

# **AJSreview**

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**ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH STUDIES  
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Yigael Yadin has observed that Josephus in his *Antiquities* (AJ) and the author of the Temple Scroll (TS) of Qumran both present laws of the Torah classified by subjects. Yadin argues that his purported Essene upbringing may have influenced Josephus in this work. Leaving aside the unresolved questions about Josephus's sectarian affiliation, this paper examines separately, then compares, the editorial techniques and purposes of TS and AJ as they present Torah law.

Josephus's apologetic motives are visible throughout AJ Books 3 and 4. He carefully separates mostly cultic and particularistic regulations from those more civil-secular in nature and gives far more weight to the latter collection. He organizes intermediate groups of laws to emphasize apologetic themes, and he omits from and adds to biblical law so as to mute problematic ideas and heighten useful ones.

TS sets forth two parallel "maps," first of the land, then of the nation. In each case, the core (Temple, systems of authority) is described first, then the reader is led outward to related, but less central concerns. This structure, this homiletical rhetoric, and the principles of selection and exegesis of Torah materials all emphasize the particularity and holiness of Israel.

The purpose and program of TS could not be more different from those of AJ, even though both were fashioned by writers in self-imposed exile from Jerusalem and the nation of Israel. But TS promulgates a polemical geography and anthropology of holiness, spatial referents of their convictions that God dwells amidst Israel; for them, Scripture guaranteed that the eternal cult and state of Israel would outlive the temporary disarray of their day. Josephus, on the other hand, could not envisage, much less advocate, the restoration of cult and state. For him, God's laws have temporal, not spatial, implications; thus he fashioned a moralistic, apologetic narrative of the career of Israel, a nation whose unique destiny is conditional upon its obedience to universal laws.

## The Monarchic Imperative in Rabbinic Perspective

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While rabbinic consideration of the question whether Israel was commanded to crown a king focuses on biblical materials, the essential problematic is not exegetical in the narrow sense of the term. Rather, ideological considerations are evident and the debate itself is historically suggestive. Opposition to a monarchy is fueled by the conviction that the institution substitutes human rule for the kingship of God, and this biblical position retains its vitality through the ages. Proponents of the monarchy mount a revisionist exegesis of 1 Samuel and even defuse the divine antagonism expressed there. A cluster of three imperatives—anointing a king, constructing the sanctuary, and destroying Amalek—is insisted upon, and it is assumed that these must be accomplished in a given sequence; here too ideological considerations play a role. This entire problematic, moreover, ought to be read against the historical backdrop provided by the Bar Kochba revolt, an event paralleled by the crystallization among the students of R. Akiba of the monarchic imperative and correlated with the related imperatives to build a sanctuary and destroy Amalek (Rome). It is more difficult, however, to provide a definitive historical interpretation of the debates surrounding the question of sequence, which may be seen as confirmation of the revolt's course or as a critique of Jewish leadership leading to theodicy, as a counsel of activism or as the advice of quietists. Other contemporary midrashim urge David's wars as sanctioning his building of the Temple (!) and blame Israel for not devoting itself to this goal—these texts, too, reflect the problematic of the Bar Kochba experience as evaluated by tannaim in the mid-second century. These discussions ought to be read, finally, against the backdrop of the general belief in the significance of the Davidic monarchy and its role in a future messianic redemption. It may then become necessary to correlate the debate on the monarchic imperative with the question of the different modalities of eschatological possibility and the human role in history.

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SHAYE J. D. COHEN . . . . . 41

At the end of book 11 of the *Jewish Antiquities* Josephus narrates two stories about Alexander the Great and the Jews. In the first Alexander meets Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, and allows him to build a temple in Samaria. In the second Alexander meets Jaddus, the high priest of Jerusalem, honors him, and bestows benefactions upon the Jews. Before these stories were juxtaposed by Josephus they were independent of each other; even after being juxtaposed they are easily separable. Hence we cannot attribute an anti-Samaritan bias to the Alexander-Jaddus story since the Samaritans and the Samaritan temple do not figure in that story at all. Each story must be studied on its own terms.

The Alexander-Jaddus story is composed of two substories which, in all likelihood, once existed independently: adventus and epiphany. In the adventus story Alexander arrives at Jerusalem and is received magnificently by the Jerusalemites. The city accords Alexander the standard “red-carpet” treatment which all Greco-

Roman cities accorded distinguished visitors. In the epiphany story Alexander plans to attack Jerusalem but during the night before the intended assault is scared by a dream sent by God. Jaddus too receives a dream that night, a dream of encouragement. The next day Alexander calls off his attack, does homage to Jaddus, and acknowledges the power of the God of Israel. Greco-Roman texts provide many parallels to both the adventus and epiphany stories.

The adventus story celebrates the Jews' surrender to Alexander, while the epiphany story celebrates Alexander's surrender to the God of the Jews. Hence it is likely that the former story originated during a period when the Jews accepted Macedonian rule, i.e., the Ptolemaic or early Seleucid occupation of Palestine, while the latter originated during the Maccabean age when the Jews regarded the Macedonians as hostile and boasted of the salvific power of God. The two stories were already combined by the time they reached Josephus who, in turn, introduced changes of his own. The major purpose of these changes was to give divine sanction to Alexander's rule over the Jews—and thereby divine sanction to Alexander's successors, the Romans.

**The Checkered Career of "Jew" King: A Study in Anglo-Jewish Social History**

**TODD M. ENDELMAN . . . . . 69**

A comprehensive picture of the entry of the Jews into European society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries must encompass the experiences of Jews from all social strata and not just those of that small group of notables who managed the affairs of the organized Jewish community. This account of the career of John King (born Jacob Rey and known popularly as "Jew" King), who was not part of the communal elite but was one of the most well-known Jews in London between 1780 and 1820, suggests the diversity of ways in which Jews sought to integrate themselves into non-Jewish spheres of activity. At the same time it highlights the importance of private efforts to achieve acceptance and respectability—as opposed to public campaigns to reform Jewish worship, education, manners, and so forth. King was a notorious moneylender, an ambitious upstart, and a radical critic of the established political order. He abandoned traditional Jewish practices early in life but could not successfully cast off his Jewish origins, as his epithet—"Jew" King—testifies. Late in life he returned to the Sephardi community and took up the defense of Judaism in the face of Christian missionary attacks.

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objective and neutral stance. The narrated monologue consisting of the figural attitude and the narrator's voice is the most pervasive ironic vehicle in this context. In the first person narrative, on the other hand, it is the person-subjective stance which makes the irony difficult to discover. Here, the protagonist-narrator is both the raconteur and the victim of irony. Despite the structural differences between the neutral-objective and the personal-subjective narrative modes, they both demonstrate with equal effectiveness the ironic difference between the auctorial and figural points of view. The major means by which the reader perceives the ironization of the protagonist, despite the subtlety and opaqueness of the Agnonic text, are the paraleptic and paraliptic techniques which signal the incongruity between the modeled reality and the protagonist's inappropriate response to it.

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**LLOYD P. GARTNER . . . . . 129**

A small yet significant segment of the massive Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe to the West between 1881 and 1914 was an active traffic in girls who were recruited to serve as prostitutes in Latin America, South Africa, Turkey, and even the Far East. The present paper first examines the conditions of East European Jewry which loosened social and religious controls and created a large new proletariat of young urban workers who lived without their parents. Some of the women among them, as well as daughters of large, impoverished, traditional families in remote towns, accepted false offers of marriage and good jobs which were made by young men who sought to take the girls abroad and there sell them as prostitutes. The present study follows the routes taken by these traffickers and their victims, and then examines the fate of Jewish prostitutes in London and the activities of the Jewish men who were involved in the traffic. The Anglo-Jewish community forcefully combated the traffic in prostitution through the Jewish Ladies' Association, which became the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women in 1896. This organization was led by the Jewish elite, and it cooperated with non-Jewish bodies in the field. The JAPG&W combatted the traffic by protecting unaccompanied girl immigrants, prosecuting traffickers, and rescuing the rehabilitating prostitutes. It also took the lead in international Jewish efforts, including organizing and subsidizing the antitraffic campaign in Argentina, and convening a major conference on the problem in 1910. There had been efforts to stamp out the recruitment of girls in Eastern Europe by means of information and education, but the extent of their success is uncertain. The proceedings of an antiprostitution conference held in Lemberg in 1903 illustrate the problems of effective work in that region.

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**BENNY KRAUT . . . . . 179**

Motivated by common sociopolitical, intellectual, and religious concerns, American Unitarian ministers and Reform rabbis in the last third of the nineteenth century



established various lines of social and religious communication. They joined forces to fight for the complete separation of church and state and to promote religious liberty, and, with increasing frequency, exchanged pulpits from which they proclaimed the early advent of a universal religion of humanity which would unite all mankind under the banner of the Fatherhood of God. It is not surprising that some individuals saw the religious barriers separating Unitarians and Reform Jews falling by the wayside. And yet, despite shared goals, common political causes, and an essentially identical eschatological vision, there were clear limits to the religious and theological rapprochement between liberal Jews and Christians.

This article focuses on the changing attitudes of Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise to Unitarianism and liberal Christianity over a fifty year period and, by using him as a paradigm for other Jewish liberal religious leaders of his day, reveals both the scope and limitations of the Reform-Unitarian religious interchange. Through Wise as model, one sees the remarkable fidelity of religious liberals to their respective historical religious traditions, their affirmations of religious universalism notwithstanding. This analysis also underscores the deep Reform ambivalence to Unitarianism and, in the process, suggests a conception of Wise as religious triumphalist which sheds new light on Wise as religious leader and on some of his activities and religious beliefs.

**The Story as a Hermeneutic Device**

**OFRA MEIR . . . . . 231**

The nine versions of the story about the daughter of Nakdimon are discussed in order to explain two phenomena: (a) the story as a hermeneutic device, i.e., the very act of presenting the verse as part of the story imparts to it a new meaning, which is different not only from the *peshat* (plain meaning), but also from the other exegeses of the sages concerning this same verse, and (b) the modification in this new meaning that results because of the diversities in the different versions of the story.

The first part of the article is devoted to a presentation of the commentary on the Song of Songs 1:8 in accordance with the plain and homiletic meanings. In the second part the nine versions are divided into three groups according to the degree of similarity. Sections 3, 4 and 5 deal with each of these groupings. These last three sections attempt to provide an explanation for the interdependence between the different versions on the one hand and the literary compilations on the other.

The article tries to show that the Song of Songs verse (1:8) takes on different meaning in light of the variations, and that, simultaneously, the meanings of the verse determined the nature of the versions. By incorporating a verse into a story, the sages could derive additional meaning from it, different from the meaning given in other rabbinic sources and entirely dependent on the framework of the story.

**The Russian Pogroms in Hebrew Literature and the Subversion on the Martyrological Ideal**

**ALAN MINTZ . . . . . 263**

The widespread response in Hebrew letters to the pogroms of 1881–82 and 1903–5 in Russia was as reversion to high biblical pathos and to the medieval martyrological

ideal. Major works of Abramowitsch, Tchernichowsky, and Bialik interrogate and undermine this conventional norm. In a group of stories Abramowitsch parodies the hyperbolic pogrom literature, while sentimentalizing the victims. In "Baruch of Mainz" Tchernichowsky uses the dramatic monologue to put into question the idealization of the martyr of one crusader chronicler. Bialik's "In the City of Slaughter" summons and transforms the complete range of classical traditions of lamentation and consolation. An analysis concentrating on the poem's rhetorical arrangement, the central use of metonymy and the theme of the romantic poet-prophet concludes the study.

***Contra Judaeos* in Seventeenth-Century Italy: Two Responses to the *Discorso* of Simone Luzzatto by Melchiore Palontrotti and Giulio Morosini**

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The *Discorso* of Simone Luzzatto (Venice, 1638), apparently written in order to avert an expulsion threatening the Jews of Venice, constitutes one of the more significant and original works of Jewish apologetica. While including many of the standard arguments of that genre, with emphasis on pointing out that the Jews are not hostilely inclined toward non-Jews, it was also innovative in nature, indicating within the appropriate conceptual framework the specific contribution of the Jews to the Venetian economy, primarily in the sphere of international commerce and also, to a lesser extent, in moneylending. These arguments on the commercial utility of the Jews were, as is well known, later to influence Menasseh ben Israel and John Toland profoundly. But Luzzatto also had at least two critics who have been hitherto completely neglected: Melchiore Palontrotti, author of the *Breve risposta a Simone Luzzatto*, and Giulio Morosini, who in his lengthy *Via della fede* devoted a few pages to the *Discorso*. The book of Morosini, a convert from Judaism (unfortunately, no biographical details whatsoever are known about Palontrotti) has further significance in that it contains much information on the life of the Jews of seventeenth-century Italy and the Ottoman Empire; of special interest in the present context is Morosini's lengthy autobiographical introduction, which includes an account of his conversion, in which he assigns a considerable role to Luzzatto. Not completely unexpectedly, Palontrotti and Morosini confine their criticisms to the traditional, religious anti-Jewish plane and ignore Luzzatto's new economic apologetica reflecting the realia of the Venetian commercial situation, which served as a precedent for the later experiences of the Jews in Holland, New Amsterdam, England and Southern France.

**Medieval Jewish Criticism of the Doctrine of Original Sin**

**JOEL E. REMBAUM . . . . . 353**

As medieval Jewish critics of Christianity attained a more sophisticated understanding of Christian sources and doctrines, they came to recognize the central role that the belief in original sin played in Christian ideology. The awareness was paralleled by a broadening of the scope of Jewish criticism of the idea of original sin and by a marked deepening and incisiveness of the Jewish argumentation against the doctrine.

A study of polemical works, spanning the period from 1170 to 1648, demonstrates how Jewish writers, while continuing to rely on biblical interpretation, increasingly adapted Christian scripture, Christian scholastic sources, questions that arose in Christian circles, common sense arguments, and, to some degree, philosophical notions to challenge the doctrine of original sin. Most of these polemicists agreed that Adam's sin generated physical punishments, which were transmitted to his descendants. They used their critique of original sin to refute the Christian conception that a spiritual blemish was passed down to the generations after the first man thus necessitating God's incarnation in the "second Adam."

**In Search of the "Book of Figures": Medicine and Astrology in Montpellier at the Turn of the Fourteenth Century**

**JOSEPH SHATZMILLER . . . . . 383**

In one of his first letters to R. Solomon ibn Adret of Barcelona (*Minhat qena'ot*, no. 5), Abba Mari of Montpellier refers with much hostility to an astrological medal of which some Jewish doctors of his town made use. The talisman, a description of which was to be found in a book called the "Book of Figures" was in the form of a "lion without a tongue" and was supposed to heal the sickness of the right kidney. Jewish doctors, however, were not the only ones to have recourse to such talismans in Montpellier around the year 1300. Scholars of the famous local university such as Arnold of Villanova and Bernard Gordon as well as one of the Blaise brothers did so as well. These Christian scholars were also very much involved in scientific exchange with a group of Jewish colleagues in Montpellier of the circle of Jacob ben Machir, and were involved in translating medical works into Latin and Hebrew. Arnold of Villanova is the author of a treatise of such medical-astrological medals; there is nevertheless little chance that Abba Mari referred to his work when quoting the "Book of Figures." On the other hand, one discovers striking similarities between Bernard Gordon's *Tractatus ad faciendum sigilla et ymagines contra infirmitates diversas* and Abba Mari's description of the talisman in *Minhat qena'ot*. The Jewish doctors of Montpellier around 1300 need not necessarily have made use of a Latin source, for an anonymous (and undated) Hebrew tract called "Šurot shneim 'asar mazzalot" (MS Cambridge 1741) is very close in content to Bernard's *Tractatus* and has at the same time almost all the elements, even linguistic, that Abba Mari presents in *Minhat qena'ot*.

**Sefirot as the Essence of God in the Writings of David Messer Leon**

**HAVA TIROSH-ROTHSCHILD . . . . . 409**

David Messer Leon (ca. 1460–1535) stood at the crossroads of Jewish thought in Renaissance Italy: philosophic rationalism was on the decline, and kabbalah, the mystical tradition, was on the rise. Like many of his contemporaries, Messer Leon did not consider the two systems mutually exclusive; rather he tried to harmonize them. His attempt at harmony is the most evident in his discussion of the *sefirot*.

Part I of the paper describes the historical background against which Messer Leon's work should be evaluated. Part II reviews the interpretations of Messer Leon and his concept of *sefirot* held by Yosef Ben-Shlomo and Efraim Gottlieb, and offers a third: that Messer Leon should be classified as a moderate realist philosopher, who employed a philosophic reductionism to fit kabbalistic doctrines within the framework of his philosophy.

Part III then presents Messer Leon's philosophic model in its treatment of the theories of predication, universals, and divine attributes. Part IV shows Messer Leon's application of this model to the *sefirot* and his equation of the *sefirot* first with ideas in the divine mind, then with divine attributes, and finally with the essence of God itself.

In Part V, an historical overview, the paper concludes that David Messer Leon should be grouped not with those kabbalists who may have shared his specific conclusion on the nature of the *sefirot*, but rather with those philosophers with whom he shared a general method: philosophic reductionism of *kabbalah*.

[HEBREW SECTION]

Abraham Abulafia and the Pope: An Account of an Abortive Mission

אברהם אבולעפיה והאפיפיור — משמעותו וגילגוליו של נסיון שנכשל

MOSHE IDEL . . . . . X

Abraham Abulafia's attempt to meet the pope has preoccupied several scholars who have given various explanations to the aim of this meeting. The present study describes the event which preceded this attempt and interprets it in a new way. According to this explanation, Abulafia was interested in a discussion with the pope on Judaism as it was understood by Abulafia, namely, a religion which focuses upon the completion of the names of God. Abulafia might have been aware of a similar train of thought in Franciscan circles, where meditation on the name of Jesus was coming into vogue.

The misinterpretations of some scholars of Abulafia's mission are discussed, and the history of the false conception, according to which Abulafia met the pope and accepted Christian views in order to save his life, are traced.

## EDITOR'S NOTE

When this journal was founded seven years ago, hopes were expressed as to the nature of the material that would be published. It soon became apparent that the question was not what was to appear but whether indeed the publication would continue to appear at all. *AJSreview* proceeded to follow a pattern classic for periodicals of its kind. As has frequently been noted, scholarly journals often begin with a deceptively large amount of material which then becomes progressively more modest. After two or three years, the publication may enter a critical period in which the very question of its survival is at stake. In my last year as editor, I made every effort to restore *AJSreview* to its initial format in terms of both quality and quantity. Although for technical reasons, the present volume has been published as a double volume, it does actually contain one year's worth of material. It is then a clear fulfillment of my hopes and serves as evidence that the future of this publication is no longer in doubt. Now that this goal has been achieved, it is time for me, as founding editor, to make way for those with a new vision that will lead the journal on new paths. It remains then only to thank those who have been of so much help throughout the years.

Since the time that Dagnija Karklins came to the Department of Near Eastern Studies of the University of Toronto, my task as editor of *AJSreview* and of two volumes of conference proceedings has been lightened in numerous ways. Although it was not at all a formal part of her duties, she willingly and cheerfully assumed many administrative tasks which were of great benefit to me. A number of close friends and associates have brought their special skills to bear on the production of this journal. Susan Cohen, James Diamond, Imogene Friedman, Libby Garshowitz, Adina Liberles and Barry Walfish worked with great dedication, often under pressure and at considerable personal inconvenience. May this statement serve as a modest expression of my appreciation.

To all who served as members of the Editorial Advisory Board and to all the many readers who were called upon to assist over the years, I offer a profound expression of thanks. To the contributors to *AJSreview*, I express my appreciation for their courtesy and cooperation. Many real friendships developed from associations begun or continued in the context of this journal. It is this, if anything, which has made it all worthwhile.