kabbalistic sage, Rabbi Levi Krakovsky (1899-1966), a student of Ashlag in the 1920s and 1930s, was the first to disseminate Ashlagian Kabbalah in America, and his teachings were more faithful to Ashlag's. Krakovsky published two books, at least two translations, and several pamphlets during his lifetime, and he left behind more than a dozen manuscripts. All of these were written for a mass audience of Jews and non-Jews. This paper will examine Krakovsky's published and unpublished writings, and assess his effort to appeal to a mid-twentieth century American audience.

Avinoam Rosenak (Hebrew University)
**Re-reading Rabbis Kook and Soloveitchik through the Prism of
Philosophy of Education**

The lecture will analyze the uses of K. Egan's educational and philosophical model (as presented in his *Individual Development and the Curriculum*), for understanding anew the writings of halakhic decision makers, whether on the level of halakhic rulings or on the level of their understanding halakhah as a cultural framework. For this purpose I shall compare two central halakhic authorities of the twentieth century who were also thinkers: Rabbi A.I.H. Kook and Rabbi J.D. Soloveitchik and I shall analyze their thought in the light of previous halakhic thinkers.

Egan describes four stages in the development of human relationship to the world, and I shall show how this model can be used to describe the development of human thought and culture. Egan speaks of four levels of relationship and development: the mythic, the romantic, the philosophic and the ironic. At the mythic and the romantic levels we understand the world according to the binary model. Children at these stages (especially the romantic one) desire heroism; they see the world through metaphors and they make sense of the world by seeing it as "a closed story" that will eventually end happily. Imagination and visual experience are crucial for the child's understanding at this stage. The philosophic level ruptures these world-views.

At this stage the world is seen as ruled by laws and norms. In the ironic stage one realizes that law is not found in nature but man's culture creates the law which organizes the world for him. The ironic person is accustomed to use along with philosophical tools also mythical and romantic elements in his or her past; components that were neglected, with philosophic disparagement, by those at the third stage.

As aforesaid, through this model we can understand anew the halakhic and philosophic difference between Rabbi Kook and Rabbi Soloveitchik with all the educational and sociological implication of these differences.

My lecture will argue that Rabbi Soloveitchik in his book *Halakhic Man* constructs the halakhah as a philosophical and schematic framework, in contrast to the ironic levels founded in Rabbi Kook's halakhic thinking. In the case of R. Kook, these analyses will be constructed in view of his halakhic writing and his diaries (as we can find in *Shemonah Kevazim*). Yet, while Soloveitchik's writings are on the figure of Halakhic Man, as a philosophical-cultural construction, I shall argue that Soloveitchik also makes use of what can be learned from the romantic level.

These differences lead to dissimilarity in understanding the history, theology and Judaism as a whole, between two schools of thought initiated by these two figures. My lecture will suggest how these differences may be understood by way of Egan's models.

Session Number: 5.14

Session **Sephardism and Hispanism: Constructions of Historical
Identity**

Session

Chair, Julia R. Lieberman (Saint Louis University)

Carsten Schapkow (Simon-Dubnow-Institute for Jewish History and Culture at Leipzig University)

The Relevance of Ibero-Sephardic Culture for German-Speaking Jewry in the 19th Century

Reflection on Iberian-Sephardic culture is central to the debate among German-speaking Jews in the 19th century on appropriate modes of Jewish identity in the era of emancipation. Discourses on *al-Andalus* or *Sepharad* were never just theoretical but were part of a lively discussion on modern Jewish identity in the German-speaking lands, especially when contemporary Sephardic culture in the Netherlands and in the Ottoman Empire, in particular in its use of language and writing, was taken into consideration as a point of orientation and comparison. This particular perception was one of intercultural mediation, a topic little examined to date in the study of modern Jewish history and literature. Talking about the Iberian-Sephardic culture established an image of intercultural community against an Christian orientated political understanding of a nation-state in the field of Romanticism.

The present paper seeks to analyze the discourse between writing on Iberian-Sephardic culture in *belles lettres* and *Wissenschaft* when dealing with Jewish authors who worked or participated as writers in one genre and stimulated discussion in the other, such as Gustav Karpeles, Meyer Kayserling and Abraham Geiger. I argue that the function of *cultural translation* (Walter Benjamin) is central for the creation of an authentic Jewish identity in the 19th century. These authors fictionalized the historical experience of the Iberian-Sephardic Jews and the figures and motives they shaped took on the character of *topoi*. Sephardic Judaism was viewed as a component of the cultural-historical developments on the Iberian Peninsula. In the perception of these recipients, their own German-speaking Judaism was counterposed to this Sephardic idealization. Orientation to Sephardic Jewry facilitated both positive and negative identification patterns among German-speaking Jews. It was precisely this ambiguity which allowed its recipients in Germany over the entire course of the 19th century to broach and utilize Sephardic Jewry in scholarly and literary discussion as a paragon for the development of a modern mode of Jewish existence.

The ability to communicate interculturally in Arabic, Latin or in the vernacular and contribute to Muslim and Christian literature is central for the creation of a common culture what the literary historian Gustav Karpeles calls *world literature* and makes Jews integral to European culture. Karpeles interprets these Jews as authentic because they did not convert in the sense of completely assimilation into Arabic, Latin or vernacular surroundings but created Hebrew literature at its best. This seems to be an important turn, as integrity into the German culture and literature in particular was not fulfilled it facilitates German-Speaking Jews to reflect proudly on the ability to write as a Jewish writer. Thus a key constant in perception during the course of the

century was the need to dissociate oneself from an Iberian Judaism whose assimilatory tendencies were seen in predominantly negative terms and whose

cultural decline was connected with their ignorance of the vernacular, as Abraham Geiger has shown.

Rosa Asenjo (Université de Montréal)

The _Theme of Spain_ in thdeo-Spanish Press at the Turn of the 19th Century

In her article _The Theme of Spain in the Sephardic Haskalah_s Literature,_ Elena Romero investigates _how the Sephardim have molded their vision of Spain in works of literary fiction, both regarding the Jewish past in Sepharad, that is to say, in the medieval Spanish kingdoms, and also in contemporary Spain_ (311). Among the so-called _adopted,_ secular genres, she analyzes several works of modern poetry, theater, and narrative. In her conclusion, she emphasizes that _of all the possible themes that may have formed the historical and cultural development of this country [Spain], that may have been shaped and revived in works of literary fiction, the only one that has interested the Sephardim, in an almost exclusive fashion, has been their ancestors_ experiences in Sepharad_ (325), especially those regarding the medieval Golden Age, the expulsion of 1492, and the Inquisition. This situation is both an example and the result of a process of _mythification_ of Spain in the Sephardic imaginary, creating a contradictory and bipolar image of Spain (as a dear motherland and a hated and hating stepmother) through which, nonetheless, the Sephardim have built a part of their identity.

Is the Judeo-Spanish press, on the eve of a new century, any different from other modern genres in this respect? Generally speaking, news with a Spanish theme can be divided into two groups. The first one comprises socio-cultural information (for example, the settlement of new Jewish communities in Spain or the development of the Spanish-American war in 1898). The second group deals with linguistics-and-identity subjects, elsewhere called _the language question_ (Bunis). In this kind of news, the Sephardic vernacular (referred to as _Spanish,_ among other denominations) is severely judged by the majority of the intellectual elite, who busies itself trying to find a place for the Sephardim in the new, modern, westernized world.

In my presentation I will explain the ways in which the Sephardic press addresses the _theme of Spain._ Most particularly, I will comment on the possible repercussions of the _language judgment_ for the Sephardic ethnolinguistic consciousness, according to Fishman_s definition (5): _What a speech community believes and what attitudes it has concerning the vernacular(s) that the community identifies with itself, as its own._

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Michal Friedman (Columbia University)

Spaniards and Sephardim Re-claim the Patria: The Commemoration of the 800th Anniversary of Maimonides in Córdoba (1935)

<I> Spaniards and Sephardim re-claim the _Patria_: The Commemoration of the 800th anniversary of Maimonides in Córdoba (1935) </I>

This paper is taken from my dissertation on the _recovery_ of Spain's Jewish past by Spanish historians, Hebraists, university professors, scholarly and cultural institutes and societies, publicists, politicians, and novelists, from 1845 to 1945. One of the topics I explore is the way Spaniards made use of the Jewish past of their country to re-shape and re-envision the Spanish Patria. In this paper I will examine the significance of the public commemoration of the 800th anniversary of the birth of Maimonides, in Córdoba and other parts of Spain, in 1935, for both Jews and Spaniards. At the initiative of the Spanish government, an official public celebration of the eighth centennial of Maimonides' birth took place in his native city of Córdoba between March 25 -31 of 1935; at the same time, various scholarly associations and cultural institutions in Madrid and Ceuta held additional events commemorating the occasion. These events were widely publicized in the Spanish and international Jewish press, and Jewish community leaders and scholars from around the world were invited to attend and participate. I will demonstrate how organizers used these commemorations as an occasion for the promotion of a political agenda, by making historical claims on and through Spain's Jewish past. Moreover, I explore how these claims were embraced, countered, or rejected, by the participants. Jews and Spaniards alike were among those who romanticized the events, embracing the _official_ sentiment of reconciliation between Spain and the Jews and the promise of future alliance, while both Jews and Christians also figured among those who proved critical of the events, expressing an unabashed cynicism regarding the intentions behind, and significance of, such gestures of apparent generosity and goodwill. Furthermore, I shall consider how this public commemoration provided a context for the different actors involved, Jewish (particularly Sephardic) and Spanish, to re-claim and re-envision the Spanish _Patria._ This paper contributes to an understanding of the growing interest of Spain in its Jewish past, an interest that by the middle of the twentieth-century turned Spain into one of the primary centers for Sephardic Studies. Moreover, this study contributes to our appreciation of the dynamics and politics governing public commemorations. My sources include the official bulletin of the commission organizing the festivities in Córdoba; public lectures and speeches; articles from the Spanish and international press, and government

Abstracts for Session 6

Monday, December, 20, 2004 01:30 PM-03:30 PM

Session Number: 6.1

Session The Blood of the Covenant: History and Ideology

Session

The blood of the covenant (*dam berit*) is a rich and important concept in both Judaism and Christianity. In Judaism the concept ultimately becomes associated with the blood of circumcision (*berit milah*), a subject that has been studied in a recent book by Lawrence Hoffman. However there is a puzzle here, because the phrase *dam ha berit* occurs in the Torah only in connection with the sprinkling of sacrificial blood on the people at the foot of Mount Sinai (Exodus 24:8), and not in connection with circumcision. The phrase *dam berit* also appears in Zechariah 9:11. The Midrash associates this verse too with the blood of circumcision, even though this obscure verse too would seem to have nothing to do with circumcision. Christian exegetes also dealt with the concept creatively; Exodus 24:8 is cited or alluded to in Matthew 26:28 (and parallels) in the description of the last supper (*for this is my blood of the [new] covenant*). The *blood of the covenant* and Exodus 24:8 thus become associated with a foundational ritual of Christianity and a foundational ritual of Judaism.

In our session we would like to focus on the history of the concept *the blood of the covenant*, specifically on the history of the exegesis of Exodus 24:8, and the history of the blood of circumcision. David Biale, who is currently writing a book on blood in Judaism and Christianity, will give a paper on the history of exegesis of Exodus 24:8 in both Jewish and Christian texts. Shaye Cohen, who has just completed a book on circumcision and gender in Judaism, will give a paper explaining when and why the blood of circumcision assumed ideological significance. These papers will offer substantial corrections to Hoffman's account. Our respondent will be Eyal Regev of Bar Ilan University, the author of a recent article in the *AJSreview* on *dam niddah* (menstrual blood).

David J. Biale (University of California at Davis)

Baptism in Blood: Rabbinic and Patristic Interpretations of Exodus 24:8

This paper examines rabbinic and patristic interpretations of Exodus 24:8, which describes how Moses throws blood on the people, labeling it "the blood of the covenant." Both rabbis and Church fathers were evidently quite uncomfortable with this verse and displaced it in interesting ways into other rituals: circumcision and baptism. I offer a theory for why these rituals of

Shaye J. D. Cohen (Harvard University)

The Blood of Circumcision: Atonement, Salvation, and Protection

In his <I> Covenant of Blood </I> Lawrence Hoffman argues that the rabbis of antiquity understood the _blood of the covenant_ to be the basis of the efficacy of circumcision; furthermore he claims to have discovered a whole theology of circumcision blood within classic rabbinic Judaism. In this paper I will offer an alternative history of the significance of circumcision blood in rabbinic Judaism. Classic rabbinic texts (Mishnah, Talmud, Tannaitic and Amoraic midrashim) do not attribute any significance whatever to the blood of circumcision. The circumcision liturgy of the Talmud does not even mention blood. In these texts the blood shed at a circumcision is simply the inevitable by-product of a surgical procedure, nothing more. Circumcision blood becomes potent and significant only in _late_ midrashic texts, specifically the Tanhuma and especially the Pirquei de Rabbi Eliezer, and in Targum Jonathan.

In these texts, all of which date from c. 800 CE, the blood of circumcision, like the blood of the temple sacrifices, is salvific, apotropaic, and redemptive. These ideas are developed significantly in rabbinic texts of the high middle ages and explain the incorporation of Ezekiel 16:6 (<I> In thy blood live! In they blood live! </I>) into the circumcision ceremony, which is first attested in the twelfth century.

In this paper I speculate as to the reasons for this development. Other ritual and ideological innovations of the last centuries of the first millennium provide a context for the rise of circumcision blood into significance. The assimilation of circumcision blood to the blood of the paschal sacrifice, a motif already found in the classical Midrash, reaches full expression in this period. The need for atonement rituals is also evident.

Respondent, Eyal Regev (Bar-Ilan University)

Session Number: 6.2

Session Medieval Sources of Maimonides' Guide

Session

This year marks the eight hundredth anniversary of Maimonides' death. Numerous conferences will commemorate this event throughout the world. It is fitting that AJS celebrate this occasion as well with sessions on Maimonides.

The emphasis of most of this year's Maimonidean conferences is on Maimonides' writings and his influence upon later thought. The proposed sessions would focus on the impact of medieval philosophic, scientific, and theological writings on the *Guide*, with special attention to the question of the extent of the influence on Maimonides of the early medieval Jewish writers.

Shlomo Pines has discussed the sources of the *Guide* at length in the introduction to his translation of the text. Pines has very little to say about possible Jewish philosophic or theological influences on the *Guide*, and rather speaks of Maimonides' marked disinterest in this literature. For Pines, this is not surprising as Maimonides had no use for a specific Jewish philosophic tradition. And indeed Maimonides does not recommend a single Jewish thinker in his well-known letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon in which he suggests which philosophers to study and which to avoid. Nonetheless, there is little doubt that Maimonides read and was to some extent influenced by these thinkers. The question is thus not whether Maimonides was influenced by these thinkers, but to what extent? and in what ways was he influenced by them?

Planned talks for the session(s) will focus on the possible influence upon Maimonides of Solomon ibn Gabirol, Bahya ibn Paquda, Moses ibn Ezra, and Abraham ibn Da'ud. There will also be a general update of Pines's article and a talk on the influence of Alghazali. Lectures on the possible impact of other thinkers are welcome.

It is proposed that this session be sponsored by the Soci t  Internationale pour l' tude de la Philosophie M di vale (SIEPM), the principal international organization for medieval philosophy. Through this forum, it is hoped that European members of SIEPM will be introduced to AJS and AJS members will be introduced to SIEPM.

Chair, Jacqueline Hamesse (Soci t  Internationale de l'Etude de la Philosophie M di vale)

Steven Harvey (Bar-Ilan University)

Pines's Philosophic Sources of The Guide Revisited

Shlomo Pines wrote his pioneering and highly influential study, *The Philosophic Sources of The Guide of the Perplexed*, as the translator's introduction to his translation of Maimonides' *Guide*. It has now over forty years since the essay first appeared and it is still the most instructive and reliable account of the sources of the *Guide*. Indeed, as I have suggested elsewhere, it is quite possible that just as Maimonides' letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon directed students to the philosophic texts they should read in order to guide them in their intellectual studies, so Pines's essay directs present day students to the philosophers they should read in order to understand the *Guide*. Over the years, Pines's article has been repeatedly cited, and students have used it to understand the main doctrines of the Islamic *falṣifa* who influenced Maimonides. Yet already, shortly after its appearance, students of Maimonides were wondering if Pines had not underestimated the influence of the medieval Jewish thinkers on Maimonides. This paper, as a preface to the papers that will follow, will raise anew the question of the influence of the Jewish thinkers--particularly the Hispano-Jewish thinkers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries--on Maimonides.

The paper will also take inventory of the numerous articles that have been written in the past three decades on the influence of the Islamic philosophers and theologians upon Maimonides. Is there really evidence for the influence upon the *Guide* of important Islamic thinkers, not mentioned by Pines or for that matter by Maimonides himself. This paper will argue that there is. I will also try to show that recent studies on the Islamic *falṣifa* suggest that their influence is both as strong as Pines contended, but also in some ways quite different from his initial assessments.

Diana N. Lobel (Boston University)

A Contemplative Strand in Medieval Jewish Thought: Ibn Gabirol, Bahya, and Maimonides

Ibn Gabirol is the first Jewish philosopher in Spain; he is also the first poet to reflect Sufi themes. Ibn Gabirol's expressions of longing, love, and awe have Sufi, Neoplatonic, and Pythagorean echoes; Bahya's do as well. The two reflect a common cultural milieu, in which Spanish intellectuals demonstrate openness to both Sufi and philosophical sources. Bahya in turn is a conduit for the entry of Sufi terminology and themes into Maimonides' thought.

Several passages suggest that Bahya read the poetry of his older contemporary, absorbed important themes and insights, and offered an implicit critique of Ibn Gabirol's approach. Parallels between Bahya and Ibn Gabirol's poem Keter Malkhut show that both thinkers present a pristine philosophical spirituality, in which God can only be described in the most abstract of terms.

Ibn Gabirol and Bahya share an appreciation of the mystery of God's unity. This Pythagorean sensibility--expressed through mathematical/philosophical contemplation of the universe--inspires religious awe. The multiplicity of the created world points to an underlying unity. Bahya borrows a discursive method to demonstrate this point from the Islamic philosopher al-Kindi. However, both the assertion--that unity is the foundation of multiplicity-- and the spirit of mathematical contemplation are present in the poetry of Ibn Gabirol as well.

These parallels between Ibn Gabirol's poetry and Bahya's prose work make clear precisely the element Bahya leaves out: allusion to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet and the paths of wisdom of Sefer Yetsirah. Schlanger, Pines, and Liebes have investigated traces of a mythic account of creation Ibn Gabirol drew from Saadya's commentary to the Sefer Yetsirah and/or Avicenna's commentary to the Qur'an. We find no trace of these mythic elements in Bahya. Thus, I believe we can discern an implicit critique Bahya offers of Ibn Gabirol's approach: Bahya refrains from speculation upon the internal life of the Godhead or the process of creation.

Maimonides inherits from Bahya a philosophical spirituality that integrates rigorous demonstration with a non-mythological contemplation of the divine. In Guide III: 52 Maimonides echoes and reworks a Sufi theme Bahya presents of muraqaba, constant awareness of God. Maimonides presents his own version of a spiritual/intellectual path that has Sufi elements, a number of which are drawn from Bahya. Maimonides also offers an implicit critique of certain Sufi elements. He suggests that the intellect be used as a corrective, purifying our concept of God from imaginative projections. He inherits this intellectual critique of Sufi spirituality from Bahya.

Maimonides echoes Sufi statements about the importance of perplexity in

knowledge of God, known at least in part from Bahya. Bahya anticipates the title of Maimonides' philosophical treatise, and perhaps even inspired

Maimonides' understanding of perplexity.

The contemplative strand in Ibn Gabirol and Bahya may thus be a key to a more nuanced understanding of Maimonides' thought. I conclude with a comparison between each thinker's distinctive blend of spirituality and

**Mauro Zonta (Dipartimento di Studi Filosofici ed Epistemologici,
Università di Roma "La Sapienza")**

Moses Ibn 'Ezra's "Treatise of the Garden" and Maimonides' "Guide of the Perplexed"

The Spanish poet Moses Ibn 'Ezra (1055-1138 ca.) is also known for a Judaeo-Arabic book dealing with philosophical and philological questions, the "Treatise of the Garden about the metaphorical and the true (i.e. literal) meanings (of the Bible)". The original text of this work (found in eight manuscripts) is still unpublished, although an annotated French paraphrase of it has been published by Paul Fenton in 1997; a partial Hebrew version, made by Judah al-Harizi, was published by Leopold Dukes in 1842. In the first part of the "Treatise of the Garden" Ibn 'Ezra deals with some key-themes of theology, metaphysics, human physiology and psychology (God's unity, attributes, justice, creation; movement, nature, intellect and soul; the structure of human body). As it appears from the very title of the work, he discusses these themes in a rather free, non-systematical way through the linguistical and terminological examination of some passages of the Hebrew Bible. In my paper, I will try to argue that the general scheme of the work and the treatment of some themes suggest that Moses Ibn 'Ezra's "Treatise of the Garden" might be one of the hitherto neglected literary sources of the "Guide of the Perplexed" – or, at least, one of the "models" employed by Moses Maimonides while writing his masterpiece.

Resianne Smidt Van Gelder-Fontaine (University of Amsterdam)
Maimonides and His Andalusian Aristotelian Predecessor

Much Maimonidean scholarship has been devoted to the impact of Maimonides' thought on Jewish philosophy. In contrast, the question of the influence of earlier Jewish thinkers on Maimonides has attracted less scholarly attention. This is partly a result of Maimonides' own silence in the Guide of the Perplexed vis-à-vis earlier Jewish philosophers. As S. Pines notes in his introduction to the English translation of this work: 'Maimonides' references, or allusions, to Jewish philosophic or Kalam texts are exceedingly and rather surprisingly scanty' (Moses Maimonides. The Guide of the Perplexed, trans. Shlomo Pines, Chicago, 1963, p. cxxxiii). Similarly, in his famous letter to Samuel Ibn Tibbon, he dismisses two Jewish philosophers, Isaac Israeli and Josef ibn Zaddiq, as 'doctors' and does not recommend a single work of any other Jewish thinker to his translator.

However, as has been observed by scholars, the fact that Maimonides may have ignored earlier Jewish philosophers need neither imply that he did not know them, nor that they did not exert any influence on him. H. Kreisel, for example, has examined some parallels between Judah Halevi's Kuzari and Maimonides' Guide that may indicate Maimonides' familiarity with and use of the Kuzari (Howard Kreisel, 'Judah Halevi's Influence on Maimonides: a Preliminary Appraisal,' Maimonidean Studies 2 (1991): 95-121). In this article, the author notes that Maimonides could have found a wealth of useful material in the works of Abraham ibn Ezra and Abraham ibn Daud (p. 97), and that 'the problem of the relation between Maimonides and these thinkers & requires further investigation.' In her monograph on Abraham ibn Daud's book, Ha-Emunah ha-Ramah, A. Eran has indeed pointed to a number of parallels between Ibn Daud's treatise and Maimonides' Guide (Amira Eran, From Simple Faith to Sublime Faith [Hebrew], Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uhad, 1998).

The aim of my paper is to examine more closely the relation between Abraham ibn Daud's thought and that of Maimonides. To this end I will address the question of whether Maimonides had Ibn Daud in mind when he spoke of the 'Andalusians among the people of our nation' and stated that 'the later ones among them & have approximately the same doctrine that we set forth in this Treatise' (Guide I, 71, Pines trans., p. 177). To what extent does this description fit Ibn Daud's philosophy? In short, the paper will seek to clarify the similarities and parallels between the two Andalusian philosophers and suggest an answer to the question, Did Ibn Daud influence Maimonides?

Session Number: 6.3

Session Jews/Media/Religion: Mapping a Field, Building a Resource (A Roundtable)

Session

During the 2003-2004 academic year an interdisciplinary working group of Jewish studies scholars met at NYU, as part of the Center for Media and Religion, for a series of working sessions on the study of Jews, Media, and Religion. Over the course of the year the working group began to map out this important and under-researched area of Jewish studies in relation to media studies, religion studies, cultural studies, performance studies, cultural anthropology, and other fields. The group developed a series of curriculum modules on the topic, to be posted on the Internet by the Center for Media and Religion. This material is intended both to help scholars develop research and teaching of the topic of Jews, Media, and Religion, and to provide a forum for the continued exchange and development of resources, ideas, and research questions.

The working group has defined the topic of Jews/Media/Religion broadly, to include not only broadcast media but also texts (manuscripts, printed books, periodicals, digitized texts), as well as the mediating practices of live performances, museums, and tourism; in addition to considering the mediation of religion as it is conventionally understood (rituals, scripture), the group considers the creation of new forms of cultural practices involving media that are analogized to religious practice (e.g., Jewish film festivals) or that constitute some form of Jewish civil religion (e.g., Holocaust media). Within this wide-ranging field, the group is interested in central issues:

- * how uses of media figure in Jewish religious practices (study, worship, charity, etc.)
- * how Jews discuss the opportunities and challenges new media pose to religious life
- * how the engagement with media engenders new notions and experiences of Jewish community, continuity, and religiosity

Among the topics for which the group has been developing curriculum modules are those organized around media genres (Texts, Museums, Tourism, Music, Internet, Home Movies,) those organized around topics and phenomena (Holocaust, Kabbalah, December Dilemma), and those organized around communities (Hipster Jews, Chabad).

For the AJS session, we propose a panel discussion, involving several members of the working group, which will include an overview of the project, a

demonstration of sample on-line curriculum modules, focusing on the conceptualization of topics, and discussion with the audience about these

topics and about the project's future.

SPECIAL NOTES:

We would like to schedule this as a double session (see also the submission for Part 2), preferably two consecutive time slots, arranged so that all of the following may participate in both sessions (i.e., a few of the following are submitting papers for other panels or have agreed to chair other panels):

Co-organizers: Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (NYU), Jeffrey Shandler (Rutgers)

Participants: Jonathan Boyarin (independent scholar), Judah Cohen (NYU),

Chair, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (New York University)

Chair, Jeffrey A. Shandler (Rutgers University)

Jonathan Boyarin (Independent Scholar)

Judah Cohen (New York University)

Jeffrey Feldman (New York University)

David Koffman (New York University)

Rachel Kranson (New York University)

Edna Nahshon (Jewish Theological Seminary)

Edward Portnoy (Jewish Theological Seminary)

Jeremy Stolow (McMaster University)

Session Number: 6.4

Session Place, Voice, Vision: Israel Inside/Out

Session

Few countries but Israel has had its cultural identity produced from inside and outside its actual borders. For decades an amalgam of Jewish diasporic longing and Zionist idealism, Israel's image and cultural position has become a construction of its internal mix of peoples, a polity that is poised, as Jews have been for millennia, between and within European and Islamic worlds.

This panel of four papers considers the representation of Israel as place through several media and genres. Central to our concern is the plurality of audiences. Like the global Jewish diaspora, the fictive homogeneity mythologized outside of the modern nation state belies Israel's diverse population. Everyone inside Israel knows all too well its diversity and schisms, while yearning and trying to project political and cultural unity. This diversity is evident in its cultural production, from the utopian preoccupations and polemics of the Yishuv to the more contentious arts of contemporary singers, poets, photographers, playwrights and visual artists. In part, the our purpose is to explore the terms and limits of utopian/dystopian cultural production and the problematic of what Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi in *Booking Passage* calls the insistence on an "exact correspondence between map and territory...between the Jerusalem of prayer and dream and desire and the Jerusalem of its citizens and traffic jams&the struggle between utopian and pragmatic negotiations with place in modern Israel." How does a culture invent or represent itself in the face of its own diversity? When does pluralism degenerate into sectarianism? When is it appropriate to relinquish utopian dreams in the name of vibrant cultural exchange and heterogeneity? Raising this question through a range of periods, media, and genres will open discussions of Israel's cultural pluralism and its challenges.

The panel presenters include: Shelley Hornstein (York University), who will speak on a family collection of Palestine/Israel postcards dating from the 1930s to the 1990s; Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi (Hebrew University), who will discuss Jerusalem as metaphor (featuring the poetry of Yehuda Halevi and Yehuda Amichai); Carol Zemel (York University), who will explore recent images of Israel by photographer Aliza Auerbach (including pictures published in Amichai's *Jerusalem*); Amy Horowitz (Ohio State University), who will speak of about the popular Mizrahi music of Zehava Ben. Taken together, these papers consider both high and mass cultural forms in architecture, literature, music and the visual arts, made by well-known and anonymous practitioners who themselves constitute Israel's diversity.

Chair, Laura S. Levitt (Temple University)

Sidra deKoven-Ezrahi (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Jerusalem as Metaphor: From Yehuda Halevi to Yehuda Amichai

The destruction of the Second Temple provided a tragic opportunity for Jews to build facsimiles in any and every other space as place-holders for the ærealÆ and the sacred. For some two thousand years, in the absence of a temple, a republic, territorial or political sovereignty, the Jewish poet managed to preserve Jerusalem in its symbolic state. Like Sleeping Beauty, Jerusalem awaited, dormant and desolate, for her loversÆ return. In our own time, the era of Return, the ingathering of scattered people and texts from the four corners of the earth brought with it the most fundamental challenge to the poetic imagination since the emergence of a postbiblical voice. Never before has the power of the Jewish imagination been so dramatically evident as in the modern Hebrew republic. For the first time in 2000 years, the metaphoric status of Jerusalem constitutes a mortal threat to the survival of its inhabitants.

The more exalted the metaphors, the more dwarfed are its geopolitical dimensions; the more expansive the metaphysical boundaries of the Holy City, the less negotiable her municipal borders. By reference to the poetry of Yehuda Halevi in the 12th century and Yehuda Amichai in the 20th, this paper will argue that an inverse relation has evolved in our time between the richness of our millennial ætropics of desireÆ and the physical, material and spiritual prospects of the cityÆs living inhabitants.

Amy Horowitz (Ohio State University)

Appropriate Appropriations and Dueling Nativities: Zehava Ben Sings Umm Kulthum

Following the mass migration of Jews from both Europe and the Middle Eastern homelands after World War II, Israel became a site for new genres of music combining styles, instruments, and traditions of quite different cultures. Jews from Islamic lands found an already present European dominated national music network that specifically excluded their music as too Arabic, too Turkish, or not Western enough. Against a backdrop of cultural and political exclusion, Jews from Islamic lands developed their own musical genres and styles. This paper examines one particular Israeli performer, Zehava Ben, a Moroccan Jewish Israeli woman who performs, among other things, the repertoire of Umm Kulthum, the most famous of Egyptian Muslim singers of the 20th century. Zehava Ben successfully challenges cultural boundaries by claiming Umm Kulthum's repertoire as her own local inheritance, challenging charges of appropriation, thievery, and fakery. As a North African woman, Ben's appropriations can be understood a necessary and even appropriate. Defying single-voiced categorizations, Ben claims conflictual and asymmetrical identities and multiple indigeneities. Her performances of Umm Kulthum receive mixed reviews among her Middle Eastern and North African Muslim, Jewish, and Christian audiences where musical borrowing is viewed as having integrity if the performer honors the tradition they transform. This paper complicates the concept of "going native" by arguing that Israeli Jews like Zehava Ben, with roots in Islamic lands, are both insiders and outsiders to the dominant music culture of the region and continue to cross enemy lines even in the most hopeless moments of Middle East diplomacy.

Shelley Hornstein (York University)

Captively Dispersed: Paradise in Postcards or the Collected Views of

Based on a random selection of views of Israel in a private postcard collection dating from the 1940s to the 1980s, this paper looks at the visual narratives of sites selected for architectural representation on postcards. What perspectives of the Holy Land and for whom were these cards marketed for international mass distribution? By no means a comprehensive or statistical report, I propose to consider the conventions of postcards that engage in a visual conceptualization of how one sees - from the inside and outside - the formation of Israel.

Of interest, in particular, is the type of architectural image selected for representation, indeed, how does one represent the nation (both before and after 1948) through postcards? In an attempt to monumentalize for posterity, equal weight is given to balancing the monumentality with accessibility for a susceptible diasporic population. Postcards compositions of an emerging Modern nation and nation-state wilfully inscribe civic buildings, memorial sites and archeological landmarks into a narrative of nationhood as a declarative act, that is, in the throes of naming itself. Seen from within the state and seen from without, these architectural and topographical images weave together the complex archeological past and modernist present (now past) that contribute to concepts of "galuth" (captivity) vs. "diaspora" (dispersal).

Carol Zemel (York University)

Re-framing Israel: Photographs by Eliza Auerbach

This paper explores the implications of place and sitedness in the work of photographer Aliza Auerbach. Well-known in Israel, Auerbach's photographic repertoire spans a wide range of subjects-mothers, working women, childbirth, old age, immigrants and landscape. My interest is in this last category, and the kinds of locations in Israel Auerbach selects. These range from generalized pictures of ancient caves to sacred gates and entries to the quotidian bustle of modern city streets. Choosing among several thematic series, I will focus on Auerbach's photographic accompaniment to poet Yehuda Amichai's volume *Jerusalem*, as well as on current work that responds to present day Israel's conflicts and diversity.

Session Number: 6.5

Session Jewish Culture and Politics in Trans-National Perspective

Session

This panel will explore the connections between the two major, Yiddish-speaking Jewish centers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: Eastern Europe and the United States. Because the rise of modern Yiddish culture coincided with the mass immigration of Eastern European Jews to America, these two centers of Yiddish culture arose both independently and in concert with one another, despite an historiography that presents American Yiddish culture as merely an "offshoot" of the Eastern European variety. Many Yiddish journalists, novelists, playwrights and musicians either spent parts of their careers on different sides of the Atlantic or produced for a transatlantic audience. There were also many important connections between Eastern European and American Yiddish cultural movements, publications and publishing houses. This panel asserts that understanding the mutual cultural influence between the Eastern European and American centers is central to understanding Yiddish culture in the period before World War II. The panel not only seeks to draw attention to the trans-national nature of Yiddish culture during this period, but also explores how the very different legal, economic, and cultural environments of Eastern Europe and the United States shaped the relationship between these two Yiddish centers.

Yiddish cultural producers limited by Russia's suppression of Yiddish often looked to the United States as a field for marketing their work, while Yiddish cultural entrepreneurs in the United States often looked to the "alte heym" as a source of new talent for their enterprises. Struggling with the tensions of acculturation and assimilation, American Yiddishists frequently romanticized and sacralized the old country as a source of authentic Yiddishkeit. On the other hand, European cultural guardians often issued bitter critiques of American Yiddish culture, using it as a foil for fears about the commercialization and commodification of their own cultural milieu. This panel will deal with these and similar issues in new and innovative ways.

Chair, Hasia R. Diner (New York University)

Eric L. Goldstein (Emory University)

'Shmates for Sale': American Yiddish Imprints in Imperial Russia

This paper documents the influence of a burgeoning American Yiddish publishing industry on the Yiddish reading public in Imperial Russia from the early 1890s to 1917. While the mass publishing of Yiddish books and periodicals was limited in Russia before the Revolution of 1905 due to censorship and the conservative tone of Jewish society, the United States was home to a growing mass culture in Yiddish during this period. Beginning in 1892, Yiddish dime novels, popular scientific works, and translations of world literature were published by several New York publishing houses, which combined in 1901 to form the Hebrew Publishing Company. The years before the century also saw the emergence of no fewer than six daily Yiddish newspapers in the United States, at a time when the Russian Empire had none. Based on records of the Russian Committee on Foreign Censorship, this paper will for the first time offer an empirical study of the influence of American Yiddish publications on the Russian Yiddish book market. It will present a quantitative study of Yiddish books imported from the United States to Russia before 1917, as well as an examination of reactions to these works, both from Russian censors, Yiddish readers, and Eastern European Yiddish cultural guardians. It will also discuss the business relationships between American and Eastern European Yiddish publishers that permitted the spread of what one Eastern European Yiddish journalist termed the "American shmates" [rags].

Rebecca Kobrin (New York University)
The Jewish Marshall Plan: Philanthropy and the Transnational Networks of Polish Jewry, 1919-1939

Between the outbreak of the First World War and the German invasion of Poland in 1939, Polish Jewish émigrés collected and distributed over one hundred million dollars to support their impoverished compatriots living in the newly-established Second Polish Republic and rebuild Jewish communal life there. The catastrophic effect of the prolonged fighting, famine and expulsions during the First World War, in many ways, demanded that American Jewry, the only Jewish community not directly affected by the Great War, take action. As Polish Jews in America marshaled vast funds and expertise to address this crisis, their philanthropy fundamentally molded politics and communal life throughout Poland because the American dollar was worth so much (over 4,550 Polish marks in 1921, for example) and it gave Polish Jewry additional resources unavailable to other groups. Moreover, as a result of the “general chaos” in Poland, many banks refused to transmit these vast sums to this region and with no other choice, hundreds of East European Jews personally traveled to Poland to deliver their donations. Once they arrived in Poland, far from discreetly distributing their funds, these representatives enmeshed themselves in local communal politics. In 1920, Hugh Gibson, the American ambassador in Poland, reported that there were over 290 landsmanshaft delegates registered with the embassy, wandering throughout the country, distributing funds, and, at times, getting themselves into politically compromising situations. What impact did these Jewish émigré philanthropists and their massive funds have on life in inter-war Poland? How did they influence the development of Polish-Jewish relations during this contentious period of nation-building and civil war? Many scholars address long and complex story of Polish-Jewish relations, particularly during the inter-war period, yet few have paid adequate attention to the role Polish Jewish émigrés and their philanthropy played in this unfolding drama. Poland’s precipitous economic decline and its mounting refugee crisis, as Ezra Mendelsohn points out, not only made philanthropy the focus of organized Jewish life, but also transformed relief workers into political leaders and émigrés were the leading philanthropists. Using philanthropy as its lens, my paper aims to highlight the need to look at East European Jewry through a transnational lens. One cannot understand Jewish life in inter-war Poland without looking at the activities of Poland Jewish émigrés overseas, as well as the interplay between these two groups. While the nation-state is the organizing principle for much of the study of history in contemporary academic institutions, Jews, particularly in Eastern Europe, often did not see their identities circumscribed by state boundaries. Particularly during the inter-war period, when political, social and cultural borders were in constant flux, limiting one’s analysis of Jewish communal politics to a few square miles obscures the many forces shaping the ways in which Polish Jewry viewed the world around them and engaged the new Polish nation-state.

Ari Y. Kelman (University of Pennsylvania / National Museum of American Jewish History)

Cantors and Capital: The Global Trade in Sacred Music

During the late 19th century, European-trained cantors achieved widespread fame owing in part to more mobile, urban audiences, cantors capitalized on their newfound status by launching worldwide tours that took them throughout Europe and North and South America. On tour, cantors performed sacred music in secular settings like theaters and banquet halls. Supporting these tours, major record labels like Victor, Decca and RCA released recordings of superstar cantors, sold primarily to new immigrant populations. Victor even opened up offices in Europe to support the production of these records. Cantorial records far outsold other Jewish recordings like theater or instrumental music. It was the most popular Jewish music of the day and this paper examines the trans-national cultural trade in sacred music on record and in performance in the creation of a modern Jewish ethnic identity.

Respondent, Tony E. Michels (University of Wisconsin, Madison)

Session Number: 6.6

Session The Anthology in Jewish Literature

Session

The panel will deal with the Anthology and anthology-making as a primary literary genre and activity of Jewish literature from the Biblical period through the modern. The occasion for the panel is the publication of a major collection of essays on the topic by the name of The Anthology in Jewish Literature (Oxford University Press).

Chair, David Stern (University of Pennsylvania)

Martin S. Jaffee (University of Washington)

The Ancient Period

Paper will deal with aspects of anthologizing during the Biblical and Rabbinic periods.

Alan L. Mintz (Jewish Theological Seminary)

The Modern Period

Paper will deal with aspects of anthologizing in Modern Hebrew and Jewish literature.

Raymond P. Scheindlin (Jewish Theological Seminary)

The Medieval Period

Paper will deal with aspects of anthologizing in the Middle Ages.

Session Number: 6.7

Session Jewish Identities in Families and Schools

Session

Chair, Robert C. Liebman (Portland State University)

Charles Kadushin (Brandeis University)

Being Jewish on College Campuses

Co-Authors: Elizabeth Tighe and Shahar Hecht

Attending college is a near universal experience for American Jews. College is the experience through which a young person's future as a Jew is molded if not determined. How easy is it to practice being Jewish on a college campus? What makes it easier or harder to be Jewish while one is at college? What is it about the climate on campuses that makes it easier or harder to practice Judaism? There have been no firm data to support or refute what "everyone knows to be true," even though what people think they know is often contradictory. The paper draws on a random survey of undergraduates at eight very different kinds of college -- Jews and non-Jews -- and a supplemental survey of undergraduates on Hillel lists at these campuses. Included were Cornell, Emory, the University of Illinois, Champaign, Maryland, the University of Miami, the University of Pennsylvania, Stanford, and the University of Washington in St. Louis. A random survey of over 1300 Jews and non-Jews was used to determine the campus climate for a number of variables including ease of practicing one's religion, a climate that favors expression of religion on campus, and a pro-Palestinian climate. The percent of Jews on Campus was estimated by Hillel. The analysis is for Jewish students only. A two level hierarchical model was used, with ease of practicing ones (Jewish) religion as the dependent variable. Campus (n=8) accounted for 14% of the variance. Of the campus level covariates, only percent Jewish significantly predicted variance and reduced the between campus variance by 57%. At the individual level(n= 448) the importance of religion in one's life, identification with the Jewish people, and year in college were positively related to the dependent variable, whereas keeping kosher and engaging in Jewish study were negatively related. Adding these variable reduced the between campus variance by an additional 17% points. Adding individual level perception of the campus as pro-Palestinian further reduced the variance, though the mean level of pro-Palestinian sentiment on campus was unrelated to the dependent variable. Practical and theoretical implications are discussed, and further models are investigated.

Roberta Sands (University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work)
Interdenominational and Interreligious Marriages in the Same Family

Purpose: During the past few years, the authors have been conducting cross-national qualitative research on families in which a daughter became Orthodox (baalot teshuvah). This paper describes an unexpected finding that that the same families that were coping with interdenominational diversity (e.g., Reform vs. Orthodox) were also experiencing inter-religious diversity. For this paper we examine the ways in which family members perceived and coped with this diversity.

Methods: The study included 31 U.S. mother-daughter dyads. The principal method of data gathering was separate in-depth interviews with related mothers and daughters (62 interviews). In addition, we conducted a focus group and read numerous published spiritual narratives of individuals who had become Orthodox (e.g., Greenberg, 1997; Klinghoffer, 1999; Mordechai, 2002). Interviews were transcribed, read several times, and coded, using NVivo. During the course of identifying family attributes, we found that 13 of the families had one child who had become Orthodox while a sibling had married someone outside of Judaism (usually Catholic). We then carefully re-read the mother and daughter interviews of these 13 families, looking particularly at ways in which family members coped with religious diversity in the family system, and triangulated mother and daughter reports. We coded sections of the transcripts that pertain to mother, daughter, and other sibling coping with religious differences in the family.

Findings: The Orthodox daughters had difficulty accepting their siblings' non-conversionary inter-religious marriages and Christian spouses. They refused to attend siblings' weddings and kept their distance from siblings, siblings-in-laws, and nieces and nephews. On the other hand, the mothers, who accepted the religious diversity in their families and attempted to bring together the divergent parts of the families, were upset with the reactions of the Orthodox daughters. Some of the siblings made strenuous efforts to bridge the gap whereas others drew back.

Discussion: The proportion of inter-religious marriages in these families is consistent with trends described in recent National Jewish Population surveys. This study demonstrates both acceptance and rejection of intermarriage on the family system level. Motivated by a desire for family cohesion, mothers embrace the American value of cultural pluralism and are just as accepting of one child's intermarriage as they are of another child's becoming Orthodox. The Orthodox daughters, however, could not be flexible. Religious ideological differences created misunderstanding and tension in these families that could not easily be smoothed over.

Session Number: 6.8

Session **Intersecting with Others: Jews, Samaritans, Christians**

Session

Chair, Rivka B. Kern-Ulmer (Bucknell University)

Andreas Lehnardt (University of Mainz)

Massekhet Kutim and the Resurrection of the Dead at the Samaritans

Massekhet Kutim and the Resurrection of Dead at the Samaritans

As I have tried to show in an earlier paper in *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 26 (1999), pp. 111-138 the small tractate on the Kutim reflects an early (tannaitic approach to the Samaritans. However, the tractate itself might have been composed much later (in post-talmudic times?). At the end of the tractate we find the puzzling statement that Samaritans are received "when they renounce Mount Garizim and acknowledge Jerusalem and resurrection of the dead." (ed. Higger p. 46). The fact that Kutim denied the resurrection of dead is attested also in *Sifre Ba-midbar shelah* 112 (ed. Horovitz-Rabin 122), *Bavli Sanhedrin* 90b and *Qohelet Rabba* 5,10 (15d). On the other hand we can find some support for the Samaritans believe in resurrection of the dead in sources from third century onwards (cf. F. Dexinger, *Samaritan Eschatolgy*, in: A. D. Crown [ed.], *The Samaritans*, Tübingen 1989, p. 282; and see now also: M. Mor, *From Samaria to Shechem. The Samaritan Community in Antiquity*, Jerusalem 2003, p. 237). My paper tries to explain this short note in the last sentence of *Massekhet Kutim*, one of the earliest documents for the rabbinic attitude towards the Samaritans. Is this sentence a hint to the early date of the tractate - a tractate which might reflect an earlier halakha than the *Yerushalmi* and the *Bavli*? (cf. on this my "The Samaritans (Kutim) in the Talmud *Yerushalmi*: Constructs of "Rabbinic Mind" or Reflections of Social Reality?", in: P. Schäfer (ed.), *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture*, Tübingen 2002, pp. 139-160).

Steven Fine (University of Cincinnati)

Beisifra [de-Moshe]/ Beit Ulpana [de-Moshe]: Samaritan and Jewish Schools in Late Antique Palestine

Beisifra [de-Moshe]/ Beit Ulpana [de-Moshe]:

Samaritan and Jewish Schools in Late Antique Palestine

For more than a century Talmudic scholars have avidly searched Classical, Patristic and Karaite literatures for sources that shed light upon Rabbinic literature. Surprisingly, these scholars have paid little attention to Samaritan midrashic and liturgical literature. This under explored corpus, and its relationship with late antique Jewish literature and culture, is the subject of my current interest. In this paper I will focus upon sources within the Samaritan anthology known as *Tibat Marqe* and within more or less contemporaneous Rabbinic literature (both Midrashic and Targumic) that refer to the *School of Moses* as an institution in which Moses publicly adjudicated law. I will examine each example of *Moses school* from a literary and a historical perspective, determining both the exegetical function of each exemplar within its respective literary corpus and within the broader context of Samaritan and Jewish cultures during late antiquity. Archaeological discoveries of Samaritan synagogues and Jewish synagogues and study houses will be of particular value for this discussion. I hope to show that Samaritans and Jews spoke about their schools in parallel ways during this period, as well as examine the distinctive elements of each set of contexts.

Devora Steinmetz (Jewish Theological Seminary)

Justification by Deeds: The Concluding Sugya of Sanhedrin-Makkot

Many have noted the coincidence in the last sugya of Makkot and the Pauline letters of the idea of the law being reducible to a single commandment or principle as well as the citation in the Makkot sugya of Habakuk 2:4, which is also highlighted in the Pauline letters.

In this paper I argue that the parallels between the last sugya in Makkot and the Pauline letters go beyond that. Specifically, both the Pauline letters and this sugya address the problematic asymmetry inherent in a worldview that demands fulfillment of commandments and adherence to prohibitions: violating even a single prohibition constitutes a failure to live the life that God has demanded that a person lead, even if a person has otherwise followed the requirements of God's law nearly all of the time. Since every person, as an imperfect creature, will fail to follow God's law perfectly, how can human beings hope to live before God?

Paul's answer to this question is well-known. I argue in this paper that the extended sugya which concludes Sanhedrin-Makkot addresses this same question, with, not surprisingly, a very different answer, and yet with striking similarities to many of Paul's arguments and with a striking coincidence of verses interpreted in the service of the respective arguments. I offer a reading of this sugya and discuss its meaning as the conclusion of Sanhedrin-Makkot and its connection to core ideas in the final chapter of Makkot.

Ronald K. Reissberg (University of Judaism)
Competing Homiletics: Exegesis, Theology, and Jewish-Christian Polemics in Late Antiquity

Although scholars have long acknowledged the presence of anti-Christian polemics in the Talmud (i.e., Marcel Simon, E. Urbach, Daniel Boyarin, and others), the specific influences of these polemics on rabbinic theology have not yet been thoroughly explored. In this paper I will propose a method for examining the effects of early polemics on specific rabbinic doctrines. As a case study, I will analyze the aggadah at the beginning of B.T. Avodah Zarah 2b which describes the final judgment of nations.

The first part of this paper will be centered around the proposition that much of rabbinic literature, with the judgment day midrash being a prime example, is best understood when read in the context of the Jewish-Christian debates and discussions that lay at the heart of the spiritual and intellectual life of the early rabbinic Sages and Church Fathers. Marcel Simon has suggested a method of inquiring into the polemical content of rabbinic texts. He writes: "The most interesting group of Talmudic texts, are those that show signs of polemical purpose and allow some crosschecking with Christian documents. If we find in the two series of writings, Jewish and Christian, the same questions being raised about the same scriptural texts, and if we find discussions exhibiting the same pattern, we shall be justified in concluding that the questioners are in both cases the same." Using Simon's method of crosschecking biblical verses, I will identify specific themes in the rabbinic text that actively engages Christian anti-Judaic arguments that are grounded in the same verses.

The second part addresses a specific redactional concern. The aggadah contains two linguistic layers. There are Hebrew passages, which form the core of the text, followed by Aramaic interjections. I will argue that the Aramaic layer represents an attempt on the part of the Babylonian redactors to further the counter-polemic using the methods of the authors of the original Palestinian source.

This latter claim also raises the historical question of the extent to which Christianity was a concern to the Babylonian Sages. I will rely partially on the research of Jacob Neusner and Isaiah Gafni, who suggested that the Nestorian school of Nisibis had influence over the rabbinic academy originally founded by R. Yehuda b. Bathyra. I would argue, at least as a hypothesis, that the proximity of the two schools and their common features as outlined by Gafni and David Goodblatt suggest that Christian academies and Babylonian yeshivot were in a similar, if not identical, relationship as the rabbis and Christians of Caesarea and other Palestinian mixed cities.

Session Number: 6.9

Session **Hebrew Writing in America**

Session

Chair, Dan Laor (Tel-Aviv University)

Jill Havi Aizenstein (New York University)

Jewish Planting and Implanting in America: The Labor of the Land in American Hebrew Literature

The glorification of agrarian labor is a familiar theme in Hebrew literature of the first half of the twentieth century. In Palestine, agrarian labor had both a practical mission, as the growing Jewish settlement urgently needed the land to be worked, as well as an ideological mission, as a crucial element in the Zionist construction of the 'New Hebrew' was the 'return' to the physicality of one's body and one's land. This theme can be quite jarring however when it appears in the Hebrew literature written in America. For the land to be worked here is not that of ' Eretz Israel ', but the soil of America, and the labor is dislodged from the practical and ideological moorings cited above. This distinction raises a host of questions, chief among them being what kind of answer does the turn to working the land present for American Judaism in the texts, and how does it serve to depict Jewish settlement, or implantation, in America. In this paper I will examine the variations on the theme of the Jewish turn to toiling the American land in four American Hebrew novels, Grossman's Av U'vito (1934), Halkin's Ad Mashber (1945), Wallenrod's Ki Fana Yom (1946), and Lisitzky's Ela Toldot Adam (1949).

I will first question the context of the turn to agrarian labor in the novels. Is the glorification of the labor of the land engaged ideologically in questions of Jewish identity, aiming to transform the Jewish character in a manner similar to that seen in the Palestinian context? Or is the turn to nature a component of the Romanticism seen so prominently in American Hebrew poetry, which led critics to attack the American Hebrew literary scene for being frozen in time and disengaged from contemporary Jewish life? Or is it a practical answer to the socio-economic problem of Jewish crowds and lack of jobs in the city, making the return to nature a business-oriented venture?

In each of the texts the Jewish plan to work the land is abandoned or fails - whether because the Jew does not have direct ownership of the land and becomes a middleman; or because the disconnect between the Jewish figure and the rural environment is unbridgeable; or because the land proves to be gentile, and the Jew either decides to leave on his own or is made to feel unwelcome. In examining these instances I will look at how the city and country, the American farmer and Jew, are represented and defined against one another, and to what end.

Writing far from the land where their greater Hebrew reading public resides, these American Hebrew writers portray the attempt to connect to the land on which they live. I argue that the ways in which they envision the working of this land ultimately reflect upon their diverging perspectives on the Jewish implantation in America.

Michael Weingrad (Harvard University)

Messiah, American Style: Mordecai Manuel Noah in Hebrew, Yiddish, and English

Mordecai Manuel Noah, diplomat, journalist, community leader, and the most prominent American Jew of the early nineteenth century, is best-known for his attempt to found a land of refuge for the Jews, in upstate New York. Since his death, Noah has been the subject of plays, novels, a short story, and a graphic novel, as well as a number of historical studies and even a book for children. This talk will look at how Noah has been represented in Hebrew, Yiddish, and English literature in the United States, focusing on Harry Sackler's Yiddish and Hebrew play *Messiah, American Style* (Yiddish 1928; Hebrew 1933) and on Ben Katchor's graphic novel *The Jew of New York* (1998). The emphasis will be on how different Jewish literatures in America have portrayed Noah's emblematic mix of American and

Stephen Katz (Indiana University)

A Closed Chapter? Holocaust and Its Imprints in American Hebrew

A Closed Chapter? --Holocaust and its imprints in American Hebrew Literature

The impact of the Holocaust on American Jewry was a poignant reminder of their profound cultural and ethnic ties to their co-religionists worldwide. The event was a disquieting experience to those who were occupied in previous years with becoming Americanized, or assimilated into their new cultural landscape. The Holocaust also engendered responses to the genocide on many spheres, including literary.

Of the lesser-examined literary reflections on the Holocaust, the one of America's community of Hebrew poets and novelists will constitute the subject of this presentation. As their fellows, these writers, too, were jarred by the events out of a somnolence characterized by self-reflecting lyricism or by a preoccupation / absorption with the American physical, social and cultural landscape.

Composed with an immediacy that emanated out of a predominantly isolated America unaffected by the early years of anti-Semitic persecution and subsequent war, American Holocaust literature in Hebrew bears the hallmarks of the early stages of this sub-genre. My presentation will address some of those characteristics as represented among the works of writers ranging from Israel Efros to E.E. Listizky and Eisig Silberschlag. It will also address some observations by contemporary Hebraists critical of Hebrew literature's complacency and ambivalence in the face of the raging firestorm overseas. My presentation will also enumerate these works and their authors, and

Session Number: 6.10

**Session The Telling and Retelling of Holocaust Testimonies in
 Israel: History and Memory**

Session

A testimony, whether it be that of a Holocaust survivor or not, is not immutable, rather it constitutes a tale that can, and may often, change over the course of time in response to a wide range of social and personal experiences.

This panel will present and discuss four different aspects of the retelling of Holocaust survivor's testimonies in Israel. Our intention is to illustrate the width and breadth of how, when and why survivor's testimonies were told, remembered and retold within the context of Israeli society.

The papers included in this panel move from the realm of the individual as presented in the paper of Dr. Kangisser-Cohen on "Finding Their Voices ..." through the interaction of survivors within a specific communal narrative in Dr. Balf's lecture on "Child Holocaust Survivors at Kibbutz Mishmar HaEmek .." to the role played by governmental institutions in disseminating and including Holocaust survivor's testimonies as seen in Dr. Perlmutter's paper on "The Survivor's and Shoa Remembrance in the Israeli Educational System..."

Finally, Professor Ofer, the chairperson of this panel, will recount the tale of a group of Holocaust survivors and their families, returning to Yugoslavia to the villages and towns, where they and their families were stranded and murdered and confronting their memories and recollections of their past.

The ramifications of the papers presented in this panel go beyond the sphere of four case studies of Holocaust survivor's memories. These papers will also provide insight into related issues of historiography such as the authenticity of oral testimony over time and the processes in which remembrance interacts with historical information in the context of survivor's testimonies.

Chair, Nehama Aschkenasy (University of Connecticut at Stamford)

Sharon Kangisser Cohen (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
Finding Their Voices: The Memory and Identity of Child Survivors of the Holocaust in Israel

Finding their Voices: The Memory and Identity of Child Survivors of the Holocaust in Israel

The life stories of child survivors who rebuilt their post-war lives in Israel have been largely left untold. This presentation is an exploration into the experience of child survivors in Israel, specifically focusing on the child survivors' experience in telling his/her past to a wider audience and in publicly identifying as Holocaust survivors. Whilst psychological research carried out predominantly in the United States focuses on the survivor's personal inhibitions and motivations in retelling his/her pasts, this paper will discuss the impact that the post-war environment has on the individual's relationship to it. Using a qualitative narrative approach, this paper examines the dynamics of silence and retelling in the post-war experience of child survivors. This paper will demonstrate that when forging their relationship to their past and identity, child survivors have not only responded to their own internal, individual needs and inhibitions, but more significantly to external pressures. These include the nature of their experiences during the war, and most notably the social-cultural context in which they lived after the war (i.e. Israeli society and the commanding collective memory constructed around the events of the Shoah), a context that powerfully defined and evaluated their personal trauma. This paper demonstrates that collective memory has been instrumental in determining which stories are to be told, and what is told during the telling. This has not only affected the individual's relationship to their past and their identity as survivors; it has also shaped the writing of history.

Micha Balf (Seminar HaJibbutzim, Israel)

Child Holocaust Survivors at Kibbutz Mishmar HaEmek: The Recorded Tale Unremembered

Child Holocaust Survivors at Kibbutz Mishmar HaEmek- The Recorded Tale Unremembered

Between 1943 _ 1947 several large groups of child Holocaust survivors, many of them orphans, came to reside, study and work at Kibbutz Mishmar HaEmek. Did they remain silent, as we are prone to assume regarding Holocaust survivors, or did they attempt to tell their tale?

Oral testimony, compiled in 2000 from Mishmar HaEmek members who were born on the kibbutz and had been teenagers during those years, was of a single mind. The survivors did not speak nor share their experiences.

Yet the archives of the kibbutz contain a wealth of contradictory material. The child survivors recounted and depicted Holocaust memories on numerous occasions and in the customary kibbutz formats. Their testimony is recorded, but not remembered.

This paper will detail and analyze how a kibbutz, uniquely well placed to be receptive to Holocaust survivors, did not include survivor_s personal testimonies in the narrative of the community. What were the communal dynamics that led to the absence of these survivor's testimonies in the collective memory of the kibbutz? This case study illustrates how collective memory is not only selective in what it includes, it is selective in what it excludes. How does recorded testimony become relegated to a forgotten place in collective memory, even though the community itself is dedicated to the well being of these same survivors?

What can be gleaned from this case study in terms of the larger picture of Holocaust testimonies of survivors in the first years after World War II in Israel?

Is it possible, based on this material, to challenge the common assumption that survivors did not recount? Could it be that the testimony was voiced and recorded, at least in some instances? Maybe selective hearing could not process the testimony, thereby creating selective amnesia and a chasm between what was said and what was remembered? What can we, as historians, learn about the validity of oral testimony based on this case study?

Tova Perlmutter (Levinsky College)

The Survivors and Shoa Remembrance in the Israeli Educational System: The New Cultural Heroes

There is a meaningful and direct linkage between the process of shaping the memory of the Shoa in Israeli society and in the educational system. My lecture is based on two elements of the educational system. The first element is school textbooks. The second is the process of teacher's training at teachers college.

During the first years of the state of Israel, the Shoa established a prominent position in the socialization process. At the beginning of the Sixties, the story of the Shoa had been marked as the blueprint of the socio-cultural construction of Israeli society.

The survivors played a dominant role in this process and its development.

The culture heroes of the first decades were the heroes of the resistance, in the ghettos and in the forests. Their story centered around a version of Zionist "heroism". This small group of survivors, part of the social elite of Israeli society, was the idolized representative of this concept, while the story of the majority of the survivors, who had lived through ghettos and camps or passed as non-Jews, remained unheard.

If the culture heroes of the first decades were the "fighters", the Eighties witnessed a significant change: the rise of new heroes. They were the "survivors". This approach stressed the strategy of survival of the "simple person" in the ghettos and camps. The members of this group became the heroes of the Shoa stories told in textbooks and memorial ceremonies. The narrative of the Shoa and the ethos of popular culture (amcha) became part of the professional-personal biography of teachers and the process of their preparatory training.

In my presentation I will demonstrate this change and dwell on its broader meaning as an alternative story about survival and national values. I will show how it became dominant in the narrative of the education system in Israel as

Dalia Ofer (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
In the Footsteps of Memory: Survivors and Relations - Kladovo Sabac, Yugoslavia

The Kladovo Sabac refugee group was a group of 1200 illegal immigrants who left Vienna in December 1939 for Palestine, yet never reached their destination. They were stranded on the Danube River in the port of Kladovo in Yugoslavia. All efforts to continue the immigrants voyage failed. In April 1941, Yugoslavia was occupied by Germany and the refugees fell back under Nazi domination. In the fall of 1941 the men were murdered, and a few months later the women and children were gassed in a gas van in Beograd.

Just before the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia, in late March and early April 1941, a group of some 200 youth from the refugees made their way to Palestine. They were provided with Youth Aliya certificates by the authorities in Palestine and were the only survivors of the original group. Some of the youth left parents and younger sisters and brothers in Yugoslavia who were murdered by the Nazis.

In 2002 members of the survivors and relatives of the original group organized a visit to Yugoslavia. The group was comprised of some 40 people, among them four of the Youth Aliya contingent that had arrived in Palestine in the spring of 1941. Three members of the group had left their families there. Among the remaining members, some had been sent to Palestine before their parents hoping to meet them soon thereafter, while others were survivors and relatives of the murdered Jews. I was privileged to accompany them.

I followed the group during its journey and interviewed the people 18 months after the completion of the voyage.

This paper will address the issues of memory and the family unit as a center of telling or retelling the story of destruction and rescue. I will also expand on the connection between personal memory and collective memory and the will of these people to become agents of memory.

Session Number: 6.11

Session **Constructing Jewish American Identity**

Session

Chair, Lincoln Shlensky (University of South Alabama)

Berel Lang (Trinity College)

Hyphenated-Jews and the Anxiety of Identity

Hyphenated identity in the U.S. (as in Polish-American, Greek-American, Italian-American) was sharply criticized in notable statements by such figures as Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson who, on what would become known as the 'melting pot' model, argued for a new and purely 'American' identity. The tides have turned recently, of course, but the issue of American-Jewish (or should it be Jewish-American) identity seems hardly to have altered.

Aside from the interesting and important question of precedence in these two phrases (in which the second term has recognized priority--and where common usage continues to favor the first of the two), the more general question I address is the status of the hyphenated Jew as a representation of post-Enlightenment Jewish identity which serves as well, or at least as an alternate, to the conception of the Diaspora Jew. Indeed, in my view, it has one distinct advantage over the other--since it is not at all clear that the existence of Israel, although it has clearly, for Israelis, distinguished them from Jews in the Diaspora, has ended the question of their identity as hyphenated Jews. Since in Israel, there are Israeli Jews, Israeli Arabs, Israeli Druze, Israeli Christians, etc. (or should it be the other way round? Jewish Israelis, Arab Israelis, etc.), the status of the hyphen (written or silent) seems not to have altered even in the Jewish state. The question of what this says or means about Jewish identity can in part be seen in what it has meant about Jewish identity in the past; in part, it poses questions for the future.

Steven Weiland (Michigan State University)

Autobiography, the Vernacular, and Jewish-American Generations

This paper addresses an important feature of contemporary Jewish-American autobiography: discourse differences between generations, or the ways that memory of language, particularly the speech of immigrant parents, has prompted reflection on Jewish-American experience. Writing about his father, Philip Roth puts the matter this way in *Patrimony* (1991): “[H]e was always teaching me something, not the conventional American dad stuff or the Prince Charming stuff, but something coarser than could be accommodated by my predictably vainglorious boyhood yearnings for a judicious, dignified father to replace the undereducated father who I found myself half-ashamed of at the very same time that his assailability, particularly as a target of anti-Semitic discrimination, quickened my solidarity with him and hardened my hatred of his belittlers: he taught me the vernacular. He was the vernacular, unpoetic and expressive and pointblank, with all the vernacular’s glaring limitations and all its durable force.”

Roth capitalizes on two closely related meanings of vernacular. It refers to the colloquial speech of a people or community and also, when the term is used to describe a feature of a work of art or architecture, the domestic and functional rather than the monumental. The latter especially helps to identify the register of Herman Roth’s speech as it is represented in his son’s account of their relations. Memory instructs the younger Roth in his father’s plainspoken (pointblank) wisdom and in the ways that language reinforced the distance between forms of Jewish-American experience.

The paper is in four parts. In the first I use the example of *Patrimony* and Roth’s idea of the vernacular to identify the question of language (or a parent’s speech) and the generations in Jewish-American autobiography.

In the second part I classify forms of the vernacular in terms of their focus on Yiddish (and Yiddishkeit), Holocaust survival, encountering America, and the fate of Judaism. Each category represents a subject in which vernacular expression, accented by matters of gender and geographical location, turned out to have a strong influence on an autobiographer. The third part of the paper offers an account of these texts and others which demonstrate how the vernacular (in its several forms) helped to constitute relations between Jewish-American parents and children in the middle and late decades of the 20th century, and how it helps to give form and meaning to memory: Calvin Trillin, *Messages from My Father* (1996); Julie Salamon, *Net of Dreams* (1996); Elizabeth Ehrlich, *Miriam’s Kitchen* (1997); Stella Suberman, *The Jew Store* (1998); Michael Heller, *Living Root* (2000); and Sherwin Nuland, *Lost in America* (2003). The fourth part of the paper proposes a role for autobiography in Jewish-American literature based on its representation of language and the generations.

Valerie Thaler (Yale University)

The Non-Orthodox Day School: Embracing Jewish Particularism or Threatening American Values?

My dissertation, "The Reshaping of American Jewish Identity, 1945-1960," argues that Jews of the late 1940s and the 1950s actively struggled to balance both the American and Jewish components of their identity. My goal is to explore the ways in which Jews preserved their ethnic, cultural, religious and political distinctiveness both as individuals and on a communal level, and where they felt those efforts needed to be circumscribed. This study challenges portraits of the 1950s which fail to recognize the presence of intracommunal conflict among American Jews. It examines five arenas of Jewish life, both institutional and ideological, in which conflict and debate over Jewish distinctiveness took place.

This paper will be drawn from Chapter Two of the dissertation, that which deals with the emergence of the non-Orthodox day school. Very new in the postwar period, non-Orthodox day schools challenged liberal American Jews' longstanding commitment to integration in American institutions, specifically the public school system. These schools appeared to encourage parochialism at the expense of universalism and pluralism, denying their students a fully "American" educational experience.

Less clear, however, are the finer nuances of this conflict and its significance to the American Jewish community of the 1950s. A wide-ranging debate on day schools filled the pages of educational journals as well as the Jewish press in this period, suggesting its significance to American Jews across the country. This paper will explore the story of one day school's beginnings, that of Akiba Hebrew Academy, as it tried to gain communal recognition and funding in Philadelphia.

Founded in 1946, Akiba would eventually become a model for other progressive day schools that would be established in later decades. Yet, Akiba's status as a pioneer institution made it the subject of a great deal of controversy and the target of much criticism. In the minds of some, it was an un-American institution, undermining American Jews' commitment to public school education. To others, it threatened area synagogues, whose religious schools clearly deserved to be recognized as legitimate institutions in and of themselves. The debate surrounding Akiba guaranteed that its efforts to obtain funding from the Allied Jewish Appeal would be fraught with conflict.*

This paper will tell the story of Akiba's struggles in its initial years in light of the national debate on day school education. Most significantly, it will view the debates surrounding Akiba as a lens through which to understand what it meant to be American and Jewish in the postwar period.

<|> *The nature of the conflict surrounding the founding of Akiba is

documented in Dr. Harold Gorvine, "Akiba Hebrew Academy: A School In Search of an Identity, 1946-1964," in Akiba Hebrew Academy: History and

Personal Reflections_ (Philadelphia, Akiba Hebrew Academy Press, 2001) 1-21. </l>

Joellyn Zollman (Brandeis University)

Are You There God? Judaism in the Adolescent Fiction of Judy Blume

<I> Are You There God? Judaism in the Adolescent Fiction of Judy Blume </I>

In the 1960s and 70s, the genre of children's literature was transformed by the emergence of books written specifically for adolescents. Often issued immediately in affordable paperback editions, these books tackled adolescent issues from an adolescent perspective. In a short time, Young Adult (YA) books became a lucrative industry, and the titles demanded ever-expanding shelf space in bookstores and public libraries.

One of the early breakout authors of YA literature was Judy Blume. Her first book, <I> The One in the Middle is the Green Kangaroo</I>, was published in 1969. Thirty-four years and twenty-two books later, Blume remains extremely popular. Fourteen of her books were included on Publisher Weekly's most recent list of all-time best selling children's paperback books.

Blume also deserves attention as one of the most widely read American Jewish children's authors. Between the 1950s and 1970s, American Jewish children's literature came into its own, with a handful of talented authors publishing with leading trade presses and attracting Jewish as well as non-Jewish readers with stories that shunned the "syrupy didacticism" of interwar Jewish juvenile fiction. These halcyon days of American Jewish children's literature were bookended by Sydney Taylor and Judy Blume. Taylor's <I> All of a Kind Family</I> series, with its sentimental yet vivid take on immigrant Jewish life was particularly poignant to a generation of Jews bent on memorializing the Lower East Side even as they moved further and further away from it.

Blume, in contrast, gave voice to the contemporary Jewish child in suburbia, fully integrated into American life, often dealing with generic adolescent issues like puberty, peer pressure and body image. When Blume dealt with particularly Jewish issues, they likewise represented the true-to-life experiences of the increasingly affluent and assimilated. Blume was willing to tackle contemporary Jewish issues like the impact of the Holocaust on the American Jewish psyche and the growing phenomenon of intermarriage and "half Jews" at a time when these subjects were largely ignored by Jewish children's authors.

Interestingly, Blume's work in general has been all but ignored by scholars, despite her widespread appeal. The reason for this is probably related to the fact that her books never garnered critical acclaim. But as Mark Oppenheimer wrote recently in a <I> New York Times Book Review</I> essay, "when I went to college, there was no author, except Shakespeare, whom more of my peers had read."

The paper aims to begin to fill this scholarly lacuna by examining Blume's

significance as a Jewish-themed YA author. Specifically, the paper will consider the presentation of Judaism and Jewishness in Blume's novel about puberty and religious identity, <I> Are You There God? It's Me Margaret </I>. The novel, published in 1970, proved an instant and persistent bestseller. While it is best known for its presentation of the mechanics of menstruation,

Session Number: 6.12

Session **The Holocaust from Generation to Generation**

Session

Chair, Myrna Goldenberg (University of Maryland, Baltimore County)

Joanna B. Michlic (Brandeis University)
Polish-Jewish Relations in the Holocaust as Reflected in Testimonies of Jewish Children

The subject of Polish-Jewish relations during the Second World War is a relatively young field of academic research. The historian Emanuel Ringelblum (1900 - 1944) wrote the first work entirely dedicated to this subject during WWII, which became the classic primary source in the field. The first important scholarly studies on the subject emerged in the 1980s and were written by the historians David Engel, Israel Gutman, Shmuel Krakowski, Antony Polonsky and the sociologist Nechama Tec.

This paper aims to contribute to the understanding of Polish-Jewish relations in the Holocaust by examining the ways in which these relations were reflected in the early post-war testimonies and letters of Jewish children who survived the war on the Aryan side in Nazi-occupied Poland. Additional primary sources, which I intend to use in this examination, are early post-war testimonies of Polish rescuers of the Jewish children. Both categories of these testimonies constitute an original historical material that has not been sufficiently explored in the analysis of Polish-Jewish relations in the Holocaust. My analysis has three objectives. Firstly, it is to describe all the emerging types of contacts and relationships between the children and members of the non-Jewish environment on the Aryan side both in rural and urban areas. Here attention will be given to various relationships between the children and their Polish rescuers, such as family-like relations where rescuers were categorized as mothers, fathers, aunts and uncles, as well as to the encounters with members of the ethnic Polish populations who were hostile towards the children. Secondly it is to interpret these relationships within the context of wartime conditions in which the children in order to survive needed, what the scholar Ervin Goffman calls, *the backstage* - the support of the environment. And finally it is to compare the image of Polish-Jewish relations as reflected in the testimonies of Jewish children with the image of these relations as known from other contemporary historical material, and to juxtapose it with the available historical interpretations of Polish-Jewish relations. Thus the paper aims at providing some new interpretations.

The paper asks the following questions: How did the children categorize the non-Jewish environment - the various ethnic Poles that they encountered on the Aryan

size - and how did they also describe the Germans? What were the types of relationships between the children and

the Polish population? How did the members of the ethnic Polish population receive the children's performance of playing an ethnic Polish child? Are children's testimonies an important material to identify the various types of attitudes and behavior towards the children? What types of rescuers are reflected in the testimonies? Do the children are aware of what the scholars Jan T. Gross and Michael Steinlauf call the low societal approval of the rescue activities? How different is the image of Polish-Jewish relations on the micro-level from that on the macro-level, and what historical conclusions can be made in the light of children's testimonies?

Chaim Elata (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) Survivor Memories of the Holocaust

An extensive literature exists about the difficulties of obtaining testimony from survivors of the Holocaust, because of the suppression of their traumatic experiences. While some survivors could not _let go_, and constantly relived their experiences, most had to _forget_ to be able to continue their life effectively. Recently, in the course of writing my autobiography, I had to face my own difficulty trying to recollect my WW2 experiences in Nazi occupied Holland.

This brought me to wonder, whether my Dutch friends, who like me had made aliah, right after the war, in their late teens or early twenties, and were now retired, had in some form or other, been facing similar problems of WW2 memory especially since for more than fifty years, WW2 had never entered our conversations?

This 'wondering' has become the focus of the present paper.

With this in mind and basing myself on current research in this field, I undertook to ask some of my friends whether they were willing to discuss their war memories with me. What I wanted to find out was the significance to them - and by implication for myself - of this silence and whether and how it was related to the successful reorganization of their lives. Had there been frameworks in which they did talk, and if so, what had they been and when had they talked. Did, for instance, the big change in their lives of becoming pensioners lately, have anything to do with that?

I conducted a number of interviews in which I asked questions such as: While you agreed to talk with me about your war years, do you find it difficult, or does it relieve you? To what extent are you able today to convey your personal history and when did you start to become able to do so? What kind of knowledge do you remember?

What brought you to make aliah to Israel? To what extent was your coming to Israel, driven by your need to put the experiences of the war years out of your mind?

To what degree does the subject of the Holocaust occupy you?

This paper represents an analysis of holocaust memories, of which my friends and I never talked.

The framework of this paper is therefore Late Survivor Memory, which I will discuss _ from a personal perspective - in respect to a limited but specific group of Dutch survivors who arrived in Israel between 1945-1950 and made successful academic or business careers. In the formulation of my questions and the drawing of my conclusions, I have based myself on current research such as: Aaron Hass, *the Aftermath, Living With the Holocaust*, Robert N. Kraft, *Memory Perceived, Recalling the Holocaust*, and Geoffrey H. Hartman, eds., *Holocaust Remembrance, the Shapes of Memory*.

Chaya Roth (University of Chicago)

Memory and Transmission: Ongoing Dialogues between Parents, Children, and Children's Children

How do families transmit the legacy of the Holocaust from one generation to the next? And how do family members reconcile differences in memory? This paper brings to light the different truths that fill the survivor, second and third generations' memories, thereby empowering these generations to make new meanings of the survivors' and the children's past.

The paper looks at one family's engagement in the process of transmitting their experiences of the Shoah over the past four decades and therefore affords a longitudinal perspective on familial transmission. The family in question is my own.

Through semi-structured and video taped interviews, tape-recorded family discussions, diaries, memoirs and children's drawings a composite picture emerges of the complexities involved in collecting memories, reconciling stories, and teaching the 2nd and 3rd generation about the painful truths and copious strengths that fill their family histories.

Changes in communication as functions of the developmental changes and expanded knowledge-base of the children are clarified. Elucidated too is the shift in focus, over time, of my stories as they become less egocentric and embrace a larger understanding of my family and the War.

The paper brings to light how the children questioned my stories as "mythical". In challenging me to re-remember, other truths emerge, not only of the past but also of our present day life. Permeating truths about fear, shame, boastfulness and failures abound.

Under the impact of the unending influence of trans-generational dynamics, the scope of our discussions expands and now embraces larger family and social issues, such as, on the one hand, the pressure of our impending mortality, and on the other, the legacy of Jewish survivors and the transmitted heritage of Nazi perpetrators in today's world.

In this paper, the conscious handing down of what happened in our family is documented. How did my single-minded desire to transmit our family's experiences affect our children? Through an outside interviewer, I posed many questions. Did they feel burdened by my stories or strengthened and enlivened by them, or both? Did they think that my experiences affected their sense of identity, their relationship with me, their father, their siblings, or their choice of spouse? And did my stories affect their ideals and aspirations, choice of profession, or their views on community and society?

Then, the paper turns to the important questions addressing how our now-adult-children view their role as transmitters of the Shoah to their own

children? What do they hope to convey to them? And how do the 2nd generation spouses, coming from parents who were American-born, view their

combined effects,as regards the Shoah, on their (3rd generation) children?

Though I posed the right questions I am fully aware that a large part of transmission occurs in unconscious, irrational and uncontrolled ways and I cannot, therefore, fully answer these questions.

This paper ends with a discussion regarding the methodology of the project and analyzes the nature of the questions posed. The answers to the

Beth Cohen (Clark University)

“Unaccompanied Minors”: The Postwar Story of Holocaust Orphans in America

On October 1, 1946, the SS Ernie Pyle pulled into New York harbor. Among its passengers were a handful of war orphans whose plight was described by a reporter in the Herald-Tribune. “20 War Orphans Among 945 on The Ernie Pyle” the author wrote. “Waifs’ Ages Range From 8 months to 18 Years; All Will Go to Foster Homes.” The journalist noted that the “youngest of the lot was eight-months-old Sigmund Tryangel, whose Polish father was killed by the Nazis during the last week of the war in Europe. His mother died at the baby’s birth after enervating months in a Nazi concentration camp. Rosy and happy, the baby grinned at the flash of news cameras.” The article depicted a group of children whose “morale was high” and even “the babies did their part by not getting seasick.” The Herald-Tribune was one of many that recorded the arrival of these young refugees and predicted a future of promise and renewal. Like other accounts of refugees in the media, it cast the newcomers in an optimistic glow and emphasized the contribution they would make to America.

It quickly became clear to those involved that these particular newcomers were anything but rosy and happy babies. Few young children and even fewer babies had survived the Holocaust. Most orphans were adolescents who had experienced years of deprivation and horror. Nevertheless, they were the most sympathetic of victims. Made parentless by Hitler, many had endured concentration camps. Few had any living relatives. To some, they were motherless children; to others, they symbolized a youthful link between the devastated Jewish world and a Jewish future in America. While the public perception varied, one fact remained constant: they were alone and without means of support. To whom could they turn?

The European-Jewish Children’s Aid (EJCA), a branch of the United Service for New Americans (a UJA-funded agency that resettled survivors around the US), answered that question. It supervised the resettlement of child Holocaust survivors from the time they stepped off the boat in New York until the orphans were adopted or came of age. EJCA located and supervised the children’s placements, and for this it relied on local cooperating agencies such as the Jewish Family and Children’s Services, Denver. How effective was the agency in meeting this challenge of settling and protecting their charges? How did the system shape the children’s experiences? How did the orphans’ traumatic past influence their assimilation into American life? The story is not simple. A confluence of factors’ - agency policies, foster care placement, place of settlement, the children’s wartime experiences - shaped the resettlement of these most vulnerable charges. Some of the same questions and dilemmas that faced older refugees applied. But there were other considerations, unique to orphans, which necessitated different responses. Using archival documents, contemporary case files and survivors’ testimonies, this paper analyzes the reception and experiences of this special group of Holocaust

Session Number: 6.13

**Session The Metamorphosis of American Reform Judaism from
Rationalist Ideology to Folk Religion (A Roundtable)**

Session

In the slightly more than half-century since World War II, observers have remarked that American Reform Judaism seems to have made a 180-degree turn from a movement emphasizing reason and respectability to a haymish denomination emphasizing feeling and identity. This shift can be seen in changes in the atmosphere of worship from dignified passivity to much greater participation, related changes in the music and liturgy of the service, a decline in the importance of the formal sermon, the ubiquitous celebration of bar/bat mitzvah as a highlight of a child's life in a movement that had on principle abandoned this rite de passage in favor of the ceremony of Confirmation, a proliferation of Torah study groups, a concern for cultivating a sense of _community_ and in affirming a connection between faith and healing. Symptoms of this transformation surfaced in discussions a few years ago apropos of the formulation of a new platform of Reform principles. The new Reform Judaism is oriented to ethnicity and tradition (with due respect to the complicated meaning of the terms), toward religious ritual (albeit very selectively), outreach to intermarried couples, and personal involvement in social action projects under the category tikkun ha-olam.

Is this characterization valid? Does it mainly reflect trends in mainstream American religion and in the emotional and spiritual yearnings of certain sectors of American society? And/or does it express shifts in the composition of the movement, such as one or more of the following: the demographic profile of the membership, the personal backgrounds and intellectual interests of Reform rabbis, lay expectations concerning the rabbi, concerns of the movement's leadership about Reform in relation to other Jewish denominations? Are there other factors entirely at work here? Inasmuch as this transformation is in process, reflection on it will be only suggestive and anecdotal. But they should be useful in formulating hypotheses for future study.

The panelists will be asked to present briefly their characterization of the transformation of Reform Judaism in the last few decades and speculate as to its underlying significance. After reacting to each other's views, the floor will be open for an exchange with the audience. The chair of the proposed roundtable is Robert M. Seltzer, Hunter College CUNY. The panelists represent different perspectives on this theme: those of a historian of Reform Judaism (Dana Kaplan, research fellow of the University of Miami, author of *American Reform Judaism: An Introduction* [Rutgers University Press, 2003]); an academic with wide connections among those at the forefront of these changes (William Cutter, who teaches modern Hebrew literature and is Paul M. And Trudy Steinberg Distinguished Professor in Human Relations and

Counseling, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Los Angeles); a recently retired West Coast rabbi (Sanford Ragins, Emeritus Rabbi of the Leo

Baeck Temple, Los Angeles, PhD in intellectual history from Brandeis University, adjunct professor at Occidental College); an East Coast rabbi in a

Chair, Robert M. Seltzer (Hunter College of the City University of New

William Cutter (Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion)

Dana Evan Kaplan (University of Miami)

Sanford Ragins (Occidental College)

Judith S. Lewis (Temple Israel of the City of New York)

Rela Mintz Geffen (Baltimore Hebrew University)

Session Number: 6.14

Session* **Mixed Media I: Architecture, Reportage, and Reviews*

Session

This session consists of three papers: Eugeny A. Kotlyar on Yakob Gevitz - a prominent Soviet architect who designed the most distinguished synagogues of the early twentieth century; Phyllis Lassner speaking on <I> Representing the Post-Holocaust Jew: Britain's Shadowy Other </I>: the role of Rebecca West in reporting on the antisemitic riots in East End London, 1947; Sonat Hart on <I> Jewish Involvement in Austrian and German Cabaret </I>.

Chair, Vivian B. Mann (Jewish Theological Seminary)

**Eugeny Kotlyar (Kharkov State Academy of Design & Arts)
Yakob Gevirtz and the National Programme in Jewish Architecture in
Turn of the 20th Century Russia**

In late 19th and early 20th Century Imperial Russia, as in central Europe, synagogues-whose architecture was assuming important symbolic and political meaning- became the declarative form of Jewish modernization.

St.Petersburg, the largest city beyond the Pale of Settlement, became the dictator of fashion. In the early 1870s, under the influence of idea of Jewish national architecture, and based on the experience of the "Jewish historicism of Europe," a Moorish stylistic paradigm emerged. This paradigm was realized in the design of the Choral Synagogue of St. Petersburg (1893), and influenced synagogal architecture of the empire's central provinces (Saratov, Voronezh, Kirovograd).

In the beginning of the 20th Century, this subject was revived in St. Petersburg in connection with the restoration of the Jewish Preobrazhensky Cemetery. A number of Jewish names surfaced among St. Petersburg's architectural circles. Each understood the "Jewish character" of architecture in his own way, thus turning any synagogal tender into a "battle of the styles" (R.Wischnitzer).

Standing out among these figures was Yakob Gevirtz (1879-1942), a graduate of the Academy of Art, who in 1907 won a bid on the construction of a House of Cleansing and Mourning (Beit Tahara) at the Jewish cemetery. Soon after, Gevirtz had replaced B. Gershovitz (1858-1911) as the Architect of the Jewish Community of St. Petersburg, serving until 1922.

Gevirtz's designs brought to life motifs of eastern architecture, combining them with new influences of the style Moderne. The monumental spaces and planning of the complex Beit Tahara were implemented in the spirit of Cairo's Yavanne mosques and mausoleums. The combination of large, expressive forms and eastern silhouettes, the sparkle of rough stone, the stucco walls and intricate carved capitals, seemed to reflect the architect's ideas of the historic archetype of Jewish form.

In 1909, the St. Petersburg Society of Architects was accepting orders and tenders from all over Russia, and at the peak of his "Jewish" career, Gevirtz got a chance to fine-tune his architectural concepts when he won this tender to construct a choral synagogue in the town of Kharkov. The image of the "Jewish chapel", first implemented in the cemetery synagogue, evolved into the complex and elaborate architectural design of the Central Synagogue of Kharkov (1913) - now one of largest synagogues in Europe.

Gevirtz's unique style in these works was patterned as an elevated ideal of the pan-Islamic form, which he understood to be the descendent of vanished ancient Jewish architecture.

Professor, Dean of School of Architecture at the Academy of Art, Gevirtz died

during the siege of Leningrad in 1942. His legacy is tens of monumental buildings in St. Petersburg and other cities of Russia and Ukraine designed in style of Neoclassical Modernism. Yet it is works of his "Jewish period" - 7 years of his life - that made Dr. Gevirtz a foremost Jewish Architect of Russia, and earned him a permanent place in Jewish Heritage of Europe.

The paper is concentrated on the Jewish period of Yakob Gevirtz; rare and

Samantha Baskind (Cleveland State University)
Midrash and the Jewish American Experience in Jack Levine's
Planning Solomon's Temple

MIDRASH AND THE JEWISH AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN JACK LEVINE'S
PLANNING SOLOMON'S TEMPLE

In 1941, Jack Levine (b. 1915) painted a ten by eight-inch biblical homage to his recently deceased father. The painting has been commonly understood as a rendering of King Solomon talking with the architect King Hiram of Tyre about plans for a temple in Jerusalem (Grossman, Kampf). Hebrew labels identifying the expressionistically rendered robed figures hover above the pair's heads. A crowned and turbaned Solomon, a portrait of Levine's father, holds the temple plan. Hiram, modestly dressed in a white robe and carrying a trowel, angle iron, and compass, is a self-portrait of the artist. The painting, titled *Planning Solomon's Temple*, is one of the artist's first biblical images. Over seventy more have followed.

The man standing before Solomon the Wise, "King" Hiram, wears an ordinary man's white robe. A white turban covers his head, upon which does not sit a crown, but a simple green cap. The Hebrew label identifies the figure as Hiram, making past interpretations of the work, especially in conjunction with the title Levine gave the painting, understandable. Iconographically, however, this figure cannot be the King of Tyre, but the artisan Hiram (I Kings 7:13-14, II Chron. 2:12-13).

Through a careful examination of the visual elements of the painting in conjunction with the biblical text, and a discussion of the circumstances surrounding the composition, I will provide a new interpretation of *Planning Solomon's Temple* and delineate how the painting functions as a visual exposition akin to the Jewish tradition of Midrash. Read along with the work of Michael Fishbane and David Roskies, I argue that *Planning Solomon's Temple* acts as biblical exegesis in oil, and demonstrate how Levine draws on his Jewish American experience in the conception of this very personal work. Understanding how in moments of catastrophe the Jew links the biblical past to the unthinkable, often secular, present, I will show how and why death precipitated this biblical theme. For Levine, an American-born Jew of immigrant parents, his native land (his homeland) was the Bible. Levine's sense of locale

was not the Old Country, but biblical geography; the environment provided by the Book was the psychologically

contiguous territory of Levine's Judaism. The stories in the Bible were Levine's (and other first-generation Jews') bond to Jewish life, and in periods of crisis he turned to these tales, a pattern that repeats itself over the next

MaryCelka Straughn (University of Chicago)
The 'Peculiarities' of Jewish Art in the Exhibition of Jewish Artists, Berlin, 1907

The Peculiarities of Jewish Art in the Exhibition of Jewish Artists, Berlin, 1907

The Exhibition of Jewish Artists (<Ausstellung jüdischer Künstler>) held in Berlin in late 1907 presented the first significant display of works by Jewish artists in Germany. Unlike other major displays, such as the Jewish Art and Antiquities exhibition held the previous year in London at the Whitechapel Art Gallery, the one in Berlin purposefully emphasized contemporary Jewish artists, publicly distinguishing and uniting them as Jewish. The show formed part of an increasing trend to stimulate interest in the production of works by Jewish artists that stemmed largely from efforts associated with cultural Zionism and identified as the Jewish Renaissance by Martin Buber. As such it attempted to establish modern Jewish artists and Jewish creativity, to codify works of Jewish art and to develop a receptive public both to works by Jewish artists and to the idea of a Jewish art. In particular, the exhibition proposed an unprejudiced art historical approach as a means to provide an objective clarity to the issue of Jewish art. As stated in the catalogue, the exhibition sought to direct viewers' understanding through its art historical presentation so that they might determine the racial peculiarity of the Jews in art. ("Vorwort," <Ausstellung jüdischer Künstler>, Berlin, 1907)

My paper will analyze the Exhibition of Jewish Artists within the contexts of contemporary art historical discourse, modern exhibitions in Berlin as well as the articulation of modern Jewish culture in Germany. Understanding exhibitions as sites for the projection of identity and modernity's constructions of difference I will examine ways in which the Berlin exhibition functions as a forum for cultural recognition both for Jewish and non-Jewish audiences. Organized by the Association for the Advancement of Jewish Art (<Verein zur Förderung jüdischer Kunst>) the exhibition was conceived as a means to place Jews as part of an art historical dialogue. By employing the perceived objective, scientific discourse of art history with its national or racial categories the Berlin exhibition sought to shape and legitimize a modern Jewish culture within the structures of western European culture. These efforts to stretch the limitations and assumptions of art history reveal the tensions of differentiating Jewish particularities and unifying a notion of modern Jewish culture within the strictures of modern European culture.

Despite the importance of the Berlin exhibition in understanding the discourse of Jewish art in early-twentieth-century Germany, it has received relatively little attention in contemporary scholarship on Jewish art. My paper belongs to recent inquiries in the area of modern Jewish art in Germany that range from studies of specific artists, the activities and impact of the Jewish Renaissance, the cultural milieu of early twentieth-century Berlin, to the discipline of art

history. My paper seeks to contribute to these fields by concentrating on the specifics of the _Exhibition of Jewish Artists_ to explore the manifestation of

Margaret Olin (School of the Art Institute of Chicago)
Jewish Art and Our National Pastime

"Say it ain't so, Joe," begins a review of one book on Jews and art, thus linking Jewish art-making to Shoeless Joe, the (non-Jewish) baseball player who is said to have thrown the 1919 World Series. The review of another book on Jews and art asks: "Is there really a Jewish way of knocking a fastball out of the park or of pitching a no-hitter?" surprisingly often, when the question of Jewish art is raised, baseball comes to mind. The present paper explores, historically, this relation between Jewish art and baseball.

The relationship between Jewish art and sports stems from the modern discourse on the existence of Jewish art. It hinges on an association between the visual and the physical. Aniconic thinkers such as Hermann Graetz and Herman Cohen both evoked the association of art with the body in their arguments against Jewish participation in art, contrasting a spiritual Jewish culture with a pagan Greek culture. Preoccupation with the body, and with art, were both linked to paganism and often with sexual immorality. Yet arguments in favor of Jewish participation in art often evoked the Greeks as a model as well. Rabbi David Kaufmann, for example, a major proponent of Jewish art, was often commended for contributing to Judaism a love of art learned from the Greeks.

Sports entered the debate about Jewish art early in the twentieth century. At that time, conceptual modernist notions of art allowed theorists to embrace art without accepting physicality. At the same time, Zionist notions of political Jewish nationhood made the cultivation of the body a desideratum. Alternative notions of Jewish art were constructed according to the conflicting models of Nordau's "muscle Jew" and Martin Buber's spiritual, mystical Judaism. Art allied with sport in such Zionist representations as those of the founder of the Bezalel School in Jerusalem as well.

In baseball's homeland, the discourse on art and sport focused on baseball. The discourse continues many of the themes that occur in 19th century discourse, including Jewish and non-Jewish physicality, with the American body playing the role of the Greek. Ethical considerations also figured into the American Jewish conception of art and sports, as the example of Shoeless Joe suggests. Jewish participation in the American pastime, symbol of American life, however, also engages issues of assimilation. These themes, developed in the discourse on Sandy Koufax and Hank Greenberg, and in novels such as Bernard Malamud's *The Natural*, take a complex visual form in Barnett Newman's design for a synagogue patterned on a baseball stadium.

Abstracts for Session 7

Monday, December, 20, 2004 03:45 PM-05:30 PM

Session Number: 7.1

Session **Mythmaking and Exegesis: Reflection's on Michael Fishbane's 'Biblical Myth and Rabbinic Mythmaking'**

Session

Chair, Paul Franks (University of Notre Dame)

Peter B. Machinist (Harvard University)

The Problematics of Myth in the Bible, Jewish Tradition, and Michael Fishbane

forthcoming

Hindy Najman (University of Toronto)

title forthcoming

forthcoming

Kalman P. Bland (Duke University)

Did Medieval Jews Believe in their Myths?

forthcoming

Respondent, Michael A. Fishbane (University of Chicago)

Session Number: 7.2

Session **For Whom Do We Write? Academic Writing and Beyond (A Roundtable)**

Session

As the habits of reading change, what impact does this have on academic writing and publishing, teaching and mentoring? This session will address the following questions: Who are our readers? Have changes in the worlds of publishing and technology altered the way we write? Within Jewish Studies, what are examples of works that bridge the range of reader audiences? How do we teach students about writing _ that is, at this moment of change in the publishing world, what does apprenticeship mean? Is it a goal of a rabbinic program to train rabbis who are able to talk intelligently about the academic _ the literary, historical, etc. _ issues that impact the texts they study? How do we incorporate the larger academic questions into the teaching of intense text

Chair, Susan Berrin (Sh'ma: A Journal of Jewish Responsibility)

Steven J. Zipperstein (Stanford University)

Aryeh Cohen (University of Judaism)

Riv-Ellen Prell (University of Minnesota)

Jeffrey Rubin-Dorsky (University of Colorado at Colorado Springs)

Session Number: 7.3

Session History of the Jews and Judaism in the Persian, Greco-Roman, and Byzantine Period

Session

Chair, Aaron L. Katchen (Association for Jewish Studies)

Jed Wyrick (California State University, Chico)

Kingship, Wisdom, and Ruler Cult in the Letter of Aristeas, the Wisdom of Solomon, and Philo's Writings on Caligula

Why did the Jews of Alexandria devote such attention to political philosophy, foregrounding an analysis of kingship in their speculations on the nature of wisdom?

This paper explores the ideology of kingship articulated in two pseudepigraphic Alexandrian texts, the Letter of Aristeas (date uncertain, though 100 BCE is a guess) and Wisdom of Solomon (mid-first century BCE), as well as two treatises of Philo. In the context of the Letter of Aristeas, I explore Alexandrian Judaism's commitment to the Torah as a means for inculcating the Hellenistic king with the wisdom to rule. In particular, this wisdom takes the form of a symposium during which the seventy Jewish elders provide answers to Ptolemy's questions on how to rule. In so doing, this text creates an assemblage of wise utterances that fit the genre of wisdom, as articulated both in Greek and biblical literary traditions. With regard to the Wisdom of Solomon, I explore the renewed praise of wisdom in the Alexandrian tradition, as well as the Jewish critique of deified kingship as an extension of the sin of idolatry. The text is composed in a biblical idiom characterized by parallelistic utterances composed in Greek, but does not constitute a collection of wise utterances in the same way as does the Letter of Aristeas. Its treatment of the nature of wisdom is more philosophical and less concrete, abandoning the genre of wisdom but maintaining its theme. Finally, my paper relates these works to two political treatises by Philo of Alexandria, *Adversus Flaccum* and *De Legatio Ad Caium*. Are Philo's works merely historical records of the turmoil of the period, or do they turn current events into a philosophical treatment of the themes of kingship, wisdom, and ruler cult that had already been articulated in the Letter of Aristeas and the Wisdom of Solomon? To what extent are Philo's descriptions of Caligula accurate, or do they also create a fictional example of the pitfalls of the deified ruler from the perspective of Alexandrian Jewish kingship theory? In comparing these three approaches to kingship and wisdom, I also hope to assess Gabriele Boccaccini's recent treatment of the relationship between Hellenistic Judaism and the Sapiental, Zadokite, and

Miriam Ben Zeev (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)
The Jewish Diaspora Uprisings: Their Order and Possible

The Jewish Diaspora Uprisings:
Their Order and Possible Interrelations

Miriam Ben Zeev, Ben Gurion University

Since Dio Cassius and Eusebius are the only sources dealing with the uprisings that broke out at the end of Trajan's reign in many different places — Libya, Egypt, Cyprus, Mesopotamia and perhaps also in Judaea — their testimony is that taken into account by modern scholars in order to find out the order and possible interrelations of the events. And since both the account of Dio and that of Eusebius mention Libya first, this has become the order followed in virtually all the modern works. The revolt is presented as having started in Libya, and then spread into Egypt and Cyprus. The events in Mesopotamia would be the last ones, followed by those in Judaea. In the late eighties, Barnes was the first to challenge this order, relying on the fact that Dio Cassius mentions first the revolt of the conquered districts in Mesopotamia, in which, it appears, the Jews, too, had had a part, and then the Jewish uprisings in the other countries. Barnes argues therefore that the Jews of Mesopotamia were the first to take up arms, followed by those of Libya, Egypt and Cyprus. In this case, the events that took place in the East would have been determinant in fomenting the uprisings in the western Mediterranean region. This view is endorsed by Frankfurter but rejected by Horbury, who suggests that we should rather return to the conventional order of the events since no definite evidence allows us to discredit Eusebius' testimony.

The issue surely deserves further consideration.

Our attention, however, should be centered not only on Cassius Dio and Eusebius but also on additional kinds of sources, namely, ostraca, papyri and inscriptions. In some of the cases, notably in that of the events transpiring in Egypt and in Mesopotamia, this evidence appears to be of the utmost importance and allows us to reach definite conclusions about chronology. In turn, the solution of specific chronological problems helps shed some light on the order and possible interrelations between the uprisings in the western and eastern countries.

Louis H. Feldman (Yeshiva University)

Parallel Lives: Josephus' Moses and Plutarch's Lycurgus

Josephus' account of Moses in his *Antiquities*, completed in 93/94, and Plutarch's life of Lycurgus, written perhaps a decade later, contain a number of similar themes: genealogy; birth; upbringing; virtues of wisdom, courage, justice, and especially moderation and piety; relation to the divine; miracles; rejection of kingship; military leadership; educational systems for youths; dealing with the masses and with opponents; attitude toward aliens; opposition to putting laws into writing; attitude toward wealth and poverty; allotment of lands; laws and practices pertaining to marriage and parentage; status of women, priests, and slaves; training of soldiers; diet; burial; manner of the lawgiver's death. In particular, both felt strongly that the introduction of alien principles and institutions would destroy the internal harmony of the state. Are the parallels sufficiently unique to indicate influence?

Already in the first century B.C.E., Diodorus, followed shortly thereafter by Strabo, in enumerating outstanding lawgivers who alleged divine origin for their laws, mentions Lycurgus and Moses and actually gives the name of the god whom Moses invoked, while implying that the laws were actually Moses' own. Later the Emperor Julian, who is generally sympathetic with Judaism, suggests, nevertheless, that it is worthwhile to compare the anger of Moses and of Moses' G-d with the mildness of Lycurgus.

Plutarch's interest in Sparta, its alleged lawgiver, Lycurgus, and its unique practices is well known. Less well known is the tradition linking Sparta and the Jews. The Jews were said to have formed an alliance with the Spartan king Areus; and Josephus declares that the Jews and the Spartans are related, being descended from Abraham.

Of the ancient writers who do mention the Jews there are few who refer to them more often than Plutarch. That he was, indeed, more than slightly acquainted with the beliefs and practices of Judaism may be seen in that he is the only extant pagan writer who mentions the celebration of the Jewish holiday of Tabernacles, the Levites, the association of wine with the celebration of the Sabbath, the institution of the Nazariteship, and the clothing of the high priests. No one has hitherto analyzed the parallels between his *Lives* and the extended biographical portraits from the Bible in Josephus' *Antiquities*.

This paper deals with the manner in which the two authors distinguished between myth and history and between biography and history; the criteria that they used in determining the credibility of their sources; their description of the balanced constitution of the ideal state; the nature of their indebtedness to others, notably Thucydides and Plato; and, finally, the possibility of the influence of Josephus upon Plutarch or vice versa or of a common source.

Sigrid Peterson (University of Pennsylvania)
Dark Mirrors of External Threat: Tradition/Change in Jewish Literatures of the Greco-Roman Period

The effects of external threats to the Jewish people of the Greco-Roman period are commonly thought to be reflected in the literature of the period: in large, in the new literary genre of Jewish apocalyptic; and in smaller terms, in the *pesharim* of the Community at Qumran. To test this common assumption, it would be helpful to find literary works whose elements change, apparently with change in external threats. Such a group of literary works exists in collections called "evolved literature," where we have both early and late forms of particular pieces. The so-called "two-ways" material is used in a number of different literary pieces, with varied effect. The Maccabean martyrdoms are events in the Second Book of Maccabees, in the Greek Fourth Book of Maccabees, and, somewhat changed, in TB Gittin 57b and Lamentations/Eicha Rabbati, among others.

By tracking historical changes together with literary changes, it may be possible to construct a (quasi) historical timeline that matches literary elements with specific historical referents. This method is perhaps more secure because something has to change in the literary work in order to reflect

Session Number: 7.4

Session **American Jews and the Imagining of Race**

Session

Chair, Eric L. Goldstein (Emory University)

Esther Romeyn (Arizona State University)

Sex and the City: Desire and Race in Early 20th Century American Jewish Fiction

This paper takes off from the curious fact that Jewish American novelists, faced with the task of inventing a new genre of self-representation on the American scene, created fictional (male) heroes who were highly erotically charged. Some literary critics, most notably Leslie Fiedler, have attributed this representation of the American Jew as Don Juan, which is notable in such works as Abraham Cahan's *The Rise of David Levinsky* (1917), Samuel Ornitz's *Haunch Paunch and Jowl* (1927), Ludwig Lewisohn's *Don Juan* (1923) and *The Island Within* (1928), Ben Hecht's *A Jew in Love* (1931), and Bud Schulberg's *What Makes Sammy Run* (1934), to the anti-bourgeois sentiments of the novelists in question, and their tendency to ride the wings of current theories of sexual freedom.

It is my intention to analyze the nexus of money and desire in these novels in the context of contemporary thinking about assimilation, race and racial authenticity. Inevitably, the Jewish American novel in its beginning grapples with the issues of identity and change, Jewishness and Americanness, trying to graft one on the other, interrogating what Jewish identity outside the European ghetto, in the American city, might mean. Desire, and particularly sexual desire, in these novels becomes a powerful metaphor of and motor for the project of self-transformation; the objects of desire (in the form of women, money, or a more spiritual yearning) metaphors for the pressures this represents for any sense of an authentic Jewish identity.

Moreover, in their search for identity, these authors encounter, and get embroiled in, contemporary debates about race, racial identity, nurture vs. nature, environment vs. innate character. Often, their representations of Jews as lovers come perilously close to anti-Semitic characterizations of the Jew as immoral, sexual predator. Their tendency to portray the Jew as changeable yet in some way retaining an essential Jewish quality evokes anti-Semitic notions of a Jewish fraudulent identity, which masks an immutable identity underneath a changing exterior. At the same time, critics even at the time recognized in the image of the libidinous, ambitious Jew a paradigmatic American quality and correctly read these novels as indictments of

Jennifer Levi (Cecil Community College)

White Like Me: Improvised Assimilation in the Performances of Al

According to sociologist Erving Goffman, the difference between stage performance and real-life interaction rests predominantly in the relationship of the audience to the player. On the stage, “the audience constitutes a third-party to the interaction” between players performing a series of scripted gestures and lines, whereas in real life “the three parties would be compressed,” acknowledging the audience members as other players (xi). In this paper, I examine the ways the ways Al Jolson used the improvisational potential of the vaudeville stage to blur the boundaries between stage and life and forge a fraternity with mainstream American audiences onstage and off. Asa Yoelson, an Eastern European Jew, immigrated to Washington, D.C., with his family in 1894, a time of heightened nativist skepticism of the assimilability and desirability of Jewish immigrants. After many false and mediocre starts in vaudeville as the straight man in ethnic comedy skits that relied on disparaging Jewish stereotypes as universal sources of humor for American mass audiences, Jolson finally earned critical acclaim with his blackface song and dance routines. In this paper I look at the ways Jolson performs an essentialized vision of race that challenges the racialized definitions of Jewishness held by American audiences at this time. As a dialect comedian in stock skits such as “The Hebrew and the Cadet,” Jolson reinforced his fundamental difference from his American audience, thereby substantiating nativist concerns that Jews cannot or will not assimilate. By donning blackface, however, Jolson simultaneously reduces the ambient discussion of difference and belonging to matters of black and white, and complicates American understandings of Jewishness. I also look at Jolson’s use of improvisation to adapt his performances of race and their ethnic subtexts to account for regional nuances of racial and ethnic identity politics.

Joel E. Rubin (Cornell University)

Jewish Jazz: A Trope for Multivalent Constructions of Race and

Why has klezmer music so often been considered a form of "Jewish jazz" in journalistic accounts and record reviews? In 1921, the American anti-Semite Henry Ford railed against jazz as a "Jewish creation" in the Dearborn Independent. During the 1920s the US Government enacted several immigration-restricting bills, most notably the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, which based largely on the assumption of a common group of racial stereotypes shared by Jews, Blacks and Asians. This followed on a long tradition in Europe of drawing parallels between Jews and Blackness (Gilman). The placing of these groups under an "orientalist umbrella" (Rogin), I argue, has allowed for the further conflation of Jews with Blacks and, in the musical sphere, "Jewish music" with the equally fraught term, "jazz." Originally an anti-Semitic topos, the Jewish influence on popular music has been viewed by Ford and the like as a corrupting and conspiratorial one; from an inner-Jewish perspective, "Jewish jazz" has and is still being used as a positive trope to denote acculturation, American-ness and contemporaneity. By juxtaposing examples of "Jewish jazz" from the Jazz Age with those drawn from the contemporary Klezmer and Radical Jewish Culture movements, I will show how the trope of "Jewish jazz" has been taken over by Jewish musicians in the U.S. (and even Israel) to fit multivalent constructions of race and ethnicity as Jews negotiate the changing, but still racially ambivalent, status between white and not-white in a multicultural society. This has led to the emergence in recent decades of such hybrids as "klezmer jazz," "hiphop klezmer" and "Jewish jazz -- Israeli style." Beyond influencing Jewish cultural production, I will demonstrate that these ethnic conceptualizations have influenced discourses regarding the relationship between Jews and African Americans to this day, as recent discussions on internet listserves have shown.

Session Number: 7.5

Session Zionism in the Diaspora: Function and Fantasy

Session

This panel offers a comparative exploration of the appeal and function of Zionist ideas and organization in WWI-era America, interwar Germany, and post-WWII Europe. It brings studies from across time and place into conversation, and allows us to examine the powerful, and often contradictory, uses of Zionism in Jewish Diaspora communities. Such a comparison reveals that the appeal of Zionism for Jews in Diaspora communities derived as much from the various ideas of Jewish identity that could be projected on to Zionism, as it did from the goals of Zionism itself.

By structuring the panel in this way, we challenge the traditional divisions within the field of Jewish Studies. Generally, these diverse topics would be addressed individually, in panels on American Jewish history, Jewish intellectual history, and the Aftermath of the Holocaust. By grouping them together in the same panel, we highlight the boundary-transcending nature of Zionism, both as an ideology and as a practical tool for Jewish survival in the Diaspora. Because our panel does not fit neatly into the established categories of Jewish Studies – American Jewry, European Jewry, or Israel Studies - it allows us not only to discuss the varied uses of Zionism, but also to consider the need to reconceive the boundaries of the field in light of transnational connections, movements, and ideologies.

The panel will consist of three papers given by Jessica Cooperman, Noam Pianko, and Avinoam Patt. Jessica Cooperman will examine the decisions made by the Jewish Welfare Board regarding the Jewish Legion and the WWI struggle for Palestine. The paper looks at the ways that the JWB sought to incorporate Zionist imagery and rhetoric into their projects for instilling a sense of masculine, non-diasporic, national identity in Jewish soldiers, while working to distance them from the Jewish Legion and from Palestine.

Noam Pianko's paper will explore Hans Kohn's (1891-1972) early writings on Zionism and Jewish nationalism. A close examination of Kohn's writings, as well as Kohn's personal correspondences from this period, indicates that this peripatetic intellectual's passion for Zionism was integrally connected with his critique of European nationalism. Kohn turned to Jewish sources to explicate a philosophy of nationalism that privileged ethical considerations and universalism over political and territorial

definitions of national identity. Thus, Zionism provided Kohn with an intellectual platform from which he could advocate for the

dissolution of nation-state nationalism.

Finally, Avinoam Patt will discuss the nature of the Zionist experience for Jewish youth living in the DP camps of post-war Germany. For young Holocaust survivors who were consciously engaged in the process of preparing themselves for life in Israel, Zionism provided them with the family and camaraderie they sought after the war, while equipping them with the tools of citizenship necessary for the Jewish state-in-the-making. This encounter with Zionism, however, forced them to face the contradictions between

Chair, Deborah Dash Moore (Vassar College)

Jessica S. Cooperman (New York University)

American Maccabees: Patriotic Service and Recruitment for the World War I Jewish Legion

In March 1918, the final year of World War I, the Executive Director of the National Jewish Welfare Board [JWB], received a letter from the local Massachusetts branch of that organization. The letter contained the following inquiry:

Dr. Shohan, who has in charge the recruiting of a Jewish Battalion for the Palestine front under the British flag, has sent in a request to the Massachusetts Branch for permission to maintain their headquarters at the [JWB] Hospitality House. The Executive Committee deemed it advisable to bring this matter to the attention of your Executive Committee, as the Committee was not certain whether Dr. Shohan's work would meet with the approval of the National Board.

On the surface, the question seemed straightforward: Should the JWB — an organization dedicated to caring for Jewish soldiers fighting in the American military — allow recruitment for the Jewish Battalion to take place in its buildings? The soldiers recruited would, after all, be Jewish; they would be sent to fight for the defeat of Germany and her allies, just like soldiers in the American military; they would be doing their part in the global struggle of World War I. Did it matter that they were enlisting to fight under the British flag rather than the Stars and Stripes? Or that they were requesting the chance to fight specifically for Palestine rather than for the broader allied cause?

The answer, however, was far from simple. Providing public assistance to raising what would become known as the Jewish Legion was a complicated political move in wartime America. In answering this question — and the other requests for assistance to the Jewish Legion that followed — the JWB had to take a stand on its relationship to the Legion and the Zionist project in Palestine, on the ties between American Jews and the dispersed Jewish diaspora, and on the duties of American Jewry to their country and to their Biblical homeland, all while balancing the demands of a US government intolerant of expressions of dual loyalty.

In this paper, I will examine the decisions made by the JWB regarding the Jewish Legion and the WWI struggle for Palestine. I will discuss how these decisions reflected the JWB's understanding of American Jewry's war aims, and its vision of American Jewry's role in the post-war diaspora and in the building of a Jewish homeland. In particular, I will look at the ways that the JWB sought to incorporate Zionist imagery and rhetoric into their projects for instilling a sense of masculine, non-diasporic, national identity in Jewish soldiers, while working to distance them from the Jewish Legion and from Palestine. In doing so, this paper will emphasize the uses of Zionism as a means to promote American citizenship and patriotism during WWI. It will consider the affects of recruiting, in the diaspora, for a separate Jewish military

force. And it will argue for the vital significance of WWI military service in

Noam F Pianko (University of Washington)

Hans Kohn, Zionism, and the Critique of Nationalism

This paper explores Hans Kohn's (1891-1972) early writings on Zionism and Jewish nationalism. Kohn remains best known in American scholarship as one of the founders of the academic study of nationalism. However, before immigrating to America in 1933, Kohn distinguished himself as a leading disciple of Martin Buber, a founding member of Brit Shalom, and an executive of the World Zionist Organization. Between the end of World War I and his official break with the Zionist movement in 1929, Kohn wrote extensively on the history of Zionism, Arab nationalism, and contemporary developments in Palestine.

A close examination of these texts, as well as Kohn's personal correspondences from this period, indicates that this peripatetic intellectual's passion for Zionism was integrally connected with his critique of European nationalism. Kohn's writings on the "political idea of Judaism" represent his attempts to contribute to debates about nationalism during the Weimar period. Like historians such as Friedrich Meinecke, Kohn struggled to find historical precedents for alternative formulations of nationalism that emphasized morality over state power. However, unlike his non-Jewish contemporaries, Kohn gainsaid the possibility of reconciling ethical nationalism with political statehood. Following his mentor, Martin Buber, Kohn turned to Jewish sources to explicate a philosophy of nationalism that privileged ethical considerations and universalism over political and territorial definitions of national identity. Thus, Zionism provided Kohn with an intellectual platform from which he could advocate for the dissolution of nation-state nationalism.

This investigation of Kohn's early writings on Zionism adds a new dimension to Kohn's historical legacy. Kohn's later work on the history of nationalism had clear precedent in his writings on Zionism. By bringing this involvement to the fore, this paper illustrates the importance of challenging Kohn's bifurcated legacy. In addition, focusing on Kohn's work deepens our understanding of the role that Zionism played in the diaspora. Delving into the ways in which Jewish intellectuals such as Kohn utilized Zionism as an instrument for critiquing the basic political assumptions of life in the diaspora complicates the Zionist narrative which tends to consider Zionism in Europe as the breeding ground for a political, statist vision of Jewish nationalism.

Avinoam Patt (New York University / Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum)

Jewish DP Youth and Zionism: Living in Landsberg, Dreaming of

This paper will examine the practical and psychological functions of membership in the Zionist kibbutzim of youth movements in post-war Germany, with an eye to understanding the appeal of Zionism for young Jewish survivors in the aftermath of the Holocaust. The establishment of Israel after WWII was not inevitable; the impact of the Holocaust and its aftermath on the success of the Zionist cause has been at the center of an intense and unresolved historiographical debate. For this reason, an understanding of the origin and appeal of Survivor Zionist enthusiasm, as well as the manner in which it functioned and was facilitated, is of considerable importance.

The period spent by the kibbutzim in Germany is central in the post-war history of the Zionist movement on a number of levels. The arrival of increasing numbers of Jewish DPs in the American zone of Germany with the Bricha over the course of 1946 created a situation in which a diplomatic solution to the Jewish refugee problem would become urgent. The time spent by the youth in the kibbutzim in Germany would be used in intensive linguistic, cultural, and ideological education in order to bolster the ranks of the Zionist movement.

A number of common themes emerge from the experiences of youth in kibbutzim as described in journals, newspapers, and correspondence from their time in the DP camps in occupied Germany, perhaps helping to explain why members chose to remain within the kibbutz. The decision to remain within the framework of the kibbutz functioned on a number of levels: on the psychological level, through the continuing peer pressure and techniques employed by the madrichim and leadership persuading members not to leave the group; through education, by providing members with access to knowledge for which they *_hungered_*; by granting structure and work, re-introducing them to a daily schedule on the time and calendar of the movement; providing a basis for identity as membership in the movement provided a sense of belonging to a larger group and a larger family; and finally through the promise of Aliyah, as staying with the kibbutz carried the additional incentive of an expedited route to a future life in Palestine. In their *_cultural work_*, kibbutz members acquired the necessary Zionist tools to qualify them for aliyah; such exercises simultaneously filled the function of keeping kibbutz members occupied thereby lessening the potential for boredom, laziness, and demoralization. The reappropriation of Jewish tradition and the transformation of a traumatic past into a source of heroic pride also provided members with the psychological balm necessary to continue life in the wake of such tragedy.

Just as importantly, on the diplomatic level the high visibility of the kibbutzim and their manifestations of Zionist enthusiasm demonstrated to outside observers a perceived state of *_Palestine passion_* on the part of the Jewish DPs. Thus, for young Jewish survivors in the DP camps, Zionism performed a practical and psychological function, while simultaneously aiding in the creation of the Jewish state.

Session Number: 7.6

Session Mishneh Torah: Multiple Agendas and Levels

Session

Chair, Judith R. Baskin (University of Oregon)

Haym Soloveitchik (Yeshiva University)

Mishneh Torah: Multiple Agendas and Levels

Session Number: 7.7

Session Jewish Nationalism in Theory and Practice

Session

Chair, Israel Bartal (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Joshua Shanes (Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies)

The Nationalization of Orthodoxy in Eastern Europe: The Case of Galicia

During the last decade before the First World War, traditional Jews in Galicia, an overwhelmingly Hasidic region at the time, became increasingly exposed to Jewish nationalists who aimed to politicize _Orthodox_ Jews in favor of a variety of nationalist positions. Abandoning their previous preference for work among acculturated Jews alone, Jewish nationalist activists began to penetrate into the heart of Hasidic and other traditional communities through a variety of means: Yiddish-language lectures and classes (increasingly hosted at synagogues and *shtieblkh*), Yiddish-language newspapers, holiday festivals, sports clubs, Jewish libraries, and an ever expanding number of clubhouses, which increasingly attracted young Jews from Orthodox backgrounds. At the same time, Zionist rhetoric increasingly toned down its highly hostile and irreverent attacks on Orthodox opponents of Zionism, tending now to portray them as well-meaning but confused about the relationship between Zionism and Judaism.

Based on a variety of sources, particularly the contemporary press, autobiography and autobiographical fiction, and the large number of *Yizkor* books that focus on this region, this paper analyzes Zionist and other nationalist efforts at outreach into the traditional Jewish communities, their institutional bases, the nature and strength of their opponents, and the degree to which they were successful. It argues that while the inherently anti-clerical, if not anti-religious agenda of most Jewish nationalists in Galicia prevented most traditional Jews from joining the Zionist Organization, these institutions nevertheless greatly influenced the political and national orientation of Orthodox Jewry in favor of a whole variety of nationalist positions.

Arieh Bruce Saposnik (Arizona State University)
Ethnic Curse or National Blessing? Jewish Ethnic Division and the Making of a Jewish Nation in Palestine, 1903-1914

Calling in 1903 for the establishment of an umbrella organization which might unify the splintered Jewish community of Palestine, Zionist activist Menahem Ussishkin cautioned that the Jews of that land could no longer tolerate the separation into "Ashkenazim, Sephardim, Yemenites, Persians, Georgians, Bucharans, Morrocans..." "All of these," he wrote, "must instead be included under the term 'the Hebrew Yishuv in Palestine'".

The decade preceding the First World War was marked in Palestine by intensive efforts to create a unifying national culture which might transform the divided community into that "Hebrew Yishuv"--an embryonic national community. In these efforts, Zionist activists inside and outside of Palestine were deeply troubled by the inordinate number of fissures which cut across the Yishuv along a number of intersecting lines. One of the most conspicuous and, to many Zionists, most troubling of these cleavages was that which separated the various Jewish edot, or ethnic groups, from one another.

This concern over ethnic division reached to the very heart of the nationalization project, and became a prominent consideration in the most fundamental aspects of the reconstitution of Jewish life along modern national lines which Zionism in Palestine envisioned and sought to effect.

And yet, while the reality of *kibbutz galuyot* (the ingathering of exiles) had turned out to be "a blessing which has become a curse", as one commentator lamented, it was also possible, others retorted, to recast the "curse" of ethnic heterogeneity into a "blessing" of national unification. The very multiplicity of Jewish traditions, customs, and even physiognomies, according to some, might prove a rich quarry from which to glean the raw materials for the new, unified national culture. Particular ethnic groups, in other words, might play unique political, economic, social or cultural roles in begetting the Jewish nation, roles whose understandings were often shaped by imageries of *Orient* and *Occident*, by current scientific thinking on race and ethnicity, and by changing political and social circumstances. Many of the institutions designed in these years to create and disseminate the national culture were consequently founded on assumptions of specific ethnic roles, and a great deal of the symbolism and imagery which became a part of the Yishuv's celebrations and rituals cast the different edot each in its own unique part in the national drama.

In the project of forging a national culture for the budding Jewish nation in Palestine, in other words, an impulse to erase Jewish ethnic diversity existed in continuous tension with the desire to incorporate the manifestations of that very multiplicity into a unified cultural composite. The nation's culture would in the end be identical with none of the distinct cultures of the disparate groups,

but would incorporate elements of these sources in the creation of something fundamentally new.

Esther Schely-Newman (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
Ideology 'Lite': The Hanukah Story in Easy Hebrew

The interaction between language and ideology exists in Israel through the relationship between the revival of the Hebrew language, the Zionist movement, and Israel as an immigrant state. The investment in teaching Hebrew to new citizens, the Ulpan system, text books and newspapers in easy Hebrew are manifestations of such connections.

Texts for new citizens are written with a simplified Hebrew grammar and syntax. However, they also serve as a method for socializing the immigrants to the needs of Israeli society and present a picture of ideal "Israeliness." This premise will be examined through an analysis of the Hanukah story as found in the easy-Hebrew paper Shaar Lamathil.

The historical events commemorated in the Hanukah story are presented as a religious struggle against Hellenism, a festival of miracles; but also as a national revolt led by the Maccabees, a victory of the weak and few against the powerful Greek Empire. A diachronic approach to texts (1957-2003) can reveal changes in the Israeli ethos by identifying the focus of the story(ies). Furthermore, since the paper features other aspects of the holiday _ recipes, candelabra, stories, customs and traditions of different Jewish ethnic groups _ issues relating to a hegemonic national identity are also present. Critical analysis of the content may reveal preferences, or dominance, of particular groups: are the features aiming at the formation of a unified Israeli tradition, or towards a pluralistic multi-cultural perspective? Is multiculturalism limited to folkways, and what groups are "allowed" into the collective? The influx of different immigrant groups through time may be indicated in changes found in texts, e.g., the inclusion of non-Jewish winter holidays, such as Christmas and New Year's Day.

The study may reveal correlations between transformations in Israeli society and their representation in educational-pedagogical tools. The historical perspective, provided by the texts in Shaar Lamathil, permits insights into the ways in which language ideology and language policy combine to create an image of society for its new citizens.

Session Number: 7.8

Session The Philosophical Dimension in Fackenheim's Thought

Session

This panel will explore the nature of the encounter between philosophy and theology in Fackenheim's thought. Fackenheim himself asserted that he could never decide between being a philosopher and being a theologian, and, consequently, he attempted to normalize Judaism through its encounter with philosophical thought. The three papers that comprise this panel will each address the extent to which Fackenheim's attempt is successful in retaining terms appropriate to each philosophy and to Judaism.

Sharon Portnoff's (Jewish Theological Seminary) paper, *Making Peace with Philosophy: Emil L. Fackenheim's Hegelianism*, will address Fackenheim's encounter with Hegel. Does Fackenheim continue in the tradition of philosophy, that is, remain an Hegelian? Or, is Fackenheim justified in his claim that Hegel would not today be an Hegelian, that is, that the advance of philosophy is appropriately the dismantling of its traditionally independent sphere? In other words, when Fackenheim, as a result of his encounter with Hegel, asserts the primacy of history over philosophy, does he assert also the necessity of philosophy's self-destruction?

Martin D. Yaffe's (University of North Texas) paper, *Historicism and Revelation in Emil Fackenheim's Self-Distancing from Leo Strauss*, picks up on the question of the role of history in Fackenheim's thought. Fackenheim's encounter with Heidegger was inspired by Strauss' criticism of Heidegger's radical historicism. Fackenheim attempts to qualify historicism by retaining its connection with the absolute standard of religion. But does Fackenheim's qualification succeed in preserving this standard? Or is the sphere of revelation itself ultimately blurred by the introduction of historicism?

James A. Diamond's (University of Waterloo) paper, *Rabbi Fackenheim and the Hermeneutics of Philosophical Encounter*, argues that Fackenheim preserved neither the terms appropriate for either philosophy or revelation, nor, consequently, those appropriate for normative Judaism. Fackenheim's encounter with Hegel issues in the former thinker's reconstructions of biblical Judaism as a means of asserting the philosophical aspect within Judaism. Fackenheim's resolution, then, of his encounter with Hegel is accomplished ultimately by Fackenheim as theologian. Yet, Diamond claims, Fackenheim's Judaism is authenticated by his hermeneutic, and therefore is not in itself normative. It cannot therefore issue in a normalization of Judaism.

Chair, Benjamin Pollock (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Martin D. Yaffe (University of North Texas)
Historicism and Revelation in Emil Fackenheim's Self-Distancing from Leo Strauss

Though not a *Straussian*, Fackenheim relates autobiographically how Strauss's forceful critique of historicism in *Philosophie und Gesetz* (1935) first drew him away from the purely academic study of Judaism and toward Jewish philosophy. Strauss understood Judaism in light of the kinship between Maimonides and Plato; but Fackenheim subsequently wondered whether Strauss had adequately come to terms with radical evil and, concomitantly, with divine revelation. In particular, Fackenheim's self-distancing from Strauss over the question of revelation led him to immerse himself more extensively than Strauss in philosophical arguments concerning the ontological (or, rather, *me* ontological) status of history. Fackenheim's *Metaphysics and Historicity* (1961) maintains that the self-which, as he argues at length elsewhere, is both the locus of evil and the addressee of revelation is best understood in terms of arguments precipitously close to those of historicism: *qua* historical relativism, historicism is self-refuting but may be modified to allow for timeless truth as authorized or underwritten by revelation, considered as an ongoing possibility both in our time and in times past and future. In a letter since lost, Strauss praises Fackenheim's argument but adds that his merely formal refutation of historicism is inadequate, given the deeper historicism of the *later* Heidegger. Fackenheim's *The Historicity and Transcendence of Philosophic Truth* (1974) takes up Strauss's challenge by showing how Heidegger, despite himself, points to the possibility and necessity of revelation.

Meanwhile Strauss's 1965 Preface to the English translation of his *Die Religionskritik Spinozas* (1930) compares Heidegger with Rosenzweig and Buber, and suggests that the latter (to whom Fackenheim generally defers concerning revelation) ultimately blur divine and non-divine revelations. I conclude by examining whether Fackenheim's modified historicism adequately faces Strauss's assessment of Heidegger, Rosenzweig and Buber

Sharon Portnoff (Jewish Theological Seminary)

Making Peace with Philosophy: Emil L. Fackenheim's Hegelianism

One major question in Fackenheim scholarship is whether, or the extent to which, Fackenheim's thought progresses beyond Hegel's thought. My paper will suggest that the question must be broadened to address more precisely what impact the introduction of the concept of progress, or, more generally, history, has on the definition of philosophy. Fackenheim, for reasons almost antithetical to Hegel's, adopts Hegel's question, suggesting that the former remains within the bounds of Hegel's thought. Yet, Fackenheim does not adopt Hegel's solution: the progress beyond Hegel's thought, an idea which self-destructively gives primacy to history over philosophy, is in some sense a dismantling of Hegel. The question, then, which must be asked about Fackenheim's Hegelianism is whether the fact of Hegel's posing his question is more accurately indicative of the permanent human condition than simply the question itself.

Working primarily with Fackenheim's two essays, *Hegel on the Actuality of the Rational and the Rationality of the Actual* and *Demythologizing and Remythologizing in Jewish Experience: Reflections Inspired by Hegel's Philosophy*, my paper will explore both why Fackenheim adopts the Hegelian problem, and also why, and in what way, he deviates from Hegel's solution to that problem. I will use Fackenheim's *The Religious Dimension of Hegel's Thought* and *Moses and the Hegelians: Jewish Existence in the Modern World* as background. In addition, my paper will draw on my interviews and conversations with Professor Fackenheim which took place in December 2002 and August 2003. These tapes include Professor Fackenheim's thoughts on Hegel, as well as his more general thoughts on the role of philosophy in modern life.

In order to address the larger question of Fackenheim's Hegelianism, my paper will begin with Hegel and Fackenheim's definition of the problem: the absolute must be grounded in contingency, even as it retains absoluteness. My paper will then point out what Fackenheim conceives to be the errors in Hegel's philosophical solution. Finally, my paper will explore Fackenheim's proposal as to how to emend Hegel's thought. My paper will conclude by asking whether, for Fackenheim, Hegel's philosophical problem is a permanent human problem, or whether the permanency of Hegel's question is itself grounded in contingency. The answer to this question will determine the answer to the question of the extent to which Fackenheim remains within

James Diamond (University of Waterloo)

Rabbi Fackenheim and the Hermeneutics of Philosophical Encounter

In his preface to *Encounters Between Judaism and Modern Philosophy*, Fackenheim adjures his readers to be mindful of the systematic impulse of combining two disciplines- Jewish thought and philosophy- which informs an enterprise that otherwise appears as a collection of disparate essays. What liberated him from the restraints forcing him to maintain a rigid separation between the two for a prolonged period was, I argue, the realization that the rabbinic tradition offers philosophically sophisticated responses to what he considered to be formidable challenges to Jewish religious existence posed by modern philosophy. Biblical figures such as Elijah and Abraham, as conceived by the classical rabbis, strike philosophically at the very heart of, primarily, Hegel's relegation of Judaism to a curious anachronism and, secondarily, to Kant's recommendation of expediting its demise by euthanasia.

Hegel's Grundidee of Judaism is shattered by Jewish self-understanding of its own nature which can only be culled from the midrashic tradition. Therefore, whether Fackenheim's impulse is vindicated or not, is dependent on how successful he is in philosophically reconstructing rabbinic reconstructions of biblical Judaism, including reconstructions of the authors of rabbinic self-reflections themselves (e.g. R. Akiva). The two pivotal omissions from the grundidee, supplied by Jewish self-understanding, are covenantal intimacy and messianic expectation. The literary forms that can best accommodate its fragmentary and contradictory expression are parable, story and metaphor which, Fackenheim claims, becomes normative for the contemporary Jewish theologian. If we take him at his word, then the key to appreciating the project of uniting Jewish thought with philosophy is Rabbi rather than Professor Fackenheim.

Just as Hegel ignored the rabbinic and was highly selective of the biblical in his conception of Judaism, can Fackenheim be accused of the same? Does his philosophical reconstruction of a prophetic figure such as Elijah fail to account for rabbinic (and halachic) perspectives as a whole and therefore fail to measure up to its normative mandate? Taking Elijah (and secondarily, Moses) as a test case, I will explore the legitimacy of Fackenheim's normative project and whether his selective emphasis on Elijah's wager at Mt. Carmel is merely a caricatured portrait. At the end, it is his very hermeneutic, his act of reading which authenticates his appropriation of the rabbinic tradition, and places his battle with Hegel side by side with R. Akiva's battle with Rome. The ultimate proof resides in Fackenheimian/rabbinic inspired configurations of root experiences within the Elijah paradigm that I will offer, which Fackenheim does not pursue, such as the observation of his death by Elisha; the end of Malachi as the primary biblical locus of Elijah as the harbinger of the messiah; and the rabbinic anticipation of his normative

Respondent, Michael L. Morgan (Indiana University)

Session Number: 7.9

Session **Negotiating Holiness in Late Antiquity**

Session

Chair, Christine E. Hayes (Yale University)

Eyal Regev (Bar-Ilan University)

The Sadducees and the Sacred

The Sadducees and the Sacred:

The religious ideology behind the controversies between the Sadducees and the Pharisees

The Sadducees and the Pharisees are famous for their disagreements about halakhic issues, as recorded in rabbinic literature and echoed in Josephus' writings. The paper aims to uncover the religious ideas which lay behind the controversies concerning Sabbath and Festivals, Temple rituals and laws of purity and impurity, suggesting that they derived from two different ways in which each conceptualized the relationship between the individual and God and between the individual and the larger society.

For instance, from the Sadducees' stringency concerning ritual purity and their emphasis of the unique religious and social role of priests one may deduce that they have held that the holiness of the Temple was of overwhelming importance – not only for its own sake, but for the socio-anthropological symbolism it seemed to embody. The Pharisees' opposite views imply that they do not appear to have attached any such symbolic role to these purity laws; Temple purity was simply a matter of fulfilling the biblical commandments.

The paper summarizes the results of a forthcoming monograph, entitled *The Sadducees and Their Halakhah: Religion and Society in the Second Temple Period* (Yad Yizhak ben Zvi).

Alexei M. Sivertsev (De Paul University)

Continuity and Change in Rabbinic Burials at Beth Shearim

The burial site at Beth Shearim has yielded a significant amount of epigraphic evidence containing references to rabbis and dating to the early third – fourth centuries CE. This evidence, along with information from synagogue inscriptions, has been collected and analyzed by Shaye Cohen in his milestone article *Epigraphical Rabbis*. My paper seeks to elaborate some of Shaye Cohen's conclusions and take research of *Epigraphical Rabbis* one step further by using a slightly different methodological approach to the body of inscriptions at our disposal.

Methodologically, *Epigraphical Rabbis* from Beth Shearim should be discussed within the context of other burials made at this site. We have to take a closer look at social and occupational patterns following scanty references to social background of non-rabbinic burials at Beth Shearim. If such patterns can be identified, it would be natural to assume that in terms of their social status *Epigraphical Rabbis* of Beth Shearim conformed to them in one way or another. The contextual approach to inscriptions will allow us to come up with a better understanding of *Epigraphical Rabbis*.

The paper will argue that, similar to other inscriptions, rabbinic epitaphs reflect social, cultural, and economic changes within the Jewish community spanning from the early third century to the early fourth century. One can identify three major periods of rabbinic burial at Beth Shearim. The first one (represented by catacomb 20) reflects cultural and social milieu of the late second and early third century provincial Jewish society. The second period represented in family burials of catacomb 14 shows increased hellenization of local Jewish elites. It also reflects their integration into cultural and social network of the Greco-Roman Near East. During both these periods, Beth Shearim remained a definitively local phenomenon, reflective of trends and processes in the local Jewish society.

Finally, the third period (rabbinic burials in catacombs 1, 16, and 25-26) reflects full integration of Beth Shearim and its necropolis into social and economic network of the region. Most of the rabbis buried during this period come from urban families. Most of these families are occupied in various professional trades and demonstrate remarkable degree of economic and social mobility. The latter becomes evident once we consider their participation in local imperial administration. Although roots of many of these families can be traced back to the Diaspora centers (such as Palmyra), their social and geographical mobility makes any distinction between Diaspora and the Land of Israel meaningless. These families lived and acted within a network established throughout the region and connecting its major commercial centers into a single whole. The contextual analysis of rabbinic epitaphs throughout all three periods demonstrates that they reflect the same trends as other artifacts in Beth Shearim, although, at the same time, they preserve certain degree of cultural uniqueness characteristic of a cultural (and

Ra'anana (Abusch) Boustan (University of Minnesota)
The Emergence of Pseudepigraphy in Hekhalot Literature: Evidence from the Jewish Magical Corpora of Late Antiquity

This paper offers some empirical observations about the emergence of the pseudepigraphic framework of the Hekhalot corpus as seen from the vantage point of Jewish magical texts from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. I argue that Hekhalot literature is refracted differently in the distinct strata of the Jewish magical corpus. I show that it is only in the magical materials retrieved from the Cairo Geniza that we begin to find ritual-liturgical compositions in which a practitioner explicitly invokes heavenly ascent to the merkavah as a source of power and authority. I will argue that the magical corpus thus enables us to better understand the literary history of Hekhalot literature as it crystallized in the forms transmitted to modernity in the medieval manuscript tradition.

Hekhalot literature and the magical corpus share numerous affinities. Nevertheless, Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked have convincingly argued that, while the boundary between Jewish magical and mystical literature is highly permeable, the distinction between them should not be entirely collapsed. In their view, an approach to the magical material that takes into account its geographic and temporal diversity and specificity is crucial for assessing its relationship to Hekhalot literature. This important degree of internal differentiation within the magical literature is lost when the magical corpus is erroneously viewed as a unified whole. It is precisely because the inter-dependence of the Hekhalot and magical literatures is strong, but not static, that we can catch an oblique glimpse of their changing relationship. The difference between the magical sources from the pre-Islamic period (e.g., Babylonian magical bowls and Palestinian amulets) and the sources from the Cairo Geniza is striking. On the one hand, the earlier sources do not contain even a single allusion to the pseudepigraphic figures of Hekhalot literature, R. Ishmael, R. Akiva, and R. Nehunya ben ha-Qanah. When the Babylonian bowls do include the names of rabbinic figures, they almost exclusively refer to figures such as R. Joshua ben Perahya and R. Hanina ben Dosa, who do not figure in Hekhalot literature at all. By contrast, the magical documents from the Geniza considerably expand their range of references to rabbinic figures to include the pseudepigraphic heroes of Hekhalot literature. Moreover, in a number of the Geniza texts, the practitioner explicitly appeals to these figures in an attempt to appropriate their power to travel to the merkavah for his own ends. It may be no coincidence, then, that when the word merkavah does appear in one of the earlier Aramaic incantation bowls it refers to the chariots of the demons and not to God's chariot at all. Hekhalot literature as we know it from the manuscript tradition exerted a negligible impact on Jewish magical discourse until the early Middle Ages. These findings have important implications for our understanding of the relationship between Jewish mystical and magical literatures and for the literary history of the

Alex Jassen (New York University)

Literary and Historical Studies in the Samuel Apocryphon (4Q160)

The Samuel Apocryphon (4Q160) is a fragmentary text found among the Dead Sea Scrolls representing the genre known as parabiblical literature. Though released to the scholarly world in 1968, this text has remained virtually untouched by all subsequent scholarship. The text survives in three main sections reflecting three different literary forms: (1) An apparent citation of I Samuel 3:14-17 (frg. 1). (2) A petitionary prayer offered to God on behalf of some secondary group followed by a description of some future time when "the enemies" will come to some degree of understanding about God and his relationship with "the nation" (frgs. 3-5). (3) Autobiographical elements that can reasonably be shown to refer to events in Samuel's own life (frg. 7). The present study is the third in a series of treatments of this long neglected text. In the first, we focused on the fundamental textual and interpretive issues while the second study explored the exegetical framework that motivated the author of 4Q160, in particular as he reworked Psalm 40 in fragments 3-5. The present study focuses on the larger literary, social, and historical considerations surrounding the text. Before turning our attention to these issues, certain methodological concerns are addressed. In particular, we look at certain difficulties present in working with fragmentary texts such as the Samuel Apocryphon and discuss the issue of the literary relationship between the three seemingly disparate sets of fragments (1, 3-5, 7). At the literary level, we are primarily concerned with examining the character of the pseudepigraphy in the text, in particular focusing on the image of Samuel as the pseudepigraphic cipher for the author of 4Q160. We explore the inner-biblical tradition of Samuel as an especially effective intercessor with God on behalf of Israel. The presence of similar circumstances in 4Q160 suggests that this tradition lies behind the choice of Samuel as the pseudepigraphic agent in the present text. In addition, we approach the larger question of the literary genre of the text. In particular, the few comments that have been made concerning this text have taken for granted its classification as the literary form "rewritten Bible." We re-examine this question paying close attention to recent significant advances in the study of post-biblical Jewish literature. Based on these larger literary considerations, we consider the question of an appropriate title for this text that accurately reflects its contents and literary genre. Finally, pseudepigrapha does not exist in a historical vacuum. Indeed, certain considerations suggest that this text reflects a period of heightened internal social discord. Based on the identification of this social discord, we seek to glean as much as we can about the larger historical content

Session Number: 7.10

Session The Study of Jewish Music

Session

The study of Jewish Music has its roots in the nineteenth century European <I>Wissenschaft </I> tradition. Studies of European liturgical music centered on the Ashkenazic tradition with occasional forays into Western Sephardic traditions. At the turn of the twentieth century the amount of studies grew with the growing collections by noted expeditions and researchers. The Sh An-sky expedition in Eastern Europe and A. Z. Idelsohn_s Thesaurus <I> of Hebrew and Oriental Melodies </I> stand out as important monuments of the early twentieth century. Studies of artistic and folk traditions developed situated in the approaches of European musicology and the early approaches of burgeoning field of ethnomusicology. Studies during this period are varied and sporadic with some comprehensive attempts to provide a global view of Jewish music, Idelsohn_s <I> Jewish Music in Its Historical Development </I> (1929) is the prime example.

During the course of the twentieth century studies of music have become more specifically delineated with attempts to uncover specific aspects of a regional or single tradition rather than a comprehensive global view. Studies of Jewish music cover a wide geographic area documenting various traditions around the world and are situated within on or more disciplines: musicology, ethnomusicology, Judaic studies, specific regions (Central Europe, Eastern Europe, Middle East, America), linguistics.

A significant challenges to scholars of Jewish music is the fit as to the discipline of study. Many begin their study in musicology speaking primarily to musical and historic issues. Others expand the approach to include folklore, liturgy, religion and cultural studies. Given the truly interdisciplinary task the tension of musical for Judaic studies approaches always are at hand. In recent decades the emphasis on interdisciplinary studies has opened new opportunities and possibilities.

This panel investigates three areas of research in Jewish music: Eastern Europe, its role as a field and discipline, and Sephardic and Middle Eastern Communities. Each paper will discuss the primary research in each area and will provide perspective and insight on theoretical and methodological

Chair, Francesco Spagnolo (Università Statale di Milano)

**Mark Kligman (Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion)
Looking Beyond European Musical Traditions: Studies of Sephardic
and Non-Ashkenazic Communities**

Music of Sephardi (Western and Middle Eastern) communities is diverse and complex. Spanning the Mediterranean from the Western Sephardic communities of Spain and Portugal, to North Africa, the Ottoman Empire and the Levant covers a vast region of diverse and complex musical styles. While liturgical and para-liturgical contexts reveal similarities in the region significant differences also exist.

Musicological research of these communities is a complex enterprise with significant differences in the documentation of traditions. Western Sephardic traditions transmit music through written sources while the vast majority of other Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewish tradition are orally transmitted. This paper will look at the scholarship of Western and Middle Eastern Sephardi traditions showing the variety of approaches. There are several studies of the Spanish and Portuguese tradition and various Middle Eastern traditions (Moroccan, Turkish, Syrian) while others have had little or no study (Balkans, Persian). Some studies are musically focused seeking to uncover musical structures and paradigms while others are contextually focused.

Many studies of Jewish music in the nineteenth century only focused on written traditions. By this measure Western Sephardic traditions were studied (Adler). Others have tried to look into the influences and relationships with other Western Ashkenazic traditions (Seroussi). Idelsohn was one of the first to document and study non-Ashkenazic communities and consider approaches and issues that do not pertain to Ashkenazic music. Since his day other scholars have embarked on ethnographic research into Middle Eastern Jewish communities to expand the field (Judith Cohen, Sharvit, Shiloah). While noted musicologists of Jewish music in the early and mid-Twentieth century viewed Sephardic music as older and static, contemporary studies reveal a dynamic musical world. Both approaches and the subject of study have moved beyond

Judah Cohen (New York University)

My Work, My Profession, My Belief: The Dilemma of Sound in Judaic

Scholarly studies on music within a Jewish context have been in existence since the late nineteenth century, resulting in part from the gestalt that gave rise to the scientific study of Judaism. Yet despite well over a century of co-existence, the two fields remain a difficult fit. Even today, specialists in Jewish music tend to be housed in Music departments; and only recently has Jewish studies begun to recognize music as field that can be integrated into the mainstream discipline.

In my paper, I will examine the relationship between the fields of American Judaism and Studies of Jewish Music in the 20th century. Looking at the changing frameworks each discipline has inhabited over time, I will suggest that the two fields have rarely come together in a satisfactory manner due to their differing positions within Jewish life. While Judaic studies took on the trappings of academic rigor in an attempt to join other liberal arts disciplines, Jewish music studies tended to thrive in the conservatory atmosphere of the cantorial school, where scholarly research often served to justify the effective recreation of religious musical tradition.

The divergent trajectories of these two disciplines reinforced the gulf perceived between studying text and studying sound. As can be seen in the work of A. Z. Idelsohn, Eric Werner and others, the study of music in Jewish contexts began to fall squarely into the domain specialists who often practiced it as a profession. Texts for undertaking Jewish musical study were created in a manner similar to the way it was done in other aspects of Jewish studies; however, Jewish music scholars tended to minimize them through an emphasis on oral tradition, and often asserted in their place abstract structures (such as the synagogue modes) better suited for practice than historical analysis. Such activities led Jewish music studies to take on a distinct specialist status, reserved mainly for cantors and the musicians that supported them; not incidentally, this status lionized the same Ashkenazic culture from which the cantorial art emerged.

I will conclude by discussing how in recent years the two fields have been making overtures of conciliation. Renewed interest in the arts on the part of Judaic studies, a distinct move by Jewish music scholars away from essentialist discourses, and a recontextualization of text as a part of the performative process have created inroads for productive, integrative investigations.

Lyudmila Sholokhova (YIVO Institute for Jewish Research)
Formation and Development of Jewish Musical Folklore Studies in the Russian Empire at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

Formation of Jewish folklore studies in the Russian Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century was determined by the trends of historical development, which brought assimilated Jewish intellectuals to the realization of the necessity for learning the traditions and culture of their people. Sh. Dubnov's idea of the creation of Jewish national autonomy in the Diaspora influenced the works of the prominent Jewish ethnographer and writer Sh. An-sky, who emphasized the necessity of the integrated study of the Jewish way of life within the Pale of settlement.

The famous St. Petersburg Jewish Historical Ethnographical Society was founded in 1908, followed by the founding of the societies for Jewish folk music in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Recordings of Jewish folk melodies, creation of compositions in the Jewish style, lectures and concerts – all these trends gave rise to the atmosphere of the Jewish musical renaissance of the beginning of the twentieth century. The first discussions of the concept of Jewish music must be dated back to the same period (see polemics between Sholem-Aleykhem and Engel; Engel and Saminsky). In 1901, the first classified edition of Jewish folksongs (*Yiddish folksongs in Russia*) by Ginzburg and Marek appeared in St. Petersburg. At the same time, Engel was working out his conception of the formation of a Jewish national school in music, which was supposed to be based on the collecting and researching of folksongs as a primary way to Jewish musical self-knowledge. This idea found its further development in the series of ethnographic expeditions on the territories of Volhynia and Poldolia initiated by An-sky. The materials of these expeditions are now the part of the Vernadsky National library of Ukraine in Kiev.

The Zinoviy Kiselgof private collection of Jewish folklore dating to the 1910s-1930s is considered to be the largest manuscript source on this subject of that period. It includes 2000 entries written down in 88 notebooks mostly from Belarus and Ukraine. This collection is distinguished for its diversity of genres; its liturgical part is especially important.

Chronologically, development of Jewish musical folklore studies in Russian Empire can be classified in the following way:

1898-1901 – the beginning: starting of systematic recording of Jewish musical folklore:

1901-1911- popularization: creating of Jewish cultural societies, development of Jewish music publishing and beginning of the methodical analysis of collected materials;

1911-1914 – strengthening of the research base: expeditions and planning of the museum collections.

**Paula Eisenstein Baker (University of St. Thomas, Houston)
Composer Leo Zeitlin in Vilna, 1921-23**

The Society for Jewish Folk Music, which was organized in St. Petersburg in 1908 to promote concert music on Jewish themes, soon had branches throughout the Russian Empire. Although the branch in Vilna was very small, composer/conductor Leo Zeitlin (1884-1930) traveled there to produce orchestral concerts for the society in August and December of 1913. And eight years later, Zeitlin, who had left St. Petersburg in 1917 for Ekaterinoslav, moved to Vilna. In this talk, I describe Zeitlin's musical activities in Vilna during the brief period that he lived there, from December 1921 until May 1923, and I demonstrate that--during his stay, at least--concert music on Jewish themes had a significant presence.

Zeitlin was the only one of the composers of the Society for Jewish Folk Music who wrote for full orchestra, and Vilna already had a symphony. Soon after his arrival, an orchestral concert including several of his works on Jewish themes was so successful that a second performance was scheduled. During his year and a half in Vilna, he produced and conducted at least eight other orchestral concerts and traveled to Lodz and Warsaw to conduct similar concerts. In addition, he organized (and performed on) concerts of chamber music that included works on Jewish themes; and he composed works for chamber ensemble, including three melodramas on texts by Vilna Yiddish poets, two of which will be heard during the talk. All of these activities raised the profile of concert music on Jewish themes.

Virtually all of Zeitlin's other musical activities in Vilna were also Jewish in content. He served as resident conductor and chorus-master at Vilna's Eden Theatre, which was producing Yiddish operetta in repertory (he wrote orchestral arrangements for at least one of the operettas); he organized a benefit concert for the Jewish conservatory that originally opened in Vilna in 1923; and he helped produce a Yiddish-language version of the Tchaikowsky opera Eugene Onegin.

Session Number: 7.11

Session Women, Gender, and Jewish Philosophy

Session

This panel has been organized in light of the recent publication of several books and articles that in different ways address the subject of feminism and Jewish philosophy. The panelists in this session will each take account of these works when presenting a "report" on the state of the discipline in regard to the interrelated topics of women, gender, and body in Jewish philosophy. It is hoped that this session will, therefore, serve both to report on the state of the discipline and to generate further discussion and research on the topic of women, gender, and Jewish philosophy.

This panel falls under the rubric of Modern Jewish Thought and Theology and will be co-sponsored by both Gender Studies (see Laura Levitt, who has already approved this co-sponsorship) and the Academy for Jewish Philosophy (see Moshe Sokol, who has already approved this co-sponsorship).

Chair, Laura S. Levitt (Temple University)

Michael D. Oppenheim (Concordia University)

Boundaries, Borders, and Models

This presentation will discuss some features of the current impact of feminist Jewish scholarship on Jewish philosophy and possible developments in the future. It will highlight the view that just as feminist and feminist Jewish scholarship have perhaps made their most important contributions to the academy not in terms of new content, but in bringing into question and offering new insights into the definitions of and borders between specific disciplines, subdisciplines, and categories, so one might anticipate that this will be repeated in terms of the engagement of feminist Jewish thought/philosophy with Jewish philosophy. Just think how the study of the preparation and presentation of food by women has revised our understanding of what constitutes "religious ritual," "religious expertise," and even "religion" overall. In terms of this panel's foci, how stable (and helpful) are the distinctions between Philosophy and Jewish philosophy, between Jewish philosophy and Jewish theology, and between "thought" and what qualifies as Philosophy? In addition it will begin to explore the ways that feminist Jewish concerns with models of the self that highlight gender and relationships can draw upon both a stream of modern Jewish philosophers (Rosenzweig, Buber, Levinas) and post-Freudian psychoanalysts of the British Object Relations and recent Relational psychoanalytic "schools."

Yudit K. Greenberg (Rollins College)

Love, Gender, and Jewish Philosophy

This paper will review a selection of recent writings in Feminist Jewish philosophy and will offer a critical analysis of the absence and presence of issues pertaining to divine and human love in current discourse.

Kenneth R. Seeskin (Northwestern University)

Feminism as Seen from the Standpoint of Traditional Philosophy

This paper will consider recent developments in feminist philosophy from the perspective of traditional Jewish philosophy, especially the rationalist tradition.

Respondent, Susan Shapiro (University of Massachusetts - Amherst)

Session Number: 7.12

Session* **Bringing Historical Documents into the College Classroom*

Session

Peter Geffen (Center for Jewish History)

Bringing the Archive into the Classroom: Web and Electronic Resources for Accessing the Center for Jewish History from the

The Center for Jewish History has embarked upon a dramatic expansion of its programs by offering wide-ranging opportunities for scholars and students -- from their campuses -- to utilize Center resources through digital images, website portals, and videoconferencing. The CJH's Executive Director, Peter Geffen, will demonstrate all media with direct connections to the Center's rare book room. Attend this session and learn how to bring your students into virtually first-hand contact with some of the most significant documents, films, photos and artifacts of the past 500 years of Diaspora Jewish life.

Session Number: 7.13

Session* **Ritual and Law in Medieval Ashkenaz*

Session

Chair, Daniel J. Lasker (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

Ephraim Shoham-Steiner (Harvard University)

A Dead Man, a Magic Well, and a Leper: Thoughts Concerning Two Jewish Rituals and Their Rationalizations from the European High

The Midrashic concept of the "Well of Miriam" appears in both Midrash as well as in ritual Halachic codes from the Middle Ages. The idea of the magical well stems from the link formed by the Talmudic sages of late antiquity between the death of Miriam, the woman prophet, sister of Moses and Aaron and the mass thirst recorded in Numbers 20. The Midrash about the well evolved into a more vague concept of a magic well located in the Sea of Galilee miraculously curing those who manage to dip in its waters. In the later middle ages we hear that the Well of Miriam is detached from its local setting in northern Israel and said to magically hover under every water source in the world during the mysterious hours between Shabbat and the regular week days on Saturday night, providing magical cure to the most severe illnesses if only beseeched. Recent scholarship has shown that the concept materialized into a fully grown female ritual, especially among Jewish woman in Medieval Northern France and in Provence.

In the proposed paper I wish to take a closer look at the concept of the "Well of Miriam" its potential functions in the Judeo-Christian Medieval dialogue from the 4th-14th century. I will compare my findings to another known ritual recorded in medieval Germany within the same time frame as the medieval French ritual. This Jewish-German ritual receives a novel explanation stemming from the concept of the "Well of Miriam".

Rainer Barzen (University of Trier, Germany)

The Ordinances of the Jewish Communities of Mainz, Worms, and Speyer (taqanot kehillot Shum): Toward a New Edition of a Well-known, Unknown Corpus

The medieval ordinances of the Jewish communities of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz (known by the acronym “Shum”) have been known to generations of scholars as “Taqanot Shum”. Versions of these taqanot had been published in the 19th century from various manuscripts, but Louis Finkelstein during the 1920s compiled a new edition of passages including all the material known to him, in his book on Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages. Only a few readers have noted that Finkelstein had opted for a selection of passages which he dated to the 13th century and which he regarded as the ordinances of the three Rhenish communities. His arrangement has effaced the other texts in the extant collections of taqanot, and blurred the textual history that can be established on their basis. My new edition aims at redressing these shortcomings. Its intention is not only to clarify the texts of the 13th-century taqanot, but to arrive at a full view of the taqanot transmission as a whole, of which they form no more than a part. The edition, like Finkelstein’s, is arranged in synopsis, making sure, however, that the structure given to the tradition by the various medieval redactors can be reconstrued. For example, it is possible to demonstrate at which points in time the smaller collections of ordinances were included into the overall corpus. The synoptic edition enables us to clarify the textual history until the 15th century. It now appears that the known witnesses for the collections of Rhenish taqanot must be regarded as steps toward a comprehensive catalogue of community ordinances. This catalogue was used as a model for the ordinances passed by individual communities during the 15th century, and included by Moshe Mintz in the responsa collection he edited. However, these taqanot were still connected to the known 13th-century texts which, in turn, had been compiled from smaller, independent earlier collections. New insights into the textual transmission also allow for conclusions concerning the history of the Jewish communities where the taqanot were used. The collections remain key documents of the “communal association” of Mainz, Worms, and Speyer. Although the special relationship among these communities can be traced back to the 12th century, both the institution of a common text in all these three communities and the unity expressed in them remain significant. An unpublished passage in one of the textual witnesses reveals that taqanot were also used to bind smaller Jewish settlements to their neighboring qehillah, showing that taqanot also regulated smaller regional forms of organization among Jewish settlements. By the mid-13th century, the taqanot collections also reflected the challenge which the local Jewish traditions faced in the new type of Jewish scholarship introduced into Germany from France by the students of Rabbenu Tam. The French taqanot that were then included into the corpus can be identified with the help of my new edition.

Jeffrey Woolf (Bar-Ilan University)

Limning Reality: Purity as a Category of Medieval Ashkenazic Culture

The proposed talk represents an attempt to identify a key element of Franco-German (Ashkenazic) Jewish Life in the Central and High Middle Ages (c. 950-c.1350). Contrary to popular perception, the laws of ritual purity did not fall into desuetude at the end of the ancient period. Correlation of the relevant data will show that they constituted an important part of religious life among certain segments of Ashkenazic Jews, especially those in Germany (and not necessarily related to German Pietism). These laws limned and organized the lives of Jews in the synagogue, in the home (beyond the aspect of sexual relations), and with the outside world. They provided one of the conceptual frameworks, within which personal spirituality could be cultivated, as in the continued aspiration 'to eat in purity.' In addition, purity laws could also mix with newer taboos and superstition, leading in some cases to the neglect of important observances, such as the donning of phylacteries. Finally, since Talmudic Law saw idolatry as generating ritual impurity, these laws and customs based thereupon guided and provided a vehicle of expression for the aversion of Franco-German Jews to the Church, its appurtenances and even food prepared by non-Jews. Christians were painfully aware of these sentiments and modes of behavior among Jews. They can be shown to have adumbrated the development of medieval anti-Judaism. This talk will present the salient results and implication of my investigation of thios topic to date.

Session Number: 7.14

Session* **Mixed Media II: Literature and Music*

Session

Chair, Jeffrey A. Shandler (Rutgers University)

Phyllis Lassner (Northwestern University)

Representing the Post-Holocaust Jew: Britain's Shadowy Other

Two years after the death camps were liberated, Jews were still considered alien Others

even by its liberators. Particularly shocking were the antisemitic riots in Britain, especially

because the 1939 Kindertransport was a lone humanitarian gesture among other Allied nations.

That Britain could provide safe haven for 10,000 Jewish children and then erupt in antisemitic

riots only two years after the fact of 6,000,000 Jewish deaths became known, raises significant

opportunities and questions for the study of cultural reflections and representations of Jews and

Judaism in the post-Holocaust era. My exploration will focus on these issues as they emerge in

Britain in the reportage of the prominent British writer Rebecca West. In addition to her 1937

epic of Yugoslavia, *Black Lamb and Gray Falcon*, West's reportage of the Nuremberg Trials

won acclaim for political analysis and astute psychological observations not only of the

perpetrators, but of the emerging historical consciousness of postwar Britain and western Europe.

Exposing residual signs of antisemitism, West wrote seven articles for the *Evening*

Standard between Sept. 29 - November 10, 1947, on the antisemitic riots that beset East End

London. Combining polemic and political satire, she questions the contradictory behavior of a

democratic society as representing a tense relationship between its principles of tolerance and

acceptance of difference and a prevailing undercurrent of antisemitism. My analysis will focus on

how West's articles expose ideological and cultural tensions between Britain's sense of its

national identity, political oppositions, and the position and represented character of the Jew.

From early in her career, West had been keenly interested in the position of the Jew in Britain as a

test of democratic ideals and in the 1930s, with her husband, had worked to save Jewish victims

of Nazi occupied Europe. As I will show, West's representation of the riots challenges the

boundaries of cultural and national identity as she exposes how signs of prevailing antisemitic

attitudes clash with a nation's identity as humanitarian rescuer and as diminishing imperial power.

While claims were made that the 1947 British riots were a response to the hanging of two British soldiers in Haifa, West's writing introduces a post-Holocaust political psychology that she dissects from a postwar shift in British political history. Thus she analyzes a newly unsettled position of Britain's Jews as it is constituted out of new British fears: anxieties about a fascist resurgence and intensifying British concern about communist influence and infiltration. As working class discontent was exploited by both communist and neo-fascist activity, Jews were recycled as scapegoats once again to foment political antagonisms. But as West so urgently reminds her readers, the political future of democratic identity depends on the intervention of Holocaust memory and the inclusion and acceptance of Jewish difference in a pluralistic society. Thus she interprets Jewish anxieties about the riots and British responses to them in terms of Holocaust fears and post-Holocaust responsibility. This examination of West's writing is also important to current American academic discourse and debates about relationships between Jewish identity and memories of the Holocaust.

Ted Merwin (Dickinson College)
Materialism in American Jewish Drama

This paper analyzes the ways in which capitalism and material values figure in American Yiddish drama. I will show how these plays helped Jews to reconcile communal, traditional Jewish values with modern, individualistic, capitalist values. I will focus especially on Osip Dymov's *Bronks Ekspres* (1919) a play about an immigrant buttonmaker who falls asleep on the subway on his way home to the Bronx and dreams that the advertising posters have come to life; he is then seduced into the world of Aunt Jemima and the Pluto Mineral Water Devil. I will also examine Marxist plays set in Lower East Side sweatshops, like H. Leivick's *Schmates* (1921) and *Shop* (1926) in order to demonstrate how American Yiddish theatre both celebrated and resisted the relentless industrial drive toward profit. This is exemplified by Maurice Schwartz's classic Yiddish film, *Uncle Moses* (1932), in which the factory boss (played by Schwartz) realizes that money has corrupted all of his relationships.

Jeanette Malkin (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
Transforming Identity Through Theater: The Case of Socialists Ernst Toller and Clifford Odets

The socialist Jewish playwrights Ernst Toller (German-Jew, 1893-1939) and Clifford Odets (American-Jew, 1906-1963) were very successful in their day and much performed _ Toller in Germany of the 1920s; Odets in America of the 1930s. In their early quasi-autobiographical plays, both dramatists created identifiable Jewish characters who seek to transform from a particular to a more universal social identity, and for both, transformation carried not only personal but broader public connotations. Fed by an activist desire, both hoped to _transform_ their societies _ to effect social and political change _ through the theatre. This desire translated into two opposed dramatic idioms: expressionist (Toller) vs. quasi-realist (Odets).

Toller was openly Jewish but believed that Jewish particularism must give way to a humanist universalism _ which is a process clearly shown in his early plays, especially through the hero_s hallucinatory journey of metamorphosis in his autobiographical play <I> Transformation </I>. Transformation also marked his own life: Toller was a political radical and one of the leaders of the Bolshevik civil revolution in 1919 _ the misguided leftist attempt to transform postwar Germany itself into a socialist utopia. Odets, a socialist (and briefly a member of the American Communist Party) and a central member of the leftist Group theatre, _transformed_ his (at first openly Jewish) characters in a different, more realistic, fashion, but with the same goal.

I will compare the meanings of _transformation_ in both authors_ plays in terms of their very different biographies and self-perceptions as Jews, of their cultural and social environments, and with an emphasis on their divergent stylistic and aesthetic choices.

Sonat Amana Hart (Baltimore Hebrew University)
Jewish Involvement in Austrian and German Cabaret

This paper will elucidate the involvement of Jews in German and Austrian cabaret from the turn of the century to 1938. It will consider the development of cabaret as a form of popular entertainment and will posit why Jews worked for the cabaret in seemingly disproportionate numbers. Jewish cabarets founded in the late 1920s and 1930s will also be examined for how the cabaret format was used by Jews to promote Jewish culture and Zionism. In contrast to the material available about cabaret society, most of which is in German or limited to the history of cabaret in Berlin; this paper intends to examine how the cabaret developed into a cultural and social enclave that had a resounding affect on the way Jews were able to express themselves and affect their culture and society.

Unlike the image projected by Hollywood, German cabaret was a sophisticated mix of the avant-garde and popular entertainment. It fused theater, music, and dance elements, all introduced and commented upon by a Conförencier (master of ceremonies). Many early cabarets even distinguished themselves as literary in that their shows revolved around parodies of literary works, including the plays of Ibsen and literature of Goethe. Cabaretists were highly trained or experienced musicians, actors, dancers and writers, whose involvement in the cabaret often supplemented more traditional careers, as in the case of Käthe Emmerich.

Jews not only helped found and participate in the first German and Austrian cabarets, <■berbrett!> (1901) in Berlin and <Jung-Wiener Theater zum Lieben Augustin> (1901) in Vienna, they were also some of German cabaret_s most important personalities, both on stage and behind the scenes. In contrast to the anti-Semitism or nepotism common in the state sponsored arts, cabarets were generally more liberal and open, affording an attractive work environment for Jews and others marginalized by the establishment. Max Reinhard and Kurt Robitschek were arguably the most important creative directors of German cabaret, while Jewish women such as Rosa Valetti and Stella Kadmon also managed to become successful directors and entertainers. German cabarets of the interwar-period in particular, including <Kabaret der Komiker> (Berlin), <Schall und Rauch> (Berlin) and <Simplicissimus> (or <Simpl>, Vienna), relied to a great extent on the merits of their Jewish talent, including Karl Farkas and Fritz Grünbaum, who together, popularized comedy teams throughout Germany and Austria.

At the end of the 1920s and well into the 1930s Jewish cabarets such as <Kaftan> in Berlin and the <Jüdisch-Politisches Kabarett> in Vienna

celebrated Jewish culture. At times their programs served to warn Jews against the futility of assimilation and the dangers of anti-Semitism.

<Kaftan> was so successful within Jewish circles for presenting Jewish music, folklore, and rabbinic tales it was invited to tour Breslau, the Netherlands, Belgium and Austria. Founded by Viennese Zionists, the <Jüdisch-Politisches Kabarett> promoted a Zionist agenda through humorous skits intended to get Jews to leave Vienna for Palestine. Indeed, these cabarets encouraged many to emigrate during the rise of Nazism.

Session Number: 7.15

Session **The Construction of Jewish Holiday Rituals in America**

Session

Chair, Vanessa Ochs (University of Virginia)

Dianne C. Ashton (Rowan University)

Celebrating to Civilize: Hanukkah and the Construction of 19th Century American Jewish Elites

In late 19th century America, differences in taste, manners, and leisure time activities identified socio-economic class (Gorman 1996, Levine 1988, Peiss 1986, Rosenzweig 1983, Litwicky 2000). More than twenty-five new American holidays were created in the last decades of the century, many of them formed to instill elite values and manners in an increasingly diverse population (Litwicky 2000). Controlled, didactic, and sentimental festivals that conveyed Victorian gender ideals marked celebrations as elite. Progressives created such public celebrations to Americanize immigrants. Others shaped Memorial Day commemorations to convey manly ideals believed to have been achieved by Civil War soldiers. Religions both used and resisted consumer-driven elements of holiday celebrations that threatened to revive the carnivalesque sensuality that elite celebrations strived to contain (Pleck 2000, Schmidt 1995, Marling 2000, Dennis 2002, McCrossan 2000). Social critics and religious leaders alike regularly denounced the "vulgarity, indulgence, and materialism" they believed characterized non-elite popular culture (Gorman, 1996, p 15).

The era's American Jewish leaders reshaped Hanukkah celebrations to convey elite Victorian values. In magazines and sermons, Reform leaders like Kaufman Kohler and American-born traditionalists like Paul Cowan and the editorial board of the *American Hebrew*, elaborated upon Hanukkah's potential to uplift American Jewry and create an edifying American Jewish culture. They undertook three different sorts of actions. First, they insisted that Jews should not celebrate Christmas because without Christian faith, Christmas celebrations' vulgar materialism debased celebrants. Second, they explained the religious meaning of Christmas symbols to emphasize their link to faith in Jesus - an idea leaders expected Jews to reject. They argued that a decorated tree marked Christian space and so interfered with Jews' ability to achieve a religiously coherent domestic life.

Finally, Jewish leaders reshaped Hanukkah into an edifying Victorian-style Jewish amusement that conveyed lessons about gender, domesticity, patriotism, and the public realm. Hanukkah's religious meaning rendered its materials pleasures edifying. Gift-giving, candle-lighting, a shiny hanukiyah, a shared holiday meal were thus made uplifting, sentimental controlled, and didactic. Its goods kept a Jewish home intellectually and morally consistent by amplifying rather than contradicting other Jewish material items in the household. In retelling Hanukkah's story, the Maccabees seemed to evidence Jewish manliness and military bravery in Victorian terms and suggested that Judaism was a manly faith, able to memorialize its brave dead soldiers who fought for freedom, and to instill patriotism in contemporary Jews. Lavish public Hanukkah pageants mimed Memorial Day parades as hundreds of costumed participants enacted processions in which Maccabees triumphantly entered Jerusalem. Elite Jewish women organized annual Hanukkah festivities for Jewish children in settlement houses, orphan homes, and religious schools that linked edifying amusements, religious rites, and food. Those public events

performed gender role behaviors that marked new Jewish organizational activities as male or female, identified Jewish public spaces, and created

Jewish versions of American elite culture.

Kristine Peleg (Century College)

Prairie Harvests and Sukkot: A Comparison of Jewish Holiday Observance in Three Frontier Memoirs

Rachel Calof's Story: Jewish Homesteader on the Northern Plains seems to contextualize Rachel Calof's identity in a Jewish family within a Jewish community. Yet she does not tell us very much about what it was like to be Jewish in Devils Lake or even provide many details about Jewish life on the farm. In contrast, a generation later, her husband's niece, Celia Calof Rogers's memoir is organized by Jewish holidays and community activities in Winnipeg. Moreover, Rachel Calof's narrative does not provide information on the cycle of holidays that inevitably would have been celebrated in a religious home, within a larger community of other observant families. Her lack of reference to holiday celebrations, especially in the framework of a Jewish farm, intrigues me. By closely comparing the three texts, *Rachel Calof's Story*, Celia Calof Rogers's *This Reason for My Life* (1950) and Celia's father, Maier Calof's privately published *Miracles of the Lives of Maier and Doba Calof* (1941), holiday observations in the three households become more visible. My focus also considers urbanization, citizenships and changes in Jewish home and holiday observation across generations.

Abstracts for Session 8
Tuesday, December, 21, 2004 08:30 AM-10:30 AM

Session Number: 8.1

Session Orientalism, Colonialism, and the Jews

Session

Western representations of the Muslim world (the core of what is meant by "orientalism") have almost always been essentially tied up with western Christian representations of the Jews. Long obscured by the fact that in today's world Israel and the Jews are firmly aligned with the "West," this two-faced character of orientalism is now at last receiving in-depth attention, including by participants in this panel, by other contributors to *Orientalism and the Jews* (a collection of articles to appear in 2004 at New England Press), by some of the latest work of Jacques Derrida, and by Gil Anidjar in *The Arab, the Jew: A History of the Enemy* (Stanford, 2003). This work makes an important contribution to the history of Jewish-Christian-Muslim relations in modern times, but it also puts in question the major thrust in studies of orientalism since Said's eponymous book appeared in 1978. Ignoring that orientalism has expressed the Christian West's relations to both of its "Abrahamic" Others, scholars of orientalism have all too easily allowed their subject to be submerged in a generalized "colonial and postcolonial studies." If they pay attention to Jewish history at all, they confine themselves to the Zionist movement, which they commonly picture as an unexceptional example of a western colonial project.

These developments in recent scholarship urge upon us the necessity of exploring the questions that set the tone for the proposed panel: 1) What importance can Jewish Studies have for colonial and postcolonial studies, and vice versa? 2) What bearing can the history of related representations of Jews and Muslims in the West have on contemporary debates about Israel and the Middle East? All contributors will address one or both of these questions.

The participants (John Efron, Jonathan Hess, Ivan Kalmar, Eran Kaplan, Derek Penslar, and the chair/respondent, Susannah Heschel) have all made significant contributions to Jewish Studies and are among the relatively few scholars who have published work dealing with the connections between
Chair, Susannah Heschel (Dartmouth College)

Ivan Kalmar (University of Toronto)

Orientalism and the Jews: Implications for Colonial and Postcolonial

Edward Said stated in *Orientalism*, a book whose focus was on Islamophobia, that he was writing on the "Islamic branch of anti-Semitism." Yet apart from one-line observations such as these, only a few scholars have in recent decades paid serious attention to a fact that is overwhelmingly obvious in the empirical record: Western representations of the Muslim world (the core of "orientalism") have almost always been essentially tied up with western Christian representations of the Jews. At last this two-faced character of orientalism is now receiving in-depth attention, including by participants in this panel, by other contributors to *Orientalism and the Jews* (a collection of articles to appear in 2004 at New England Press), by some of the latest work of Jacques Derrida, and by Gil Anidjar in *The Arab, the Jew: A History of the Enemy* (Stanford, 2003). I would like to suggest that the effect of this recent work is not only to revise our understanding of the history of Jewish-Christian-Muslim relations as such, but also to put in question the major thrust in studies of orientalism since Said's eponymous book appeared in 1978. Namely, I am arguing against the trend to abandon orientalism as an autonomous subject and to subsume it under the general rubric of "colonial and postcolonial studies."

I argue, not unlike Derrida and Anidjar today and Bryan Turner some time ago (though my perspective is different from each) that the related representation of Jews and Muslims in orientalism stems from the fact that orientalism's founding concern has been religious, or to borrow the increasingly popular term from Spinoza and Carl Schmitt, "politico-theological." Essentially, the Jew and the Muslim are the defining Other for the West, which has historically constituted itself as a Christian polity. I will argue that current relations between the West, the Jews, and the Islamic Middle East may be a continuation of this politico-theological history. This is so not only because in the West secular liberal discourses are being increasingly coupled with, and even abandoned for, an explicit affirmation of "values" that are Christian or "Judeo-Christian" (a term that indexes the deorientalization of the Jews who, once dubbed by Herder the "Asiatics of Europe," now typically see themselves and are seen as western). More importantly, "secular liberalism" itself has never been free of Christian political religion nor, relatedly, of orientalism. The West's colonial agenda in Africa, Latin America, and East Asia has also had its religious aspects, but it has differed in kind from orientalism, whose concerns with Muslims and Jews are more central to the political and religious self-constitution of the West. It is a mistake, therefore, to absorb orientalism too hastily into the general field of colonial and postcolonial studies.

Jonathan Hess (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)
The Politics of Orientalism: Reflections on Postcolonial Criticism and German-Jewish Studies

Both German Orientalism and Orientalist discourse on Jews and Judaism have long provided a stumbling block for students and critics of Edward Said's seminal study *Orientalism*, a book often heralded as one of the founding texts of postcolonial theory. Indeed, from the beginning, critics of Said noted that the German case seems to offer an exception to the blunt equation between knowledge and power at the heart of Said's understanding of Orientalist discourse. According to Said, the function of Western discourse about the Orient was to legitimate and pave the way for colonial rule in the East. By 1830, however, the Germans, and not the French or the British, had clearly emerged as the preeminent Orientalist scholars in Europe—the leading Semiticists, biblical critics and Indologists—and they did so in the absence of any colonial holdings in the Near East (or anywhere else, for that matter). Himself aware of this complication, Said argued that the German search for intellectual authority over the Orient was largely a scholarly concern without direct political import; the vision of the Orient constructed by German intellectuals, he insisted, lacked any direct connection to imperial expansion.

The paper proposed seeks to reexamine the question of the politics of German Orientalist discourse by focussing on the roles that professional Orientalists played in setting the terms for the widespread debates over Jewish emancipation that dominated much German political discourse from the 1780s on. Recent work on German colonialism and German colonialist discourse, to be sure, has largely challenged Said's view of the ephemeral nature of German Orientalist discourse, but it has typically not paid adequate attention to the ways in which Orientalism in Germany was often directed inward as well as outward. In a Germany debating Jewish emancipation, the Orient was perceived to be part of the contemporary domestic landscape, not merely some distant place in the East. The paper proposed seeks thus to examine the links - empirical and symbolic - between internal colonization and visions of external colonial conquest, between the project to "regenerate" the Jews and the efforts to gain intellectual hegemony over the Orient abroad. Orientalism in this context, I shall demonstrate, could often be apolitical and politically oriented at once, and the authority Orientalists often commanded in setting the agenda for public discussions over the civil status of the Jews desperately needs to be studied not just as a byproduct of European Orientalist discourse but as one of its constitutive forces.

Derek J. Penslar (University of Toronto)

Herzl and the Arabs: Myth and Counter-Myth

However bitterly historians of the Arab-Israeli conflict may dispute among themselves, there is a tacit agreement among them about the centrality of certain matters behind the creation of the Jewish state and of Palestinian statelessness. Regarding Theodor Herzl, however, there is a fascinating and unusual disjuncture between the pro- and anti-Zionist historiographical camps.

Herzl's musings on the Palestinian Arabs - their current situation and future position in a Jewish state - are the subject not merely of different interpretations by pro- and anti-Zionist scholars but also a totally dissimilar form of evaluation. Herzl's views on the Arabs are a peripheral topic in Zionist historiography yet central in its anti-Zionist counterpart.

According to conventional Zionist historiography, Herzl thought little about Arabs, but what he did have to say about them reflected benign and progressive sentiment, albeit laced with Orientalist motifs. Herzl, like most Zionists before the first World War, believed that Ottoman imperial assent was the key to the success of the Zionist enterprise. The local Arabs constituted little more than an extension of the Palestinian landscape, and their hostility to the Zionists, like malaria, swampy soil and stony fields, would all be cleared away in due course through the appropriate combination of technology and humanitarian zeal. On the other hand, Palestinian scholars, and those who sympathize with the Arab cause, take umbrage at Herzl's obliviousness to Palestine's Arabs and are offended by the disparaging tone of the few comments he did make upon them. More important, for critics of Zionism, underlying the paucity of Herzl's comments on Arabs was a conspiracy of silence, for already in 1895, at the time when Herzl was just sketching out his vision of the future Jewish state, he was secretly planning the expulsion of the Palestinians, although he only confided this dark scheme to his diary, which was not published until after Herzl's death.

This paper intends to throw light upon Herzl's attitudes towards Arabs, and Palestinians in particular. It will also explore a variety of historiographical questions raised by the gulf that separates the camps of scholars who have written on this subject. Moreover, as this paper will focus on Herzl's diary, it will critique the historian's tendency to privilege early sources over later ones (origins of ideas over their development or extension) and the unmediated over the mediated source, the diary over the novel, the archival document over the published report.

Eran Kaplan (University of Cincinnati)

Neither East nor West: Revisionist Zionism on Jewish Nationalism and the Mediterranean World

Among the fundamental oppositions that defined the awakening Jewish historical and national consciousness - homeland/exile, Israel/Diaspora, Jew/Gentile - East and West played a critical role. Long perceived in the West as the oriental other, the Jews regarded their national and historical awakening as a move away from the oppressive West back home to the East, the cradle of their Jewish identity. However, once in the East, the Jews were the Westerners, foreign to the ways and habits of their historical land. The void between these two opposites, as the Jews were regarded in both places as the other, plays an important part in the definition of the Modern Hebrew consciousness. Trying to reinvent itself as part of both worlds is part of the story of the development of this historical consciousness. Zionist Revisionism, which in the 1920s and 30s offered one of the more original visions of Jewish nationalism, provided some of the more innovative ideas with regard to the place of the Jewish national revival between East and West. The Revisionists developed a "Mediterranean" cultural model that rejected both the East and the European West and sought to create an authentic Mediterranean, Hebrew culture in Israel. Following Max Nordau, the Revisionists argued that part of the mission of the Jewish national revival and the return to the ancient Hebrew homeland is to push the moral frontiers of Europe up to the Euphrates. At the same time, however, the Revisionists regarded modern Europe as a decadent culture, a civilization that lost its vitality and turned away from its core values. They did not want the emerging Hebrew nation to become a rational, scientific culture, but rather envisioned it as an authentic culture that embraces power and violence. Between the perceived primitive East and the Decadent West, the Revisionists looked for the Mediterranean civilizations, like Italy, that had been crushed by foreign powers, but was ready to reclaim its hegemony through the affirmation of power and national pride as possible political and cultural models.

My presentation examines how this Revisionist cultural model attempted to negotiate the fundamental tension between East and West that has been at the core of Zionism from its inception and continues to play a critical role in contemporary Zionist polemics. I will explore the complexity of the Revisionist position that at once presented itself as a colonialist-like movement, seeking to liberate the East from its perceived backwardness; yet at the same time it was an anti-colonialist, perhaps post-colonial, movement that saw itself as the vanguard of a people, European Jews, who were the victims of western culture and sought to lead them away from that culture's oppressive hold. Moreover, I intend to examine how this view of the East-West divide informed the Zionist Revisionists' view of the Arab question in Palestine and how this view continues to shape contemporary ideas about Israel's position in the Middle

Session Number: 8.2

Session Loving the Jews: Philosemitism's Multiple Orientations in Modern Times

Session

Histories of antisemitism are legion, but scholarship has yet to produce a comprehensive treatment of philosemitism or even reach a consensus about what it means. Like its antithesis, the term was coined in late nineteenth-century Germany, initially as an expression of derision deployed by opponents of liberalism to discredit advocates of both free market capitalism and the (presumably concomitant) advancement of the Jews.

Yet removed from this specific pejorative context, the phenomenon of philosemitism is old, dating from the period of Greco-Roman antiquity when Judaism became an object of admiration, and even partial allegiance, among a handful of Greek authors and a larger number of pagan "God Fearers." Philosemitism was subsequently absorbed into early Christianity, where it coexisted in extreme tension with supercessionist patristic theology. This classical background offered a trove of usable images when Renaissance Europe revived philosemitism in the sixteenth century. From that point on, it has been an intermittently significant actor in the formation of state policies (especially in its mercantilist incarnation) as well as a valuable stimulus to the cultural creativity of the West.

Still, despite the phenomenon's longevity, versatility, and potency, historians cannot seem to decide whether to admire philosemitism or condemn it. Can love of the Jews and Judaism ever be disinterested, they wonder, or must philosemitism inevitably entail some hidden and suspicious agenda? For that matter, is philosemitism to be understood as merely the flipside of antisemitism and therefore inseparably contaminated by it, or should it be treated as a distinctive and potentially legitimate phenomenon in its own right?

Yet these questions, however compelling, tend to distract investigators from examining how and why philosemitism has often proven effective as a rhetorical and ideological device, even or especially when it bears only a tenuous relation to the actual status and circumstances of the Jews. To go beyond the good or evil of philosemitism requires first and foremost an attentiveness to the multiple ways in which the accumulated vocabulary of positive identifications with Jewishness has been elaborated and articulated in diverse Western cultures over the course of several centuries. This panel seeks to initiate such an analysis.

We undertake the investigation by examining philosemitism in four separate contexts: first, positive renderings of Jewish historical exceptionalism in the European Enlightenment; second, idealized depictions of the "Jewess" in British Victorian literature; third, strategic constructions of a Jewish blueprint

for minority group advancement in African American thought; and fourth, the creation of a state-sponsored, televised curriculum for the philosemitic

reeducation of West Germans in the aftermath of the Holocaust. These topics, which hardly exhaust the range of philosemitic phenomena in modern times,

Chair, Richard Levy (University of Illinois at Chicago)

Adam D. Sutcliffe (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)
Beyond Good and Evil: Philosemitism, Antisemitism, and Allo-Semitism in the European Enlightenment

Responses to Jews and Judaism during the Enlightenment were complicated and mixed. For many thinkers, such as the dramatist Gotthold Lessing, Jews were the victims of theologically blinkered oppression, and a key mark of a more rational society would be the extension of civility and tolerance to them. However, rabbinic Judaism was widely derided, and some writers, such as Voltaire, repeatedly attacked the Jews' alleged superstition, ignorance and barbarism.

Both "Philosemitism" and "Antisemitism," this paper will argue, are inadequate terms when applied to eighteenth-century Europe. They posit a falsely simple dichotomy between "good" and "bad" attitudes towards Jews and Judaism, and obscure the complexity and instability of Enlightenment thought on this subject. Seemingly "philosemitic" arguments, such as John Toland's support of the naturalization of the Jews in Britain because of the economic advantages that he believed this would bring, were strongly influenced by an idealized fascination with the ancient Mosaic republic and with an exceptionalist view of Jewish history. Both positive and negative images of Jews and Judaism were widely deployed strategically, as part of a wider conflict between Enlightenment thought and Christian theology. Because of the unique relationship of Judaism to Christianity, and the uniquely anomalous status of the Jews in European society, discussion of such profound issues as the nature of national and ethnic identity, methods of textual exegesis, or the relationship of reason to law, were often at their most charged when explored in relation to Jewish themes. The complexity of eighteenth-century attitudes to Jews cannot be understood as a self-contained issue, or primarily as a response to actual interactions between Jews and non-Jews. Rather, they must be situated within the wider context of the many historical, political and cultural facets of Enlightenment thought to which the Jewish case was particularly germane and often particularly troubling.

Positive and negative strands in Enlightenment thought concerning Jews cannot, then, be separated neatly from each other. A more productive intellectual approach is to focus precisely on how an understanding of the widespread ambivalence and confusion in Enlightenment attitudes towards Jews highlights underlying uncertainties in Enlightenment thought itself. These uncertainties, I will suggest, largely remain with us today. The overdetermined, charged and fundamentally ambivalent significance of Judaism they give rise to is inherently double-edged and perhaps insoluble. The impact of this overdetermination in the modern world also appears in many contexts too

Nadia Valman (University of Southampton)
Hearts Full of Love for Israel: Gender and Evangelical Philosemitism in Victorian England

This paper will discuss the figure of the converting Jewess, a ubiquitous literary trope in nineteenth century England. The Jewess began appearing in the publications of the Evangelical Revival, which, since the 1790s, had been gaining increasing power in British social and cultural life. Evangelicalism accorded a place of particular privilege to both Jews and women as agents of millennial transformation. Evangelical writing evinced an intense interest in and identification with the Jews as the origin of Christianity, and they repeatedly compared their sympathy for the Jews with the persecutory history of Catholicism. Writers often invoked the familial relationship between Christians and Jews, who, it was said, were "kindred," "as concerning the flesh_ of the Saviour himself" or "God's peculiar family". Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna wrote that she hoped for the Jews' conversion "from the innermost core of a heart filled with love for Israel". The Evangelicals' love for and identification with the Jews coincided, however, with a severe critique of Judaism, and they invested vast quantities of money, time and ink in efforts to promote Jewish conversion.

The apocalyptic beliefs of Evangelical Protestantism reached a new height in the late 1820s, when many prominent Evangelicals were advocating the literal reading of scripture and espousing the "premillennial" view that the Second Advent of Christ and the conversion of the Jews were imminent. Reviving the doctrines of seventeenth-century Protestantism, they held that the English, who historically had not persecuted the Jews like Catholics and would therefore be more attractive to them, had a special role to play in their conversion and, thereby, the precipitation of the new millennium.

Moreover, the work of conversion was regarded as a particularly feminine gift. It was seen to suit the moral qualities associated with women in Evangelical theology. Evangelical emphasis on the humanity of Christ, his sacrifice in the Atonement, his meekness and humility, brought women into closer identification with his mission. Women could emulate Christ's sacrifice and wield his redemptive power. Evangelicalism prescribed an exalted role for women through their spiritual emotions, their influence on the public sphere and their inherent moral superiority. Converting the Jews, one writer opined, required "compassion, and condescension, and long-suffering patience", all virtues gendered as female. In the 1830s and 40s writing by Evangelical women on the Jews proliferated, aimed at a female readership and often focused on the figure of the Jewess. In countless narrative fantasies about the Jews' desire for conversion, the Jewess appeared as inherently spiritual and ardent, and also particularly oppressed by the archaic Jewish legal code "calling out for aid to her Christian sisters". Feminised philosemitism proved rhetorically successful because it expressed with great narrative force the zeal of Evangelical women and asserted their place within national destiny. While

the campaign to convert the Jews was spectacularly unsuccessful, however, the image of the suffering Jewess was to become a key element of polemical

debates about the Jews later in the century.

Jonathan Karp (Binghamton University, State University of New York)
Can a People be a Role Model? Black Philosemitism in Twentieth-Century African-American Thought

Black philosemitism can largely be defined as the effort of a persecuted minority to portray Jews as role models for its own ethnic group advancement.

To be effective, this strategy requires a plausible rendering of the two groups' presumed historical parallels (e.g., slavery) and cultural similarities (e.g., music), as well as a selective articulation of their key differences. Thus, African American philosemites contrasted Jews' predominantly mercantile orientations with their own community's peasant and proletarian character and insisted that, in the United States, Jews had suffered far less discrimination than blacks.

These exaggerated but hardly false characterizations reveal black philosemitism's peculiar dynamic, which entails creating narratives of both similarity and separation. Philosemites implied that by emulating Jews' supposed methods (hard work, enterprise, and thrift), African Americans could replicate their success in America. At the same time, by emphasizing Jews' distinctive advantages of "whiteness_" and wealth, blacks could account for their own comparatively slower progress in a psychologically inspiring rather than crippling manner.

To illustrate this dynamic, my presentation focuses on three key figures in early and mid-twentieth-century black thought: 1) the champion of "Negro uplift," Booker T. Washington (1856-1915); 2) the novelist, Zora Neale Hurston (1891-1960); and 3) the singer and political activist, Paul Robeson (1898-1976).

Washington depicts Jews as persecuted ex-slaves who succeeded through discipline, solidarity, education, and business skills, while still maintaining their special customs and identity. Yet critical to Washington's depiction of Jews' exemplary quality was his insistence that they, unlike other European immigrant groups, economically complemented rather than competed with blacks. Hence Jews' essential difference, in relation to both blacks and other white groups, paradoxically ensured their utility as role models.

Hurston's 1939 novel, *Moses, Man of the Mountain*, evoked not this Washingtonian "mercantile philosemitism," but rather the utopian spirit of the "Mosaic Republic," a prominent theme in the political theory of early modern Europe. She paints a Machiavellian and Rousseauian image of Moses as a lawgiver who -- by reworking aspects of Egyptian culture into a set of potent constitutional ideals -- "forces his people to be free." Written in sympathetic awareness of European Jewry's contemporary plight, Hurston suggests that Jews -- both biblical and modern -- exemplify the capacity of a group to

appropriate the customs and institutions of its persecutors in order to forge its own identity -- the proper strategy, she suggests, for Negroes too.

Finally, Robeson echoed and transformed the age-old Christian motif of "restoring the Jews " by depicting redemption in secular socialist terms. Just as Jews had given rise to Christianity, so too the universalism evinced by the contemporary Jewish left (and embedded in Jewish folk culture) now points the way to a true human brotherhood which will at last enable blacks to be free.

Wulf Kansteiner (Binghamton University, State University of New York)
What is the Opposite of Genocide? The Helpless Pursuit of German-Jewish Reconciliation on West German Television

A number of scholars, most prominently Werner Bergmann, have told the West German success story of democratic value engineering, which first delegitimized anti-Semitism in the public sphere and increasingly prevented its reproduction in the private sphere. This learning process evolved as an asymmetrical communication between the political elite, who quickly embraced philosemitism after 1945, and the general population, who initially resisted such a sudden reversal of values. In due time, however, most West Germans followed the example of their leaders and changed their opinions about Jews. In particular, the generations born after 1935 received a democratic, anti-anti-Semitic education in schools and through the media, while more traditional and suspect channels of cultural learning were effectively marginalized.

Bergmann's emphasis on formal education and public events, however prevents him from considering the routine philosemitic discourse in West Germany's print and electronic media. For example, before and after the broadcast of the TV series Holocaust in 1979, German public television produced many philosemitic news stories and documentaries that repeatedly brought politically correct messages into the nation's living rooms. In terms of changing the mentalities of West Germans, this coverage might likely bore a major responsibility.

West German philosemitism, developed in the 1950s and introduced into public TV in the 1960s does not make for good television(it lacks drama, visual focus, and entertainment value). The programs had to present concrete people -- concrete Jews -- and that fact made producers and audiences apparently quite nervous. Consequently, the strange faux pas and Freudian slips that pop up during the production and reception of these programs are much more interesting and entertaining than the programs themselves. We will follow these mishaps by analyzing the communication processes surrounding 20 philosemitic programs broadcast between 1963 and 1991. The analysis reveals particularly vivid examples of standard philosemitic narrative strategies as well as their semantic discontents.

The un-learning of antisemitism was not advanced by enlightened, reeducated political leaders who led the way towards democracy, nor was it the result of a small number of high profile political scandals involving some particularly recalcitrant Nazis. Instead, the learning process seemed to have taken place in small increments on a fairly pedestrian level with the traditional elite playing a critical, yet unflattering role. According to this new, slightly amended story of democratic value engineering, the media elite served as a role model in reverse. In the ranks of the 'new' movers and shakers were many guilty and confused antisemites who simply did not want to give up the public stage and still did not know when to shut up. Yet, precisely because of these

shortcomings, they might have convinced the rest of the population that the contradictions between past and present could be negotiated in more elegant

ways, for instance in blissful silence.

Session Number: 8.3

Session Holocaust Humor: Laughter as a Coping Mechanism and Protest

Session

In his seminal essay "Holocaust Laughter," Terrence Des Pres challenged the conventional reverential and serious modes of Holocaust representation. He contended that "a comic response is more resilient, more effectively in revolt against terror and the sources of terror than a response that is solemn or tragic." The papers in this panel will test the validity of Des Pres' defense of the use of humor to depict the Holocaust by examining the jokes told by persecuted Jews, the satiric drawings created by inmates of Theresienstadt, and postwar comedy films that portray the struggle for life in the death camps and to keep the memory of the Shoah alive among its

Chair, David Weinberg (Wayne State University)

Lynn Rapaport (Pomona College)

Laughter and Heartache: The Functions of Humor in Holocaust

Humor plays an important role in the human condition, yet is often taken for granted as a communication medium. Nonetheless, humor can help society work through unspeakable difficulties by reducing the power of tyrants by talking about them. Wit can serve as social commentary, thus providing a venue for change by lending comedians a forum to discuss social, political, religious, and sexual issues safely. Humor can also provide momentary relief for the audience that is laughing. Yet, is there a place for laughter amidst Holocaust tragedy? Is this a gray zone? Does Holocaust humor trivialize the Holocaust by violating aesthetic and ethical boundaries? Is Holocaust humor just bad taste? My paper focuses on the functions of humor in Holocaust tragedy—as political satire, as a form of opposition, as coping mechanism, and in its aftermath as a means to work through collective trauma. I examine the functions of political humor in cabarets, political cartoons and _whispered jokes_ before the war, and how joking and play during the war helped Jews cope within concentration camps. I also explore humorous treatments of the Holocaust in popular culture after the war, as a means by which society confronts collective traumas. I argue that rather than being a _gray zone,_ humor is the flip side of tragedy, and serves useful functions in dealing and coping with Holocaust tragedy.

Stephen C. Feinstein (University of Wisconsin)

The Art of Satire in Concentration Camps: Ghetto Diary of Eli Leskley

It is well known that art from the ghettos and concentration camps provide unique insights into the life of these places that was generally inaccessible to the camera. When cameras and movie film was used, as in the case of the Theresienstadt Ghetto, it was to provide propaganda on the good life of Jewish internees. All photos from within, with few exceptions, were from the perpetrators. Most photos at the time of liberation were taken by the allies who liberated the camps.

A small grouping of images exists that provide unique satirical insight into some of the inner workings of the camp among the Jews. Bedrich Fritta, one of the better known Theresienstadt artists often depicted the hierarchy between elders, those who had some level of protection, and those who suffered endlessly. Nevertheless, such art is revealing to show there were such hierarchies, although all Jews were victims, and that humor did prevail among the victims.

The paper will focus on aspects of such satirical works produced in the camps.

One such work is the Ghetto Diary of Eli Leskley Born in 1911, Leskley painted 70 satiric watercolors while he was interned in Theresienstadt, the show camp and ghetto established by the Nazis in Czechoslovakia. He hid them, retrieved them after the war and recreated each one. They provide unique insight into the high and low of camp life, corruption, and fragmented events which produce some extensive understanding of the camp. Leskley's work will be compared with that of other satirical drawings from the same

Lawrence Baron (San Diego State University)

The Nasty Ghoul: Genghis Cohn's Haunting of Postwar German

During the 1960s, Roman Gary's novel *The Dance of Genghis Cohn* constituted one of the earliest postwar satires on West Germany's rehabilitation of Nazi war criminals and collective amnesia about "The Final Solution." Thirty years later, it was adapted into a comedy film portraying the return of a murdered Yiddish comedian who haunts the SS Commandant who ordered his death. The film's humor works as a traditional ghost story in several ways: by having a ghost serve as a tangible reminder of the guilt of the commandant who now is a respected police chief, by employing the ghost's comedy routines to force the police chief to tell Yiddish jokes, eat Jewish food, and participate in Jewish rituals to have him replicate the Yiddish, to expose the real meaning of innocuous euphemisms that disguise the Third Reich's policy of genocide, and by framing the SS Commandant so he appears to be the perpetrator in a series of sex murders and learns what it feels like to be a scapegoat of mass hysteria. In the concluding shot of the film, Cohn becomes the wandering Jew who still has much work to do before all those guilty of the Holocaust have recanted.

David A. Brenner (Kent State University)

Fellini or Benigni? Of Black Comedies, Funny Fables, and the Italian Holocaust Film from *Seven Beauties* to *Life is Beautiful*

My proposed paper examines that _funny fable_ of the Holocaust, *Life is Beautiful* (1996, dir. Roberto Benigni), in juxtaposition with its Italian predecessor, the black comedy *Seven Beauties* (1975; dir. Lina Wertmüller). I examine Benigni's post-*Schindler's List* film as an unacknowledged homage to Wertmüller's (herself a student of Fellini). Having appeared two decades later, *Seven Beauties* exemplifies the pre-globalized Holocaust (tragi-)comedy, a drama directed at a different audience in a different political and social configuration.

The noteworthy binary narrative structure, previously thought to be idiosyncratic to *Life is Beautiful*, is disclosed to have an unmistakable (and also Italian) forerunner. At the same time, the fabulistic framing-story of Benigni's better-known work is revealed to be an afterthought, a device which addresses anticipated misgivings about Holocaust films with humor.

To be sure, _Holocaust comedy_ was not invented in the 1990s in films such as *The Nasty Girl* (*Das schreckliche Mädchen*; 1990), *Europa, Europa* (*Hitlerjunge Salomon*, 1991), *Genghis Cohn* (1993), *Life is Beautiful* (1998), *Jakob the Liar* (1999), or *Train of Life* (1998). Rather these more recent transgressions of the taboo on Holocaust (tragi-)comedy can be productively considered against the backdrop of their cinematic pre-history, which suggests that the least sincere form of flattery is ridicule, of one's enemy. Charlie Chaplin (director of *The Great Dictator*, 1940) and Ernst Lubitsch (dir., *To Be or Not to Be*, 1942) later regretted such an approach. At the same time, to have underestimated the danger of the enemy may have boosted military morale, as revealed by US propaganda efforts in World War II (as chronicled in Thomas Doherty's 1993 book, *Projections of War: Hollywood, American Culture, and World War II*). Fascism, as it were, met its match in farce.

And certainly *Seven Beauties* was understood in its epoch as farce, by both the broader public and (arguably) by the Jewish community.

Wertmüller's take on the Holocaust is, in fact, well-suited for the post-Vietnam, post-Watergate era, inasmuch as it does not eschew the comparability of the catastrophe in favor of an ideologically overdetermined uniqueness. Indeed, Pasqualino's picaresque journey through a prison asylum, army service, and a Nazi concentration camp does not valorize survival at any cost. _At what price life?_ his closing glance in the mirror seems to say. Wertmüller's Holocaust film, as a dialectical consideration of the roles of perpetrators, victims and bystanders, reveals a potentiality no longer present in the reassuring redemption of *Life is Beautiful*, inasmuch as Benigni's film reflects the newer (and more problematic) paradigm of _rescuers and survivors._

Session Number: 8.4

Session History Embodied: The Study of Modern Jewish History and Culture Through Dance

Session

Although dance is the least frequently studied art in Jewish cultural history, this panel will show that dance embodies Jewish cultural dilemmas. We will demonstrate that dance is an important avenue for illustrating and exploring developments in Jewish culture and identity in the modern period. The panel will show how dance reflects and negotiates a variety of cultural issues and dilemmas that Jews around the world have faced.

Covering a range of locations and periods within the twentieth century, this panel will explore the place of Jewish dance in America and Israel as well as the role of dance during the Holocaust. It will demonstrate that dance is a critical form of inquiry for the field of Jewish studies. Chaired by Barbara Kirshenblatt Gimblett, the panelists include Karen Goodman, Judith Brin Ingber, Rebecca Rossen, and Nina Spiegel.

Chair, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (New York University)

Nina Spiegel (Stanford University)

The Foxtrot and the Hora at the Tel Aviv Purim Carnivals: Building Hebrew Culture in the Yishuv

This presentation seeks to demonstrate that dance is a critical prism for exploring the development of Hebrew culture in the Yishuv. It aims to contribute to, and broaden, the cultural investigation of the Yishuv, the development of a dance culture in this period, and the creation of modern Israeli culture.

Drawing participants from around the world, the Purim carnivals in Tel Aviv were a central event in the life of this emerging city in the 1920s and early 1930s. Organized by Baruch Agadati, considered the first modern dancer in Israel, the carnivals served as a symbol and a source of pride for the burgeoning Hebrew culture.

This paper will examine the diversity of dance forms encompassed in these celebrations and show how they represent the multitude of strands of the emerging Israeli culture. These various dance forms included European salon dances (such as the foxtrot and Charleston) at Agadati's evening costume balls; the hora, danced boisterously by the crowds in the streets; modern dance choreography and performance by the Orenstein Sisters, well-known modern dancers from Vienna; and new folk dances created by Agadati for the event.

The hora during the Purim carnivals was also documented and played an important role in the silent film *Vayehi Bimei [And it came to Pass in the Days of]*, a comedy produced in Tel Aviv during Purim, 1932, whose title is taken from the first two words of the Book of Esther. Considered to be the first Israeli narrative film, *Vayehi Bimei* captured the atmosphere of Purim in the city.

An investigation of the multitude of dance during the Purim carnivals illustrates the importance and centrality of dance in the budding culture. All of these different dance forms were incorporated into the celebrations, representing the different strains and segments in the emerging culture, all juxtaposed together, side by side, in one festival. These forms encompassed a range of dichotomies with which Yishuv society was wrestling, including "high" versus "low" culture; "elite" versus "mass"; "urban" versus "rural"; "East" versus "West". This multiplicity of dances, and the Yishuv's responses to them, show how the new culture sought to situate itself between competing directions. The dances also represent the Zionist transformation of Judaism, addressing the

Judith Brin Ingber (University of Minnesota)

Dancing Despite the Scourge: Jewish Dancers during the Holocaust

Jews have defined themselves in many ways just as dance has had many definitions in different eras, various geographic and communal settings. However, under Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich, all Jews of every variation as well as all forms of dance were in peril, first in Germany and then in all lands conquered by the Nazis.

Through a combination of unusual sources I show an unexpected fact: dance, too, survived and aided in the survival of Jewish culture despite all the Nazi laws and extreme actions against the Jews of Europe. In unpublished diaries, photographs and Nazi records preserved in the archives at Yad Vashem (The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority of Israel); newly published biographies in Hebrew; information gathered by interviews with surviving dancers; and recently published scholarship from newly released information in Germany, the deadly pas de deux between Nazi and Jewish dancers gets new attention. Little considered, but now revealed in this paper, dance in ghettos, transit camps and extermination camps played a part in keeping individuals and Jewish culture alive.

The Nazi genocide meant there was no regard for personality, profession, or community standing. Obviously, then, Jewish dancers were to be obliterated, never mind their physical prowess and artistry, community admiration for conveying feelings through movement or their part in traditional communal festivities at weddings, for example, or holidays. Consequently, the near total genocide of European and some North African Jews meant the end not only of countless professional dancers but also a whole genre of dance imbedded in the fabric of Jewish life. Whether Ashkenazic or Sephardic, it would seem the time had come for the final acts of theatrical performance by Jews, many with Jewish themes. It was also to be the finish for traditional dances enhancing Jewish observance and community ties. However, though the richness of celebration and community spirit was pillaged, dance offered surprising resilience, resistance and even rejuvenation.

As death stalked, experienced dance teachers found ways to encourage children to express themselves, to learn, to hope despite the Nazi laws in the Warsaw Ghetto. Photographs from the Lodz Ghetto show surprising dance performances by young men and women expressing their Zionism. Helen Thomas reports about dancing with children in Terezin as a way to give them physical freedom even for a short time. While the obliteration continued, the accounts of the dance of Moussia Dajchas and of Judith (Yehudit) Arnon at Birkenau or of the anonymous badhan at Bergen Belzen dancing at Purim are astounding. On the precipice of extinction, dancers yet performed, taught, embodied life and kept Jewish culture meaningful. Through their skills and drive, dance as a tool to continue Jewish identity, Jewish expression and resistance continued, increasing the sense of hope and the urge to survive in

manifold ways.

Rebecca Rossen Pavkovic (Northwestern University)
The Exotic Jewess Meets the Dancing Hassid: Ethnic Ambiguity and Jewish Drag in American Dance

Although leading scholars in Jewish cultural studies have explored how Jewishness is embodied and performed, none of them has considered dance. Similarly, the field of new dance studies is rich with monographs that investigate how dancing bodies construct identity, but only a few recent studies foreground Jewishness. In this paper, I will combine theories from Jewish cultural studies with methods from the new dance studies in order to examine how the Jewish dancing body choreographs and performs American Jewish identity. Specifically, I analyze solos by two female choreographers that present rich, but ambiguous images of Jews: Pauline Koner's little-known solo *Chassidic Song and Dance* (1932) and Hadassah's iconic solo *Shuvi Nafshi (Return Oh My Soul)* (1947). I will consider how these two American Jews, one native-born, the other an immigrant, interacted with dominant notions about Jews, Judaism, and gender in the inter-war and postwar years. Koner and Hadassah sought to combat anti-Semitism by representing Jews in a positive light. Each one nonetheless sculpted their portraits of Jews and Jewish life from a repertory of stereotypical images that were prevalent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Interestingly, both crossed over the gender barrier in these dances by fusing the Eastern-European Jew, or male Chassid, with the Middle-Eastern Jewess, or Oriental, creating an androgynous and ethnically ambiguous figure. I hope to demonstrate that these artists reproduced certain stereotypes about the East and East-European Jews. But, I argue that their Jewish *_drag_* also challenged essentialist notions of gender and ethnicity, and dramatically undermined the androcentrism of traditional Judaism in order to construct modern Jewish identities for an American context.

Karen Goodman (Independent Scholar)
Land of Promise/Promised Land: Los Angeles and Its Jewish Dance, 1933 to 1970

"Los Angeles" evokes endless possibility and promise. By the 1930's, this land of creative and financial opportunity, the film industry and the needs of the growing Jewish population created a synergy that fed the growth of Jewish performing arts there. Benefitting from the gravitational force of Hollywood, the Los Angeles Jewish community experienced the work of an extraordinary gathering of accomplished and socially engaged Jewish artists. Significant collaborations with composers, writers and actors generated a high level of artistry, audience interest and performances in major venues. Immigres, refugees, survivors, and first generation Jews came for the milk and honey of work, weather, stunning geography, to marry, and the sense that this was the place to forge one's own distinctive style. However, like Jews anywhere, there remained with them the importance of passing on the endangered heritage of their birthplaces, expressing the still open wound of the Holocaust, and the great hope of the Promised Land of Israel.

Since a comprehensive study of Jewish dance in Los Angeles has not been made, the purpose of this paper is to give an overview of major figures, such as Benjamin Zemach, Saida Gerrard, Nathan Vizonsky, Margalit Oved, as well as styles, themes, inspirations and supporting institutions. Throughout, we see the intertwining of modernism and tradition -- modernism as a vessel, heritage and identity as inspiration. These artists experienced modernism with its pioneers, such as Stanislavsky and Martha Graham, but also tradition in their birthplaces or from immigrant parents.

Sources presented include new video interviews with surviving members of that era such as Saida Gerrard, former nationally touring choreographer of Jewish and secular works; Miriam Rochlin, German refugee and Zemach's assistant, who produced the 1968 film, "The Art of Benjamin Zemach;" Frieda Flier Maddow, who danced with Zemach and Martha Graham; Margalit Oved of Inbal, whose vessel of Yemenite-based movement carried modern influences. Film clips of Zemach and the work of others, photos, programs, will also provide perspective. The

interviewees, vibrant and articulate elders of the dance community, make clear their undimmed passions for

dance and heritage that equally drove the work of those now gone: Zemach, Habima-bred, created the 1933 work for the Hollywood Bowl, "Fragments of Israel," the first Jewish-themed work there (Prevots, 1987). In 1935, he was nominated for an Oscar for dance direction of "She." He taught and directed in Los Angeles from 1947-1971. Nathan Vizonsky, leading dancer and choreographer at the 1933, 1934 Chicago World's Fair Jewish Day pageants, wrote one of the earliest books on Eastern European dance, "Ten Jewish Folk Dances" (1942), a still important resource on Yiddish Dance. Coming to Los Angeles on an M.G.M. contract, he taught and choreographed there from 1945 until his death in 1968. Sharing the concerns of all Jewish communities, yet like no other, work within this community often represented the opportunity to function at the highest levels of artistry, social concern and spirituality, rarely afforded by the film industry that came to dominate Los Angeles culture.

Session Number: 8.5

Session **Yiddish Poets in Europe: Rhetoric, Modernism, Politics**

Session

Chair, Kathryn A. Hellerstein (University of Pennsylvania)

Miriam Udel-Lambert (Harvard University)
Eloquent Nightingale, Grandiloquent Crow: Discerning Eliezer Shteynberg's Theory of Rhetoric

Like several other Yiddish poets writing in the early decades of the twentieth century, Eliezer Shteynberg pursued a modernist aesthetics and philosophy through folkloristic literary forms. An educator as well as a writer, Shteynberg imprinted the mark of artistic excellence on the verse fable in particular, a form that was newly energized and complicated with the 1923 publication of his *Mesholim*. An heir to both Jewish wisdom literature traditions and European fabulists like Jean de La Fontaine and Ivan Krylov, Shteynberg infused the genre with both formal and thematic innovations.

Perhaps the most illuminating of these innovations is the theory of rhetoric Shteynberg articulates. Taken together, the 150 fables suggest that the use of certain kinds of language (in speech and thought) undermines the proper perception of reality, which obfuscates moral judgment and leads to harming others materially and emotionally. This paper examines a representative selection of the fables, seeking to discern the details of Shteynberg's rhetorical theory through close attention to language as a means of characterization.

Three categories of speech emerge from this analysis, and I have named them according to terms that permeate the poetry itself. Shteynberg illustrates two harmful verbal modes, the first of which may be summarized by the term *khkire* -a word suggesting specious philosophizing, rationalization, or excessive and misguided ratiocination. *Khkire* begins as a surfeit of intellectual activity but quickly moves into the moral realm and gives rise to such qualities as sententiousness, hypocrisy, and insensitivity to the suffering of others. The second class of problematic speech includes bluster or bombastic speech, which may be termed *krakh* (literally "crash")-in dubious honor of the fulsome and fatalistic crow portrayed in the parable "The Prophet." Shteynberg's fables also describe an antidote to such insufferable speech. Destructive language must be countered with constructive language, and for Shteynberg, this means the embrace of an aesthetic ideal. The positive counterpart of *khkire* and *krakh* is the principle of delighting, or *kvikn zikh*. Aesthetic pleasure, embodied in the fables by the use of beautiful, flowing diction and the portrayal of artistic or spiritual moments of ecstasy, has moral force capable of challenging (if not necessarily triumphing over) the problematic forms of speech. Just as pompous verbosity is associated with evil, aesthetic virtuosity is allied with goodness.

After considering these three verbal modes in some detail, the paper will conclude with a consideration of why the fable form so precisely suited the rhetorical theory and more general set of ideas that Shteynberg sought to advance. This playful poet will emerge as a figure unusual, if not unique among modernists, in that he was utterly untroubled by the relation between

Yael Chaver (University of California at Berkeley)

How Shall I Go So Poor?: The European Poetry of Rikuda Potash

How Shall I Go so Poor?_: the European Poetry of Rikuda Potash

Literary historians often consider modernist Yiddish literature outside the dynamic context of early 20th-century European Modernism, within which it developed. This may be due to the fact that, at the time, Yiddish was just beginning to be considered a true language. However, Yiddish speakers and writers were polylingual: as Benjamin Harshav, for example, points out, most European Jews knew, in addition to the mother-tongue, loshn-koydesh, and the language of the local non-Jews, as well as the language of the governing authorities. The great Jewish migrations of the 19th century exposed them to yet more cultures and languages. Thus, Yiddish poets of the time were familiar with different European modernist trends and adopted them, sometimes with a temporal overlapping. This created a unique poetics.

It is against this background that the early work of Rikuda Potash (1906-1965) should be read. Potash published her first collection, Wind on Keys (Vint Oyf Klavishn) in Aodz in 1934, the year she immigrated to Palestine, where she continued to write in Yiddish until her death. Critics have addressed Potash's Palestinian work exclusively, tagging her as a Jewish woman poet while ignoring her early poetry with its distinctive voice. In 1934 she was already a recognized poet: four of her poems had been published in Korman's 1928 anthology of Yiddish women poets. Although she was not affiliated with any Yiddish modernist literary group or trend, Potash was clearly familiar with the work of major contemporaneous Yiddish and non-Yiddish literary figures such as Perets Markish and Uri Tsvi Grinberg, Georg Trakl and Else Lasker-Schüler. Her work reflects a sensibility that is thoroughly modernist in its concerns and thematics, yet uses Yiddish, the paradigmatic and traditional European Jewish language, to voice them. This paper presents three examples of Potash's European poetry with its modernist synthesizing approach.

Most of the poems in Wind on Keys have no overt Jewish thematics, are located in urban settings, and convey a strong sense of alienation. Unlike in the work of some of her Yiddish contemporaries, such as the poet Dvoyre Fogel, the clear voice of a first-person female speaker lends a personal passion to the dissociation that was becoming a convention of modernist writing. She also personalizes the Christological motif that was evident in contemporaneous Yiddish poetry, perhaps most notably in Uri Tsvi Grinberg's work. Illusionists (Kuntsenmakhers), which opens the book, is ars-poetic, and blends Symbolism, Impressionism, and Expressionism in a timeless depiction of urban estrangement through a choppy, synesthetic lens. Evening in the City (Ovnt in Shtot), which is in dialogue with late 19th-century Yiddish literature as well as with contemporaneous European visual art, relocates the street scene in modernity as it appropriates thematics, imagery, and techniques from the realms of film

noir, modern industry and advertising. Finally, *"I am a Queen"* (*Ikh bin a Kinigin*) joins urban and pastoral thematics, echoes the color palette

of Expressionism, and refigures the Christological theme through startling switches of culture and gender.

Karen Auerbach (Brandeis University)

The Fate of the Yiddish Writer in Communist Eastern Europe: The Case of Naftali Herts Kon

A study of the Yiddish poet Naftali Herts Kon will provide a window onto the relationship between the Communist governments of Eastern Europe and their Jewish populations. This study focuses on Kon's life in Poland from 1959 to 1964 as a repatriate from the Soviet Union and on his arrest and trial in Warsaw on accusations of spying for Israel. An understanding of Kon's experiences can shed light on the nature of Yiddish literary circles in Eastern Europe after the Second World War and the obstacles they faced, as well as the roots of the "anti-Zionist" campaign in Poland in 1967-1968.

Kon's experiences reflect the larger dynamics of Jewish life in Communist Eastern Europe in the 1950s and 1960s. Active in the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, imprisoned in labor camps repeatedly, but spared the fate of the most prominent Soviet Yiddish writers who were executed in the early 1950s, Kon came to Poland disillusioned with the Communist system and insistent on writing about his criticisms. His fate in Poland before he immigrated to Israel in 1964 highlights the difficulties that the Soviet Jewish experience created for Jewish circles elsewhere in the eastern bloc. Furthermore, his three years in Poland point to continuity in the Polish government's suspicion of Jews between 1956 and the openly anti-Jewish campaign of 1967-68. These issues raise questions both about Kon and more generally about the experiences of Jews in Communist countries, particularly Poland. In what way did Kon's arrest and trial serve as a precursor to the fate of Yiddish-speaking and openly Jewish circles in Poland in the following decade? How much is Kon's obscurity due to the quality of his writing, and how much was a result of censorship and isolation from the majority of Yiddish readers? In what way were Yiddish literary circles in Communist countries interconnected, and how did the Soviet Jewish experience affect these environments?

This research is based on literary and archival sources. The main archival sources are records of the Polish Ministry for Internal Affairs' surveillance of Kon and records from his trial. Literary sources include his collection of poetry,

Farshribn in zikorn, published in 1966 in Israel; his newspaper articles about Jewish life in the Soviet Union, Romania and elsewhere in eastern Europe; his correspondence and unpublished writings; published poetry; and memoirs of other Yiddish writers in postwar Poland.

Kon's experiences provide a case study of the position of Jews in postwar Eastern Europe. His trial in Poland was part of extensive surveillance of Jews in the 1950s and 1960s by the Polish Ministry for Internal Affairs, which suspected dozens of assimilated and non-assimilated Polish Jews of spying for Israel. A study of Kon's life and writing will shed light on Poland's attitude toward its Jewish population between 1956 and 1968, as well as the changing attitudes of Yiddish writers in postwar Eastern Europe toward communism, Israel and Jewish identity.

Allison Schachter (University of California at Berkeley)

Stories Along the Way, Languages En Route: The Novel as Found Object in the Works of Dovid Bergelson and Yosef Chaim Brenner

The epistolary novel was a popular genre in seventeenth and eighteenth century European literature, employed in order to bestow an air of authenticity or believability. These letters were framed by a narrator_friend, relative, publisher, or stranger_who happened upon them by chance. This literary conceit, the novel as a found object, persists as a framing device in Hebrew and Yiddish literature. In this paper I will examine how modernist Hebrew and Yiddish writers exploit the element of contingency implicit in the narrative conventions of the epistolary novel. The novel as found object is the perfect conceit for modern narratives of emigration in which stories are happened upon by chance, out of context, unfolding in foreign territories. Dovid Bergelson and Yosef Chaim Brenner both employ this framing device to foreground the uprootedness of European Jewish culture in the early twentieth century; they thematize the unmooring of modern Hebrew and Yiddish literature from their geographic and cultural origins in the Jewish shtetl.

Bergelson and Brenner model their narratives on the structure of emigrant life in transit, the temporary lodgings of the pension and the ship. These spaces, occupied by constantly shifting populations, are indifferent to the rules that structure social life elsewhere. In Bergelson_s pension a young Jewish writer might be housed next to a Ukrainian pogromist, or on Brenner_s ship, a wealthy German Jew might share the deck with a the son of a shoemaker from Minsk. Dovid Bergelson_s short stories written in Berlin map a new topography in the working class pensions of the city, where Jewish emigrants, isolated from the familiar contexts of their lives at home, are thrown together at random. In Bergelson_s short story _Blindness,_ the narrator stumbles upon a young woman_s journal, written in Russian, in the desk drawer of his new quarters. The narrator_s quest to track down the journal_s rightful owner, to return to the book to its origins, frames the woman_s account of her own mental breakdown. In Yosef Chaim Brenner_s novel, <I> Shekhol ve-kishalon </I> , the narrator adapts the found journal of the protagonist Yehezkel Hefetz, a young man who abandons his writings on a boat traveling from Port Said to Alexandria. Yehezkel_s increasing sense of estrangement and looming breakdown develop against the backdrop of the loneliness and poverty of life in the yishuv.

Neither Brenner nor Bergelson_s narrators are able to create stories at will; they are at the mercy of accident. Traveling to Berlin, to Palestine, and to points unknown, their characters encounter stories that are uprooted from their point of origins, even their original language. Bergelson_s narrator discovers a Russian journal in German speaking Berlin, which he must translate into Yiddish. Brenner_s narrator presumably translates Yehezkel_s journal into Hebrew and further adapts the first person writing into the third person. Both writers draw attention to the crisis of cultural transformation and transience through dramatizing the actual mechanics of arriving at a story by chance in a pension, on a boat, even in the street, in the absence of any

Session Number: 8.6

Session **Literary, Social, and Cultural Readings of Rabbinic Texts**

Session

Chair, David B. Weisberg (Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion)

Charlotte Fonrobert (Stanford University)

The Talmudic Eruv as a Tool of Communal Boundary Making

This paper will analyze the rabbinic institution of the *eruv hatzerot* as a practice of boundary making with respect to the collective identity of Israel. Most accounts of the *eruv* regard it merely as the product of a halakhic impulse that seeks to solve a technical problem of practicability in the process of applying biblical law to every-day reality. The argument advanced in this paper will be that the institution of the *eruv* allows the rabbis to engage more or less self-consciously in a fashioning of a distinct identity of Israel as rabbinic. The paper will focus on the sixth chapter of Tractate Eruvin which prominently discusses the social nature of the *eruv* community, which includes certain types of Jews while excluding others. The discussions of the *eruv* community further provide an important site for reflections on the relationship between Jews and non-Jews. The paper will trace the development of the halakhic discourse beginning with the Mishnah and Tosefta, and will compare the discussions in the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds with regard to their concepts of the *eruv* community.

Barry Wimpfheimer (Columbia University)
Scholarly Envy Increases Wisdom: A Law and Literature Reading of Torah as Cultural Capital in the Talmud

In various homilies of rabbinic literature, Torah is likened to water, wine, silver, gold and countless other quantitative goods. Homilists use these comparisons to paint a vivid picture of the myriad ways in which Torah is valuable. But the equation of Torah and goods is not entirely homiletical. The Talmud contains several narratives in which Torah functions as cultural capital, creating a socio-economic rabbinic world in which the currency is Torah knowledge and class distinction is established not by financial prosperity, but by Torah affluence. This paper focuses on one Talmudic narrative of rabbinic interaction to show several ways in which this story construes Torah as cultural capital and subtly equates competition in mercantile markets with competition in Torah study. In the process, the narrative establishes the Torah market as an alternative field in which the redactor is able to illustrate the tensions at play in the competing conceptual principles of laissez faire and protectionist economics.

Bava Batra 22a tells the story of R. Dimmi who travels from Nehardea to Mehoza to sell figs. Though the resident exilarch instructs Rava to test R. Dimmi's Torah knowledge in order to grant the latter special rabbinic market privileges, Rava declines to do so personally, instead dispatching his pupil R. Adda bar Ahava to perform the examination. For his part, R. Adda poses a question that is scatological, esoteric and complex--a question so difficult that the Talmud at Menahot 69a-b is unable to answer it. Not surprisingly, R. Dimmi is stumped. Having failed the test, R. Dimmi is denied market privileges, whereupon his unsold figs rot, and, despondently, he returns home.

An earlier part of the larger sugyah in which this narrative is located provides insight into the underlying tensions at play between R. Dimmi and Rava/R. Adda. In the initial section of the Sugyah, the Talmud cites a debate between Rava and R. Dimmi regarding the job security of teachers. Rava thinks teachers should not have to worry about being replaced by more capable colleagues. R. Dimmi prefers hiring the best possible teacher, citing the aphorism, "Scholarly envy increases wisdom." This aphorism is repeated again in the middle of the Sugyah where it is used to argue that the protectionist economic principles of mercantile and service markets should not apply to Torah teachers since in that arena competition prods creativity. In concluding the sugyah with our narrative, the redactor stages the conceptual clash inherent in the debate between Rava and R. Dimmi and repeated throughout the Sugyah between competition and protection in the marketplace. R. Dimmi embodies the competition for both fig merchants and Torah scholars. These scholars use their Torah capital as a means of keeping R. Dimmi out of the fig market--and out of the Torah market. By staging a scene in which R. Dimmi is the new scholar attempting to replace established ones, the redactor illustrates the degree to which scholarly envy does not increase wisdom, but does increase political machinations and personal enmity.

Natalie C. Polzer (University of Louisville)

Returning the Keys to Heaven: The Destruction Traditions in Avot de Rabbi Natan A and B

My paper enters into the conversation exploring literary artistry and generic classification in Rabbinic aggadah, focusing on the parallel versions of the Destruction of Jerusalem traditions in Avot de Rabbi Natan versions A and B (ARNA/ARNB). In both versions (ARNA.4, ARNB.5-8), these traditions make up part of the commentary on the saying of Shimon the Righteous in Pirke Avot: "The world stands on three things, on the Torah, on Temple sacrifice and on acts of loving kindness." While it has been established that the Destruction traditions in Avot de Rabbi Natan A and B are part of the same tradition history, being closer to each other than parallel sources in other texts (eg: BT Gittin 55b-56b), a close analysis shows not only substantial differences in content, but in overall literary artistry at both the level of composition and redaction. Moreover, the differences between the two are so acute that each version presents a radically different theological agenda. While ARNA's version smoothes over the theological difficulties occasioned by the human response to the Destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., downplaying the covenantal cause/effect relationship between sin and punishment, ARNB's version meets the challenge of biblical theodicy head on. Ultimately, the different theological agendas can be read as alternate interpretations of the ambivalent word "stands" (o'med) in the lemma, which carries a broad and contradictory range of meaning: "to cease," "to continue and "to endure".

Current critical literary analyses of aggadic texts assume that they can exhibit literary artistry on different levels of composition: within each discrete, generically distinct, unit of tradition, as well as in a broader redacted unit of commentary made up of many discrete and generically various units of tradition. On the former level, literary artistry is created by the interaction of content, structure, plot, characterization, point of view, inter-textual links, word play and other literary devices. On the level of redaction, literary artistry is augmented by the choice, sequence and juxtaposition of the discrete units of tradition. It is my contention that certain segments of aggadic commentary exhibiting literary artistry on the level of redaction can be identified as a specific genre, the composite narrative. To be categorized as composite narrative, a tradition must exhibit consistent development in theme, characterization, and plot, in the greater redacted unit. An analysis of the parallel Destruction of Jerusalem traditions in Avot de Rabbi Natan A and B reveals not only two distinct theological agendas regarding theodicy, but also different redactional modes of literary composition. While the version in Avot de Rabbi Natan B can be analyzed as a prime example of composite narrative, with a thread of consistent character, plot and thematic development

Daniel Bernard (Concordia University)

The Rhetorics and Social Meanings of the Avot Commentary: Toward the History of a Genre

Notwithstanding any scholarly work on the tractate Avot itself, there has been little comprehensive work on the phenomenon of the commentary on Avot as a proper literary genre. The hundreds of commentaries published throughout the centuries, and the myriad more written contemporarily indicate the importance of Avot as a source, but they can also point to wide-reaching historical, social and literary trends that have yet to be explored seriously by academic scholars in this way.

This paper will identify formally and comparatively the Avot commentary as a distinct literary genre. It will begin to trace the genre's historical locations and provenances and point to certain social phenomena. These phenomena will prove to be recognizable through the topical choices, argumentative techniques, and visual presentations of the commentaries. Once established, the genre can point to not only the representative nature of any given commentary's content, but both its content and form can point to argumentative strategies meant to effect change upon a given social context and historical situation.

This conclusion is meant to counterbalance both the appearance of self-evidence that tends to accompany any commentary on Avot, as well as the overwhelming tendency to therefore trust the commentary not as much as a

Session Number: 8.7

Session Teaching Secular Judaism in the American Academy

Session

This panel brings together a cross section of Jewish Studies scholars currently engaged in creating and teaching courses on Secular Judaism and Jewish Culture in American Universities. It raises disciplinary and pedagogic questions and concerns about how Jews, Judaism and Jewishness are often both taught and understood on American university and college campuses and how these modes of engagement raise particular questions for what it means for us to teach Jewish culture and "secular" Judaism in America at this historical moment.

Chair, James E. Young (University of Massachusetts - Amherst)

David J. Biale (University of California at Davis)

Making a Pedagogic Distinction Between Religious and Secular Jewish Cultures

This presentation will be based on several years of experience teaching a course "Introduction to Jewish Cultures" based on the multi-authored work "Cultures of the Jews: A New History." The specific question to be addressed will be how distinctions can be made effectively in the classroom between 'religious' and "secular" Jewish cultures throughout Jewish history.

Laura S. Levitt (Temple University)

Secular Judaism Out of the Study of Religion

This is a joint paper that brings together Laura Levitt and Miriam Peskowitz who are creating a new full year course on Secular Judaism and Jewish Civilization at Temple University. This course will be the cornerstone of a new Secular Jewish track in Jewish Studies at Temple. As Jewish Studies scholars trained in Religious Studies, we will raise questions about how "religion" has all too often defined Jews, Jewishness and Judaism in both the American Academy and in American culture more broadly. We will discuss how our course and the work we are doing at Temple helps undo the "secular/religious" binary in both the study of Religion and in Cultural Studies more broadly and its implication for looking at Jewish cultural formations. Building on the work of scholars like Asad, Pellegrini, Bard, and Jakobsen, we will discuss what it means to appreciate more fully the cultural dimensions of Jewishness even as we continue to wrestle with the normalizing dimensions of religion as a form of Jewish assimilation into the dominant culture of the United States. We challenge confining Jewishness to the realm of privatized Protestant and Enlightenment notions of Religion as the way that Jews have been most readily accepted into American culture as Jews. We will show how our work in the classroom challenges the notion that Religion ever fully recognized the complexities of Jews, Jewishness, and Judaism in the United States or elsewhere.

Miriam Beth Peskowitz (Temple University)

The Secular Judaism Track at Temple University

Session Number: 8.8

Session Friedberg Geniza Project: Reshaping The Future of Geniza Studies

Session

The Friedberg Geniza Project which has been underway for the last number of years has revived Geniza scholarship and shaped its future for generations to come. Financed by a major patron of the Jewish academy and guided by the most eminent of geniza scholars numerous teams of international composition have been working toward the goal of completing and centralizing all of geniza scholarship conducted since the Cairo Geniza's discovery over a century ago. These teams reflect the wide array of "fields" emerging from the myriad of recovered fragments ranging from philosophy, rabbinics, parshanut, liturgy, poetry, and history to polemics and philology. The ultimate goal of a virtual repository where scholars can access all bibliographic and cataloguing information; study scholarly transcriptions and examine digitized images which virtually replicate the original fragments is close at hand. This session will bring together a number of the world's leading geniza scholars who have dedicated themselves to this project since its inception to present some of the fruits of their own research and to inform the academic community at large how the Friedberg Geniza Project will reshape the face of geniza studies and cultivate a whole new generation of geniza scholars for the future.

Chair, James Diamond (University of Waterloo)

Haggai Ben-Shammai (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

The Karaite Library of Jerusalem: Built (9th-11th centuries) and Reconstructed (FGP 21st century)

David E. Sklare (Ben-Zvi Institute)

The Jews and the Mu'tazila: The Contribution of the Cairo Genizahs

A hundred years ago, when M. Schreiner turned to write about the Jewish Mu'tazilite Kalam, all he had available were some rather incomprehensible medieval translations of a few Karaite compositions. The works preserved in the manuscripts of the Cairo Genizahs demonstrate the breadth and depth of the Jewish absorption of the Mu'tazilite rationalist worldview in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Mu'tazilite Kalam provided both a framework for debating the outsider, and also for constructing an inner, Jewish world. Rabbanites and Karaites shared the Mu'tazilite theology, including Gaonim such as Samuel ben Hofni and Hai ben Sherira, who were dedicated to preserving the rabbinic

Albert Friedberg (University of Toronto)

The Karaite Challenge: Veiled References and Implicit Polemics in Maimonides' Juridical Writings.

The Cairo Genizah has yielded large amounts of Karaite material, documenting their customs and practices. Besides the interest that this material awakens for its own sake, it has also been helpful in contextualizing Rabbanite writings. Still, a great deal of research needs to be carried out to uncover indirect and /or implicit polemics against this sectarian group. We present a few examples in the juridical writings of Maimonides.

Richard White (Yeshiva University)

The Friedberg Genizah Project Database: A New Tool for Genizah

A case study will be presented of how a scholar will be able to access virtually everything he/she might need to conduct research into any aspect of the Geniza utilizing the novel and technologically groundbreaking FGP Database. The Database is now under construction and is near completion. This presenter has been instrumental and the driving force in its development as the essential research tool for all future geniza studies.

Session Number: 8.9

Session New Interpretations in the History of Jewish Education in America

Session

On the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the American Jewish experience, this session will provide new insights into a significant yet often overlooked topic in American Jewish history: the history of Jewish education.

It is the panelists' hope that this session will evoke more interest in the history of Jewish education in America, a subfield of American Jewish history that is sorely underdeveloped and currently reliant on (with few exceptions) a narrow and often celebratory literature. The panelists' new interpretations of this subject aim to elucidate questions about the curriculum and pedagogy of twentieth century American Jewish education, the historical relationship between Jewish education and Jewish identity in America, the social forces that shaped the content and form of American Jewish education, and the real experiences of Jewish educators and students. The panel will also speak to methodological questions concerning how to capture a social history of Jewish education that goes beyond the typical institutional and biographical accounts.

Jacobs' paper highlights some of the methodological challenges of studying the Benderly Boys and the reasons they have been immortalized as mythic figures in the literature on the development of American Jewish education. Stern's paper reevaluates the Benderly era as it has previously been written, investigating the gap between rhetoric and reality in Jewish education in this period and the challenges of developing a uniquely American system of Jewish education. Finally, Krasner's paper aims to provide a case study of how a _new history_ of American Jewish education might be written. Focusing on efforts in the late 1930s and 1940s to replace the New York BJE with a truly communal central educational agency, Krasner shows how Benderly's disciples and their fellow travelers struggled -- often amongst themselves and not always successfully -- to come to grip with the implications of demographic and social change. As a group, the papers point to the gaps in previous scholarship and draw on recently processed primary source documents to present a more nuanced examination of this important era in American Jewish history and suggest directions for future research. Dr. Barry Chazan will serve as the panel's chair and respondent.

These papers provide valuable perspective for Jewish educators seeking to understand the nature and historical cycles of Jewish educational reform in areas such as pedagogy, curriculum and leadership. This emerging field of scholarship also lends unique insight into American Jewish history, as the educational choices of the Jewish community have historically been

Chair, Barry Chazan (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Miriam Heller Stern (Stanford University)
Between Rhetoric and Reality: Reimagining the Benderly Era in Jewish Education

Samson Benderly (1876-1944) is considered the father of modern Jewish education in America. Generally celebrated in accounts of his life and work, Benderly is credited with introducing the American Jewish community to Progressive education, advocating community responsibility for Jewish education, creating the modern profession of American Jewish educator, promoting the teaching of Hebrew as a living language, and integrating artistic expression into Jewish education. Benderly's writings and those of his protégés, known as the Benderly Boys, relay a sweeping vision for educational change that is so compelling one might actually believe that it all happened just as their blueprints prescribed.

But as leading contemporary historians of American education have lamented, educational histories that rely primarily on self-referential institutional histories and biographies, along with the writings of educational leaders themselves, often present educational rhetoric as reality, providing an incomplete and therefore inaccurate portrait of history. The process of rewriting the history of American education followed on the heels of the new social history in the 1970s, but such revision in the history of Jewish education in America lags far behind.

This paper attempts to begin to fill that void, probing beyond the rhetoric of the Benderly Era to unpack the real challenges that he and his disciples faced in designing a system of Jewish education to accommodate the historical conditions of the American Jewish experience. My analysis stems from a variety of sources, including a critical reading of Benderly's writings and the memories his students recorded about him, as well as archival documents from the New York Bureau of Jewish Education, the Jewish Education Association and the Central Jewish Institute, some of which have not been cited previously. These sources allow me to reinterpret this period not only from Benderly's perspective, but from the vantage points of colleagues to his right and left, lay leaders, philanthropists, and parents in the community. They reflect a range of emotion toward the Progressive approach to Jewish education, including support, ambivalence, apathy, resignation and vehement opposition.

In order to reimagine the Benderly Era in a broader historical context, this paper reexamines the educational developments associated with Benderly through various lenses: first, Benderly himself as a dreamer, a manager, and an educational leader; second, the larger social and economic forces that propelled the community and influenced lay leaders' and parents' educational choices; third, the ideological clashes that pervaded American Jewish life and shaped educational debates; and finally, the parallel trends in American education that help to explain why some of Benderly's plans were doomed to fail. What emerges is a more complicated picture of this period than that which

has been recorded previously, a tense chapter in American Jewish history that is refreshingly optimistic yet on the brink of existential crisis at the same time.

Benjamin M. Jacobs (New York University)

Reminiscences and Reflections on the Benderly Era: A Critical Review

Samson Benderly's accomplishments as head of the Baltimore Hebrew Free School and, most notably, as the first director of the New York Bureau of Jewish Education (1910s-1930s), are the stuff of legend. Indeed, he is universally recognized as the "father" of modern American Jewish education.

A recounting of the Benderly story typically goes as follows: When Benderly entered the Jewish education profession at the turn of the twentieth century, Jewish schools in the United States were much like they had been in the Old World for centuries beforehand. In the typical heder, for example, children were expected to learn Jewish laws and customs by reciting the prayer book over and over and by memorizing biblical passages by rote. Benderly found these approaches wholly inadequate to the realities of Jewish education on the American scene. If Jewish schools were to compete with or at least be complementary to public schools, Benderly reasoned, they had to be designed with the same basic principles in mind. Thus, he drew heavily on the latest developments in progressive pedagogy; namely, that curricula should be attuned to the child's natural interests and activities. Among Benderly's early innovations were the use of games and slides to teach Bible and Hebrew, and the creation of hands-on projects for holiday celebrations. As head of the New York Bureau, he recruited a young and enthusiastic cadre of American-educated men and women, instructed them in Judaic subjects, progressive pedagogy, curriculum, and administration, and sent them to work in the Bureau's schools. His modern approaches to Jewish pedagogy aroused the indignation of traditionalists who cried "assimilation" and "apostasy." But, among progressive-minded Jewish educators nationwide, Benderly and his disciples (the so-called "Benderly Boys") became guiding lights. Since their time, Jewish schools in the mainstream have been consonant with American schools and a far cry from the Eastern European heders. The Benderly Boys can be credited with making the American Jewish school a genuine product of the American environment.

Given this assessment, it is not surprising that the Benderly generation continues to loom large in the imaginations of contemporary American Jewish educational scholars and practitioners. In fact, the Benderly Boys have achieved near mythic status. What accounts for such adulation? What does the historical record reveal? The answer is not as simple as previous observers would have us believe. This is, in part, because our earliest understandings of the activities and impact of the Benderly generation came from the Benderly Boys themselves, as well as their own disciples. Their tributes, memoirs, and studies are replete with self-referential and self-reverential reminiscences that set the tone for a rather celebratory history which would be perpetuated in later accounts.

This paper will address some of the methodological challenges the Benderly

literature presents for Jewish educational historians today. The questions this paper raises are: How are we to faithfully assess the legacy of the Benderly

**Jonathan Krasner (Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion)
Unity in Diversity? Alexander Dushkin and the Jewish Education
Committee of New York, 1939-1949**

This paper will explore the genesis of the Jewish Education Committee (JEC) and the challenges that it faced during its first decade, under the direction of Alexander Dushkin. It will analyze the context for and contours of the debate over the proper role for a central agency for Jewish education, shedding new light on the history of Jewish education in the 1940s, a pivotal decade of communal transition.

In the conventional narrative of the history of American Jewish education, the establishment in 1939 of the JEC of New York is celebrated as a milestone, a successful effort to create a new paradigm for how to conceptualize a central educational agency. The JEC's predecessor, Samson Benderly's Bureau of Jewish Education was never a truly communal agency in that it focused most of its resources on the Talmud Torah system, leaving other schools and their supporters to their own devices. Benderly's agenda was, arguably, well suited for a semi-aculturated, urban population. But by the late-1930s shifts in community demographics and movement loyalties demanded a more inclusive approach to the concept of a central agency. Dushkin is lionized for creating a system that championed "unity in diversity," a service orientated communal agency that eschewed ideological labels and aimed to strengthen the gamut of educational options through research, publications, supervision, and a variety of other services. Dushkin's JEC quickly became the model for central agencies for Jewish education and remains dominant even today.

In reality, Dushkin's approach was controversial from the outset and caused a split among the "Benderly Boys." Epitomizing the new approach was Dushkin's decision not to establish his own model schools, but rather to award grants to a handful of existing institutions to act as laboratories for schools that subscribed to their particular movement or ideological orientation. Isaac Berkson, whose 1936 study of New York Jewish education became the basis for the 1939 reorganization, was an adamant supporter of the community school model, and felt strongly that the new communal agency should run its own experimental schools.

The controversy between Dushkin and Berkson was well known at the time. Recently processed JEC papers reveal, however, that the debate remained very much alive throughout the 1940s. Members of Dushkin's staff had serious misgivings about his policy. Many were committed Hebraists who were shaken by the decline of the Talmud Torahs and hostile to the congregational schools with their reduced program and alleged lack of commitment to Hebrew language instruction. This faction's case was strengthened by the JEC's mixed record in promoting experimentation in designated laboratory schools. On the other side of the ideological spectrum were some prominent members of the JEC board of directors, who conceptualized Jewish education primarily as

religious education and resisted Dushkin's efforts to prop up the Talmud Torahs. Using this internal debate as a backdrop, this paper will analyze the

extent to which the JEC's trans-denominational agenda and ability to respond

Session Number: 8.10

Session The Bible In/Against the Ancient Near East

Session

Chair, Carl S. Ehrlich (York University)

Shawn Zelig Aster (University of Pennsylvania)

Isaiah's Universalism and Neo-Assyrian Royal Ideology

The universalistic message of the First Isaiah's prophecies has long intrigued readers and scholars. In the last 25 years, scholars have demonstrated that Isaiah's prophecies contain implicit polemics against the imperialist royal ideology of the neo-Assyrian empire. Isaiah is clearly aware of the motifs, the expressions, and the arguments for royal power found in neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions. He uses these in his prophecies, and subverts them by ascribing to God many of the qualities that neo-Assyrian inscriptions ascribe to the neo-Assyrian king.

Many of the passages in which Isaiah argues for God's universal domination contain this type of motif-subversion. Isaiah's universalism may therefore be in part derivative, and a reaction to neo-Assyrian royal claims of universal dominance.

The paper will present the royal ideology of neo-Assyrian inscriptions, and explore their universalist rhetoric. It will then focus on chapters 1-14 and 37-39 of First Isaiah, noting how these chapters contain Isaiah's responses to neo-Assyrian claims. How does Isaiah develop the ideology of universal domination, found in neo-Assyrian texts, into an ideology of God's universal rule? What new elements does Isaiah contribute to the ideology of universal rule, and how does this ideology affect the thought of later prophets?

The paper will also contrast Isaiah's responses with those of Micah.

Seth Sanders (University of Chicago)

The Invention of the Signature, 446 B.C.E.: Aramaic Legal Practice, Hebrew Myth, and a New Chapter in the History of Writing

It may come as a surprise that nobody seem to know when, where or why the signature was invented. Jewish legal traditions of the Persian and Hellenistic periods, including subscriptions in Aramaic from Elephantine and the Dead Sea area, have been studied in depth. But there has been little discussion of how it came to be that individuals wrote their own names, in their own hand, in order to take responsibility for an action.

This paper will attempt to identify the first signature in history and propose a theory to account for its invention and original meaning, drawing on both epigraphy and semiotic theory.

It seems to have passed unnoticed until now that an Aramaic deed of sale from Egypt dated to November 17, 446 B.C.E., signed by an Aramean Jew named Mahseiah "in his own hand," as he emphatically and sloppily writes, may contain the first known signature in history.

But what is a signature, and why was it that it first appears at the hands of, and may have been invented by, Aramaic-speaking Jews? At a time when Athenian Greeks were, quite literally, using large rocks (the so-called horoi) to stake their claim to property, a new juridical and semiotic technology entered the scene in Egypt. This paper will first examine the legal and scribal context for this new practice, in the corpus of alphabetic Aramaic contracts written on clay and Egyptian documents like the Saite oracle papyrus. It will then ask whether the practice of signing a document, as opposed to having one's name written by a scribe or marking the document with one's own seal or fingernail, is an outcome of the writing system (alphabetic or logo-syllabic), the writing medium (clay or skin), or the ideas about law and language which the inventors held.

The invention of the signature should not be seen in isolation from the beliefs of its users. In earlier Near Eastern myth, including that of ancient Mesopotamia, Canaan and Egypt, the head gods used scribes. It is in the book of Exodus, chapters 31 and 34, that we see the first myth of a supreme God who writes his own laws, in his own handwriting. Exodus 31 and 34 describe the inscription of the ten commandments, first by God and then by his chosen mediator and stand-in, Moses. It is the first time that a Near Eastern head god serves as a scribe.

The paper will then ground both the Biblical myth and the new written legal practice in the politics and culture of the Persian period. With the loss of native kingship, the authority of the king's word was being eclipsed by new, text-mediated forms of authority in priesthoods and

bureaucracies. Authority was now envisioned as mediated primarily through writing, not speech or physical presence. It is through this

change in the ideology of writing, as well as a specific confluence of writing practices and technologies, that this new chapter in the history

Abraham Winitzer (Harvard University)

A Reversal of Misfortune Theme in Esther? Mesopotamian Divination, Israelite Counterhistory, and the Parody of a Babylonian Terminus Technicus

It has been observed by many commentators that among the great messages and themes of Purim none bests that of the total reversal of that which is and had been expected. The commemoration of the religious festival of *pûrîm*, mandated in Esther itself, is explicitly described as a celebration of the reversal of the fortune that had been expected. Forever Adar would become for Jews "the month which had been transformed for them from one of grief and mourning to one of festive joy (9:22)." And the overturning of expected fates in the book is everywhere to be found: virtually every inauspicious point noted in the opening half of the book has a highly auspicious counterpoint in the latter half, such that, as Jon Levenson has pointed out, "the theme of the entire book is summed up in two Hebrew words 'nahâpôkh hû', 'the reverse occurred' (9:1)."

In this paper I will offer an interpretation for what ostensibly underlies this theme, one which runs even deeper than previously appreciated. Namely, it is the time-honored Mesopotamian preoccupation with divination that the megilla has in mind. Of course the notice of a reference to divination in Esther is by no means revolutionary. The casting of the little *pûr* by Haman is explained by the very author of Esther as a foreign relic of fortune-telling (3:7); its employment has been taken by many as reflecting standard operating divinatory procedure from ancient Mesopotamia. But a closer look at the connection between Mesopotamian divination and its portrayal in Esther suggests only a faint resemblance, one which scarcely a single Babylonian would have recognized. There are several issues of contention in this regard, though most problematic are the megilla's claims of divination's efficacy. Its practice, it is repeatedly suggested, results in the exact opposite of the desired outcome; confusion and mishap arise via this mechanism - in place of answer and plan. In short, divination brings about the reverse occurs of what is expected; or, to put it in the words of megilla itself, *nahâpôkh hû'*.

Now it so happens that within the technical interpretative apparatus of Mesopotamian divination answers to divinatory queries frequently involved receiving a 'wild-card' of sorts, whereby the reverse of this-or-that instruction was to be taken (in a manner somewhat reminiscent of modern board-games of children). These 'wild-cards,' curiously, were known in their native tongue as *nipchus*. Could it be that the megilla is well aware of this little fact, and that its delicious phrase *nahâpôkh hû'* is an elliptical reference to it, and the whole system of which it is a part? If so, the suggestion that these words sum up the whole book takes on a new level of meaning, one which, it seems, works to turn an article of Mesopotamian faith on its head -- in the service of its effective, if mysterious, Israelite counterpart.

Samuel Z. Klausner (University of Pennsylvania)

Social Science Methodology in Biblical Exegesis: The Kid in Milk

Social Science Methodology in Biblical Exegesis: The Kid in Milk

Samuel Z. Klausner

The University of Pennsylvania

I take the thrice-repeated verse in the Torah as referring to a cultic taboo associated with the pilgrimage festivals. I believe that it was taken as a proof-text and transvalued into a dietary law, prohibiting the mixing of dairy and meat products, no earlier than the Hasmonean period. Over the past century, or so, a number of scholars have attempted to unpack the meaning and provenance of the verse with conceptual methodologies drawn from the social sciences (sociology, anthropology, psychology) to supplement insights from their accustomed literary and philological methods. The scholars, all of whom have written on this verse, include Ratner and Zuckerman, Virroleaud, Sasson, Rahlf, Bottero, Milgrom, Nemoy, Caquot, Luria, Soler, Martens, Daube, Labuschagne, Haran and Moorhead. None of these scholars is a social science specialist and, as a consequence, the attempts to apply social science concepts has sometimes been fumbling or inappropriate and, in all cases, they fail to tap the power of social science research and theory for the exegetical task.

The problems will be discussed, and examples provided, under two headings: (1) the contrast between interpretation (evoking a meaning by an internalist method) and explanation (suggesting causality by reference to extra-systemic forces) and (2) problems of reasoning and inference. Issues under the first heading include the bridging of cultural, societal and psychological analyses. They fail to recognize the first as a logical pattern of elements and the last two as systems of functionally related elements. Interpretive strategies, which may be problematic, include those imposing an overriding narrative on the data, those selecting seemingly associated citations to establish a meaning pattern and those relying on textual propinquity. The selection of elements for the interpretive pattern may be in error substantively.

The discussion of problems of reasoning and inference includes the confounding of functional and teleological propositions, the failure to distinguish levels of analysis and generalization and missing the difference between analogical reasoning and comparative analysis based on abstract dimensionalization. The paper concludes with some suggestions for bridging

Session Number: 8.11

Session Modern Thought and Jewish Tradition

Session

Chair, Norbert M. Samuelson (Arizona State University)

Jason Kalman (McGill University)

A Tree Uprooted: Reading the Book of Job Before and After the

A two thousand-year-old tradition of understanding the biblical book of Job was turned on its head by the Holocaust. The importance of the book of Job is made evident by the fact that it has not escaped comment in any part of the Jewish interpretive tradition. Job is discussed in the Pseudepigrapha, Rabbinic Bible translations and Midrash, Geonic literature, medieval Jewish philosophical and mystical tracts, and more than two dozen Bible commentaries.

From the Rabbinic Period until the Holocaust the general trend in responding to Job's suffering was to blame Job. The rabbis claimed he was punished for having served the Pharaoh of Egypt during the Israelite enslavement or for sinning in his heart. Medieval philosophers argued he suffered for his ignorance. Mystics suggested his affliction resulted from having inherited a sullied soul. These trends continued until the beginning of the twentieth-century.

In the post-Holocaust era, Jewish thinkers were forced to turn from blaming the victim. Buber, Shapiro, Gordis, and Wiesel are all examples of writers who approached the text in new ways, no longer seeking to defend God at the expense of Job as their predecessors did. Historically Jewish thinkers confronted a variety of events that lead to extensive suffering of the righteous and innocent. The rabbis of the Talmudic period were forced to confront persecution at the hands of Rome. The medievals of France and Germany faced the Crusades; of Spain, the Almohad invasion, the Inquisition, and the expulsion. Yet, through all of these events the interpretive trends which promoted the notion that the victim, Job, be blamed for his affliction were

Julie E. Cooper (Columbia University)

Moses: The Politics of Modesty

This paper surveys Jewish philosophical, legal, and exegetical texts that invoke the figure of Moses — whose modest self-estimation reverberates in his halting speech — to deny that robust self-esteem is a prerequisite for political agency. At the moment of his prophetic vocation, Moses complains that a speech impediment renders him unfit for his appointed task of delivering the Israelites from Egyptian bondage: “I am slow of speech and slow of tongue” (Exod. 4:10). Although Moses views his stammer as a disability, subsequent traditions of Jewish thought recuperate Moses’ stammer. Rabbinic exegetes, midrashic commentators, and medieval philosophers agree that Moses derives political authority from the stammer that he repeatedly invokes as a disqualification. Concentrating primarily on texts by Moses Maimonides, the foremost medieval Jewish philosopher, this paper seeks to uncover and reactivate the political possibility latent within Moses’ stammer.

Maimonides considers Moses the paradigmatic prophetic leader and links Moses’ cultivation of political acumen to his modesty. In Exodus 33, Moses asks to see God’s face. God denies Moses’ request to see the divine countenance but grants Moses a vision of his back. Maimonides notes that Moses prefaces his request to see God’s glory with a request to see God’s “ways” (Ex. 33:13), by which Maimonides intends the only attributes which humans can legitimately predicate of God, the attributes of divine action. According to Maimonides, Moses discerns God’s “ways” when he sees his back. While the divine essence is unfathomable, humans can perceive the effects of divine action in the natural world, and knowledge of divine action qualifies one for political leadership. When Moses sees God’s back, he achieves political acumen; Maimonides construes political wisdom as the flip side of divine inscrutability. Moses requests to view God’s ways on behalf of his people, “a people for the government of which I need to perform actions that I must seek to make similar to Thy actions in governing them” (Maimonides 1963, 125). For Maimonides, imitation of God is the ideal toward which political leaders strive, but the ideal ruler imitates a God whom he cannot know in any real sense.

When Maimonides interprets Exodus 33, he construes the cultivation and exercise of political acumen as modest pursuits. Moses develops political acumen when he realizes that aspirations to apprehend the divine essence are misguided. Political wisdom emerges from an experience of conceptual failure — Moses acquires knowledge requisite to political leadership (the vision of God’s back) through the realization that the desired divine knowledge (the vision of God’s face) is unattainable. Political acumen originates with disavowal of the naive desire for direct and perfect access to God.

In Jewish depictions of Moses, I discern an alternative to modern liberal conceptions of political subjectivity. While Western liberalism valorizes dignity, self-respect, and self-assertion, Jewish thinkers allow that modesty, hesitation, and reserve are sources of political power. With this interpretation of Mosaic modesty, I challenge scholars of Jewish political thought who construe the

Jewish tradition as a comfortable precursor to liberal traditions of deliberative

Ron H. Feldman (University of California, Santa Cruz)
The Sabbath vs. the New Moon: A Temporal and Environmental Critique of A. J. Heschel's Valorization of The Sabbath

Abraham Joshua Heschel's essay The Sabbath has been highly influential in forming the general image of the meaning and significance of this uniquely Jewish observance. As Heschel writes, "The Sabbath itself is a sanctuary which we build, a sanctuary in time," the key element in making Judaism "a religion of time aiming at the sanctification of time." Ethically, he writes that "The seventh day is the armistice in man's cruel struggle for existence, a truce in all conflicts, personal and social, peace between man and man, man and nature, peace within man."

This has had a significant impact on environmental thinkers, especially those who are Jewish. The command for Sabbath rest (along with its related periodicities, the seventh year sabbatical and the fiftieth year jubilee) has been taken up as a model for ways to repair the relationship of humans with the environment.

Nevertheless, this view of the Sabbath presents us with a contradiction that has its source in the confusion between the periodicity of the Sabbath and the rest laws of the Sabbath i.e., between the Sabbath's temporal structure vs. its ritual content. On the one hand the Sabbath is claimed as time of peace and harmony between humans and nature. On the other hand, the Sabbath is valorized because its strictly calculated rhythm liberated sacred time from the natural cycle of the moon, a move that helped further divest the physical world of "any inherent sanctity." Thus, the posited "peace" between humans and nature experienced on the Sabbath is totally dependent on the Sabbath restrictions against work, not on its seventh-day periodicity per se. The rhythm of the Sabbath is not natural and has nothing to do with the needs of nature.

From an environmentalist perspective, I contend that Heschel was wrong in his preference for the Sabbath at the expense of the lunation and its associated annual festivals. The sacred times of Rabbinic Judaism include both the Sabbath and those determined by the moon. The Jewish calendar in use today preserves both types of time and the unruly lack of fit between them. There is a temporal tension between the wild rhythms of nature embodied in the festivals linked to the cycles of lunation and year versus the tame rhythm of culture manifested by the weekly Sabbath. While time may be central to Jewish religion and culture, and the calendar a key to its survival, this calendar preserves rhythms of both the Sabbath and the lunation. If Judaism is a "religion of time," as Heschel claims, it is a religion of both tame and wild time, for it sanctifies not only the act of creation "recounted every Sabbath" but the living creation itself, the days, months and years marked by the heavenly luminaries, which according to Genesis were created for this purpose on the fourth day of the primordial week. As Samson Raphael Hirsh wrote,

Session Number: 8.12

Session **From Moses to Moses: Maimonides, Spinoza, Mendelssohn**

Session

Chair, Jonathan Schorsch (Columbia University)

Haim Rechnitzer (Franklin and Marshall College)

The Debate Upon the Essence of Judaism and the Idea of Law: L. Strauss's and Y. Leibowitz's Philosophical and Ideological Agendas in the Research of Maimonidian Political Theology

The Debate Upon the Essence of Judaism and the Idea of Law _
L. Strauss_ and Y. Leibowitz_ Philosophical and Ideological Agendas in the
Research of Maimonidian Political Theology

In this paper I will deconstruct the ideologies and philosophies that underpin the modern commentaries and research of Strauss and Leibowitz on Maimonidian Political Theology. Through that analysis I would like to elaborate on the differences and similarities in their understanding of the brake between _ancient and modern_ and their criticism of modernity and the liberal state. The paper presents an exposition of two opposing modern Jewish philosophies of religion that perceive religion, first and foremost, as _Law_ (with political claims). By explicating the central issue of the relationship between law and philosophy, this paper seeks to contribute to the general theo-politico discussion and to the debate over natural law in modern liberal society.

Both thinkers place the interpretation of Maimonides at the center of their research and their own philosophical statements. Both emphasize the centrality of the law (halakhah) as the core of Judaism and both draw heavily on Maimonides, and lean on him, in order to demonstrate and support their claims. Matters however, are more complex. For although both Strauss and Leibowitz agree about the centrality of law in Maimonidian thought, they differ in the very understands of the meaning of "law" in Maimonides. Leibowitz views the "law" as presented in the Torah and explicated by Maimonides as the vehicle for the transformation of each individual and of society from mundane daily existence into a state of true devotion to God. He argues that obedience to the "law" is necessary to elevate people from their anthropocentric to a theocentric state. This interpretation of Maimonides determines Leibowitz's understanding of one of the major themes in the research on Maimonides, the relationship between the Halakhic corpus and The Guide to the Perplexed. Clearly, Leibowitz sees all of Maimonides' work as leading towards this existential religious ideal.

Strauss, views the task of the "law" in Maimonides' writings as a creation of a political theology. For him, the "law" reflects on and responds to the tensions between philosophy and religion, philosophy and society, and philosophy and revelation. For Strauss, philosophical contemplation leads people towards achieving their ultimate purpose in life. Political philosophy reflects both the process of elevation of an individual towards the ideal as well as the active responsibility towards society and its well-being. Strauss understands Maimonides' thought as a creation that addresses the dual challenge of the individual and society. "Law" is a "noble lie", a creation of a myth, which serves the dual purpose of political philosophy. Therefore, it is essentially a theological-political enterprise. In this sense, although the substance of

Maimonides' philosophical thought is Aristotelian, it functions within a Platonic framework of a political philosophy.

An examination of both these modern Jewish thinkers, Strauss and Leibowitz, through the lens of their interpretations of Maimonides exposes their

Mark A. Kaplowitz (New York University)

Spinoza's Pantheism and Hermann Cohen's Philosophy of Law

In *Kants Begründung der Ethik*, Hermann Cohen writes: "Whoever along with Spinoza wishes to consider human actions and endeavors as if it were a question of lines, planes, or bodies; whoever can be impressed by the apparent magnificence of such a monism; whoever does not recognize the falsity of this formulation: he may seek everything else, but not ethics." (2nd ed. p. 187.)

As part of a larger project on Cohen's interpretation of Spinoza, this paper explicates Cohen's claim that Spinoza's account of the affects, and by extension his approach to ethics, is false. At first, one might think that Cohen's language here is overwrought. Ethics is not generally considered a domain within which propositions, or sets of propositions, are determined to be true or false. Yet, it appears that Cohen does just that. Furthermore, Cohen makes what seems to be an unnecessary move when he links this argument back to the metaphysical issue of Spinoza's monistic attempt to unite thought and extension in substance.

In this presentation, I resolve these difficulties by showing that Cohen's philosophy of law bridges natural science and humanities, and it allows him to argue that opposition to Spinoza's ethics is not merely a matter of opinion. Rather, as a matter of truth and falsehood, the rejection of Spinoza's philosophy is central to the task of philosophy. Admittedly, Cohen's system rests upon a method of hypothesis regarding the transcendental basis of the possibility of philosophy, and he recognizes that this method results in different degrees of certainty in ethics and in logic. Differences notwithstanding, both logic and ethics are branches of knowledge that take respectively the fact of natural science and the fact of culture and inquire in to the necessary conditions for possibility of those facts. Thus, as logic depends upon mathematics, ethics needs a philosophy of law that can establish a proper type of necessity for the cultural and ethical realm.

For Cohen, the existence of systems of law indicates that there is a common cultural task of attaining the ought and a real possibility of identifying the human as the subject of its actions. In philosophy of law, Cohen develops Kant's arguments for autonomy to enable the individual to partake in the common task, as expressed in law, through a process that incorporates self-legislation, self-determination, self-responsibility, and self-preservation into the law. This transition from seeming subjectivity to an objective law establishes the truth which is then to be found in moral inquiry into realization of the will of the individual who is capable of orienting himself towards a task that requires faith that humanity will eventually be able to fully actualize the ought. In contrast, Spinoza's ethics is false because it cannot form a coherent notion of

Michah Gottlieb (Brown University)

Spinoza on the Interpretation of Scripture

Spinoza is commonly seen as a progenitor of modern Biblical criticism. In a widely cited article, Yirmiyahu Yovel contrasts Spinoza and Kant's methods of Scriptural interpretation. According to Yovel, Spinoza advocates a "cognitive, scientific_ approach" to Bible research whose aim is the recovery of authorial intent through critical, historical analysis. Kant, however, rejects such an approach and advocates attributing meanings to Biblical texts, which are at variance with authorial intent if these interpretations will effectively move individuals to obey the dictates of practical reason.

In this paper, I argue that Spinoza is much closer to Kant than Yovel claims. While I agree that Spinoza sees the recovery of authorial intent as the aim of Bible research, I argue that Spinoza thinks that historical research discloses that Scriptural eisegesis is in accordance with authorial intent as long as it moves individuals to ethical behavior.

According to Spinoza, recovering the original meaning of Scripture requires knowledge of three things: (a) the original language of the Bible in its original usage; (b) the life, character and pursuits of each Biblical author; (c) the textual history of each book of the Bible. Even with this knowledge, however, many passages in Scripture are ambiguous, obscure or seemingly contradictory. Therefore, to uncover the meanings of particular passages, one must discern the general principles espoused by the Biblical authors. Historical research demonstrates that while the Biblical authors did not agree concerning metaphysical or scientific ideas, they did agree in preaching morality. The Biblical authors recognized, however, that seven "dogmas"_ about God were necessary to motivate people to fulfill their moral duties. While the Biblical authors agreed about these seven dogmas in general they offered different interpretations of these ideas in accordance with their different metaphysical conceptions.

Spinoza concludes that the Biblical authors recognized that different people will be moved to ethical action by conceptualizing God_s existence in different ways. Spinoza extends this principle to the present and claims that it is therefore completely in accordance with

the intention of Scripture for each individual to interpret statements about God in whatever way will most effectively

move him or her to love their neighbor. Pace Yovel, Spinoza holds that historical research demonstrates that eisegesis is consistent with the original intention of Scripture as long as it furthers piety. For Spinoza, the practical effects of reading Scripture cannot be separated from its proper interpretation.

Eliyahu Stern (University of California at Berkeley)
Hermeneutics and the Production of Cultural Identity: Moses Mendelssohn, Elijah of Vilna, and the Making of Modern Rabbinic

Little in eighteenth century European intellectual life has sparked as much debate as the origin and purpose of language. A morass of philosophers, scholars and theologians spanning vast religious denominations and national spectrums offered a broad range of theories for what stands behind the mystery of the spoken word. Those such as, J.P. Susmilch who argue that language has a Divine foundation, while J.G. Herder and E.B. Condillac assert that words are the products of human beings. Although their positions stand on what on what is contemporaneously considered shaky biological, anthropological and social ground, their debate itself and its assumed questioning of the metaphysical grammar of human existence is considered to be a watershed moment in modern intellectual life.

Historical treatment of the language debate has stressed what could be termed the secularization of the tongue. It points to the ingenuity and heresy implicit in Herder's and Condillac's removal of the Divine from the lips of humanity. Such a limited analysis, however, silences more than it explicates. It is the purpose of this paper to uncover and explicate the questions surrounding the origins and role of language that simultaneously emerged in Jewish intellectual debates during the eighteenth century. Specifically, the problems presented by the presence of synonyms in Biblical literature for Jewish thinkers became a vista to explore many of the same issues occupying the minds of Herder and Susmilch. For eighteenth Jewish thinkers, issues regarding the divinity of the Biblical text turned on the question did the Bible conform to human poetic structures and thereby adopt synonymous and repetitive words and phrases, or was the Bible a God given text in which no word or phrase was superfluous? While both the rabbinic and German academic debates appear in radically different garb and speak to very different groups of people, they are historically intertwined through a shared set of hermeneutic questions whose property rights belong to no particular individual entity.

The eighteenth century synonym dispute is underscored by comparing the hermeneutics of and the fictional historical writings crafted around Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786) the towering intellectual of Western European Jewish life and Elijah of Vilna (1720-1797), the leading rabbinic Sage of Eastern European Jewry. Their investment in the issue of Biblical synonymy and the divinity of language place their apparently internal debate at the heart of a broader eighteenth century intellectual discussion. While medieval thinkers grappled with these issues, what makes Mendelssohn's and Rabbi Elijah's dispute both remarkable and critical in Jewish history is how this seemingly obscure intellectual matter becomes a very well known and conscious social marker inscribing larger societal tensions and differences

between Eastern and Western European Jews. The cultural implications of these two figures_ hermeneutic differences and the tensions between their

Judaism interpretive legacies are fleshed out in nineteenth century hagiographic

Session Number: 8.13

Session Thematic and Literary Studies in the Bahir and Zohar

Session

Chair, Justin Jaron Lewis (Queen's University)

Jonathan Dauber (Virginia Wesley College)
Myth and Philosophy in Sefer ha-Bahir

My presentation will seek to challenge Gershom Scholem's blanket assessment of Sefer ha-Bahir as the exemplar of Gnostic myth in Kabbalah that should be contrasted to the arid anti-mythic nature of medieval philosophy and that was "completely unconcerned with philosophical ideas or with any attempt to reconcile philosophy with concepts it advances." I will argue, in contrast, that the text was deeply engaged in the philosophic questions of its time and struggled to define the relationship between mythic and philosophic styles of thought.

As my starting point, I will take the research of Haviva Pedaya and others who have argued that certain passages in the Bahir stem from the editorial hand of a late redactor under the influence of Isaac the Blind's system of Kabbalah. I will add weight to Pedaya's view, going so far as to say that the final redaction of the Bahir was quite thorough. It is well known that R. Isaac and his early Kabbalistic disciples were deeply influenced by neoplatonic currents of thought. A crucial component of this influence is reflected in the broadly apophatic stance that they take, in which the possibility of knowledge of the Divine is uncertain. In this regard the mythic material that was the patrimony of Kabbalah is problematized in the early Kabbalistic writings to a much greater extent than it is in, say, the writings of the zoharic circle. From this perspective, the unapologetic and overtly mythic content of much of the Bahir--its anthropomorphic conception of God and its assignment of gender to the divine potencies--would have been challenging for the early Kabbalistic redactors. It is my contention that these redactors did not simply accept the mythical theosophy of the text as they received it, but were troubled and perplexed by its status as a mode of discourse that claimed to reveal secrets regarding the Divine.

Through an analysis of an extended textual unit of the Bahir, I will show that the mythical aspects of the text tend to be framed by discussions of a speculative nature that clearly resonate with the writings of early Kabbalists and raise the question of the possibility and problematics of knowing the Divine. This act of framing serves to define the nature of the mythic discussions as presenting a mediated form of knowledge about God and not an unquestioned direct one. More specifically I will suggest that in a number of instances the redactors sandwiched mythic passages, which are based on what Moshe Idel and Elliot Wolfson have shown to be an older theosophy of seven, with discussions of the three highest sefirot. In these discussions the three highest sefirot are closely aligned with the neoplatonic hypostasis, and neoplatonic concerns about the difficulties of apprehending the Divine are raised. These discussions, I will suggest, enabled a recasting of the mythic passages that led to a circumscribing of their force in describing Divine reality.

Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern (Northwestern University)

Spanish in the Zohar

In Lecture Five of his Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism entitled *The Zohar I: the Book and its Author*, Gershom Scholem suggests that *Sefer ha-Zohar* apparently entails words and notions of the Spanish origin. Scholem provides examples of what he considers twisted Spanish words in note 53 to this chapter (p. 389). So far no attempt has been made to develop this insightful statement. Israeli scholars of Jewish mysticism such as Yosef Dan, Yehuda Liebes, or Moshe Idel are not familiar with the medieval Spanish language (*Romançe*), whereas Spanish scholars such as Marcos Ricardo Barnatán do not know Aramaic or rely on the Hebrew translation of the *Zohar* in their research. While such old and new Spanish translators of the *Zohar* as Rafael Cansinos-Asséns (Madrid) and León Dujovne (Buenos-Aires) know Aramaic, yet they ignore Spanish-Aramaic linguistic interference. However, the knowledge of Spanish and Aramaic is only part of the problem. Another is the historical philology of Romance languages. One has to familiarize himself also with the historical phonetics that allow to identify and explain possible changes that Spanish notions and words undergo in the Hebrew-based mentality of the medieval Spanish Jews or in the Aramaic-based text of Moshe de Leon.

In my paper, I will look at three case studies from *Sefer ha-Zohar*. I will argue that the *Zohar* resorts to Spanish word-combinations to make a subtle (yet identifiable) ideological statement. Notions such as *sangiriya*, *kosfita*, and *kosdita* that the *Zohar* identifies as non-Hebrew/Aramaic will be in the focus of my presentation. I will explain slight phonetic changes, semantic shifts, and exoteric meanings of these words in the text of the *Zohar*. The *Zohar*, as it will be argued, introduces Spanish notions or to Spanish-looking words donned Aramaic disguise for the vociferously anti-Catholic, in most cases graphically satirical purposes. I will demonstrate that the suggested anti-Catholic satire of the *Zohar* is based on erotic imagery and hence is not inconsistent with the explicit eroticism of the *Zohar*.

The identification and interpretation of Spanish notions in the *Zohar* could be an essential contribution to our understanding of the interaction between Moshe de Leon (and perhaps his circle) on the one side and the Spanish Catholic culture on the other. It will enable us to compare and differentiate Moshe de Leon's treatment of the vernacular culture and, for example, that of Maimonides. It will make comprehensible several paragraphs of the *Zohar* previously considered murky, corrupt, or simply too exoteric. Ultimately, it will enable us to answer a number of important questions, in particular, why *Biblia Políglota Complutense* (1495_1506) edited by Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros overemphasizes the significance of the Aramaic; why the Renaissance scholars ranging from Pico della Mirandola to Johann Reuchlin so fervently argued that Hebrew rather than Aramaic should be incorporated in the humanities; and why the *Zohar* dubs Aramaic

Eitan P. Fishbane (Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion)
Mystical Drama and Narrative Form: Approaching the Literary
Dimensions of the Zohar

One of the most remarkable features of the <I> Zohar </I> _ the undisputed masterwork of medieval Jewish mysticism _ is the ongoing interplay between mystical homiletics and fictional narrative; between the creative lyricism of mystical midrash and the dramatic representation of R. Shimon bar Yohai and his disciples. Given the fact that the <I> Zohar </I> has long been studied from within the defined disciplinary boundaries of Jewish Thought and intellectual history, the development of a literary approach has taken some time to mature, and much remains to be done in this fertile field of scholarship.

It is to this major new horizon of research that my current work is directed. Among other issues, we shall consider the following key questions: What are the types and modalities of fictional representation in the <I> Zohar </I> , and how does this relate to the articulated mystical teachings for which the <I> Zohar </I> is famed? What are the forms of rhetoric and the structures of narrative in the <I> Zohar </I> ? How do fiction and hermeneutics give way to one another, and how is this interaction experienced by the reader? What is notable in the <I> Zohar </I> _s construction of time and imagined space within the pseudepigraphical mode? What is the relationship between monologue and dialogue, solitude and friendship, and how does this contribute to the _mystical_ aims of the text? Through representative cases from the zoharic literature, this conference paper will seek to present several dimensions of this new avenue in <I> Zohar </I> research.

Zion Zohar (Florida International University)
Peace and Harmony in the Book of the Zohar

RATIONALE -GENERAL

In light of the ongoing reality of conflict and violence in the _City of Peace _Jerusalem_ for the past 100 plus years as well as worldwide in the aftermath of September 11, the appropriateness of any project dealing with peace is self-evident. Today, more than ever before, striving to understand the notion of peace among the adherents of the Abrahamic traditions, is crucial, especially in light of the numerous and varied conflicts that exist among the descendants of Abraham throughout the world. The time has come for the scholarly world to lend its voice to a subject that is at present addressed almost exclusively by politicians and diplomats.

RATIONALE-SPECIFIC

This paper will examine some aspects of peace in The Zohar, a new topic of research within the field of Jewish mysticism about which no one has yet published (as confirmed by Professor Moshe Idel). The field of Jewish Mysticism/Kabbalah have become a focus of study for people from many diverse traditions; thus, this lacuna in scholarship is even more glaring and makes this paper all the more distinctive.

Moreover, there are contemporary implications to this work due to the importance given to the _The Zohar_ within Israeli society and segments of the Jewish population worldwide. One unfortunate example involves the late Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. This political leader was assassinated by a man that admitted he had been influenced by a group of rabbis who had publicly performed a mystical ritual against him, known as _ <I> pulsa de-nura </I> ,_ which is essentially a curse against sinners intended to punish them. The concept of _ <I> pulsa de-nura </I> _ and similar misuses of Jewish mysticism were said to have originated in _The Zohar._ Since then, this ritual has been sporadically used to denounce any political figure in the Middle East perceived to be acting against Israeli interests or those of the extremist, right wing religious agenda. Thus, this paper will additionally provide an academic and balanced account of aspects of the concept of peace in this most important Jewish mystical text.

It is my hope that this paper will begin to do justice to this important facet of Jewish mysticism. As a matter of fact, Moshe Idel upon hearing about my interest in the area of peace in Jewish mysticism as well as my research on the topic of the <I> Pulsa de-Nura </I> curse, (which I presented at the last AAR conference), enthusiastically encouraged me to pursue this topic.

It is my conviction that this paper should encapsulate not only the general theme of peace, but also answer specific questions: Does the concept of peace found in The Zohar relate to abstract and divine realms only or does it have consequences for human beings here on earth as well? Is it related

solely to the notion of peace within (i.e., an internal personal process) or is peace for peoples and nations on a grand scale applicable as well? Is it merely

Session Number: 8.14

**Session Modern Women Writers on the Jewish Question:
Intermarriage, Ornamentation, and Supersessionism**

Session

This panel will redress the dearth of research on early twentieth-century women writers and their approaches to the Jewish question. Despite growing interest in the roles played by Jews and Jewishness in modern English literature, critical discussions have maintained a narrow focus on a few male modernist writers: Ezra Pound, James Joyce, and T. S. Eliot. To wit, last year's *Modernism/Modernity* devoted two separate issues to "Eliot and anti-Semitism: the Ongoing Debate." While the debate may indeed be ongoing, readers, literary critics, and scholars of modern Jewish literature must expand its scope to include women writers.

Currently, research on modern women writers, such as Virginia Woolf and Gertrude Stein, has studied innovation in narrative style as derived from often-transgressive theories of gender, sexuality, and national identity. This panel will unite the seemingly divergent areas of Jewish studies and modernist women's literature to explore how gender, sexuality, and national identity intersect with and shape women's literary approaches to the Jewish question. In addition to Woolf and Stein, the panel will include new research on their contemporaries Mina Loy and Dorothy Richardson. Through the lenses of intermarriage, ornamentation, and theories of supersessionism, the panel will illuminate the rhetorical, racial, and religious approaches these four writers took to the Jewish question.

Like Shakespeare's Shylock and Joyce's Leopold Bloom, who have become indelible images of Jews in English literature, the rhetorical portraits of Jews or Jewishness by major non-Jewish writers in the modern period such as Woolf and Richardson must be considered in literal and figurative conversation with the work of Jewish writers like Stein and Loy. Only through such comparisons and contradictions can we fully understand the tropes, characterizations, and rhetoric of English "semitic discourse" in the first half of the twentieth century.

The panel will be chaired by Phyllis Lassner, who has published widely on British women writers, Jewish writers, and women's literature from World War II.

Professor Lassner will also serve as a respondent to the presenters, who have all begun to publish work on Anglophone modernist literature and the Jewish question: Professors Amy Feinstein, Maren Linett, and Lara Trubowitz.

Chair, Phyllis Lassner (Northwestern University)

Maren T. Linett (Purdue University)

Supersessionism as Feminist Modernism in Dorothy Richardson and Virginia Woolf

Mindful of the paradigm shift (usually dated from the mid-19th century) in Christian cultures from religious anti-Judaism to race-based antisemitism, critics of literary modernism generally focus on racial representations of Jews. But paradigm shifts do not create neatly packaged conceptual stages, in which one strain of thought is sealed off from the influence of earlier strains. Rather, discourses attendant on earlier paradigms linger into later ones--not always making sense in the new context, but surviving nevertheless. While racial understandings dominate in the modernist period, religious conceptions of Judaism periodically disrupt the hegemony of race science. Or, to think about it in terms of Raymond Williams's "residual," Christian theological views of Jews leave a residue that gets transformed by and incorporated into the dominant discourse of race science (<I> Marxism and Literature </I> 122ff). I propose a paper that analyzes how one theological discourse--supersessionism--retained some power in shaping the representation of Jews in interwar British literature by Dorothy Richardson (1873-1957) and Virginia Woolf (1882-1941).

Supersessionism is the Christian theological belief that once Jesus of Nazareth fulfilled the Hebrew scriptures, Judaism was superseded, became obsolete. Until Vatican II, most church leaders treated supersessionism as doctrine. In spite of the prevailing conception of Jews as a racial group, Dorothy Richardson and Virginia Woolf both made use of this theological prejudice as they developed their feminist literary projects.

In Richardson's 13-volume <I> Künstlerroman </I> , entitled <I> Pilgrimage </I> , her protagonist Miriam Henderson must surpass various obstacles on her pilgrimage toward spiritual fulfillment and artistic inauguration. The text links Judaism to some of the most pernicious: an affinity for general statements, a patriarchal bias, a lack of redemption. My paper demonstrates that in <I> Pilgrimage </I> , Christianity supersedes Judaism by replacing its focus on surfaces (the letter of the law) with insight into deeper meanings, its patriarchal strictures with an awareness of women's full humanity, its empty, successive temporality with a progression toward a

redemptive eternity, and its ancient, "wistful" piety with a childlike, light-filled present and future.

Virginia Woolf didn't use supersessionism quite so literally. But she did associate damaging forces with Jewishness, and describe an antidote to those forces in Christian terms. In her novel *The Years* (1937), Woolf depicts a corrupting money interest and the resulting mental entrapment through the image of "the Jew in the bath." In her polemical essay *Three Guineas* (1938), she proposes an antidote to such entrapment, using Christian rhetoric that has Loretta Stec has described as "a feminist version of monk's vows."

Both of these experimental novelists use this triumphalist Christian rhetoric self-referentially, to assert the superiority of their own feminist modernism over the obsolete materialism of masculine fiction. So, even though both writers were antifascist and genuinely concerned for the safety of Jews under Nazism, their lingering belief that Judaism was inadequate and obsolete was disturbingly productive for feminist modernism.

Lara A. Trubowitz (University of Iowa)

The Jew as Ornamentation: Literary Philosemitism and Virginia Woolf

Recent critical debates on intersections between modernist literature and fascism have reignited crucial questions about 1) the significance of antisemitic and racist discourses within high Modernist literature and 2) the methodological limitations of recent analyses of Modernist conceptions of racial, ethnic, and religious differences.

In "The Jew as Ornamentation: Literary Philosemitism and Virginia Woolf," I discuss Woolf's short story "The Duchess and the Jeweller," examining the rhetorical techniques that Woolf employs to describe her main character, the Jewish jeweler Oliver Bacon. As other critics have noted, these techniques appear to collude with conventional stereotypes of Jews circulating in Britain in the 1920s and 30s, and yet, ironically, with little direct reference to Jews themselves. Woolf herself, following the advice of her American editor, attempts to disguise direct references to Jews in the story. Indeed, she evokes, extends, and manipulates Jewish stereotypes, until, I argue, the specific figure of "the Jew" is no longer needed to signify any of the social, political, or economic "problems" of the Jew that we find referenced in the text. In this paper, I shift attention away from the question of Woolf's own views of Jews, to the mechanisms by which narrative forms in Woolf's work, and in Modernist texts more generally, distill fanatical antisemitic rhetoric into an "acceptable" medium for differentiating Jews from others. My aim is to show how these techniques exemplify what I call "civil antisemitism," a strain of anti-Jewish sentiment operating within the British mainstream in the 1920s and 30s, and which historians and literary critics often have conflated with philosemitism. I argue that this broader analysis is crucial for understanding Woolf's more politically progressive discussions of the non-Jewish outsider, a subject significant in both her novels and short stories, but also in her distinctly political treatises such as

<I> Three Guineas </I> , a work that does not ostensibly focus on Jews or Jewishness at all. I then turn to the ways in which such an analysis also can illuminate Modernist literary techniques in other writers, and more significantly, key connections between Modernist practices and Jewishness itself. Here I extend Maria Damon's discussion of the relationship between avant-garde forms and what she characterizes as a "doggerel" Jewishness, yet with the added contention that, within literary Modernism,

no Jews are actually needed to produce a distinctly "Jewish," or Jewish-themed text.

Amy Feinstein (Colgate University)

An Aesthetics of Alienation and Inter-marriage: The Avant-Garde Jewish Writings of Gertrude Stein and Mina Loy

This paper places literary depictions of Jews at the intersection of early twentieth century movements, including feminism, racialist sciences, and the avant-garde. Recent debates over the Jew in modernist literature have addressed the fluctuation between race and culture of Jewish identity in the context of heightened nationalism and the racialist science that buttressed such views. Studies in literary modernism, meanwhile, have examined destabilized notions of gender, sexuality, and race within the often-disorienting approach to plot, characterization, and narrative styles of modernist writing. My paper demonstrates that Jewish women writers Gertrude Stein and Mina Loy continue to make race a contested ground by conceiving of a racial Jewishness that is gendered, nationalized, and aesthetic. A careful analysis of both literary and more polemical writings suggests that while both Stein and Loy denounce antisemitic, racialist scientism and cultural and political demands for assimilation in the United States and Great Britain, they simultaneously defend a racial understanding of Jewishness as the engine for avant-garde experimentation.

Gertrude Stein (1874-1946) was born into a well-established German-Jewish family and raised in California. She attended Radcliffe College where, in 1896, she wrote an essay asserting the necessity of avoiding Jewish intermarriage with non-Jews. She argued that non-practicing, modern Jews in America (who identify culturally rather than religiously) should nonetheless avoid intermarriage in order to maintain the vibrant racial familial separatism from non-Jewish Americans that she terms alienation. Drawing on Stein's early opposition to intermarriage, I trace the trope of alienation to her later explicit writings about Jewish types in the drafts to her epic novel *The Making of Americans* (1925) and to the published version of that novel that avoids all explicit mention of Jewishness. The disappearance of Stein's explicit discussions of Jews and Jewishness coincides with her increasing experimentation; likewise her departure from explicitly racialist understandings of Jews seems to maintain the separatist trope of alienation as the primary characteristic of the avant-garde writer.

Mina Loy (née Lowy, 1882-1966) was a half-Jewish English writer who articulated the fundamental contradictions of Jewish life in fin-de-siècle Britain. Usually known for her feminist manifestos and frankly sexual poetry, Loy presents a rare autobiographical portrait of the artist as a young Jewish Englishwoman in her long poem *Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose* and in an unpublished novel. Like the mongrel identity of her protagonists, Loy specifically reflects on her identity in terms of a split Jewish-English consciousness through the forceful depiction of a poet-protagonist struggling within conflicting social, religious, and racial contexts. Like Stein's often-contradictory conclusions, Loy's autobiographical Jewish writings—with their

primary trope of intermarriage_-wrestle with contested questions of Jewish

Abstracts for Session 9
Tuesday, December, 21, 2004 10:45 AM-12:45 PM

Session Number: 9.1

Session Gender Equity and Jewish Life: Implications from the Federation Study

Session

This forum co-sponsored by the Gender and Social Science section takes as its focus the recently released "Creating Gender Equity and Organizational Effectiveness in the Jewish Federation System: A Research and Action Project." It begins with an account of this groundbreaking study by some of its lead researcher Shifra Bronznick and Sherry Israel. The idea will be for Sherry Israel to address the results of the study to be followed by Shifra Bronznick who will address the policy implications of the study. From here we will have a series of respondents who will discuss the broader implications of this study for thinking about gender in Jewish community and even the academy as well as the more fundamental social science questions about the relationship between research and policy. How is social science research connected to policy? What are the limitations and possibilities for action opened up by studies like this one? What does this study tell us about the status of women in Jewish communal service? How might this study be broadened to include Jewish Studies scholars? How does this study connect to our practices in the academy? Are these findings distinctly Jewish? How do they relate to other research on workplace practices especially in the academy or in other ethnic and religious organizations?

Chair, Riv-Ellen Prell (University of Minnesota)

Sherry Israel (Brandeis University)

Gender Equity and Jewish Life: Data from the Field

The research team conducted interviews with key volunteer and professional leaders from across the country in a representative sample of large and large-intermediate Federations. I will describe the methodology and present the essential findings from this phase of the Study.

**Shifra Bronznick (Advancing Women Professionals)
Gender Equity and Organizational Effectiveness**

Shifra Bronznick will describe the approaches to developing multifaceted intervention strategies for this initiative. She will explore the ways that lessons learned from successful interventions in other sectors can be applied to the Jewish communal field.

Respondent, Dina Pinsky (Arcadia University)

Respondent, Carl A. Sheingold (Brandeis University)

Session Number: 9.2

***Session* Judaism and Jewishness in America**

Session

Chair, Shuly Rubin Schwartz (Jewish Theological Seminary)

Daniel M. Bronstein (Jewish Theological Seminary)
From Soup to Nuts: Keeping Kosher in the United States Military
"From Soup to Nuts: Keeping Kosher in the United States Military"

The observance of Kashrut is an essential aspect of traditional Jewish practice and has always served to distinguish Jew from gentile. Perhaps especially in open societies such as that of the United States, maintaining Kashrut has been among the most important marks of Jewish distinctiveness within a culturally diverse population. The purpose of this paper is to examine the challenges of maintaining Kashrut in the United States military during the World War II era as revealed through the lens of the U.S. armed forces rabbinical chaplaincy. Throughout the war, the rabbi-chaplains struggled to adapt Judaism to wartime circumstances, facing questions over ritual practice in areas extending from Kashrut to burial. Adding to the complexity of the situation, the rabbi-chaplains came from divergent ideological and denominational backgrounds, ranging from "Classical" Reform to Orthodox. While American Jewish history is laced with episodes of communal conflict, far less discussed has been the long history of intra-Jewish or interdenominational cooperation. The rabbinical chaplaincy offers a striking example of intra-Jewish religious collaboration. Compromising over their particular outlook and practice of Judaism, the rabbi-chaplains ultimately created a streamlined ritual of American Judaism accessible to all Jews serving in the military, regardless of denominational background or practice. Providing Jews in the service with ritual items and foodstuffs vital to Jewish practice such as wine or matzoth was a persistent challenge. It is noteworthy that the effort to preserve at least a measure of Kashrut within the military context became a central concern for the chaplaincy as a whole despite the chaplains' ideological differences. In fact, among the many challenges to Jewish religious observance during World War II, Kashrut was among the era's most discussed issues among rabbis. Although American Jews of the era are generally portrayed as whole-heartedly striving to Americanize, the observance of some level of Kashrut might have served as the most significant means of maintaining Jewish distinctiveness within the context of the American military. Likewise, despite the chaplains' success in compartmentalizing denominational differences, Kashrut in particular might have represented a way for traditional Jews to assert and differentiate themselves from their co-religionists as well as from gentiles. Thus, utilizing the experience of WW II era rabbi-chaplains, this paper will explore what the American military version of Kashrut meant for intra-Jewish relations as well as its significance to non-Jewish society.

David E. Kaufman (Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion)
American Celebrity and Jewish Identity: Toward a Reconsideration of the Early 1960s

Amidst the spate of recent books on Jews in American popular culture lies a curious fact: the seemingly instantaneous public arrival, during the brief span of years from 1961-63, of a group of famous American Jews whose celebrity would take on a startling new quality—as distinct from their predecessors in the public eye, their Jewish identity would no longer be in question, their Jewishness no longer obscured by show business inhibitions—figures such as Lenny Bruce, Mel Brooks, Philip Roth, Barbra Streisand, Bob Dylan, and Sandy Koufax were among the first Jewish celebrities to reveal their ethnic roots and to allow Jewish associations to become part of their public personae.

To be sure, not all did so wholeheartedly, ambivalence remained in abundance; yet the general trend was such that all ultimately acknowledged their Jewishness in some form, however compromised or diluted. Nevertheless, in their simultaneous rise to fame they would dramatically enter public consciousness and hence reshape the popular image of the American Jew. Recent scholarship has focused on cultural artifacts of the era, in particular the Hollywood movie *Exodus* (1960) and the Broadway musical *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964)—and indeed, they are the bracket points of this study and significant moments in the development described herein. Historical events such as the Eichmann trial and the presidency of John F. Kennedy cannot be ignored as well. Yet the appearance of a cohort of Jewish celebrities during these same years is a phenomenon in its own right and deserves dedicated study.

The phenomenon of early 1960s Jewish celebrity raises a number of related methodological questions. First, how shall we explain the seeming coincidence in timing? Is it merely indicative of a generational shift, or are environmental factors paramount? If the latter, how might the civil rights movement and the Kennedy years be convincingly linked to specifically Jewish experience? Second, what is the relationship between the public careers of these figures and the nature of Jewish identity in America? In what ways did their American celebrity contribute to the revival of Jewish ethnicity—a revival usually attributed to the aftereffects of the Six Day War—and hence, how might this study contribute to the scholarly reconsideration of 1967 as historical turning point? And third, what is the function of Jewish celebrity images in the construction of Jewish identity? The much-commented-upon but little-studied phenomenon of inventorying famous Jews, recently labeled *Jew-hoing*, has a history. We may very well find that its roots lie in this period, when Jewishness first *came out of the closet*—as it were, when public expressions of Jewish identity first became part of our discourse. These and other questions will be explored in this paper, while focusing on the popular image

Jeffrey S. Gurock (Yeshiva University)
**The Fate of Small-City Communities in an Era of Orthodox
Triumphalism, 1970-2000**

It has become a truism both in academic and Jewish communal circles, that the last decades of the twentieth century witnessed both a major quantitative and a distinctive qualitative change in the social and religious profile of America's Orthodox Jews. While over these years, the number of Jews in the United States who defined themselves as Orthodox and/or were members of Orthodox synagogues declined, reportedly, those who remained part of that movement adhered to the requirements and demands of their faith with ever intensifying punctiliousness. By 2000, Orthodoxy's hold over those who believed in its teachings was seen as stronger than during any other comparable period in its history in this country, contributing in part to some of its leaders speaking of that movement's triumphant revival in America.

Part of the story, it has been argued, is that effectively, from 1970-2000, a winnowing of American Orthodoxy took place. Many of those who left the most traditional branch of American Judaism, the so-called non-observant Orthodox Jews, found their religious niches in more liberal and egalitarian synagogue settings. Or, others who previously had affiliated with Orthodoxy showed themselves no more interested in Conservative or Reform synagogues and drifted away from any form of Jewish identification.

Meanwhile, if during these last decades, Orthodoxy gained in qualitative strength, its power stemmed from the commitments to the faith of two complementary cohorts, refugee and survivor Orthodoxy's second- and third-generation and more modern Orthodox Jews who have been the beneficiaries of yeshiva education, at least through their high school years.

Missing from most of these descriptions and analyzes of contemporary Orthodox life are considerations of the fate of that movement and its followers in small city communities which have not participated in this revival. This paper part of a book long study of Orthodoxy in Charleston (S.C.) examines how and why such communities have failed to keep in step with a triumphant Orthodoxy on the march. It will delve into the non-observant religious values of the majority of Charleston's Orthodox Jews, explore their social, educational, and institutional life and their relationship with an observant minority in their midst. In addition it will examine these local Jews' relationships both with Orthodox group elsewhere in this country as well as with other denominational groups in their Southern locale. Such a presentation will contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the variegated nature of Orthodoxy and of American Judaism generally at the opening of the twenty-first century.

Elizabeth Mizrahi (University of Chicago)
Jews, Blacks and the Demise of the New Left

Historians studying the American New Left in the late 1960s point to the formation of radical racial, cultural and ethno centric groups as a major cause of the Movement's demise. The beginning of a noticeable decline of the New Left is typically associated with the 1967 National Convention on New Politics which met in Chicago's Palmer House. Historians of the period often group the Palmer House convention together with many other meetings to demonstrate the fracturing of the New Left. However, Chicago must be looked at individually because the rifts which the Black Caucus intentionally created at this meeting would specifically affect Jewish involvement in the New Left and ripple out to affect the entire Movement.

The Convention was a last effort by the New Left to unite its rapidly dividing ranks under a single agenda for the upcoming 1968 presidential election. Among the most vocal groups at the Convention was the Black Caucus. The Black Caucus represented a new form of radicalism inspired by Malcolm X, which no longer desired to participate in the coalition building of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The Caucus sought to build an all black revolutionary movement that discarded the paternalistic direction of a white liberal politic. In an unexpected move, the Black Caucus introduced a resolution condemning Zionist Imperialism. This resolution had nothing to do with the agenda of the conference and everything to do with their desire to create a revolution within the leadership of the New Left. The Black Caucus's primary agenda was Black Nationalism. They wanted to shed the skin of the white left and, because they identified the Left with the many Jews who comprised its leadership, they found this resolution an expeditious route to alienate them. The impact of the resolution was so powerful that it broke up the meeting and prevented the New Left from approaching the presidential election with a unified political platform.

For some American Jews, including many in the New Left, Israel was a conundrum. The events of the Year 1967 and the countdown to the Six-Day War of June 1967 changed the nature of the Jewish community in America and left many questions regarding the relationship between the 1967 War and the Jews of the New Left unanswered. To what extent were the shifts in identity politics of American Jews in relation to Israel influential on those involved with the New Left and how did this influence the New Left leadership's position on Israel? The specific plan of action of the Black Caucus at the convention, as well as the success of their strategy, indicates that Israel and the war of 1967 were factors. The 1967 war must be added to the reasons for the demise of the New Left. As the Mexican Americans had rallying symbols such as Cesar Chavez, the Native Americans had Alcatraz, the women had Feminism, and the African Americans had Black Power, to what extent did the Jews have Israel?

Session Number: 9.3

Session Holocaust Film and the Fantasy of Recognition

Session

From the first moments of liberation, film has played a pivotal role in the rendering of the Holocaust. Annette Insdorf's compendium, *Indelible Shadows: Film and the Holocaust* appeared first in 1983 and in its third, vastly expanded edition in 2003. The sheer number of films at times seems to defy any categories one might put forward in an attempt to structure the field of Holocaust cinema. This proposed panel for the Association for Jewish Studies 2004 emerges out of a joint project on visual culture and the Holocaust in which each of the individual scholars is involved. The panel will concern itself with the theme of recognition and the ways in which recognition functions within the broader problematics of memory in Holocaust studies. What is the importance of recognition in Holocaust film as an aspect of plot? How does recognition pressure the limits of the Imaginary? How are moments of recognition implicated in the circuitry of affect in Holocaust film? Does the problematic of recognition delimit a significant category of Holocaust film? What does it mean to highlight recognition at this particular historical moment as members of the survivor generation become increasingly scarce? By exploring the centrality of recognition in Holocaust film, each of the papers will investigate the broader dimensions of the epistemological and ethical demands inherent in the problem of recognition.

Chair, Leah Hochman (University of Florida)

Darcy Buerkle (Smith College)

Screening Hannah Arendt in Brauman and Sivan's Film *The Specialist*

This paper will use Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem* and the 1999 Israeli-French film *The Specialist*, which is based on the Arendtian notions, found in the book, as the point of departure to historicize and make claims about the spectral position of the audience in relationship to the Eichmann trial. Arendt's position was that of a German-Jew driven into exile who, for the first time, saw a perpetrator answerable for the crimes that were responsible for, in Arendtian terms, the unmaking of the world. Her horror at the vacuity of Eichmann's persona should, I suggest, be historicized in this context. Through this claim, though, I mean to pressure the very notion of "horror," its role in the trial and, more specifically, what might be called its accompanying affects in the context of this trial. Clearly, Ben-Gurion wished to awaken horror in the Israeli public to counter the pervasive silence and contempt in response to Holocaust survivors in the populace. It was his stated ambition to use the trial as a/the source of unifying experience of citizenship in the Israeli state. The choreography of this trial has acted as a proscriptive. The role that Arendt's notion of banality played in the formulation of a proscriptive is implicated in the problem of the spectator in ways that could not be wholly captured by the restraint of the trial itself. Horror is at the center of this trial for the spectator/witness and its manifestation as screams, cries, fainting, paralysis leaks out in the witness box; it creeps through and occasionally erupts in the audience leaving the formerly German Jewish young Zionists who sat at the bench to call for order in the courtroom: "Whoever can't stand it, should leave," or "If the public wishes to remain in the courtroom, they must remain seated, otherwise the session will be adjourned. If anyone is unable to stand that, he should leave the courtroom." The trial thus demanded precisely the strong Jew in its enactment in the courtroom and in its persistent questions about Jewish resistance. It therefore relies on a choreography of emotion in response to the Holocaust that inscribes rules against excessive affect or emotional capitulation that will animate reception of the Holocaust for the rest of the 20th century. This insistence on order stands in tension to Attorney General Gideon Hausner's stated ambition which, I think, reveals an aspect of the emotional equation at work. Speaking of Nuremberg he noted "Everything went smoothly and efficiently there, but that is also one of the reasons the trials did not shock the heart." Film-makers Brauman and Sivan have made use of the vast documentary footage shot by documentary film-maker Leo Hurwitz during the trial. Their stated goal in the 1999 film *The Specialist* was to create a piece that would serve as a visual corollary to Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. Theirs was to be a visual statement to accompany her book. In creating this film, Brauman and Sivan have also produced a spectral experience for the contemporary viewer that crystallizes the stylized confines of affect in relationship to the Holocaust as

Eric Kligerman (University of Florida)

Celan's Cineamatic: Ethics as Optics in Night and Fog

Although the objective of having a visceral effect on the spectator seems to be a constitutive element of the most recent forms of representation that engage with Holocaust memory (museums and memorials, art forms becoming more experiential), this concept of the work having a visceral effect on the spectator—shock, anxiety, alienation, estrangement and derealization—is not new to Holocaust aesthetics. By aesthetics I am referring less to its connections to the study of the artwork than with the word's original meaning that pertains to sensory perception (aesthesis). In this paper I intend to examine the questions concerning the consequences of affect in relation to spectator identification within Holocaust aesthetics by comparing Resnais' *Nacht und Nebel* (1956), one of the first documentary films pertaining to the Holocaust, and Celan's poem *Engführung*, composed within months of his translation of the film into German. My focus is less on the significance of the shifts in translation of the film from French into German, which has been treated in several cursory analyses, and more on the translation of affect from the visual medium of film into the discursive space of poetry. My analysis consists of two key components: the affect of anxiety central to both film and poem, and how anxiety relates to ethics. Why is the affect of anxiety imperative to an ethics concerning spectator identification in relation to Holocaust art? In *Nacht und Nebel* we occupy the subject position of the camera with its obsessive gaze as we enter the camp. We contemplate what we are watching until the eyes of the other look back at us, disrupt our own act of looking and place us into the position of voyeur/perpetrator. One of the most emblematic lines in *Nacht und Nebel* conveys what the film tries to recuperate through its images but claims it is unable to do, "No picture (Bild), no description can restore its true dimension (wahre Dimension): unabated anxiety (ununterbrochene Angst)." How does Celan's poem convey anxiety as it simultaneously tries to subvert the visual content of the film along with the camera's gaze? How does Celan translate the temporal anxiety (blurring of past and present) of the film into the spatial anxiety attached to the act of reading the poem? Why and how does Celan shift from perpetrator identification in *Nacht und Nebel* with its culminating question "Wer also ist schuld?" to an identification with the victim in *Engführung*? I will focus on how the film's emphasis on the montage of faces that look back at the spectator and blur the gaze of the dead with the living, is replaced with the poem's obsessive relation to the loss of place. The content of the poem, comprised of disappearing eyes and the loss of place, is complemented by the formal structure of the poem. Celan's use of double binds, contradictions and repetition (anaphor) becomes symptomatic of some of the formal mechanism employed by the poet to elicit anxiety in our reading of the text.

Sven-Erik Rose (Miami University)

Reconciliation or Evasion? The Place of Jewishness in Dani Levy's Meschugge

Of the mini-wave of German Holocaust films from the 1990s including *Viehjud Levi*/ *Jew-Boy Levi* (Didi Danquart, 1998) and *Aimée und Jaguar* (Max Färberböck, 1999), Swiss-Jewish director Dani Levy's 1998 post-Holocaust thriller *Meschugge* is singular in its focus on the legacy of the Shoah as it reverberates in the contemporary lives of Germans and Jews of the third post-Holocaust generation. As a film dealing with the grandchildren of German perpetrators and Jewish victims of the Holocaust, and one co-written by the high-profile couple of Jewish director Dani Levy and non-Jewish German actress Maria Schrader, the film raises important questions about the place of Jewish identity, and the relationship between Germans and Jews, in the German cultural Imaginary during the first decade after national reunification. This paper explores the ways *Meschugge* ostensibly brings into contact and dialogue, yet ultimately keeps neatly separate from each other, Jews and Jewishness, on the one hand, and Germans and questions of German identity on the other. Ultimately, I argue, *Meschugge* is not the reconciliatory "German-Jewish" film it implicitly claims to be and as which it was widely received. Through an intricate juggling of identities-German, American, and Jewish-the film effects a sort of alchemical process whereby a Nazi perpetrator's granddaughter (Lena) is effectively transformed into a Jew. In order to dramatize a reconciliation between third-generation Germans and Jews, however, *Meschugge* resorts to giving Lena, the granddaughter of a Nazi criminal who has unknowingly grown up with a false identity as a German Jew, a certain "authentic" claim to Jewishness-through her Jewish-American father-while simultaneously displacing that Jewishness outside Germany (to New York), and further denying it any embeddedness in even that distant location: Lena's American-Jewish father is wholly absent, and her aunt is a vegetative alcoholic. Lena's American-Jewish family thus both lends her a certain claim to "authentic" Jewishness, even as it also neatly removes her Jewishness to the sidelines of the story and, above all, beyond any meaningful interconnection with her German identity. Lena's "Jewishness" is of a type which German audiences can readily (mis)recognize themselves in, precisely because it is not embedded anywhere that might complicate such a self-recognition or identification-neither in Jewish New York, nor in the small post-Shoah remnant of the German-Jewish community. Thus, I argue, *Meschugge* raises its central issue only by in fact circumventing it and thereby begs crucial questions of the place or non-place of Jews in contemporary Germany.

Session Number: 9.4

Session Jews & Shoes

Session

Shoes are usually regarded as lowly articles of clothing and unlike headgear do not figure in discussions of Jewish identity. However, in addition to their practical use, shoes carry multiple social and symbolic meanings. As products they are evidence of techniques of shoe-making, of artistry and design, and they are evidence of those engaged in their production, shoemaking having played an important role in Jewish occupational history. In addition, they index gender, social and financial status, lifestyle, health, occupation and activities within distinctive ecological and cultural contexts. They are of particular interest in relation our upright posture, our mobility, and distinctive gait and styles of walking. Since they retain the personal imprint of their wearer they can also be read as biographical documents, from bronzed baby shoes to shoes that are all that remain of those who perished in the Holocaust, and ritual objects in the case of the *Halitza* shoe. Shoes have been fetishized and ritualized throughout the ages, and their wearing and removal is already mentioned in the biblical story of Moses who is commanded to take off his shoes for he stands on holy ground. Our cross-disciplinary panel will examine the significance of "shoes" and "shoelessness" in Talmudic literature, in the formation of modern Israeli identity, and in the commemoration of the Holocaust.

PLEASE NOTE: Order of presenters: (1)Fenton. (2) Raz (3) Feldman (4) Discussant: Kirshenblatt-Gimblett.

Chair, Edna Nahshon (Jewish Theological Seminary)

panelists for Jews for Shoes should be in the following order:

- 1) Patricia Fenton (Talmudic)
- 2) Ayala Raz (Israeli)
- 3) Jeffrey Feldman (Holocaust)

Patricia Fenton (Jewish Theological Seminary)

The Significant Shoe: Footwear in Rabbinic Literature

This paper is based on the theory that shoes are an important, perhaps even crucial, element of the syntax of material culture in rabbinic literature. The material world serves as the medium to convey rabbinic ideology, and shoes are a meaningful part of that material world.

A quick look at the sources demonstrates that shoes are highly meaningful in the rabbinic world. In the Babylonian Talmud (Berakhot 60b), we learn that one of the blessings Jews say each morning, "Praised are you Lord our God, king of the universe, who has provided for all of my needs," is meant to be said while putting on one's shoes. The shoe is prominent in the halitzah ceremony, and in the acquisition of a Canaanite slave by means of hazakah. Shoes play a role in the rituals of the Temple, of Shabbat, fasts, mourning and banishment. Shoes are so important that Rav Yehudah says in the name of Rav: One should sell the beams of one's house and buy shoes for one's feet (Shabbat 129a).

From rabbinic comments about shoes and the frequency with which they are mentioned in both halakhic and aggadic passages, we can determine that the shoe was a signifying symbol, even if some of the specifics of the signifying detail are lost to us. In the quest to determine boundaries and to define categories, shoes provided the rabbinic observer an immediate visual clue. In their essence liminal objects, shoes mediate between the flesh and the world; they are culture imposed on nature. In rabbinic literature, shoes can identify, express, and therefore re-create degrees of holiness, Jewishness, rabbinic identity, gender identity, and economic, social and especially ritual status. They serve to represent pride and humility, loyalty to Judaism and/or to Hellenization, and various other mental and physical conditions. Shoes tell us about possession and control. They serve as talismans. Shoes express boundaries; shoes cross boundaries. The presence, absence or removal of shoes informs us about sacred space and sacred time, and gives important clues as to individual and communal location in both. In rabbinic literature shoes are not simply utilitarian; they are multivalent signs.

Ayala Raz (Shenkar)

Shoes as a Symbol for Equality

SHOES AS A SYMBOL OF EQUALITY

IN ERETZ-ISRAEL

in the first half of the 20th Century

My presentation focuses on the symbolic meaning of shoes in establishing the principles of equality in the new Jewish society in Eretz-Israel in the first half of the 20th century. This equality refers to social, personal and gender aspects.

In the beginning I shall present the pioneers of the second and third Aliyah (immigration waves) who arrived in Eretz-Israel in the years 1903-1923 in order to build a new idealistic and righteous society. They tried to redefine the way of life for the new Jew, whose identity's symbols were based on poor and worn-out clothes and shoes. These rural pioneers turned the worn-out shoes into their banner, vaunting their ragged, worn-out shoes and sandals. The poorly improvised sandals and the worn-out shoes were used as a social identification, representing the wearer's social point of view without a need for any further explanation.

Another aspect of the ideal of equality was between genders; both men and women wore the same old shoes and same poorly improvised sandals. Thus they expressed personal and gender equality which derived its power from social equality and completed it at the same time.

Later on, I shall refer to the fifth Aliyah (1932-1939). At this period the new Jewish image was becoming clearer its characteristics were khaki clothes and sandals on bare feet. The most popular sandals were the Biblical style which were designed very much the same for both genders. Finally, I shall refer to the 1940's and 50's, a period in which the Israeli-born youngsters used to wear biblical sandals, which identified them as separate them from the children of the new waves of immigrants.

When the state of Israel was established (1948) a period of rationing was declared (1949) and the supervision of the production was held by the State. According to the austerity regime, every citizen got a limited amount of coupons which did not permit expensive shoes, but only cheap and simple shoes or sandals. The austerity regime functioned to encourage a melting pot that cancelled differences of countries of origin and social background as it forced basic sandals and khaki clothing on everyone. This situation turned simple sandals-- which once symbolized extreme individuality-- into common sandals, which was rationed to everyone by the State's austerity regulations.

The biblical sandals were then exchanged, upon recruitment into the army, by military shoes, which were practical, equal, free of any decoration or adornment, and emphasized the compulsive equality of the Israeli society in the 1950's.

For some time, it seemed as if the government's policies could force equality on its citizens, but soon enough it became clear that this was just wishful

Jeffrey Feldman (New York University)

Untying Memory: Shoes as Holocaust Discourse

Since they were first used as evidence in during the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem, shoes have been central to the history and memory of the Holocaust. Shoes play a variety of roles in Holocaust discourses, including: historical evidence, memorial icon, and metaphor.

Accordingly, this paper has three goals. The first goal is to specify when and how shoes became agents of Holocaust commemoration, paying close attention to the related concepts of number and anonymity.

The second goal is to explain how shoes signify meaning about the Holocaust in the social and semiotic context of the museum, focusing on the distinction between displays of individual shoes, mounds of shoes, actual shoes and shoe reproductions. The third goal of this paper is to respond to James Young's critique of relics as dismembered fragments in Holocaust commemoration by considering the potential of shoes as starting points for the active performance of memory work.

Respondent, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (New York University)

Session Number: 9.5

Session Constructing Their Own Spaces: Jewish Women in Latin America

Session

Scholars have now made it clear that Jewish women played an important role in the construction of Jewish identities around the world. They fought to craft and defend their own spaces within their communities as they participated in philanthropic organizations, kept Jewish homes, raised Jewish children, and, in some cases, participated in community politics. Yet, this panel is interested in highlighting the dialogue that took place between the Jewish communities and the larger local context, conversation which, we claim, undoubtedly shaped women's participation in community activities. In our case, Latin America gender roles and political events in the region affected the ways in which these female spaces were conceived of, defended, and adapted to existing circumstances.

The four papers in this panel highlight how the construction of Jewish female identities was and is a process that cannot be conceived outside of the national context. The presentation by Dr. Adriana Brodsky focuses on Sephardic Jewish women in Argentina, paying particular attention to ethnic food. Even in the more domestic spaces, Sephardic women incorporated new ingredients and adapted their traditional recipes to existing notions of health and local customs, thus making the kitchen a space of cultural adaptation and encounter. Dr. Sandra Deutsch's presentation describes Jewish (both Sephardic and Ashkenazic) women's role in philanthropic organizations also in Argentina, stressing the ways in which traditional ways of philanthropy as well as elements of local Argentine female organizations shaped these women's methods. Natasha Zaretsky's work also discusses Jewish women in Argentina. In particular, she analyses a group of Jewish women's responses, which clearly included Jewish and Argentine practices, to the 1994 bombing of the community's center. Dr. Kenya Dworkin's work will focus on Latin American Sephardic women's participation in an internet forum designed to discuss issues relating to the Sephardic communities in this region. In particular, she will pay attention to the spaces these women have created within the forum.

The papers together present a glimpse of Jewish women's experience in Latin America, and how their participation in communal institutions and

Chair, Pamela S. Nadell (American University)

Adriana Brodsky (University of Southern Indiana)

_Tasting Food, Creating Identity: Sephardic Women and the Domestic Aspects of Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Gender

The paradigm that dominated our understanding of overseas immigration to Argentina was characterized by the polarization between a _pluralist perspective_ and the melting pot theory. Within the debates over assimilation versus pluralism, few scholars focused specifically on the experiences of women. This paper, by looking at Sephardic women_s kitchens, will highlight the importance of women in the construction of ethnic identity. Yet this look at the inner rooms of the house, brings to the fore the fact that immigrant women were not only the bearers of their ethnic culture, but also agents of integration.

It is this dual role, clearly present in their activities in the kitchen, where they both cooked traditional foods and learned dishes, that makes it possible to break down the polarization between the notions of _melting pot_ and _pluralism._

Proponents of both the pluralistic position and of the melting pot theory have assumed that the maintenance of ethnicity and the existence of a national culture exclude each other. To accept that these two _movements_ (one focused on belonging to the _nation_ and the other on retaining the ethnic dimension) happened simultaneously would entail a theoretical reconfiguration of the issue of _assimilation._ Indeed, recognition of this simultaneity renders this term, as well as the term _pluralism,_ impotent, incapable of describing the actual processes that took place. The nation and the ethnic group were always in the process of being defined, contested, and immersed in each other. By looking at Sephardic women_s cooking practices, we can get a better look at the ways in which the creation of national and ethnic cultures

Sandra Deutsch (University of Texas at El Paso)

Their Own Space: Argentine Jewish Women's Beneficent Societies, 1892-1935

Jewish women of Ashkenazi and Sephardi backgrounds created numerous charitable organizations throughout Argentina in the years under study. In doing so they drew upon a traditional heritage of philanthropy as well as elements from their adopted homeland, including the notion that charity fit within women's domain. Aside from helping the poor and strengthening their communities of origin, these groups created new kinds of spaces, such as spaces of sociability, spaces where Jews of different backgrounds interacted, and spaces where women exchanged ideas and exercised relative autonomy. The main sources for this paper are records from these organizations and

Kenya Dworkin (Carnegie Mellon University)
Women and 21st Century Community Building: Ladinokomunitas: A Case Study

Women and 21st Century Community Building: Ladinokomunita-A Case Study

I propose to discuss the role of women in creating and moderating LADINOKOMUNITA, an Internet community (chat group) composed of members (numbering in the hundreds) who are separated by thousands of miles and are from at least 14 countries including the United States, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Colombia, Brazil, France, Spain, Germany, Turkey, Israel, Russia, Greece, and Denmark.

Most of the members are Sephardim and their descendants, Jews whose ancestors were among the Jews expelled from Spain in 1492, and other places in subsequent years. Despite the enormity of their diaspora, one common, unifying element among them was and to some extent is that they spoke what is known variously as Ladino (Judeo-Spanish, Judezmo, and Spaniol, to name a few of the terms used to refer to the Spanish that the first Spanish diasporic Jews took with them to different parts of the world, e.g., Turkey, the Balkans, the Middle East, the New World). In the centuries subsequent to 1492, Ladino came into contact with the many languages spoken in the diverse countries and regions where the Sephardim eventually settled.

The sole requirement for participation in LADINOKOMUNTA is that messages be written and answered in Ladino, a language whose decline and even impending death has been studied by linguists, policymakers and historians alike. In view of this, the reason for this particular cybercommunity's creation and existence was to 1) promote the use of Ladino, 2) to spread the use of a standardized method for spelling Ladino with Roman characters (rather than Rashi or Merubah Hebrew characters), 3) to ask and answer questions and share information regarding the language, culture, history and traditions of Sephardim; and 4) to discuss other subjects of interest and concern. In joining this chat group, it became obvious that although the language in the chat room is Ladino, the enormous value of so much of the information that is being shared was remaining in e-mail messages, and therefore inaccessible to those who do not save the messages, are not members or do not understand Ladino.

The numerous realms of knowledge that the founder, moderators and members discuss in LADINOKOMUNITA pertain to Ladino films, language (maintenance, spelling, vocabulary, standardization, foreign influences), medicine (both professional and folk), music, religious and cultural practices (weekly sermons [Parashas] in Ladino and their interpretation,

mourning and other rituals), cultural and scholarly presentations,
traditions (literary, popular expressions, culinary, personal anecdotes),

history and political culture.

Finally, I will discuss my work to complement the efforts of the founder and moderators of LADINOKOMUNITA by creating an interactive virtual cyberarchive, The Archive of Sustainable Memory: A CyberTown Museum, which is devoted to sustaining the cultural community that the women of LADINOKOMUNITA are working so hard to create, preserve,

Natasha Zaretsky (Princeton University)

Women in Between: Argentine/Jewish Social Change in the Aftermath of Violence

On July 18, 1994, a terrorist bomb exploded at the AMIA building (Argentine Jewish Mutual Aid Society) in Buenos Aires, killing eighty-five people, wounding hundreds, and destroying Argentina's main center for Jewish life and history. Fundamentally, this bombing generated a crisis of belonging for Jews in Argentina, resonating with past experiences of violence and forcing many to reconsider the safety of Jewish activities and the meanings of citizenship. In the aftermath of destruction, Jewish life significantly changed -- heightened security measures were implemented at all Jewish spaces, and new social movements formed to demand justice from the state and fight for the memory of the victims (*Memoria Activa* , *Familiares y Amigos de las Víctimas* , and, recently, *Apemia*). After the bombing, some Jewish practices like Yiddish also experienced a revival, including a Yiddish chorus, the

Coro Guebartig , which formed as a cultural response to the bombing.

This paper will examine the prominent role women play in these emerging Jewish

secular practices, especially considering their power as diasporic and flexible subjects, who turn to both Argentine and Jewish forms in addressing the crisis of meaning generated by the 1994 bombing.

Argentine Jewish women play a significant role in both the Yiddish chorus and the social movements. In the chorus, they sing Yiddish songs of resistance and look towards their European Jewish pasts and personal memories as sources of inspiration for moving forward. The social movements, on the other hand, employ traditionally Argentine modes of social protest, like appropriating symbolic public spaces, and are composed of family members and friends of the victims of the bombing. The majority of the chorus members are women, and many of the leaders of the social movements are also women -- wives, sisters, and mothers of the victims. Based on ethnographic reflection on the *Coro Guebartig* and the social movements, this paper will consider how Jewish women in Argentina come to engage Jewish and Argentine cultural resources (Yiddish songs from Europe, and Argentine forms of social protest) in their struggle to address the destruction of the bombing. Their practices invite us to expand our notion of social change and resistance, and consider the transformation of traditional genres for new uses. I will analyze the chorus performances and social movements as key sites for exploring: the articulation of personal and collective memories; the mobilization of those memories for social change through performance; and, the negotiation of their place in the nation and within the Jewish community. This paper will be based on ethnographic research and life history interviews with the chorus and the Argentine Jewish social movements, and forms part of my dissertation research in cultural anthropology, focusing on memory, violence, and the

Session Number: 9.6

**Session Jews and the City: Urban Society and Culture in Europe
and America, 1900-1939**

Session

Different cities and their respective Jewish communities have long been the subject of historical studies of modern Jewish society and culture. However, despite the attention and effort that has been invested in reconstructing and representing the urban Jewish community from New York to St. Petersburg, much of what made the experience of living in a large urban metropolis new for Jews (and non-Jews) in Europe and America remains to be told. This panel seeks to make a small, yet significant, contribution to these efforts by highlighting different aspects of Jewish society and culture that often evade the attention of researchers and students alike.

By focusing on immigration and settlement patterns, the personal side of migration to big cities, and less formal modes of social interaction and organization, we hope to shed new light on various aspects of Jewish history and culture that remain under-researched and under-represented in the academic literature. In the process, we hope to raise difficult questions about the relationship between urbanization, cities and various concepts of community in the first half of the twentieth century.

Chair, Howard N. Lupovitch (Colby College)

Scott Ury (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
Young Jews, Big Cities: Loneliness and Friendship in Fin-de-Siècle East Central Europe

Over the second half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, cities across eastern and central Europe such as Lodz, Warsaw and Odessa grew at phenomenal rates. While part of this growth of different cities and their respective Jewish populations was due to improved health-care, sanitary conditions, and other modernizing projects, recent research has shown that much of the urban growth among Jews was due to a large influx of internal migrants from neighboring cities and small towns.

Throughout this paper, I will use a wide range of letters, archival sources and other materials to look at some of the more personal aspects of the twin processes of internal migration and rapid urbanization among Jews in fin-de-siècle east central Europe. More specifically, I will concentrate on the following questions: Who were these Jewish migrants who were drawn to various cities across east central Europe? What were their initial impressions of life in the big city? And, how did they attempt to comprehend and mitigate the social, economic and personal challenges that they often encountered in their new environments?

The city has long been used as a prototype for modern society and for many of its more infamous ills including: alienation, the collapse of traditional forms of community, and different forms of moral and social decay. The first part of this paper will closely examine first-hand accounts of the loneliness, alienation and depression that often accompanied the early stages of arrival in and accommodation to the urban arena. What aspects of urban life and society affected these migrants most? Was there anything specifically Jewish about their particular encounters with the city? Or, did their experiences mirror those of others (non-Jews) who made similar passages from semi-traditional environments to more modern ones?

For many of these migrants, the move to the city and subsequent confrontations with new worlds were sometimes eased by their participation in informal circles of friends and peers. What importance can we lend to these new friendship circles? More specifically, what drew different people together in the urban arena? Did these groups cross the geographic, cultural and gender boundaries that the new arrivals often brought with them from their hometowns? Or did they actually reinforce already existing divisions within Jewish society? Additionally, to what extent can these circles be viewed as new forms of social affiliation, organization and belonging? Did they have longstanding social or political impact? Or, were they simply stopgap measures on the ever-painful path from tradition to modernity?

While urbanization and city life offered new residents a plethora of social, economic and personal opportunities, life in the city also demanded much of

the Jewish urban resident. By examining the individual experiences of young Jewish in-migrants in the urban arena, this paper will highlight some of the

Ela Bauer (University of Haifa)

From the Salons to the Courts: The Developments of Jewish Literary Assemblies in Warsaw Since the Last Decades of 19th Century Until The Interwar Period

Literary salons were common phenomenon among Jews and non-Jews in Warsaw at the second half of the 19th century. These salons had played an important role in the development of modern Jewish and Polish thoughts. However throughout the 1880's the nature of the Jewish salons in Warsaw had changed. The old literary salons had aristocrat nature, while the new salons that sprung up in the mid 1880s, were associated with the new political streams that developed in Jewish society around that time. Some of the new Jewish salons in Warsaw connected with the integrationists circles and some of them were connected to Hovevei Zion. By the late 1880s there were two prominent Jewish salons that continued to meet every week until the beginning of the 20th century. The first one met at the home of Y. L. Peretz each Thursday night. Among the regular participants were Yiddish writers Jacob Dineson, Hersh Nomborg and Sholem Asch and Hebrew writers like Chaim Nahman Bialik, Joseph Klausner, Y.D Berkowitz and Zalman Shneur. The second salon was the one that met in Nahum Sokolow's home. This salon soon became known as poniedziaBek (Monday) because it took place on Monday nights. Participants noted that the atmosphere there was more formal than the atmosphere in Peretz's salon. Sokolow's salon was a place in which assimilationists and nationalists, Hebraists and Yiddishists could gather together in Warsaw in the last decades of the 19th century. In these meetings the different representatives of many of the different Jewish groups debated solutions to the nation's problems under the leadership of Sokolow himself. These assemblies came to an end in the beginning of the 20th century when the Russian authority suspected that these meeting covered different activities, revolutionary in its nature.

The Jewish literary assemblies renewed their activity after the First World War.

However their nature had changed. These gatherings developed under new conditions, their aims were different. These new literary assemblies of 1920's and 1930's were led by other intellectual leaders. One of the leading intellectual that in it's houses, around this time, gathered together different literary circles (Hebrew and Yiddish) was Hill Zeitlin an orthodox Jew, a journalist and an important Jewish intellectual that many young orthodox admired. The gathering of his house was a unique arena that integrate Hassidic court atmosphere with an intellectual salon environment

The paper is seeking to understand the contribution of different literary salons to modern Jewish urban cultural of Warsaw by comparing the early intellectual salons that gathered in the late 19th century in Perez and Sokolow houses with the literary court that was developed in the house of Hill Zeitlin in inter wars period. Since this focusing can increase our understanding regarding the transformation process of the intellectual and cultural life of Warsaw Jewry from the end of the 19th century until inter wars periods.

Tobias Brinkmann (University of Southampton)

West of the Ghetto: Jewish Migrants from Eastern Europe in Berlin and Chicago after the First World War

The paper will focus on the Jewish communities in Berlin and Chicago during the 1920s. Both communities were affected, albeit differently, by the new postwar order which interrupted the strong migration of Jews to North America.

In Chicago Russian Jews outnumbered the established German Jews who had arrived earlier already by the early 1890s. In fact, as a result of strong Jewish in-migration, the Chicago community emerged soon after the turn of the century as one of the largest urban Jewish communities in the world. Many immigrants settled in a neighborhood on Chicago's near West Side, the so called Ghetto. Berlin had become the leading center of German Jewish life since the middle of the 19th century, yet the Jewish community was hardly affected by the migration of Eastern European Jews. Stringent anti-immigration policies prevented most Jewish (and non-Jewish) migrants from East Central Europe from settling in Germany before the First World War although huge numbers crossed in sealed trains from the Eastern border (through Berlin) en route to the ports on the North Sea.

The First World War led to a significant sea change. Political and economic turmoil, often accompanied by massive violence against Jews, triggered a large Jewish (and non-Jewish) migration wave to the West after 1918. However, the US effectively closed its door to migrants from East Central and Southern Europe in 1921 and 1924, thus Jewish immigration from Europe to Chicago was reduced to a trickle. Berlin, on the other hand, became a major hub and a waiting room for many Jewish (and non-Jewish) migrants from Eastern Europe.

The paper will focus on the topography of Jewish life in both cities. Jewish immigrant life in Berlin was characterized by the international transit experience between East and West with hundreds of migrants arriving and departing daily between 1918 and 1925. Nevertheless, Jewish immigrant life in both cities was focused on local East-West movement as well. Moving West from the downtown Ghetto neighborhood played an important role and was connected to social mobility and assimilation. Jews in the Chicago "Ghetto" famously referred to Lawndale, a slightly upscale neighborhood further west where the immigrants increasingly moved during the 1920s as "Deutschland". In Berlin, likewise, moving up meant moving west: from the shabby Scheunenviertel Ghetto and other parts of working class Eastern Berlin to the bourgeois Western districts, where the majority of the established German Jews lived. Moreover, depending on different perspectives, the Jewish East-West passage had also a temporal dimension. In the paper the connections between social and spatial mobility and the wider social context

Session Number: 9.7

**Session Recent Research on Women and the Holocaust:
Concentration Camps and DP Camps**

Session

Chair/Discussion: Dr. Phyllis Lassner

Participants:

Jaye Houston (PhD Candidate, Claremont Graduate University)
Wendy Maier (Adjunct Professor, Oakton Community College)
Laurie Whitcomb (PhD Candidate, Washington State University)

The proposed topic for our panel is women and the Holocaust. Recent scholarly publications such as D. Ofer and L. Weitzman's *Women in the Holocaust*, C. Rittner and J. Roth's *Different Voices*, E. Baer and M. Goldenberg's *Experience and Expressions*, and N. Tec's *Resilience and Courage: Women, Men, and the Holocaust* illustrate not only that considerable research is currently being done in this once controversial field, but that women's issues now command more general acceptance within the academy. As such, our panel seeks to add to the existing body of knowledge about this rapidly expanding field by focusing on a broad spectrum of issues from women as perpetrators, to women as leaders in the DP camps, and women prisoners' status and symbolic interaction in the concentration camps. Our work builds upon the foundation set by Ofer et al and seeks to probe deeper into social constructions of women in the concentration camps, as perpetrators and victims, and in the displaced person camps. Our research reflects the continuing development of the field by building on this earlier work and complicating some of the more essentialist arguments about women and their relationships. With representatives from the fields of History and Sociology, we propose to explore a broad range of topics reflective of the broadening scope of the field itself.

The first paper, *Jewish Women, Social Status, Geography, and Social Interactions*, by Jaye Houston, explores the status and symbolic interaction of women in concentration camps. Examining the connections of women's pre-war education, age, economics and geographic location, Houston looks at how pre-war socialization may have influenced who bonded with whom, how that may have influenced survival, and their subsequent memories after the Holocaust. Moving beyond the explanation women bonded through innate nurturing instincts, she utilizes sociological tools to posit a more complex explanation.

The second paper, *Aufseherinnen Und Andere Frauen*, by Wendy Maier, tackles the problematic area of German women who supported the Nazi party either through marriage or employment in the concentration camps in roles such as doctors, overseers or block commanders. Using court documents, testimonies, and transcripts, Maier seeks to create a biographical portrait of these women in an effort to further incorporate gender into analysis of Holocaust perpetrators.

The final paper, Re-construction of Jewish Female Gender Identities in the Belsen Displaced Person Camp, 1945-1950, by Laurie Whitcomb, seeks to

add to the emerging body of DP literature by exploring a case study of gender identity changes in the Belsen DP camp. Building on the works of scholars such as J. Reilly, H. Lavsky, A. Grossman, and J. Tydor Baumel, this paper specifically focuses on ways in which Jewish women DPs reconstructed their identity and assumed leadership roles within their new communities.

Chair, Gabriella Moscati-Steindler (Istituto Universitario Orientale)

Jaye A. Houston (Claremont Graduate University)

**Jewish Women, Social Status, Social Interactions, and Geography:
Before, During, and After the Holocaust**

Jewish Women, Social Status, Social Interactions and Geography:
Before, During and After the Holocaust

Jaye A. Houston, PhD Candidate, Claremont Graduate University

Social interaction is a life process that sustains prior forms of everyday life while emerging life dynamics appear. This on going development of social interactions took place in the lives of women even during the Holocaust. In this paper, I will argue that women's social status and geographical location heavily influenced who female prisoners bonded with in the camps. Given that humans act and react in everyday experiences based on their perceptions, I claim that frequently Jewish women actively choose those they connected with in the camps. Their decisions concerning survival were often based on their social status and geographical locations prior to entering the camps. The specificity of this approach goes beyond the claim that nurturing was a primary element of how women bonded and survived in extreme conditions. This perspective expands ideas forwarded by Anna Pawelcznska who claimed that gendered distinctions in European cultures were linked with the particularity of biological and social roles between men and women and that gender distinctions also emerged from differences in social customs and from a division of labor. Pawelcznska claims that all traces of these distinctions disappeared in the camps. I propose that survival was not totally dependent upon physical well-being and that all traces of previous social distinctions and categories did not disappear in the camps. Even in the worst situations social status is reproduced and affects one's odds in the direction of survival. The social status and the role one is cast in society is contextualized by a socio-economic and geographical locations, as a result, social stratification is embedded in individuals' social identity and even in extreme situations it is never fully forgotten. Drawing on the work of Wolfgang Sofsky, these ideas will be linked with classes and classifications in the camps as outlined by the Kommandos. My overall perspective is that social status and geography greatly contributed to women's chances of survival.

Laurie Whitcomb-Norden (Washington State University)
Un-feminine Behaviour? Re-construction of Jewish Female Gender Identities in the Belsen Displaced Person Camp, 1945-1950

Un-feminine Behaviour? Re-construction of Jewish Female Gender Identities in the Belsen Displaced Person Camp, 1945-1950.

Laurie A. Whitcomb, PhD Candidate, Washington State University

After a visit to the Displaced Person Camps in Europe in 1947, Dr. Chaim Hoffman, Director of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, wrote a letter advocating the need for a wide programme of educating [Jewish DP] women to their responsibilities as housewives, mothers, and active members of society. Hoffman's letter further requested special training courses for the DP women to require general culture and knowledge. Indeed, a special group of ten Jewish women were requested to aid in the work among the camps' women and girls. Why the need to re-educate Jewish DP women in their gender specific roles as housewives and mothers? Were these women behaving in a manner inconsistent with pre-war gender ideology? Were they, due to their experience in the Holocaust, re-constructing their gender identities, and if so, how? Why? Furthermore, what leadership roles did these women play in the DP communities and were these related to pre-war socialization and organizational experience or necessitated by new constructs?

This paper seeks to add to an emerging aspect of Holocaust historiography that of DP women. Initial works by A. Grossman and J. Tydor Baumel have significantly begun to explore women DPs and their gendered responses to the camps. Both Grossman and Baumel have led the way in investigating the post-war marriage and birth booms among survivors and begun to question how women were reconstructing their shattered lives. Baumel's pioneering work on women DPs as mothers and pioneers, for example, focuses on women in the American Zone, where the largest numbers of survivors were located; while noting individual exceptions, she found little female leadership among the She'erit Hapletah as the majority of women were struggling with the double burden of physical and mental recovery as well as establishing new families.

My research on the Belsen DP camp, in the British Zone, however focuses on the leadership of Dr. Hadassah Rosensaft and how her participation in the Central Committee may have signified/exemplified changes within Jewish women's gender identities. Thus, my work complements and complicates Baumel's existent work on Jewish women in the American Zone by looking for possible differences within the British Zone, specifically in Belsen, which was according to Rosensaft, a center of Jewish life, political action and culture and a symbol of rehabilitation, both physical and spiritual, of Jewish survivors.

As part of my on-going dissertation research into questions of Jewish women leadership and changing gender identities in the DP Camps, this presentation will be based on research I will be conducting this Fall in Washington D.C. at the archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum as a Life

Reborn Fellow. I will be utilizing primarily memoirs, camp newspapers, DP camp

Rochelle G. Saidel (Universidade de São Paulo)

Jewish Mothers and Daughters in Ravensbruck Concentration Camp

This paper is based on interviews with Jewish mothers and daughters (as well as daughters' testimonies about their mothers) regarding their experiences in Ravensbruck Concentration Camp.

Session Number: 9.8

Session* **Rabbinic Views of Worlds Beginning and Ending*

Session

Chair, Charlotte Fonrobert (Stanford University)

Amram Tropper (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai, Jeremiah, and the Sack of Jerusalem

The story of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai's escape from a besieged Jerusalem captivated the imagination of rabbinic Jews in late antiquity and continues to intrigue readers of rabbinic literature in the present. The numerous ancient versions of the story attest to its popularity in early rabbinic times and the number of critical analyses of the story testify to its importance in contemporary Jewish studies. In this paper, I hope to shed new light on this familiar story by comparing it to a well-known literary precedent whose themes it echoes.

The various texts which narrate Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai's escape from Jerusalem differ on many points yet all share a common skeletal structure. Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai seeks to escape from Jerusalem since he feels the city's destruction is imminent. Gatekeepers stop him at the city gates but a ruse enables him to outwit them and successfully flee the city. He eventually meets the Roman general Vespasian whom he predicts will become emperor and he is rewarded for this prediction, or, according to Avot de-Rabbi Nathan A chapter 4, for his anti-war activities. Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai's response differs in the various versions of the story but most describe his request for the city of Yavneh. In this manner, the story explains how, in the wake of the destruction of Jerusalem, the rabbinic movement emerged in Yavneh.

It is striking, in my opinion, that the original narrators and audiences of this story were intimately familiar with another similar story, the story of Jeremiah. Like Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai, Jeremiah foresaw the destruction of Jerusalem while living in the besieged city. He also sought to flee the city but was detained by sentries at the city gates. After the war, the enemy leader wished to reward Jeremiah for his anti-war activities and commanded the captain of the guard to do as Jeremiah said. Jeremiah chose to join Gedaliah and the remnants of Judah in Mizpah and like Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai, he relocated to the city where he imagined that Jewish leadership would thrive after the destruction of the Temple.

The uncanny resemblance between these and other elements shared by the two stories begs a comparison. When Josephus described his efforts to dissuade the Jews from their fight against Rome, he portrayed himself as a latter day Jeremiah (War 5.391-393). The comparison to Jeremiah would have come just as naturally to members of the rabbinic community who were thoroughly familiar with Jeremiah's story and tended to compare the destruction of the second temple to that of the first. Thus, the goal of this paper is to show how a comparison between the story of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai's flight from Jerusalem and Jeremiah's biography may reveal dimensions of the story otherwise left unseen. Perhaps the contrast between

Susan Marks (New College of Florida)

Weddings at the End of Days

The Mishnah and Tosefta of tractate Sotah present the most vivid descriptions of the elements of wedding processions. These include the crown of the groom, the crown of the bride, the "huppah" of the groom and the litter of the bride. Each scholarly interpretation stresses a different vision of how the rabbis shaped weddings. But none have acknowledged the eschatological claims framing these passages. Alternately, those studying asceticism in these texts in light of the immanent end of the world do not consider weddings.

The focus on weddings in tSotah is remarkable. For example tSotah explains: "And what are the sorts of bridegroom's crowns [against which they decreed]? Those made of salt or brimstone. But those made of roses and myrtles they permitted." Such details have called forth explanations of exactly how one might have employed this technology and why. But because of this focus, no discussion of weddings has noted that tSotah presents the "diminishment" in weddings as part of a systemic diminishment: "Since the day that the Temple was destroyed there has been no day without its curse." Then following the exploration of crowns and litters, tSotah makes clear that this trajectory does not appear reversible: "With the footprints of the Messiah presumption shall increase and death reach its height." Moreover, this rabbinic eschatological speculation includes a voice advocating extreme measures: "since they are ordering us not to study Torah, let us make a decree against the world that it be left desolate -- that no one should marry and produce children . . . until the seed of Abraham cease." In this paper I will argue that since questions about marriage and procreation in these "last days" frame the discussion of wedding processions, reasons for describing specific wedding materials may involve a retrospective glance at a world that is ending and should not be read as prescribing present or future practice. Given that these passages treat the end of days and weddings together, it is time to draw on insights from the study of eschatology in order to explore the possibility that ascetic rabbis abandoned interest in marriage and the rites or practices surrounding marriages. The resulting glimpse of tannaim holding themselves aloof from weddings may prove critical for coming to understand the emergence of rabbinic wedding practices in late antiquity, even if it means relinquishing claims to continuity between the vivid material artifacts glimpsed in tannaitic texts and rabbinic weddings of much later eras.

Gwynn Kessler (University of Florida)

Got Soul?: Rabbinic Conceptions of the Fetus (and Gender)

GOT SOUL?: Rabbinic Conceptions of the Fetus and Gender

This paper examines rabbinic traditions on the fetus, specifically focusing on midrashic texts about ensoulment and conception. Palestinian and Babylonian midrashic traditions are unified in their assertion that the fetus has a soul, although there is some (limited) debate as to precisely when ensoulment occurs. After contextualizing the relevant traditions among prevalent theories of fetal ensoulment in Greco-Roman _medical_ literature, I move on to examine rabbinic traditions about conception. Whereas rabbinic traditions about ensoulment are relatively unified, it will be shown that rabbinic traditions about the conception of the fetus are more divided. Here too, I contextualize rabbinic traditions among literary traditions of the Greco-Roman world.

Contemporary scholars of antiquity, in their studies of ancient theories about conception, often refer to either a "one-seed" or "two-seed" _theory of generation/conception. Rabbinic scholars have tended to suggest that the rabbis embraced the "two-seed" _theory of conception--where both the mother and father (actively) contribute to conception. In actuality, however, a more thorough examination of rabbinic traditions on this topic provides evidence of both "one-seed" _and_ "two-seed" theories of conception. Furthermore, at stake in these opposing theories of conception are ancient constructions of gender. Are women cast as active participants or passive vessels in the process of generation? Are men the primary vehicles of agency, relegating only materiality to women? Are men the sole contributors of the soul?

From these questions, one may begin to see how rabbinic traditions on ensoulment, conception, and gender become almost inextricably bound together; theories about conception lead to theories of ensoulment, and both theories are inextricably bound to competing articulations of gender in antiquity. Ultimately, however, ensoulment and conception are even more strongly linked in rabbinic traditions by the active--necessary--participation of none other than God. In other words, rabbinic traditions on both ensoulment and conception-- <I> in apparent contrast to Greco-Roman medical traditions </I> --emphasize the active participation of God. And if, as I've suggested, theories of ensoulment and conception are linked to constructions of gender in antiquity, what might the binding of God to such actions further suggest about rabbinic constructions of gender?

Although this paper specifically deals with the connections between ensoulment, conception, gender, and theology in rabbinic traditions, larger issues touched upon in this discussion are the relationship between rabbinic and Greco-Roman traditions, the relationship between halakhah and aggadah, and ultimately, the reading of these rabbinic traditions in the contemporary politically pregnant context of the legal debate about abortion.

Session Number: 9.9

Session **Biblical "Self-Fashioning"**

Session

Chair, Esther Fuchs (University of Arizona)

Gerda Elata-Alster (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)
Radical Evil and the Ethics of Procedural Justice: The Trial of Sodom and the Post-World War II Nazi Trials

The trials of Nazi criminals have often been brandished as essentially politically inspired public performances with foregone conclusions. In this paper, I will endorse this view, but give it a different twist, by arguing the ethical - necessity of such staging. Basing myself on the 'Trial of Sodom' in Genesis, I will defend the position that the very fact of their being staged legal procedures of - evident - radical evil marks these trials as exemplary displays of the ethical ground of procedural justice itself.

My criteria for positing 'radical evil' as applicable to both the Nazis and Sodom I have taken from (o.a) Kant (gratuitous murder), Derrida ("desire to kill off&the trace of the other") and Levinas (murder, alternative to speech to the other). The Nazi genocide of the European Jews qualifies for these criteria.

The Sodom narrative in the Book of Genesis is unusual, both stylistically and substantially. Its extension, rhetorical diversity, detailed reporting and apparent repetitiousness mark it as exceptional in the context of Torah narrative.

As I will show in my paper, the rhetoric in this case can be read as substantiating a reading of the narrative as presenting the - staged (the facts and the judgment are foreknown by God) - enactment of a legal court procedure in which God founds divine justice on human ethical judgment. God appoints Abraham and the reader as defense attorney and eyewitness, respectively - in addition to God's being an eyewitness Himself - to be - human - guarantors of divine justice. These appointments (and the election of Abraham and his offspring) are, in turn, shown as motivated by the task of teaching justice to the nations of the world, a justice therefore - in Kant's sense - transcendental.

In this world, divine justice can only appear as human justice. It is what is played out in front of our eyes in the narrative of Sodom. It is 'played out', because in this world, it is not divine omniscience, but human conviction - achieved by human witnessing - that is to be the ethical ground of justice.

Sodom's sin was not against God in any ritual or narrowly religious sense. But God overturned it, because it consisted in the world-destroying denial of the existence of the 'one unlike us.'

As in the trial of Sodom, the Nazi trials are not needed to establish the truth of the alleged facts. It is in this sense, but in this sense only, that they may be called 'staged'. Because what is staged there, is jurisprudence itself as the ethical justification of judgment. The crimes of the Nazis as of the Sodomites fit the category of 'radical evil' as defined above. In being 'staged' - both their trials display the ethical necessity of jurisprudence even (and precisely) in the case of the - otherwise evidenced - radical evil of murderous hate of other

Adriane Leveen (Stanford University)

Making Distinctions: Constructions of Self and Other in Biblical

<Making Distinctions: Constructions of Self and Other in Biblical Narrative>

In this paper I will examine the use of the other within biblical discourse. Several recent essays (Silberstein, 1994; Hendel, 2002; Bloch-Smith, 2003) are in agreement that Israel emerges as a self-defined, bounded entity in part

through the narrative construction of self versus other. Cited encounters predominantly stress the negative aspects of outsiders - -uncircumcised Philistines, idolaters of all sorts, ravenously sexual kings- - that allow Israel to claim moral or religious superiority. The other is subdued and silenced. Such stories serve as markers of cultural boundaries, creating "an us over against a them." (1) However, in several relationships the encounter with the outsider forms a necessary, even crucial component in allowing Israel to become a stable and unified people. As argued by Ron Hendel, there are other biblical traditions that "pointedly confused and problematized these simple moral boundaries, providing a legacy of cultural self-critique within Judaism." (2) _ I will look at three figures on the margins of the Israelite community in the Torah- - Avimelech, Jethro and Balaam. Each (re)emerges at a moment of crisis to play a key role in ensuring future political arrangements and order while challenging some aspect of the leadership provided by those they challenge. The first two contribute to the political education of Abraham and Moses, while the third sees what Israel cannot. Yet

Hendel reminds us, "Cultural identities are constructed in one part, only to be deconstructed in another." (3) I will juxtapose such overwhelmingly positive treatments of the other with two decidedly hostile episodes: the stoning of the blasphemer, son of an Israelite mother and Egyptian father in Leviticus 24 and the slaying of Zimri and Kozbi by Pinchas in Numbers 25. What kinds of conclusions might be drawn by paying attention to such radically different portraits of the other?

Constructing the self and the other is "a political and linguistic project, a matter of rhetoric and judgment." (4) _ In consequence I will pay close attention to how the text makes its meaning, elucidating choice of language, modes of characterization, use of dialogue and the spatial positioning of the outsider who either lives in a foreign setting- -Gerar_ - - or comes from somewhere else to observe the Israelite camp. In conclusion, I will map the degree to which the other_ functions as source of solace and guidance or anxiety and hostility, and to what end.

1 Peter Machinist in "The Other In Jewish Thought and History", ed.

Silberstein, Cohn (New York: New York University Press, 1994) 36.

2 Ronald S. Hendel in "Cultures of the Jews", ed. Biale (New York: Schocken,

2002) 68.

3 Ibid, 69.

Michael Carasik (University of Pennsylvania)
Deuteronomy's Psychological Obsession

The Deuteronomic injunction to "remember" the historical past is well known. One of the unusual features of Deuteronomy that is often overlooked, however, is that it has a general tendency to prescribe not merely activity, but attitude. That is, in addition to actions, the commandments in Deuteronomy cover not just memory but many other thoughts and emotions as well. The Israelites are enjoined to know, to revere, to love, and to rejoice, forbidden to fear, to covet and to take pity, all in just the same way as they are commanded to observe the Sabbath or to pour off the blood from a slaughtered animal. This remarkable phenomenon is found over one hundred times in the book. By contrast, in the rest of the Pentateuch, injunctions to feel or think a certain way are extraordinarily rare. With two trivial exceptions, both the JE and P writings totally lack any psychological commands; they are found only in the Ten Commandments and (more or less) framing the Holiness Code, two sections of the Pentateuch which are sui generis. This paper will examine Deuteronomy's psychological orientation with a view to a deeper understanding both of the Deuteronomic system and of Deuteronomy's place in the history of biblical literature.

Rachel Sharon Havrelock (University of Illinois, Chicago)
The Other Side of the Jordan: The Bible's Proximate Diaspora

This paper compares the twelve-stone memorial built on the west bank of the Jordan following Israel's national crossing (Josh. 4) with the memorial constructed by the two and a half tribes that reside on the east bank (Josh. 22). The influence of place and memory on ancient Israelite identity is analyzed in the two texts from the book of Joshua. In both cases, the Israelite leadership and, by extension, the writers of the texts employ the Jordan River as a metaphor of division that serves the ideology of a homeland. A close look at the texts however brings into focus both the ideology of homeland and the variable and composite nature of the places that Israel calls home.

Memory is thematized in the story of Israel's Jordan crossing (Josh. 1-4) which is peppered with injunctions to remember the teachings of Torah, the actions of Moses and the promise of God. The acts that establish memory on the west side of the Jordan also serve as a means of differentiating the space intended as a home from all of the other places through which Israel passed during its wanderings. Because the Israelites have never before seen their homeland, memorial sites must be established immediately as a means of domesticating the foreign terrain. National memory is built up through stones and stories. By delineating the rootless past from the rooted future, the Jordan serves as a boundary between what should be remembered and what forgotten.

After the tribes of Reuben, Gad and half Manasseh cross the Jordan in an eastward direction in order to reach their land, they repeat the sequence of the other Jordan crossing by building a memorial by the river's edge. This action highlights the degree to which the two and a half east bank tribes problematize the locative identity of Israel by claiming the other side of the river as home. The east bank is a proximate diaspora just on the other side of the river, but it disturbs the principle that in order to be at home, all of Israel must be in the Land. Although the Transjordan functions as a proximate diaspora, it represents both the problems posed and the alternate identities generated by any diaspora. Since normative memory begins west of the Jordan, the land to the east figures as the repository of faulty and subversive memories. The Israelite leadership understands the memorial

built by the east bank tribes as a provocation for civil war. War is ultimately avoided through the negotiations

between the east and west banks tribes that result in recognition of the east bank tribes and the legitimization of the memorial as a site of reference to the homeland.

The negotiations expand the definition of Israel to include communities that live beyond the borders of the Land. As the book of Joshua closes with the inclusion of the proximate diaspora, the complexity of ancient Israel's territorial identity becomes apparent.

Session Number: 9.10

Session **Can You Get There From Here? Boundaries and Thresholds in Sebald**

Session

Chair, Sara R. Horowitz (York University)

Murray Baumgarten (University of California, Santa Cruz)
Not Knowing What I Should Think: W. G. Sebald's "The Emigrants,"
the "Khrbn," "Dummheit," and the Literature of the Future

W.G. Sebald's *The Emigrants* probes the meanings of silence and historical and personal repression amid a human ecology and urban architecture designed to hide from the history of destruction and murder of the recent European past. Thus *The Emigrants* not only provides a rich and varied array of characters, but also focuses on the urban architecture within which his characters function. In the early sections of this enigmatic novel, with its structural interplay between image and text, the narrator encounters the German emigrants who in one way or another escaped the Nazi murder of European Jewry and made their way to a difficult refuge in England. In the post-war years when the main action of the novel takes place they discovered among other things the destructive power of memory that led some of them, German non-Jews, to suicide. This last section of the novel moves deliberately from the narrator's arrival in Manchester to his settling into residence in a seedy hotel that functions as a weekend brothel and then to an encounter with a painter (identified in the German edition as Max Aurach and in the English as Max Ferber) and their subsequent friendship. Ferber's paintings, as well as the process by which he makes them by erasing layers of paint till a partial image emerges, have intrigued the narrator, and become for the reader an emblem of the narrative strategy of this novel. When Ferber presses his mother's diary--"a brown paper package tied with string, containing a number of photographs and almost a hundred pages of handwritten memoirs penned by his mother in the Sternwartstrasse house between 1939 and 1941"--upon him, the narrator is caught by Luisa Ferber's painstaking account of her childhood in the village of Steinach in lower Franconia, and youth in Bad Kissingen, recorded between 1939, when she sent her son Max to refuge in England, and 1941, as the memoir breaks off. With the narrator the reader also comes under the spell, as Ferber puts it, of "one of those evil German fairy tales" which "you have to carry on to the finish, till your heart breaks, with whatever work you have begun--in this case, the remembering, writing and reading" (193). With the narrator, the reader thereby joins in this process of "remembering, writing, and reading," and becomes a participant in the central action of this novel.

Leslie Morris (University of Minnesota)

How Jewish Is It?: W.G. Sebald and the Question of Jewish Writing in Germany Today

This paper will investigate the status of Jewish writing in Germany by considering the difficulty of classification sparked by the American publication of W.G. Sebald's *Austerlitz*, a text that places the vicissitudes of ruin—architectural, narrative, visual, epistemological—at its center. Is *Austerlitz* a Jewish novel? Sebald's writing has played a major role in the past several years in reshaping the contours of the public debates in Germany about Jewishness, Germanness, and cultural and historical memory. I begin with the premise that the figurations of ruin found in Sebald's texts have become a central organizing principle of current German-Jewish discourse, in which the lines between history and narrative, between German and Jew become blurred. Might this non-Jewish writer, whose texts were written in German but who lived the majority of his life in England, perhaps be considered a British post-imperial novelist? What are the consequences of reading Sebald as a British and not a German author? Is it the diasporic quality of his writing, where language and place are no longer linked, that enables the text to be seen as Jewish? What is the relationship between Jewish text and text as ruin that is evoked in *Austerlitz*?

Edward George Bloom (Stanford University)
Geography, Family Resemblances, and Redemption in the Prose and Images of W. G. Sebald

The wandering title character of Sebald's *Austerlitz*, a Kindertransport refugee from Prague, seeks to return, to remember, and, above all, to define himself in relation to a nearly vanished past and to a present which consists of preoccupation with investigations into the history of the appearances and structures of buildings. Sebald's text recommends no cure for the symptoms of exile, but only documents an urgent and slightly unwell need to wander, to investigate, and to apprehensively present images and episodic stories. Sebald's text suggests that to recognize the implications of exile means to embark on uncertain, nightmarish journeys of surveying and interrogating landscapes for their relationships to remembered and to discovered history. Austerlitz is an academic interested only in European architecture and history before 1900, and then only interested in his early childhood (before exile) in Prague in the late 1930s, and then only interested in Terezín, and then only interested in wandering, aimlessly, along the streets of Paris looking, literally, for his father's ghost. The cognitive metaphors of memory--typology, image, narrative, and edifice--constructed in order to protect societies and individuals from the ignorance of trauma (and from lack of self knowledge), instead serve as arguably idolatrous prisons. These prisons of memory, constructed by algorithms of investigative memory which eventually arrive at no satisfactory conclusions, not only exclude and isolate Austerlitz from meaningful interpersonal contact, but also distract him from finding his "proper place_" (Austerlitz's words) in the Jewish community, a community that as a child in Wales he somehow intuitively is where he belongs. *Austerlitz* locates the possibility for self-identity and for a connection with the past, in various modes of geographical vision, in the collection of images, and in the interrogation of memory (including the sites of memory) itself. These modes not only betray or block Austerlitz's vision; they ultimately foreclose possibilities for an active present relationship with history, save for the vague apprehension of ghosts, and for the experience of time as a threshold between the present and a nearly inaccessible past.

Session Number: 9.11

Session Traditional Jewish Practices in Twentieth Century Hebrew Writings by Women

Session

Jewish women have long been restricted access to the scholarly, legal, and communal centers of traditional Jewish society. This practice has been based on minority rabbinic opinions from the Mishnah and the Talmud that view women not only as superfluous to Jewish communal observance, but as dangerous to the transmission of Jewish knowledge. This panel is designed to look at the ways in which Hebrew women writers, since the turn of the twentieth century, have addressed traditional Jewish practices. In some cases they dismantle the traditions from which they were excluded, in other cases they revise them, and in yet others (contrary to readers' expectations), they champion aspects of Judaism that appear to be exclusionary.

Chair, Zafira Lidovsky Cohen (Stern College)

Sheila Jelen (University of Maryland)

Graven Images in the Shtetl: Dvora Baron on Photographs, Gender, and Hebrew Realism

Graven Images in the Shtetl: Dvora Baron on Photographs, Gender and Hebrew Realism focuses on Baron's treatment of the impulse toward mimesis in the literature and criticism of the Hebrew Revival. Hebrew Revival writers were pressed to represent *dvarim ke-hevyatam*, or "things as they are." This was first evident in a critical and fictional rhetoric emphasizing the necessity for Hebrew literature to represent contemporary reality instead of being set in a utopian future or an epic past, as was the case in much Hebrew Enlightenment literature. Later this took on the form of psychological realism in a modernist vein. Throughout her corpus, Baron alludes to photography, to mirrors, and to historical memory as media for mimetic representation and apprehension. She demonstrates consciousness of the mimetic imperatives imposed upon her generation even as she redefines those imperatives. In her novellae "The Exiles" [ha-Golim] and "The Thorny Path" [Derekh Kotsim] Dvora Baron presents women as the objects of their own gaze—in photographs and in mirrors. This paper will explore the critical shift that took place in Hebrew literature when women, primarily via Dvora Baron's fiction, became not just the object of the male gaze, but gazing (and writing) subjects. More importantly, why did Dvora Baron feel compelled to appoint women as the object of their own gaze? The impact of traditional Jewish views on women's bodies, women's subjectivity, and graven and visual images in general will be presented in this exploration of the mimetic economy in early twentieth century Hebrew literature.

**Wendy Ilene Zierler (Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of
By The Light of the Moon and the Chanukah Candles: Traditional
Jewish Practice and Jewish Women's Enlightenment in the Writings of
Sarah Foner and Hava Shapiro**

In her now classic study of British women novelists, *A Literature of Their Own*, Elaine Showalter makes a plea for the study of neglected minor women novelists in histories of women's writing. This paper, which includes a discussion of two so-called "minor" writers (Sarah Feige Meinkin Foner and Hava Shapiro) alongside a more canonical one (Devorah Baron), follows Showalter's lead and brings to feminist Hebrew literary studies the same conviction about the importance of "the minor" in constructing a literary history to the study of Hebrew women writers. Specifically, it looks at the ways in which these three writers tell the story of their own education and enlightenment against the (countervailing) backdrop of traditional Jewish practice and traditional gendered notions of Jewish education for girls.

I begin with discussion of an essay by Sarah Feige Meinkin Foner, the first Hebrew women novelist (she published her novel *Ahavat Yesharim* in 1882), and how it is that she came to learn Hebrew; significantly, this educational process is inaugurated at the very moment, when her father returns from morning services at the synagogue and she (the daughter) takes his tallit and tefillin out of his hands. The paper continues with a discussion of two pieces of Hava Shapiro, a *haskalah* woman writer, who published Hebrew short stories as well as some of the first feminist Hebrew literary criticism. "Kiddush Levana," the first piece discussed in the paper, was published in Shapiro's 1909 collection of sketches (*Kovetz Tziyyurim*) and depicts a young girl's personal and religious aspirations in relation to an experience in which her brothers excluded from joining in the recitation of the Kiddush Levanah. A later essay by Shapiro called "Yemei Hanukah" (Chanukah days, 1924), will be read as a postscript to "Kiddush Levanah." In this essay, Shapiro looks back nostalgically at her childhood experiences of Chanukah as representative of a traditional lifestyle she left behind so long ago. What is so intriguing about this essay is the way in which Shapiro juxtaposes these insights against her memories of her educated mother reading Hebrew books.

The plethora of light-related imagery in the essay highlights the importance of this sketch as a reflection on the consequences of enlightenment. The section on Deborah Baron's fiction, looks at two stories, an early piece called *Kadishah*, which tells of a young girl's intellectual prowess of her desire to say "Kadish" for her grandfather. The light and dark imagery in this story "highlights" the enlightenment theme of the piece. Lastly, I'll be looking at a later story called *Ketanot*, which casts the story of women's enlightenment and shared (intellectual) community against a countervailing cycle of traditional Jewish holiday observances.

Barbara Landress (New York University)

In the Presence of a Female God: Sexuality and Spirituality in Lilach Galil El-ami's *Seeing the Voices*

In the Presence of a Female God: Sexuality and Spirituality in Lilach Galil El-ami's *Seeing the Voices*

Beginning in the 1980's, orthodoxy and traditional Jewish practice have emerged as important subjects in Israeli women's fiction. Marginalization of the traditional past in the interest of constructing an Israeli secular society has given way in the past twenty years to attempts to reckon with traditional Jewish values and lifestyles. Under the influence of the women's movement, gender unambiguously arises as a site of conflict with traditional religion. This may explain in part the high profile of women writers in producing contemporary literature addressing the conflict between traditional practices and modern ideologies: for writers representing orthodoxy, construction of the New Jewish woman is far from just one more outdated quest. Out of this negotiation between sacred and secular, a complex discourse emerges that engages contemporary feminist and Jewish feminist theory as Israeli women writers display feminist consciousness to critique orthodoxy and also to transform it by revising gender roles and by constructing complex identities that refuse narrow definition of religious and cultural affiliation.

Lilach Galil El-ami's first novel, *Ro'et ha-kolot* [Seeing the Voices](1999), is a daring contribution to this important literary trend. El-ami follows a protagonist who liberates herself from traditional Jewish mores, but also creates new paths to Jewish spirituality that challenge traditional approaches to female sexuality. Judith Plaskow, a Jewish feminist theologian, sees exploration and reevaluation of female embodiment as a central task for Jewish feminists. Plaskow notes that in biblical and rabbinic texts God is primarily a gendered *he*, free of the sexuality that characterizes humans. To control and moderate sexual behavior is to become closer to divinity. Divinity is associated with the control and channeling of sexual urges within traditional bounds. Strict regulation of women's clothing and sexuality is deemed essential to such control. This set of attitudes, Plaskow argues, has underpinned arguments against innovations ranging from use of female God imagery to ordination of female rabbis: *The association of women with sexuality, and female sexuality with God, connects God to an ethic of sexual intemperance, potentially wreaking havoc with an ethic of control.* El-ami's narrative is innovative not only because it explores lesbian sexuality which does not have a high profile in Israeli public discourse, but also because it challenges a theological dichotomy between body and spirit that positions women as spiritually inferior. In *Ro'et ha-kolot* El-ami develops a connection between eroticism and spirituality and creates a scene of divine revelation that works a revolutionary reversal of traditional Jewish images of divinity.

Session Number: 9.12

Session Language as an Artifact of Cultural Negotiation

Session

Chair, Sarah Bunin Benor (Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion)

George Jochowitz (College of Staten Island)

The Importance of Judeo-Provençal for the Study of Jewish

The Importance of Judeo-Provençal for the Study of Jewish Languages

History: Jews lived in southern France in the first century C.E., if not earlier. Works in Judeo-Provençal appear in the 13th century. Among them is the women's prayerbook with the blessing *Blessed art Thou . . . Who made me a woman.* The language existed until its last speaker, Armand Lunel, died in 1977.

Phonology: In Judeo-Provençal, <|> sin </|>, <|> thaw </|>, and <|> samekh </|> were all pronounced [f]. Presumably, there was an earlier stage when all were pronounced as a <|> th </|>-sound (voiceless interdental fricative). A voiceless interdental fricative is acoustically similar to an [f] voiceless labiodental fricative. This left a hole in the pattern, which was filled when <|> shin </|> became [s]. Then a new <|> sh </|>-sound (voiceless hushing sibilant) entered the language when <|> yod </|> became <|> sh</|>. The merger of three consonants (realized as [s] in Ashkenazic Hebrew) as [f] indicates that a voiceless interdental fricative existed, perhaps for centuries, in southern France.

Independent evidence. There are poems and comic works by non-Jews in which the Jewish characters speak Judeo-Provençal, indicating that the language was well known to the local people and providing information about how it sounded to non-natives.

Influence: The letters <|> yod </|> and <|> lamed </|> are pronounced [yus] and [lames] in some western Yiddish dialects, suggesting an influence from Jews who left southern France in the late 15th and early 16th centuries

Thus, the historical continuity, the evidence for a voiceless interdental fricative sound, the recognition of the language by non-speakers, and the influence it had on another Jewish language all indicate that the study of Judeo-Provençal is an important area of research for scholars of Jewish languages.

Yael Reshef (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
The Emergence of Standard Modern Hebrew: The Case of the
Asyndetic Relative Clause

This paper examines the development of the asyndetic relative clause in Modern Hebrew (see e.g. Glinert 1989; Berman 1997). This construction lacks a relative subordinator; instead, it is connected to the main clause by a declined preposition containing a resumptive pronoun referring to the head noun, e.g.

ha-baxur	ito	dibarnu
the-boy	with-him	we-spoke

This syntactic construction is not recorded in Hebrew in previous linguistic layers. In the contemporary linguistic system it is typical to the written and formal registers. Its emergence is customarily explained as a calque on the English zero relative, and is attributed to the direct influence of English on Hebrew during the British Mandate (see e.g. Bendavid 1965).

Following a structural comparison between the Hebrew and the English constructions on the one hand, and an analysis of textual data from the early layer of Modern Hebrew on the other hand, I argue that the contact with English had not been the sole factor behind the emergence of the construction. Rather than the trigger for the process, the influence of English had been the culmination of change processes that started to affect the structure of the Hebrew relative clause long before the contact between the languages was first created. The textual data makes it possible to trace the stages in the emergence of the construction, and provides an explanation for the structural differences between Hebrew and English, which remain unexplained according to the current understanding of the underlying factors for the process.

I demonstrate that the new syntactic construction emerged in a graded process. This process involved initially a change in the internal organization of the Hebrew relative clause. Only at a later stage the relative subordinator *under* was omitted under the influence of English. The first stage in the process was triggered by multiple factors. Conspicuous among them are the influence of Yiddish, the information structure of the relative clause, and developments in the Revival period poetry. The combined effect of these factors accounts for the naturalization of the structural change in the Hebrew relative clause into the linguistic system.

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Aliza Sacknovitz (Georgetown University)
Choice of Prior Texts within Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Online Sermons

Researchers, such as Fairclough (1992) and Stephens (1992), have explored the strategic use of intertextuality (Bakhtin 1986; Kristeva (Moi 1986)) as a means of positioning (van Langenhove and Harre 1999) oneself and others and as a means of constructing social groups. However, few have explored intertextuality's use for the purpose of positioning and identity construction within Judaism, particularly within the genre of the sermon. Such analysis is important since use of intertextuality is one way in which preachers, through their choice of and explanation of prior texts, construct an appropriate message based on the ideology they espouse. Since different texts have different levels of authority (Neusner 2000; de Lange 2000), preachers' choice of prior text becomes an important factor for constructing sermons, with such choices providing evidence for how preachers use intertextuality to position themselves and their audience relative to denominational ideology. In this paper, I integrate concepts from sociolinguistics and Jewish studies to provide an understanding of intertextuality's function within the sermon. Specifically, I analyze preachers' choices of prior texts within online sermons from the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform movements of Judaism for evidence of intertextuality's use as a strategic tool of positioning.

The data consists of twenty-five online sermons dealing with Genesis. The Orthodox sermons were downloaded from the Orthodox Union; the Conservative sermons were downloaded from the Jewish Theological Seminary; and the Reform sermons were downloaded from the Union for Reform Judaism, formerly the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. These websites were selected because they represent the major institutions of each denomination. Textual analysis was conducted and corpora were developed for conducting a supplemental quantitative analysis.

Findings suggest that Orthodox preachers choose to use predominately Hebrew terms and traditional sources, for example preferring the term Torah to Bible and citing only one non-traditional source. Reform preachers, on the other hand, choose to use more secular terms and texts, for example using the term Torah less frequently and citing non-traditional sources such as the author Thomas Cahill. Conservative preachers seem to fall somewhere in the middle, for example preferring the term Torah yet referencing such sources as Maccabeas, a book of Apocrypha. Analysis thus suggests that the choice of prior text provides evidence of the use of intertextuality as a strategic means of positioning. Thus, Orthodox preachers seem to position themselves and their audience as espousing a more traditional stance while Reform preachers seem to position themselves and their audience as more modern in stance. Conservative preachers, however, seem to position themselves and their audience as walking a fine line between Orthodoxy and Reform's views on these issues. I suggest that one motivation for the preachers' choices

regarding prior text as well as one possible effect on the listeners/readers
includes the ability for the preacher to position his/her listeners/readers as

either insiders or outsiders in relation to his/her denomination.

This study contributes to the theoretical framework of intertextuality within

Session Number: 9.13

Session **Connectivities in Rosenzweig: Logic, Ethnicity, Liturgy**

Session

Chair, Zachary J. Braiterman (Syracuse University)

Hartwig Wiedebach (Universität Potsdam)

Rosenzweig's Star of Redemption: A Connectionist Network

Hartwig Wiedebach

Rosenzweig's *Star of Redemption* : A Connectionist Network

In his essay on "The New Thinking" (*Das Neue Denken*), Rosenzweig describes the *Star of Redemption* as a "system of philosophy." But what kind of a system is it? I suggest that the structure of *The Star* can be made more intelligible using the tools provided by "connectionism," especially the "subsymbolic connectionism" developed by Paul Smolensky and others in relation to problems of AI and neural systems. Obviously, my task is not to introduce Rosenzweig into quarrels about data processing or brain physiology.

Rather, I use the formalism of connectionist thought in order to describe Rosenzweig's logic. To be sure, this innovative juxtaposition will stretch the scope of connectionism which, although an extremely fruitful endeavor in its current fields of application, has remained within the limits of naturalistic or technical categories.

Connectionism deals with "parallel distributed processing" (PDP). Rosenzweig's *Star* can be made quite intelligible as a network of PDP. In this analysis, separate dynamic "elements" (God World Man; Book I) serve as three generative processors that bring forth a triangle of interactive connections: Creation Revelation Redemption (Book II). Each of the connections emerges from the basic semiotic structure of two interacting elements ($A=A$, $B=A$, $B=B$). The "meaningfulness" of creation, revelation, and redemption, however, cannot be deduced through logical inference or through general rules deriving from the structure of the elements, but rather emerge from a complete pattern of all connecting events (*Verbindungs-Geschehnisse*). This kind of pattern recognition is characteristic for the connectionist approach.

Furthermore, the construction of Books I and II of *The Star* remains indifferent to its own truth in the sense of its pragmatic relevance to the lives of actual people. Book III, on the other hand, introduces no new structural elements to the network established by Books I and II. Instead, it describes the process of installing the network itself. Liturgy--in its two possible orientations (towards the end or to the beginning of "world time" [*Weltzeit*])--provides the experience of the factuality (*Tatsächlichkeit*) of the basic elements and of their interactive connections. Rosenzweig's reasoning is not just a reasoning of "mathematical" semiotics (Book I) or of grammar (Book II) but a connection between these whose functionality emerges from the pragmatics of liturgical gestures. The prostration of the community on Yom Kippur, for example, is one of the founding events, establishing God as the point of

Steven D. Kepnes (Colgate University)

Liturgical Transformations in the Thought of Cohen and Rosenzweig

An investigation into what could be called "liturgical reasoning." An analysis of the ways in which liturgy initiates forms of personal, ethical, communal, and spiritual transformations. Issues of ways in which liturgy transforms culture and is transformed by culture. Inquiry into the relationship between the transformation of culture and the transformation of the world. Central figures: Hermann Cohen and Franz Rosenzweig.

Session Number: 9.14

Session Writing Home from Three Places: Georg Hermann (Germany), Grigorii Kanovich (Lithuania), and Orly Castel-

Session

"Home" is a difficult notion to define since it varies according to the subjective perception of each individual and is not confined to location alone. In the Jewish context, the additional problem of self and outside definition arises as the non-Jewish world often threatens the Jewish sense of belonging. Furthermore, the conflict between Diaspora and Homeland arises, the Homeland often being regarded as an idealized, mythical place. Even within the Diaspora, however, certain golden periods are often nostalgically remembered with the same longing usually reserved for the ancient homeland.

Yet one's place in the world is tightly connected to one's identity, and the factors on the outside determine it as much as those on the inside. Oftentimes the only escape from this conflict is the creation of an immaterial place, a spiritual home, from which one cannot be expelled. Many Jews thus found "home" in a political movement, a language, and often in literature. The three writers discussed in this session offer different viewpoints on these issues according to their own experience.

Georg Hermann and Grigorii Kanovich write from the Diaspora experience, Hermann focusing on Jewish life in Germany before and during the Weimar Republic, and Kanovich depicting memories of the Jewish past in Lithuania from the mid-19th century to the years after World War II. The third paper changes the perspective from Jews as a minority group in the Diaspora to Israel. The contemporary Hebrew writer Orly Castel-Bloom approaches the notion of home from within Israel, thus presenting a different framework of issues. The common ground of these three authors is their attempt to address the question of identity in terms of place. Furthermore, the fashioning of identity has a cyclical nature: literature participates in shaping collective memory, which in turn animates the literary imagination. All three papers discuss this aspect of the formation of identity.

In Hermann's case the conflicts of his time (WWI, Weimar Republic) force him to grapple with his identity as a German Jew. The paper on Hermann explores his foresights concerning the situation of Jews in Germany in contrast to the tightly-woven German-Jewish world he creates in his novels. The paper on Kanovich focuses on the concept of the Eastern European Jewish past as an object of literary myth-making and the continuity of imagery from Yiddish writers to contemporary Jewish authors. Further, it analyzes how Kanovich shapes the territory of shtetlach and big cities as a literary construct, which is in turn used to create the foundation for the broader psychological study of their inhabitants. Examining Castel-Bloom's representation of Tel Aviv as home (or constant exile) in three of her novels is the focus of the third paper. While the use of Hebrew marks Castel-Bloom's territorial/national connection to Israel, her linguistic style signals a resistance to the standard notion of home

propagated by the national narrative. Being non-European and a woman influences her representation of home as well. Together these three papers

provide a comparative context that reveals similar thoughts about home,
Bloom (Israel)
despite the spacial and temporal differences of the texts and their authors.

Chair, Sylvia Barack Fishman (Brandeis University)

Anna Petrov Ronell (Wellesley College)

Homeland and the Diaspora in the Latest Works of Grigorii Kanovich

My presentation will discuss two latest works by the Russian-Jewish writer Grigorii Kanovich - *Faces in the Dark* and *The Park of the Jews*.

It will have three main foci: 1) Memories of the Jewish past in Lithuania and the notion of collective memory; 2) The Eastern European Jewish past as an object of literary myth making and the continuity of imagery from Yiddish writers to contemporary Jewish authors; 3) Development of a post-Holocaust genre and the aspects of national consciousness in contemporary Russian-Jewish fiction. Grigorii Kanovich, a member of the mass Russian aliyah of the 1990s, currently lives in Israel and continues to write in Russian. His entire life oeuvre is dedicated exclusively to Jewish subjects among which the exploration of the Litvak shtetlach and the capital city of Vilna occupies the most prominent position. His shtetl novels span from the mid 19th century to the years after World War II. In his latest works, Kanovich portrays the Lithuanian Jewish culture of his childhood and the last of the Litvak Jews in Vilna during the four decades from the end of WWII to the 1980s. Kanovich shapes the territory of shtetlach and big cities as a literary construct, which is in turn used to create the foundation for the broader psychological study of their inhabitants.

Kanovich's characters live in contemporary Lithuania trying to rebuild their sense of "home" as well as to find a way to get in touch with the world of their past. Much of

the familiar landscape remains, but now it is without the Jews. The writer himself, and consequently his characters, is trying to write the Jews back into the landscape where they have been an organic presence for hundreds of years. The theme of Lithuanian Jewish culture is inseparable from Kanovich's discussion of the notions of homeland and the Diaspora since his characters feel a deep sense of belonging and rootedness in Lithuania all the while being cognizant of their position as outsiders and of their ancient homeland, the Land of Israel. In this context, Eastern Europe competes with Israel for the status of the Homeland. This discussion illuminates not only his fictional treatments of Eastern Europe, but also the place these treatments occupy in the broader framework of Jewish literary imagination. While tracing the permutations of the portrayals of Eastern Europe as a Jewish homeland in contemporary Russian-Jewish fiction, my presentation will address the specific legacy of Lithuanian Jewish diaspora in the works of Grigorii Kanovich. In my reading of Kanovich's latest works, I undertake a study of various literary properties, complex imageries, and cultural contexts. Special attention is paid to the issues of intertextuality, linguistic experimentation, and the incorporation

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A Home in Literature, a Home in Germany? Georg Hermann between German and Jewish Identity

In his essay *Weltabschied* (*Farewell from the World*) (1935), the German-Jewish writer Georg Hermann (born as Georg Borchardt) writes that he *never had the slightest relation to a mere German literature because he was tuned in to a modern times-literature beyond the national, and because a national limited mentality was unapproachable for him as a Jew*— even though his novels were something like Berliner *Heimatkunst* and cover a century's history of the Berlin Jews. This attempt by Hermann to set himself apart from a *mere German literature* and focus on Jewish cosmopolitanism instead of German nationalism marks the author's struggle with the notion of home, and is even more pronounced in his essay *Der doppelte Spiegel* (*The double Mirror*) (1926). With the rise of nationalism and anti-Semitism in the Weimar Republic, this conflict of feeling both at home in the German language and literature as a German, yet not being fully accepted as an integrated part of this world as a Jew, was one that all German-Jewish writers were forced to face.

Hermann, born in 1871 in Berlin, found his home in literature by portraying the life of German Jews and documenting their influence on German culture. Memorializing fleeting life through language is his major agenda, and his five-volume work *Die Kette* (*The Chain*) is both a literary as well as historically important description of Jewish life in Germany between 1899 and 1923, yet in his political commentaries and essays Hermann goes beyond mere description and proves himself a clear analytical mind with almost prophetic qualities. As a best-selling author before WWI and one of the founders of the prestigious German writers' club *Schutzverband Deutscher Schriftsteller*, Hermann was one of the major literary figures of his time who has not received the attention he deserves, probably due to his seemingly *bourgeois* political opinions being marginalized in the turbulent times of the Weimar Republic and the discomfort German literary critics after WWII felt in dealing with a Jewish writer.

This paper will analyze Hermann's view of the Jews' place in Germany as depicted in his early novels in comparison to his later essays. Taking place during the years of the *Vormärz* (pre-Revolutionary period, pre-March) and rich in detailed flavors of that time, many of Hermann's novels seem to foreshadow the catastrophe that is to come, and even clearer are his insights into the German psyche concerning the Jews in his political commentaries. Hermann's oeuvre provides at least threefold layers of understanding Germany as home: memory of times past, Jewish contributions to German culture, especially cosmopolitanism, and his own astute analysis of both the

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Orly Castel-Bloom's Tel Aviv

Orly Castel-Bloom has garnered attention around the world for her provocative, critical representations of Israel. Many of her novels and stories take place in or around Tel Aviv, where Castel-Bloom herself lives. Her novel *Where Am I* (1990) depicts the city's periphery, a liminal borderland with its own codes and a clear hierarchy. *Dolly City* (1992) abandons the traces of mimetic representation of Tel Aviv in favor of a caricatured place that contains within its borders not only Tel Aviv but also every other city in the world. *Human Parts* (2002) portrays an Israel based on what could be called reality, but destroys this category by distorting its proportions. The Tel Aviv of *Human Parts* is unfeeling and even brutal, driving its inhabitants to struggle for the most basic elements of life.

While Castel-Bloom depicts other places besides Tel Aviv in these novels, this city's centrality in her works is worth noting. Particularly for a writer like Castel-Bloom, who hails from a French-speaking Egyptian family that immigrated to Israel, the notion of home is complex. In this paper, I compare her representation of Tel Aviv as home in the three novels mentioned above. Attuned to the cultural, ethnic, and social differences that characterize Israeli society today, Castel-Bloom resists the homogenizing tendency of much of the literary generation that preceded her, the State Generation. Consequently, her notion of home is far more nuanced and brutally honest than that of many Israeli writers. Tel Aviv functions as a prism through which she examines the home (or constant exile) of its Jewish inhabitants.

My paper considers several questions in terms of Castel-Bloom's Tel Aviv. What ideological implications does this city have for Jews with different histories, both personal and political? How does it purport to bring together, under its cosmopolitan umbrella, such a variety of people? How does it function as a home, if at all, to the Israelis that Castel-Bloom portrays, who are dazed, passive, unreflective, apathetic? And what role do other cities and places — Jerusalem, for example — play in relation to this place?

I address these questions by comparing the representations of Tel Aviv in each of the three novels to determine how they conceptualize home and exile. Castel-Bloom's recognition of Tel Aviv as an Israeli city that is home to many types of Jews defies the idea of a homogeneous Israeli culture and insists on a different type of inclusiveness. However, her characters' struggles in Tel Aviv confirm the notion of that city as a modern, generic cosmopolitan center, a place that is alienating and unsentimental. In this respect, Tel Aviv is at once home and exile, Israel and the Diaspora, the Middle East and the European West. In contrast to the unreachable, mythical, static core of the Jewish homeland that is Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, in its ever-shifting vitality, seems an attainable and appropriate home for the Jew. It is Castel-Bloom's multifaceted representation of this city, which swallows every label applied to it, that I examine in terms of home.