Wordtrade Reviews: Patronage Memory Lost

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Editorial Appraisals:

Some qualified reviewers offer their own brief evaluation of the book. Otherwise most of our content represents the authors'-editors' own words as a preview to their approach to the subject, their style and point-of-view. <>

JACOPO STRADA AND CULTURAL PATRONAGE AT THE IMPERIAL COURT (2 VOLS.) THE ANTIQUE AS INNOVATION by Dirk Jacob Jansen [Series: Rulers & Elites, Brill, 9789004355262]

In **JACOPO STRADA AND CULTURAL PATRONAGE AT THE IMPERIAL COURT: ANTIQUITY AS INNOVATION,** Dirk Jansen provides a survey of the life and career of the antiquary, architect, and courtier Jacopo Strada (Mantua 1515–Vienna 1588). His manifold activities — also as a publisher and as an agent and artistic and scholarly advisor of powerful patrons such as Hans Jakob Fugger, the Duke of Bavaria and the Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II — are examined in detail, and studied within the context of the cosmopolitan learned and courtly environments in which he moved. These volumes offer a substantial reassessment of Strada's importance as an agent of change, transmitting the ideas and artistic language of the Italian Renaissance to the North.

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Preface

The Image—Or from Whom (Not?) to Buy a Second-Hand Car The Portraits of Jacopo and Ottavio Strada

In the summer of 2008 the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam mounted a small exhibit showing Tintoretto's portrait of Ottavio Strada da Rosberg, antiquary to the Emperor Rudolf ii, from its own collection [Fig. 0.2], next to Titian's famous portrait of Jacopo Strada, Ottavio's father and predecessor as antiquary to the Emperors Ferdinand I, Maximilian II and Rudolf II, which had been sent on loan by the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna for the occasion [Fig. 0.1]. An occasion of some moment because it was the first time for at least three hundred and fifty years that these two portraits, which had been painted simultaneously in Venice in 1567–1568, could be seen side by side.

FiGURE 0.1 Tiziano Vecellio, Portrait of Jacopo Strada, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

FiGURE 0.2 Jacopo Tintoretto, Portrait of Ottavio Strada da Rosberg, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Titian's portrait of Jacopo Strada has always been well known, having entered the Imperial collections already by the middle of the seventeenth century, when it is listed in an inventory of the picture collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria, governor of the Southern Netherlands. It is shown in David Teniers' painting showing the Archduke paying a visit to his picture gallery in Brussels [Fig. 0.3 and detail]. Its attraction is attested by the inclusion of a reproduction engraved by Lucas Vorsterman the Younger in Teniers' *Theatrum artis pictoriae*, basically an illustrated inventory of the Archduke's collection printed in Brussels in 1660 [Fig. 0.5], and by a copy in oils from the late seventeenth century, which is attributed to Pietro della Vecchia [Fig. 0.4].

FIGURE 0.3 David Teniers the Younger, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm Visiting his Picture Gallery in Brussels, ca 1651, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. The portrait of Jacopo Strada can be seen top left near the window (detail), next to Titian's portrait of Fabrizio Salvaresi of 1558, which is likewise still preserved in the Kunsthistorisch-es Museum.

The *Jacopo Strada* was probably Titian's very last portrait and is, for its iconography, an exceptional work within his oeuvre: as such it has often been studied and discussed. Tintoretto's portrait of Ottavio Strada, on the other hand, was virtually unknown until it entered the Rijksmuseum in 1956. It had earlier belonged to the Duke of Marlborough, who in turn had acquired it in the second half of the nineteenth century in France, perhaps directly from Robert, Marquis de Strada d'Arosberg, the lineal descendant of both sitters, who had an English wife. In the Marlborough collection the Tintoretto was accessible only to a restricted audience. In the Rijksmuseum, which concentrates primarily on Dutch painting, though more easily accessible, it has perhaps received less attention than it might have in the Louvre or the National Gallery, and certainly much less than it deserves. It is satisfying that this relative neglect has been splendidly redressed by the felicitous cleaning and restoration of the Tintoretto, and by the temporary reunion of the two portraits first in the Rijksmuseum, and then in the exhibition on Venetian Painting of the sixteenth century at the Louvre.

FIGURE 0.4 Attributed to Pietro della Vecchia, after Titian, Portrait of Jacopo Strada; present location unknown.

FIGURE 0.5 Lucas Vorsterman the Younger, engraving after Titian, Portrait of Jacopo Strada, from Theatrum artis pictoriae, Brussels 1660.

Though the present study attempts to show that Jacopo Strada is a sufficiently interesting personality to warrant some attention in his own right, there is little doubt that his chief claim to fame remains the portrait—a fact of which he himself may have been very well aware. Certainly his later reputation has been coloured by the image projected by Titian's masterpiece. A summary of its reception and of the

image of Strada's personality it helped foster is a convenient point of departure for the fuller discussion of his career which is the subject of this book.

Why are These Portraits so Special?

Certainly Titian's and Tintoretto's portraits of the two Stradas merit a discussion in themselves: they are both splendid paintings, the work of two of the greatest painters of the Italian Renaissance. They are painters, moreover, who count among the founders of the portrait genre, and who had a tremendous influence on its later development, especially on Rubens and Van Dyck. But though that makes these paintings valuable and worthwhile as works of art, their unique significance for the history of art derives from a number of aspects that distinguish them from many other Renaissance portraits:

– The first of these is that both paintings have an exceptional place within the oeuvres of their respective painters, especially the Titian.
– At least equally important is the context in which the paintings were commissioned, which is much better known than is usual: whereas so many of the portraits of private citizens of the period are anonymous, here the identity of the sitters is undisputed. In fact we know quite a lot about them, and in particular about their activities at the time the portraits were painted.
– This context is also unusual in itself: except for portraits of married couples, it is quite exceptional to have two portraits painted in conjunction, as was the case here; that they were painted simultaneously by two more or less competing rivals is probably without parallel.

Finally, for both art-historians and art dealers the portraits are of particular interest, because the two sitters are in some way early examples of their own profession. Both Stradas presented themselves formally as 'antiquarius'. In English this can be translated either as 'antiquary'—that is someone studying the material remains of Antiquity, whom we would call an archaeologist or historian—or as 'antiquarian', an expert and dealer in art and antiques. In this study I hope to show that both terms are appropriate for the Stradas.

Motions of the Mind

The portrait of Jacopo Strada certainly occupies an exceptional place within Titian's oeuvre: it is one of the last—probably the very last—portrait he ever painted, and he had really stopped accepting portrait commissions much earlier. Compared with his earlier portraits, its formal qualities are unusual: whereas in general Titian's sitters maintain a quiet, dignified attitude against the habitual neutral or landscape background, here the protagonist is placed in a localized inner space, in a diagonal movement across the plane of the painting, actively inviting the observer to participate. The painting is moreover atypically crowded with attributes. So it is not surprising that the portrait has been often discussed in detail, mostly within the context of Titian's late style.

A principal reason why Titian's portrait of Jacopo Strada has received so much critical attention is that it is often considered as a prime example of Titian's gift of psychological penetration. In his book Portraits of the Renaissance John Pope-Hennessy discusses it as such in a chapter entitled 'The Motions of the Mind', a title he borrowed from one of Leonardo da Vinci's notebooks. He discusses the Strada portrait in prose sufficiently magnificent to be quoted in full:

> To judge from the paintings he produced, Titian was gifted with a godlike view of the potentials of character and mind against which the individual before him was sized up. On only one occasion is his private reaction to a sitter set down in print. The victim was Jacopo Strada, a

dealer in antiques, who was born at Mantua, allied himself with the Fuggers of Augsburg, joined the court of the Emperor Maximilian II, and in 1567 visited Venice in search of antiques for Albert, Duke of Bavaria.

Titian, who had known him for some years, viewed him with unfeigned dislike. A pretentious humbug, he called him, one of the most solemn ignoramuses that you could find. His success, Titian declared, was due to a capacity for flattery, and to the 'tante carotte' he had held out to the Germans, who were too dense to realize his incompetence and his duplicity.

In the painting Strada is shown bending obsequiously across a table, holding a marble statuette which he is displaying deferentially to some patron on the right. The significance of this motif would have been even more apparent than it is today when the picture was still free of the pompous cartouche in the upper right-hand corner which was added at Strada's own request. The fur and sleeve are some of the most splendid passages in any Titian portrait <...> but the features contrast with the splendour of dress; they are petty, and are stamped with guile and a particularly unattractive sort of eagerness. And there is no reason to suppose that the effect was anything but calculated.

'To judge from the paintings he produced, Titian was gifted with a godlike view of the potentials of character and mind against which the individual before him was sized up'. This idea that a good portrait painter is able to fathom the deeper psychology, perhaps even the subconscious of his sitter, I find a highly fascinating, but also a very questionable assumption. I have tried to test this assumption many years ago, when I gave a talk on the Strada portrait to a class of second-year students of art-history at Leiden University. Before I had told them anything at all about the sitter, I asked the students to write down what they thought his character would have been like, just by looking at his portrait. I had given them a hand-out with the following three questions:

- What do you think about the social status of the person depicted in this portrait, and do you have any idea what might be his profession?
- Do you think that it is possible on the basis of this portrait to determine specific traits of character of the sitter, both positive and negative, and if so, which ones? (e.g. was he generous or grasping, smart or stupid, truthful or devious, corrupt or honest, and so on).
- Do you think the portrait provides any indication about the personal relationship between the sitter and the artist?

In the interval of the lecture I totted up the response of the fourteen students, and we discussed its outcome, which was quite interesting. It certainly corresponded but little with Pope-Hennessy's reading of the portrait. As could be expected, all respondents thought the painting portrayed someone of high social status, which is an obvious purpose of this, as it is of the majority of formal portraits. More interesting was the response to the second question: only two respondents did not think it possible to conclude anything about the character of the sitter from a painting such as this. In the light of PopeHennessy's negative judgment, it is more surprising that only one respondent expressed a similar negative view. The other twelve respondents all felt that the painting intended to convey a positive image of the sitter, defining his character in terms such as 'open-minded', 'a dry sense of humour', 'smart', 'strict but just', 'ambitious, dynamic, noble', 'energetic', 'cheerful', 'resolute, knows what he wants', 'observant', 'loves beautiful things', 'self-assured, vain, but not excessively conceited', 'well-educated', 'reads a lot, erudite'.

The response to the last question was rather evenly divided: about one half of the students thought that there was no particularly close relationship between painter and sitter, i.e. they considered Titian's

attitude to be a purely professional one; some of them even found the portrait rather impersonal; while the others did presuppose some sort of personal relationship between painter and model, as close acquaintances or colleagues or as friends, one of them even presupposing that the painter admired his model. Only one respondent thought Titian might not really have liked his 'pretentious, showy' sitter.

Obviously this test was not intended as serious research into the reception of sixteenth-century portraiture, but I do think it shows how easily one s tempted to draw objective conclusions from subjective impressions: a legitimate procedure as long as one is an art-lover appreciating a great work of art—as is the case of Pope-Hennessy's wonderful book—but inadmissible in a context of historical research. My own hypothesis is that, though good portraitists certainly do in fact manage to convey a psychologically convincing image of the character of their sitter, it does not necessarily follow that— however convincing—it is either true or just. In any case the interpretation of that character remains very much in the eye of the beholder.

My own personal—and therefore subjective—impression is that in his Strada portrait Titian was far less interested in the deeper internal 'motions of the mind' of his sitter than he had been when he painted, for instance, *The Man with the Glove*, the *Young Englishman* of the Galleria Palatina, or his two 1548 portraits of Charles v. Certainly I think that Pope-Hennessy's reading was equally subjective: Titian's repugnance of his sitter Pope-Hennessy *thought* he saw reflected in the painting was merely the projection of his own patrician dislike for the upstart tradesman he imagined Strada to be on the basis of the documentary evidence he quotes.

FIGURE 0.6 Titian, *Portrait of Jacopo Strada*, detail of fig 0.1.

His source is the correspondence of Niccolò Stopio, a neo-Latin poet resident in Venice at the time, and—like Strada—engaged in the trade of art and antiques. Excerpts of Stopio's correspondence, which is preserved in the Bavarian State Archives in Munich, had been published already in 1874 by Jacob

Stockbauer in a study of the artistic patronage of Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria, patron of both Strada and Stopio. Four years later it entered the Titian bibliography through the use made of Stopio's correspondence in Crowe and Cavalcaselle's huge monograph on the painter, first printed in Florence 1877–78.5 Stopio's original correspondence was sent on loan to Vienna to be used by Heinrich Zimmermann, who was preparing a biography of Strada which has never appeared. He did, however, write a carefully considered article on the exact dating of the portrait, in which Stopio's letters are likewise quoted extensively. But these letters led neither Crowe and Cavalcaselle nor Zimmermann to negative conclusions similar to those of Pope-Hennessy's. These were closely echoed, on the other hand, by a more recent discussion of the portrait by Augusto Gentili, under the heading 'Comprereste un'auto usato da quest'uomo?' This led a reviewer to characterize Strada more or less as the sixteenth-century equivalent of a mafia boss: 'In Titian's portraits it is not always the fine coat that makes the fine gentleman, and Jacopo Strada's very 'chic' air does not mask his greedy eyes, which certainly do not make one eager 'to buy a used car from the man'; conveniently forgetting that mafiosi of our own time rarely have their likeness taken by the greatest living portrait-painter.

This interpretation of Strada's character, based on an uncritical acceptance of Stopio's letters, does not do justice to Strada, and moreover throws no light on Titian's decision to paint his portrait, and to paint it in this way. In my examination of Strada's career I will have occasion for a close reading of Stopio's reports, placing them within the context in which they were written. This will, I hope, provide a more balanced view of Jacopo Strada's true character and of his relationship with Titian.

What is Known About Strada: Early Notices

When setting out on my research into the man behind the portrait, forty years ago, I soon found out that the Titian portrait is indeed Strada's major claim to fame. His existence apart from it received little attention before the second half of the twentieth century; and if so, it was mostly in the form of brief notices throwing light on a specific aspect of his various activities. Yet, though the portrait was accessible through Vorsterman's engraving, the very earliest references on Strada rarely—if ever—refer to it.8 These entries were written by antiquarian scholars who used Strada's books, or by archivists and librarians who in their collection stumbled upon a manuscript by or a document relating to Strada that happened to interest them.

Numismatics

Strada's numismatic work was his principal contribution to the Republic of Letters, and it is mostly as a numismatist that he is referred to in the learned products of the Republic of Letters of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The earliest mentions are mostly bibliographical references to his printed books included in numismatic treatises, such as Antoine Le Pois' Discours sur les medalles et graveures antiques and a new, much expanded edition of Conrad Gesner's universal bibliography edited by two Zürich scholars, Josias Simler and Johannes Jacobus Frisius.9 Adolf Occo, another and better known numismatist of these years, does not refer to Strada's printed books in his own treatise, but he did comment on Strada's drawings in a letter to his learned colleague Basilius Amerbach the Younger. Occo had admired the richly bound volumes of numismatic drawings that Strada had provided to Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria, and reports the fabulous price of a ducat that Strada was paid for each of these splendid drawings. Though Occo is sceptical about the veracity of many of the drawings, he yet deems it a precious treasure, truly befitting a prince.

Strada had made the huge folio volumes of numismatic drawings commended by Occo for the Emperors Ferdinand i and Maximilian ii—these were preserved in the Imperial library in Vienna—and for Hans Jakob Fugger and Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria: these later ended up as spoils of war in the library of Duke Ernest the Pious of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg at Gotha. In both places they excited the interest of the officials locally responsible, such as the learned statesman Veit Ludwig von Seckendorf. Appointed librarian at Gotha in 1654, when he was hardly twenty years old, he had meanwhile been promoted to Privy Councillor of the Duchy. In a letter to Johann Andreas Bosius of 5 December 1657 he gave a summary description of Strada's volumes, of which the Duke had given him the first three to study, and added some critical notes on their contents. This letter became publicly known only in 1714, when it was transcribed in its entirety in the catalogue entry for the Strada manuscripts in Ernst Salomon Cyprian's Catalogus Codicum manuscriptum Bibliothecae Gothanae, together with a full transcription of Strada's preface annexed to one of the Gotha volumes.

The related volumes of Strada's numismatic drawings preserved in the Imperial Library in Vienna were of easier access than those in Gotha. In his travel diary Charles Patin [Fig. 0.9] relates how he once had been received by Emperor Leopold i [Fig. 0.7], who had allowed him free access to the Imperial Library where, among its inexhaustible treasures, he had particularly admired Jacopo and Ottavio's numismatic drawings: 'I went through the incomparable drawings of I. Strada, which one cannot see without becoming both more inquisitive and more learned'.

Patin's guide was Peter Lambeck, the Imperial librarian [Fig. 0.8], whose interest in the Strada manuscripts may have been stimulated by Patin's enthusiasm. Indirectly this interest was influenced by the Emperor himself: intrigued by the gift of a copy of Patin's new Paris edition of Fulvio Orsini and Antonio Agustín's De familiis Romanis, which was largely based on numismatic evidence, Leopold asked Lambeck to inspect the Imperial coin collection. The result of this was that numismatic material looms large in the huge volumes Lambeck dedicated to the history and holdings of the Imperial Library, his Commentariorum de augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi, the first volume of which was published in 1665.

Chief among the works described were 'two volumes of manuscript in folio of the greatest value <...> exclusively dedicated to the Consular coins, drawn with incredible study and elegance from the originals, and that were presented to Emperor Ferdinand i by the most famous Imperial antiquary, Jacopo Strada from Mantua'. Lambeck not merely praised the detailed drawings contained in these volumes, but repeatedly referred to them in his learned arguments and also included several large engravings directly derived from them. The first of these is a consular coin and its reverse attributed to C. Petilius [Fig. 0.10]: in his comment on this coin Lambeck gives a brief survey of all of Strada's numismatic manuscripts among the Vienna holdings. Elsewhere he illustrates a coin attributed to P. Papirius Carbonus and a coin of Livia with engravings derived from Strada's drawings, and uses other ones to discuss the place of the cult of Vesta in Roman Antiquity.

Most interesting is his use of Strada's drawing of a Hadrianic coin dedicated to Antinous [Fig. 0.11] and of Strada's description of it, which he transcribed in extenso, in an attempt to interpret the most important antique find in the Austrian Erblande ever, the famous bronze ephebe that in 1502 was excavated at the Helenenberg near Klagenfurt (now confusingly known as the 'Jüngling vom Magdalensberg') [Fig. 0.12].

Lambeck, who was in a position to work with Strada's original drawings, liked them so much that he did not really question their reliability as archaeological documentation, and though Patin was more cautious, he likewise took Strada's labours seriously. Though Strada's volumes would remain objects of interest to Grand Tourists, such as James Boswell, their attraction for professional scholars soon was to fade.

FIGURE 0.7 Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705), engraving by Jan Brouwer after Wallerant Vaillant.

FIGURE 0.8 Peter Lambeck (1628–1680), the Imperial librarian, engraving from his Commentariorum de augustissima bibliotheca ceasarea Vindobonensis, 2nd ed., 1, Vienna 1766.

FIGURE 0.9 The French physician and scholar Charles Patin (1633–1693), engraving by C. Le Febure.

FIGURE 0.10 Engraving after a numismatic drawing by Jacopo Strada, in Lambeck's Commentariorum de Augustussima Bibliotheca Caesarea, I (1665).

FIGURE 0.11   Engraving after a numismatic drawing by Jacopo Strada, in Lambeck's *Commentariorum de Augustussima Bibliotheca Caesarea*, II (1669).

FIGURE 0.12 The 'Jüngling vom Magdalensberg', a lost bronze statue excavated near Klagenfurt in 1502, engraving in Lambeck's *Commentariorum de Augustussima Bibliotheca Caesarea*, II (1669).

Works of Reference

Lambeck's, Patin's and Cyprian's publications assured Strada a place in many antiquarian reference works appearing during the eighteenth century, such as Johann Albert Fabricius' *Bibliographia antiquaria*, a bibliography of modern studies into Hebrew, Greek, Roman and (Early) Christian antiquities that was first published in Hamburg in 1713, and in Fabricius' edition of Anselmo Banduri's *Bibliotheca Nummaria* of 1719, who also refers to the manuscript volumes in Vienna, but already notes that these works, though in the past they had been highly esteemed, could now be little recommended for serious use. Strada's works also figure occasionally in dictionaries and bibliographies specializing in other fields, such as Johann Huebner's Bibliotheca genealogica (Hamburg 1729). Both Strada's edition of the Settimo Libro of Serlio's architectural treatise and the edition of his own technical drawings posthumously published by his grandson are included in the Kurzer Unterricht von den vornehmsten mathematischen Schriften, a bibliography of mathematical writings in the widest sense included as an appendix to Christian Wolff's Die Anfangsgründe aller mathematischen Wissenschaften.18 Strada's merit as a numismatic draughtsman, as shown in the prints in Lambeck's catalogue, also gained him entries in some of the earliest art-dictionaries, such as the Dictionnaire abrégé de peinture et d'architecture by François-Marie de Marsy, published in Paris in 1746, and in Rudolf Füssli's better known Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon of 1763.

As a consequence of these entries Strada was included in many of the general biographical dictionaries and historical encyclopaedias published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The entries are mostly succinct summaries of Strada's bibliography, based on notes taken from library catalogues and the earlier publications cited above. All that was known of Strada was based on the two publications of original material, i.e. the drawings engraved in Lambeck's catalogue of the Imperial Library and the preface to Strada's Series Imperatorum in Cyprian's catalogue of the holdings of the Ducal library at

Gotha. Only in the nineteenth century the information offered in such entries slowly shifted from the merely bibliographical to the summarily biographical. Their authors began to include details about Strada's life taken from an obvious source that had always been available, but had rarely or never been used: the prefaces and dedications of the books he had published. Thus the entry on Strada in the Biografia Universale of 1829 contains the characteristic phrase: 'He also gave the example of trading in works of art and of enriching strangers at the expense of Italy', which the slightly later Nouvelle biographie générale renders as 'It was on behalf of Germany that he despoiled Italy <...>'. Both passages closely echo Strada's own account of his acquisition of large quantities of antiquities in Venice, on behalf of Hans Jakob Fugger and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, 'which I myself, with great effort and at great expense, divesting Italy of its most noble spoils, had brought to Augsburg'. In the otherwise identical Italian version of the dictionary, Domenico de Angelis, the (Italian) author of this entry, takes Strada sternly to task for this unpatriotic behaviour: 'He also gave the example, fatal to his fatherland, of trading <'traficare'> in works of the fine arts, thus enriching the foreigners to the injury of his Italy'. Is this ominous word 'traficare' the first intimation of Pope-Hennessy's abject, commercial 'dealer in antiques'?

Quellenkunde: Some Sources Published in the Nineteenth Century

Only in the nineteenth century, when the growing interest in regional and national history and culture caused local authors and antiquaries to delve deeper into the holdings of their libraries and to explore the local archives, further new source material on Strada was unearthed and published. The first instance is provided by the prince of eighteenth-century Italian erudites, Girolamo Tiraboschi, whose Storia della letteratura Italiana of 1772–1778, a prime example of cultural history in the wider sense, foreshadows the Romantic interest in the contribution of the individual intellectual, artist or patron to literature and the arts. He complemented a brief mention of Jacopo Strada with the transcription of a letter by Ottavio Strada to the Duke of Ferrara about his father's heritage, a letter Tiraboschi had found in the Archivio Estense. Naturally interest in Strada was strongest in his hometown, Mantua, where brief entries on his career were included in works studying the history of Mantua and revaluating its local cultural heroes. More valuable contributions were due to the two first serious students of the Gonzaga archives, Count Carlo d'Arco (1799–1872) and Stefano Davari (1835–1909). Carlo d'Arco's Delle famiglie mantovani, a compendium of historical and genealogical notes on Mantua, included a detailed genealogy of the Strada family. He moreover devoted a brief notice to Jacopo in his Delle arti e degli artefici di Mantova of 1857. At about the same time, in his Lettere artistiche inedite, another aristocratic amateur of history and the arts, marchese Giuseppe Campori (1821–1887), published a letter from the Modena archives documenting Strada's connection with a cadet branch of the Gonzaga.26 Similar research in archival sources uncovered a completely new aspect of Strada's personality, his religious heterodoxy, presented in passing by the founding genius of the Mantuan State archives as a first-class historical research institution, Stefano Davari, in his chilling notes on the persecutions by the Inquisition in Mantua in the second half of the sixteenth century. Davari was also the first to publish and discuss Strada's description of the Palazzo del Te, a prime document for the history and the interpretation of that monument.

In Austria, Strada's homeland by adoption, the increasing interest in such primary archival sources, which accompanied new approaches and methods in historiography, was reflected in Johann Evangelist Schlager's Materialien zur österreichischen Kunstgeschichte, the fifth volume (1850) in the Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen, published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences. This is a useful but rather unsystematic summing up of facts gleaned from archival and printed sources, covering a

period from the mid-sixteenth up to the mid-eighteenth century. Unfortunately references are only sketchily indicated, and the wording is Schlager's own. Thus his influential statement that Strada in 1566 would have been appointed 'Aufseher', supervisor of curator, of the Imperial Kunstkammer cannot be corroborated in the sources known at present: it is probable that it is in fact Schlager's own interpretation of the title 'Antiquarius', which is used in the act he presumably cites. Standards of selection, transcription and interpretation of archival sources quickly improved, however. The most important results of this process soon found their way into a series of appendices to the Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, which began to be published in 1883, together with the Jahrbuch itself. These appendices presented a large quantity of impeccably edited sources relevant to the history of art in the Habsburg lands. The intelligent selection of materials was primarily intended to help establish the attributions, the provenance and the patronage situation of the works of art in the collections of the Austrian Emperors, i.e. basically what is now the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. But it is obvious that it was also intended to provide the documentary basis for a more general history of the visual arts of the Habsburg Empire, including architecture, the applied arts and archaeology, with particular emphasis on the laudable role of the Habsburgs as generous and discerning patrons. The documents published here first gave some substance to Strada's role as antiquary to the Holy Roman Emperor. Until then nothing more was known about this role except the title he added to his name on the front page of the books he published and had inserted in the cartouche he had painted on his portrait. These documents—often simple records of the payment of his salary and his travel expenses, sometimes more informative documents such as letters or reports—do at least tell us when and how Strada came to the Imperial court and when and why he resigned, and provide us with some inkling of the type of activities in which he was employed.

In Vienna the interest in Strada was perhaps stimulated by the discovery of a volume of drawings by Ottavio Strada in the library of Count DietrichsteinMensdorff, which contained elaborate designs for goldsmith's work. These splendid drawings made a great impression: this was after all the period of the Great Exhibition, the foundation of the Victoria and Albert Museum and countless other museums and vocational schools for the applied arts. To stimulate and inspire contemporary designers and craftsmen the Vienna Museum für Kunst und Industrie reproduced the eighty-two drawings in a beautiful facsimile edition which came out in 1869. Strada's affinity with the goldsmith's art, and in particular his close connections with the leading German goldsmith of his time, Wenzel Jamnitzer, were demonstrated by documents published in the Jahrbuch der Sammlungen, and discussed in David von Schönherr's article on Jamnitzer's work for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol. Additional information was printed in Hampe's publication of the decisions of the Nuremberg City Council, published in 1904.

The information from sources of the Imperial court was complemented by research done in the archives of the other principal patron for whom Strada had worked, Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria. Though in Munich no similar programme to publish source material existed, in the Bavarian archives much of the material relating to the collections and other cultural activities of the Wit-telsbach princes had always been preserved in separate files. These so-called Libri antiquitatum were examined and summarized in Stockbauer's extensive study on the artistic patronage of Duke Albrecht v of 1874. Though sometimes mistaken or lacking in precision, Stockbauer was the first to show Strada's role in the conception of the Antiquarium of the Munich Residenz and in the acquisition of ancient and contemporary works of art on behalf of Duke Albrecht v. Because so much of its information related to acquisitions in Italy, the book was also of interest to students of Italian art and history. Thus within a few years Crowe and

Cavalcaselle came to use it for their ground-breaking monograph on Titian—including the information on the painting of Strada's portrait. Though later detailed studies corrected and enlarged upon various aspects of Stockbauer's study, for a long time it remained the only comprehensive discussion of patronage and collecting at the Munich court in the sixteenth century. It is therefore not surprising that even in the 1960s it still proved to be Pope-Hennessy's source on Strada's activities and character. Nevertheless, even here Strada was presented as only one among a welter of figures—artists, craftsmen, learned advisors, merchants, courtiers and councillors, princely competitors—who assisted or obstructed the Duke in his cultural ambitions. And this holds for most of the later studies in which Strada figures: in general he occupies a similar marginal place, and his activities are discussed only in as far as they are relevant for the main topic of the specific publication.

Kulturgeschichte before World War II

This is even true of the one article of which Strada himself—or rather his portrait—is the principal theme, 'Zur richtigen Datirung eines Portraits von Tizian' of 1901 by Heinrich Zimmermann, a historian and archivist who earlier had contributed to the source publications in the Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen. In this thoughtful re-examination of Stockbauer's sources (the originals of which had been sent to Vienna for him to consult) in the light of other archival material that had meanwhile become available, or he had found himself in the Vienna archives, Zimmermann carefully reconstructs Strada's travels to Venice on behalf of Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria, but only with the aim of assigning as precise as possible a date to the Vienna portrait. This was not because of any lack of interest in Strada as such: on the contrary, Zimmermann limited himself here to the problem in hand, because he intended to publish a full biography of Strada, whom he deemed to be of great interest 'for the history of the collections dating from the Renaissance period in Austria and Bavaria'. In a footnote he cautions that all biographical notices on Strada published by that time contain more or less glaring and often misleading mistakes. Zimmermann never seems to have published any more of the material he had collected for his planned monograph, which never appeared. His research was not taken up by other Austrian scholars: only in his Geschichte der Sammlungen, part of a Festschrift intended to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, but published only at the end of the Second World War, did Alphons Lhotsky pay some attention to the role Strada had played at the Imperial court. His is a succinct and substantially correct, though incomplete summing up of available literature and published sources. The publication of material from the Bavarian and Austrian archives reflected a growing interest in detailed factual cultural history based on source material, and provided incentives and materials to its practitioners. For Munich the principal student was the librarian and intellectual historian Otto Hartig, whose Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht v. und Johann Jakob Fugger, published in the middle of the First World War, is perhaps the best history of any library ever written. Here for the first time some attention was paid to Strada's role in the creation of the Munich Hofbibliothek and the contiguous Antiquarium, and some hints were given of his close and fruitful relationship with his first known patron, Hans Jakob Fugger, many of whose intellectual preoccupations seem to have been shared by his protegé. In his posthumously published survey of Hans Jakob Fugger's life and career, Wilhelm Maasen, a young historian and sad casualty of the First World War, evoked the intellectual circle where these ideas first came to fruition. In Hartig's later studies of the Kunsttätigkeit at the Bavarian court he not only published new archival data on Strada, but also illustrated and discussed Strada's architectural designs for the Munich Antiquarium.

'Schwer fassbare, universelle Persönlichkeit von grosser Vielseitigkeit und Wandelbarkeit, die Wohnsitz, Wirkungsstätte und Tätigkeit häufig wechselte'. Thus Fritz Schulz characterizes Strada in the succinct but basically sound summary of the evidence available at the time in his entry on Strada in volume 32 of Thieme-Beckers Allgemeines Künstler Lexikon, which came out in 1938. Though he probably errs in Strada's date of birth, and unnecessarily speculates about Strada's origin, his is perhaps the only attempt before the Second World War to present a balanced and complete view of Strada's career. It is no coincidence that it is found in an art-historical work of reference: though not really an artist, though not really an artistic patron, though intensively concerned in many cultural and intellectual pursuits other than the purely artistic, there can be no doubt that the visual arts remain Strada's central concern. It is therefore not surprising that modern discussions of Strada's activities can be found—with very few exceptions—in the pages of art-historical publications. Romance: Josef Svátek and the Rudolfine Legend

Before we turn to contemporary scholarly interest in Jacopo Strada, however, it is necessary to turn back for a moment to magic Prague of the nineteenth century, and to Josef Svátek (1835–1897), a Czech autor who happily and rather unscrupulously combined the vocations of journalist, novelist and historian. He was absolutely fascinated by the history of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and published more than twenty historical novels, most of which were set in this period. This implies that he possessed a fertile imagination, which he drew upon perhaps even when he intended his writings to be factual history, rather than fiction. Certainly the long article on the Strada family at court in Vienna and Prague he contributed in 1883 to Sborník historický, a new review published by a young professor at the Czech university of Prague, was presented as a careful investigation of source material.38 It is clear that Svátek not only used the source publications available at the time, but had himself consulted both the archives in Prague and Vienna and had studied much of the manuscript material from Strada's studio that had been preserved in the Imperial Library and collections.

Unfortunately he did not provide exact references, so it is difficult to be certain of his contentions when no other indications are available—some of which are unlikely, and others demonstrably false. In particular the big claims he makes for the components of the tasks of Jacopo and of Ottavio Strada as Imperial antiquaries—he sees them as principal curators of the celebrated Kunstkammer of Rudolf ii— are difficult to corroborate: in fact there are few indications that Jacopo played any role at court after Rudolf's accession, rather the contrary. It is even more difficult to believe that Svátek did not deliberately dramatize the story of Anna Maria Strada, an illegitimate daughter of Ottavio Strada who became Rudolf II's mistress and mother of two of his children. In Svátek's version of the facts she is renamed Katharina instead of Anna Maria, she is the daughter of Jacopo, instead of his granddaughter, becomes not only the mistress but even the morganatic wife of the Emperor, and the mother of (all of?) his illegitimate children, including the mad Don Julius.

This fictionalized account of the affair had a wide appeal, witness the history painting by Jan Skramlík (1860–1936) which had been illustrated in the Czech review Ruch of 1887 [Fig. 0.13]. Thus Strada became part of the web of legend about Rudolf ii the melancholic recluse, living amongst his art treasures surrounded by artists, alchemists and astrologers. This legend has been retold and reconstructed from its literary sources in Angelo Maria Ripellino's magisterial essay Praga Magica of 1973, but its historical basis has been carefully examined and partially deconstructed in Robert Evans' Rudolf ii and his World of the same year. Svátek himself was largely responsible for this legend, and he

continued to draw upon it for his historical novels, in one of which at least, Astrolog of 1891–1892, the three Stradas—Jacopo, Ottavio and 'Donna Katharina'—play an important role.
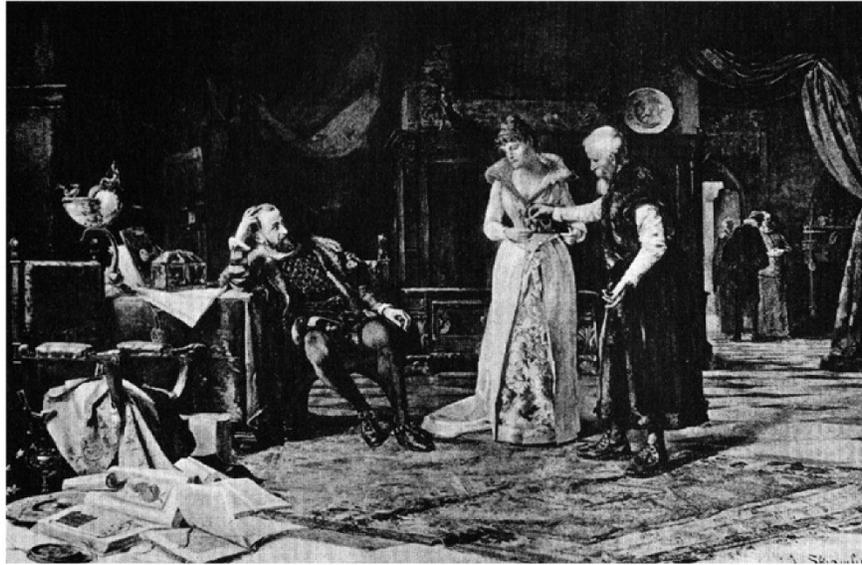
FiGURE 0.13 Jan Skramlík, Rudolf ii visits the studio of his Antiquary Jacopo Strada, who introduces his daughter Katharina to the Emperor, after a painting reproduced in the Czech periodical Ruch, x, 1887.

The Czech legend of Rudolf ii crossed the Atlantic in 1904, when the American chemist and bibliographer Henry Carrington Bolton in his The Follies of Science at the Court of Rudolf ii told the history of the alchemical experiments attempted at Rudolf's court from the point of view of the positivist scientist, as the title indicates. He merely mentions Jacopo Strada as the man responsible for the development of Rudolf's Kunstkammer, and 'Katharina' is not even mentioned by name, though she figures prominently in the frontispiece, a print of Václav Brozík's painting Rodolphe chez son alchimiste that had likewise crossed the Atlantic, and hung in the entrance of New York's Lenox Library [Fig. 0.14].

FiGURE 0.14 Václav Brozík, Rudolph with his Alchemist, engraving by Armand Mathey after a painting a reproduction of which served as the frontispiece to Henry Carrington Bolton, The Follies of Science at the Court of Rudolf ii, 1904.

Some of Svátek's contentions would be repeated in Czech literature even when of a purely scholarly kind. Some authors added their own presumptions, such as Antonín Truhlár, a professor at the famous Prague academic gymnasium. In its library he had found a copy of the history of the Dutch Revolt by the famous Jesuit historian Famiano Strada, on which he published a short note 'On the Genealogy of the Strada von Rosberg' in which he asserts that Famiano (born in Rome in 1572) were a grandson of 'the elder Strada', that is, of Jacopo Strada.45 Some of Svátek's contentions also reappear, again without documentary corroboration, in Cyril Straka's reasonably detailed survey of the activities of both Jacopo and Ottavio Strada of 1916. This was valuable nonetheless, because Straka had taken the trouble to examine most of their printed and manuscript works, of which he includes a summary discussion. He pays particular attention to the album in his own care as librarian of the Strahov monastery at Prague. A similar survey by Eugen Jaroslav Schulz, stressing Jacopo and Ottavio's numismatic work, dates from 1950, but for its historical underpinning it still leans largely on Svátek and Straka. Since they were written in Czech, the information in these articles was in general ignored by later authors.

A (Very) Modest Place in the History of Classical Scholarship

Schulz was a numismatist and his article appeared in a Czech numismatic periodical. It is clear that Strada's work was interesting to the modern numismatist as a modest chapter in the history of his discipline, rather than for any light it might shed on actual questions. Unlike great minds such as Scaliger and Lipsius, Strada did not contribute substantially to the development of classical history, and he rarely figures in the history of classical scholarship: his standing can be measured by the two dismissive sentences he receives in Eric Cochrane's five hundred-page Historians and historiography in the Italian Renaissance, where he is merely mentioned as an Italian scholar employed abroad, rather than as numismatist. Perhaps the only really scholarly appreciation of his antiquarian work in this field appeared already in 1869, in Emil Hübner's introductory note to the edition in the Corpus Inscriptionum

Latinarum of a selection of Latin inscriptions from Spain which Strada had added, probably as an afterthought, to his edition of Caesar's Commentaries of 1575. Though he has an open mind about Strada—'homo minime doctus, sed callidus rerum antiquarum indagator'—he clearly does not accept him as a serious scholar. Nevertheless he is the first to cite not only Strada's numismatic albums, but also the other manuscript materials preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, including Strada's testament and the list of the books he intended to publish. Hübner apparently tried to identify the book containing over five thousand inscriptions Strada claimed to have collected, but finally had to be satisfied with guessing at the provenance of the Spanish inscriptions included in Strada's Caesar edition.

Contemporary Scholarship
History of Art and Cultural History

Whereas Strada's numismatic publications do not excite the interest of modern archaeologists, they do attract scholarly attention of those interested in the reception of classical Antiquity in the Renaissance. An early example is the German art historian Paul Ortwin Rave, who places Strada's treatise within an old and continuing tradition for which he coined the term Bildnisvitenbücher, that is books in which the lives of illustrious heroes from the past were illustrated by a portrait, from which, it was held, their characters could be inferred. Since these images were often derived from true or spurious ancient coins (the Roman Emperors are obvious examples), a woodcut or engraved medallion became the accepted format for such portraits even of those heroes whose likeness had certainly never graced a coin or medal.49 Such 'portraits of the past' are the point of departure for Francis Haskell's wonderful book on the role of the image in our conception of the past, History and its images of 1991. In its very first chapter, 'The Early Numismatists', Strada's Epitome thesauri antiquitatum is discussed in detail, and in the following chapter it is linked to his part in the creation of the Munich Antiquarium. The Epitome is likewise discussed, in relation to the Titian portrait and Strada's career, in John Cunnally's Images of the Illustrious: The Numismatic Presence in the Renaissance of 1999.

Francis Haskell and John Cunnally are both examples of art historians interested as much in the context of a work of art as in the object itself. It is obvious that Jacopo Strada appeals more to this type of cultural historian than to the connoisseur: after all very few of Strada's own works have been identified, and most of these are copied or derived from other works of art—and this holds notably for his most typical work, his numismatic drawings. These show him to have been a competent draughtsman. The very few original inventions that can be securely attributed to him, though demonstrating a similar competence and a thorough comprehension of the artistic language of his time, can hardly be reckoned great works of art. So it is not surprising that modern scholarship on Strada generally has originated as a by-product of specialized research into various topics of the history of art and architecture of the sixteenth century, in which he figures in a subordinate role. Only two or three authors have attempted an overall survey of his career, and even then he appears always in the context of research into a theme where his role happened to have been relatively important. In the following a selection of publications discussing or referring to Strada will be briefly reviewed. They will be grouped by theme rather than chronologically.

Contemporary Scholarship: Drawings and Designs for Goldsmith Work

One of the themes that have attracted most interest are the designs for goldsmith's work after Giulio Romano and other Italian masters that are found in several albums from the studio of Jacopo and Ottavio Strada. These were mostly based on the huge collection of drawings by Italian masters in Jacopo's possession. As mentioned above, they were known in Vienna and Prague through the 1869 facsimile edition of Ottavio Strada's drawings in the album in the Dietrichstein collection, and the presence of the manuscript, first mentioned by Cyril Straka, in the monastery of Strahov at Prague. The Strahov album contains both original drawings by Giulio Romano and copies in the hand of the Stradas and/or their copyists. It has been carefully studied by Beket Bukovinská, Eliška Fucíková and Lubomir Konecný. They published an exhaustive catalogue of these drawings in the Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorische Sammlungen of 1984, which is the fundamental publication on this subject. On the basis of her study of these drawings Fucíková had earlier attributed a set of very elegant numismatic drawings in Budapest to Ottavio and Jacopo Strada. The codex Chlumczansky, another album from Strada's collection now in the National Museum in Prague containing miscellaneous and mostly earlier antiquarian material, has been the subject of an equally conscientious edition by Vladimír Juren. Both editions provide invaluable information on the origins and character of Strada's collection.

Several albums of copies of similar designs prepared in the Strada workshop have been preserved elsewhere, a number of which have been subject of a thorough examination by one of the great specialists of sixteenth-century goldsmith's work, John Hayward. In his wake some more similar material was identified by Peter Fuhring in the collection of Prince Waldburg-Wolfegg. Less convincing is the attribution to Jacopo Strada of another set of splendid drawings in a private collection, though it is clear that there are as yet unexplained connections between this series and Strada's collection. Of the greatest importance is Silke Reiter's exhaustive catalogue of a number of volumes of drawings traditionally attributed to the Nuremberg goldsmith, draftsman and engraver Erasmus Hornick. She shows that these drawings cannot integrally be attributed to Hornick, and carefully analyses the relationship of these albums with the workshop of Jacopo and Ottavio Strada, thus providing a solid foundation for any eventual integral inventory and analysis of the products of this workshop. Valery Taylor has been working on Giulio Romano's goldsmith's designs, including the copies in the albums from the Strada workshop, interpreting them in the light of the culture of the princely table in the Renaissance.

Contemporary Scholarship: Architecture

Some other components of Strada's huge collection of drawings have likewise been the subject of detailed study. Principal among these are what the American scholar William Bell Dinsmoor in a ground breaking article in the Art Bulletin of 1942 termed 'the literary remains of Sebastiano Serlio'. Speculations as to the quantity and character of the material Strada obtained and his project to print the as yet unpublished books of Serlio's architectural treatise have since been exhaustively treated. This was first done in 1966 by Marco Rosci in his edition of the Munich manuscript of the Sesto Libro of Serlio's architectural treatise, then by Myra Nan Rosenfeld in her important article on Serlio's manuscript of the Settimo Libro in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna and in her edition of the Columbia University manuscript of the Sesto Libro. The Serlio conference at Vicenza in 1989 provided the present author with an opportunity to present and discuss the results of a detailed examination of the documents. Finally Francesco Paolo Fiore and Tancredi Carrunchio summed up the state of the question

in the introduction to Architettura civile, their edition of the Vienna and Munich manuscripts of the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Books of Serlio's treatise of 1994.57 These new findings were also discussed in Sebastiano Serlio: Architecture et Imprimerie, the publication edited by Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa presenting the results of an international research project centred around an exhibition and a conference on this theme in 1998. Sabine Frommel's important monograph on Serlio, concentrating on the work of the architect itself rather than on the publishing history of his writings, refers to Strada only when relevant and in passing.

Of equal interest for the history of sixteenth-century architecture are the detailed drawings of the facades and the complete decoration of the Palazzo del Te in Mantua that Strada commissioned in 1567. These were known to have existed from the sources, and they were already referred to in Hartig's history of the foundation of the Munich library survey by Duke Albrecht v, for whom this documentation was made, and in Elizabeth Herget's article on the influence of the Palazzo del Te on the architecture north of the Alps during the later sixteenth century.59 The drawings themselves, which were preserved in the Kunstmuseum in Düsseldorf with an old attribution to Santi Bartoli, were only identified later in the 1960s by Egon Verheyen, who dedicated a long article to them. On the basis of their obvious connection with Strada's manuscript description of the Palazzo del Te published by Davari in 1889, of available data culled from the Munich sources, and of a comparison with Strada's numismatic drawings and his designs for the Munich Antiquarium, Verheyen attributed the drawings to Strada himself. He also pointed out their crucial importance for a good understanding of the genesis and iconography of the Palazzo del Te and its decoration. Soon a discussion developed between him and the American architectural historians Kurt Forster and Richard Tuttle about a possible ideological intent of the building, and about the reliability of Strada's drawings.

These drawings were not, however, in Strada's own hand: he had merely commissioned them from the young Mantuan painter Ippolito Andreasi, as Renate von Busch demonstrated on the basis of an even more attentive reading of the available documents. In 1984 Richard Harprath catalogued them in his long article in Master Drawings on Ippolito Adreasi as a draughtsman. Some years later a selection of the drawings was shown in the large exhibition on Giulio Romano within the walls of the palace they documented, and they were used in the preparation of its restoration. They were moreover illustrated in Amedeo Belluzzi splendid 'atlas' of the Palazzo del Te, two beautiful though unaffordable volumes illustrating the architecture and every single decorative element of this important complex. Belluzzi provided a transcription of Strada's accompanying description and discussed both his acquisition of Giulio's drawings and his commission of Andreasi's designs. Meanwhile, in an article about later pictorial additions to Raphael's Vatican Loggia, Bernice Davidson discussed the even more detailed and splendidly illuminated documentary drawings of this other key monument of the history of the Renaissance, which had been commissioned by Strada a decade before those of the Palazzo del Te.

In 1617 Jacopo Strada's grandson Ottavio II published a volume of technical designs under his grandfather's name. This book was first seriously discussed in an article on 'plagiarists' of Francesco di Giorgio Martini's technical designs, published by Ladislao Reti in 1963. Until the discovery, by the French antiquarian booksellers Bernard and Stéphane Clavreuil, of a manuscript containing autograph drawings by Jacopo of similar technical inventions, these had only been known through some similar manuscripts prepared by Jacopo's son, Ottavio i Strada, which were presented to various European princes. One of these manuscripts was dedicated to Don Giovanni de' Medici and is preserved in the Museo delle

Scienze in Florence. A publication of this volume sponsored by eni, the National Electricity Network of Italy, presented the opportunity to place these drawings in context. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann treated the intellectual, technical and military concerns of the sixteenth century, the present author wrote about the workshop and later history of three generations of Strada's, and Luisa Dolza and Vittorio Marchis discussed the development of this specific type of literature in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Unfortunately it proved not possible to include a detailed analysis of each technical invention and its probable sources.

In his 'Kunsttätigkeit in München unter Wilhelm iv und Albrecht V' of 1933 Otto Hartig presented Strada's designs for the Munich Antiquarium, and was thus the first to demonstrate that Strada was himself actively involved in the architectural projects of his patrons. This information allowed Renate Rieger just after the Second World War to attribute to Strada some part in the conception of the Neugebäude, the extensive pleasure garden just outside Vienna laid out for the Emperor Maximilian ii. She observed correspondences in form and construction between its principal element, a huge half-open gallery built over two immense, vaulted halls, and the Antiquarium, which led her both to postulate a similar function for the Neugebäude, and to attribute a role in its conception and design to Jacopo Strada. In his short monograph on the Neugebäude of 1976 Rupert Feuchtmüller follows this up with some more arguments, without assigning any concrete role to Strada.

Certainly the Antiquarium and the Neugebäude are of signal importance for an understanding of Jacopo's role at the courts of Munich and Vienna: the two best surveys of his career to date were published as a spin-off of research into their history.69 But even before that, Erich Hubala had discovered another, alternative design for the Antiquarium, and in his article of 1958 he carefully reviewed all the drawings and the most relevant documents. For the reception of this important article it was perhaps unfortunate that Henry RussellHitchcock, in his general overview of German Renaissance architecture of 1981, mixed up the drawings, publishing an image of the German alternative design under Strada's name instead of Strada's own drawings. This alternative design is in any case a source of misattributions; a later attribution to the Flemish neo-Latin poet Niccolò Stopio by Heike Frosien-Leinz is based on a misreading of the sources.

At about the same time that Hubala was going through the Munich archives in connection with the Antiquarium, in Vienna Harry Kühnel was collecting archival data to document the development of the Hofburg, the principal residence of the Habsburg Emperors in their capital during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He published his findings between 1956 and 1961 in a series of articles in the Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. In the third part, 'Die landesfürstlichen Baumeister der Wiener Hofburg von 1494 bis 1569', published in 1959, he included a brief but significant survey of Strada's career in Vienna. Though he cites only one document indicating that Strada had some unspecified share in the restructuring of the Hofburg complex under Ferdinand i and Maximilian ii, Kühnel recognized that his presence in Vienna was of considerable interest for its history. He carefully lists the references he found in the various archives, including many financial records which had not been published before. Kühnel is also the first who recognized the importance of Strada's will, of which he gives a summary.

Renate von Busch and Hilda Lietzmann

Jacopo Strada had a considerable share in the conception and realization of both the Munich Antiquarium and the Vienna Neugebäude. Research into the history of these two splendid monuments of the Northern Renaissance led to the two really extensive studies on Strada's career. The first of these is added as an excursus to Renate von Busch's 1973 Tübingen dissertation Studien zu deutschen Antikensammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts. It is sad that this wonderful book, whose gifted author unfortunately died shortly after its completion, has never been republished in an illustrated edition. On the basis of exhaustive archival research, it provides a survey of the earliest collections of antiquities in Germany, culminating in a detailed chronicle of the genesis of Duke Albrecht V's collection and of the Antiquarium built to house it. Accurate critical reading of the many sources she consulted—including the Libri antiquitatum of the Bavarian State Archive mentioned above—led to the discovery of Strada's central role. His importance in this respect incited Von Busch to add the excursus in which she gave an ample and detailed survey of Strada's career. She is the first since Titian who, by judicious selection and ample citation of her sources, manages to evoke Jacopo Strada as an actual human being, with all his enthusiasms, his little vanities, and his obstinacy. She is also the first who implicitly seems to detect some coherence in Strada's very diverse occupations. Of particular moment are her appreciation of Strada's long-lasting and intimate relationship with Hans Jakob Fugger, and her noting, in their correspondence, of the passage which documents that Strada made designs for the Vienna Neugebäude as well as for the Munich Antiquarium.

Von Busch confirmed Renate Rieger's intimation that Strada was in some way implicated in the design of the Neugebäude merely in a footnote. It was investigated in detail in Hilda Lietzmann's monograph on that huge monument, a book which has put it on the art historical map and has doubtless stimulated the attempts of the last decades to rehabilitate its remains. Lietzmann provides the first more or less all-round appreciation of Jacopo Strada as an artist and places him in the context of the artistic and architectural patronage at court. She is the first to insist that Strada's salary as a court architect presupposes his serious involvement in at least some of the projects initiated by Ferdinand I and Maximilian ii. She is the first to advance the plausible attribution of the design of the Stallburg to Strada. This annexe to the Hofburg was built for Maximilian ii as heir to the throne between 1559, when Strada had just arrived, and 1565.75 With the Neugebäude she thus also puts Strada himself on the map, which resulted in sections both on the Neugebäude and on Strada himself in the Vienna version of the Giulio Romano exhibition of 1989–1990. As a follow-up, Lietzmann published some additional documents on Strada, highlighting certain unknown aspects of his later career. In a very interesting article published in 2006 Wolfgang Lippmann analyses the Neugebäude in the light of the results of material research on the complex, and places it in a wider European context, but adds little to Lietzmann as far as Strada's role in its conception is concerned. In contrast, the authors of the recent monumental and very useful, though excessively positivist study on the building history of the Vienna Hofburg totally ignore him. Not finding archival data immediately linking Strada to concrete interventions and not understanding Strada's position at court, their omission demonstrates a serious misapprehension of Strada's role, of his immediate influence on the development of parts of the Hofburg complex, and on the architecture in the Habsburg lands in general.

Modern Scholarship: Collecting and Princely Patronage

Whereas Strada's contributions to the Antiquarium and the Neugebäude have been extensively researched, his other activities for his patrons in Munich and Bavaria have received less attention. Hartig's article on patronage and collecting at the court of Albrecht v has already been mentioned above; it was recapitulated, together with the results of Renate von Busch's research, in the general introduction of Herbert Brunner's Kunstschätze der Münchner Residenz of 1977. The antiquarian component of Albrecht's collections and Strada's contributions to it have since been discussed more fully in the huge two-volume catalogue of the sculptures in the Antiquarium edited by Ellen Weski and Heike Frosien-Leinz published in 1987 and its introductory essays. In particular Horst Stierhof's discussion of the building history of the Anti-quarium and Frosien-Leinz's discussion of its significance in the sixteenth century are relevant for Strada's role. The book is moreover invaluable for the archival sources published in its appendix and its profuse illustration.

Strada's influence on Albrecht's collection in general is mentioned in Lorenz Seelig's paper on the Munich Kunstkammer at the 1983 Oxford Symposium The Cabinet of Curiosities and discussed more fully by Mark Meadow in his initial exploration of Hans Jakob Fugger's importance for the development of the Munich complex of collections and its theoretical basis. The 1583 inventory of the Kunstkammer has recently been published in extenso, and was followed shortly afterwards by two huge volumes of catalogue and commentary, together providing as detailed a reconstruction of the Munich collections as will ever be possible. This adds immensely to our knowledge and understanding of this basically scholarly and scientific, rather than purely artistic institution. In the commentary volumes the material with which Jacopo had provided the Kunstkammer are carefully described and put in context. Finally, the origin of the Munich Staatsbibliothek was described by its former director, Franz Georg Kaltwasser, in his overview of its history focusing on the display of its holdings, and more in general on its scholarly, scientific and cultural function. He does not, however, define Strada's role in this any more precisely than Hartig had done. In 2008, finally, the 450th anniversary of the founding of the Staatsbibliothek was celebrated with an exhibition and an accompanying catalogue in which a number of the materials provided by Strada are discussed and illustrated, often for the first time. Two years later Christien Melzer showed that materials from Strada's workshop were also included in the Dresden Kunstkammer, and briefly discussed and illustrated a number of libri di disegni still preserved in the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett.

Interest in collecting has always been a Viennese speciality, witness not only the exemplary source publications in the Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen, but also Julius von Schlosser's influential, more theoretical essay, Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätenaissance 0f 1908. The origins of the imperial collections in Vienna were studied by Alphons Lhotsky on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Kunsthistorisches Museum. Rotraud Bauer and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann were the first to suggest that the Kunstkammer of Emperor Rudolf ii was influenced by the ideas of Samuel Quiccheberg which were transmitted by Strada. Elizabeth Scheicher pays some attention to Strada in her survey of Habsburg collecting of 1979, Die Kunst- und Wunderkammer der Habsburger, but in view of the inadequate concrete evidence available wisely refuses to speculate about his precise role. A letter by Strada to the Czech magnate Vilém z Rozmberka published by Fritz Eheim in 1963 provided evidence that Strada also worked for others than members of the dynasty.

Most literature on patronage and collecting of the sixteenth-century Austrian Habsburgs focuses on Archduke Ferdinand ii of Tirol and Emperor Rudolf II. It was only in 1995 that Karl Rudolf published a detailed study of such Kunstbestrebungen at the Imperial court before Rudolf ii's accession, presenting many unknown sources and making an illuminating comparison with similar activities at the court of Maximilian ii's cousin and brother-in-law, King Philip ii of Spain. Strada is discussed in particular in his role as a numismatic expert.85 Rudolf does not explicitly question Schlager's characterization of Strada as an 'Aufseher auf die Kunstkammer', but he might well have done so, since he concludes, probably correctly, that at the time a more or less formal, centrally organized Kunstkammer as could be found at Munich, Ambras and later at Prague, as yet had not come into existence in Vienna.

In his Rudolf ii and his world of 1973, Robert Evans mentions several of Strada's activities in connection with the general intellectual milieu of the Imperial court during the second half of the sixteenth century. Of course Strada often briefly figures in monographs on other figures at that court, such as Augerius Busbequius and Joannes Sambucus.87 But he is rarely given more than passing attention in studies of the intellectual milieu of the period. Whereas Nicolette Mout, in her dissertation on the relations between Bohemia and the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, briefly sketches Jacopo and Ottavio's career, and is the first to mention Strada's attempt to have Christophe Plantin print his books, Strada is hardly mentioned in Paula Fichtner's predominantly political biographies of Ferdinand i and Maximilian II. A collection of essays on Maximilian ii and his period edited by Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler included an essay by the present author which attempted to clarify his formal position at the Imperial court. One aspect of his tasks at court was discussed in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's 1978 dissertation, Variations on the Imperial Theme in the Age of Maximilian ii and Rudolf ii, in which he was the first to discuss Strada's costume designs for various court festivities, and placed them in the larger intellectual and iconographical context at court. That Strada had in fact a larger responsibility in this field than has previously been assumed follows from new finds in archives in Mantua and Vienna, published by Elena Venturini and by Otto Schindler, by the recent find and convincing attribution of two autograph designs for such festival costumes by Zoltán Kárpáti, and by the even more recent identification of two volumes of festival designs from Strada's workshop in the Dresden Kupferstichkabinett by Gudula Metze and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann. Kaufmann has repeatedly returned to Strada also in other contexts.

Following in Kaufmann's footsteps the intellectual historian Howard Lou-than included a detailed investigation of Strada's career at the Imperial court in his The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna of 1997. In this book he selects four key-figures—'Peacemakers in CounterReformation Vienna'—whose exploits in various fields exemplify the conciliating or irenic aspirations of Maximilian and his entourage. The fields he discusses are politics, exemplified by Maximilian's general Lazarus von Schwendi; religion, illustrated by his personal physician Johannes Crato; humanist learning, illustrated by his librarian Hugo Blotius; and finally the arts, illustrated by Jacopo Strada, who, Louthan stresses, 'helped transform a more provincial Habsburg court into a sophisticated and international center of artistic activity'. In her article 'The appropriation of Italian Renaissance art by German courts', Barbara Marx accorded Strada an important place in this process, stressing his role as mediator in particular in the acquisition of antiquities by German princes. She considers such antiquities as explicit markers of the values (and the fashions?) of the Italian Renaissance as adopted by the more ambitious courts north of the Alps. They functioned as such both in the originals, such as those brought together in Duke Albrecht V's Antiquarium in Munich, and in their graphic representations, such as

those provided by the Strada workshop: Marx is the first to publish illustrations from a manuscript of drawings of imperial busts Ottavio Strada presented to Grand Duke Francesco i of Tuscany.

What Has Not Been Written on Jacopo Strada

The foregoing overview shows that almost everything ever written on Jacopo Strada was a spin-off of its author's specialized interest in one of the fields in which Strada had been active, rather than an intrinsic interest in the career of this rather unusual personality. Even the careful reviews of his career by Renate von Busch and Hilda Lietzmann were the result of their exhaustive investigations of the history of the collecting of antiquities at the Bavarian court, and of the history of Maximilian ii's Neugebäude respectively. Given that most literature on Strada originates in such specialized research, it is not surprising that there remain some aspects of his career which have received little or no attention, even where such attention might have been expected.

It is, for instance, remarkable that the presence of his portrait has not excited greater interest in Vienna itself, where Strada reached the high point of his career. In the wake of Renate Rieger's suggestions only a few remarks have been made about his influence on the developments of local architecture, foremost by Hilda Lietzmann. An exception is Alfred Strnad's wide-ranging survey of the reception of the Italian Renaissance in the Habsburg Erblande based on a very thorough examination of the available secondary sources. He pays much attention to the artistic developments in the sixteenth century and, following Lietzmann, briefly discusses Strada's role. Until recently the Vienna court of this period in general has been little studied, compared to the courts of Maximilian i, Charles v and Rudolf ii. For the period of Ferdinand i, covering the first decade of Strada's career at court, this was remedied by the huge exhibition of the Kunsthistorisches Museum on the occasion of the fifth centenary of his birth in 2003. Though Strada was explicitly appointed as an architect by Ferdinand I, he does not figure at all in the catalogue, not even where existing documents might have made a discussion of his possible role useful, such as the Maximiliansgrab in Innsbruck.

It is true that, at first sight, Vienna in the second half of the sixteenth century looks rather bleak, in contrast with the rich Middle Ages, culminating in the romantic figure of the 'Last knight', the Emperor Maximilian I, or with the baroque splendour of the Austrian court in the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. But this bleakness—and the resulting lack of interest among scholars—can be partly explained by the dearth of (published) sources and the relatively few monuments from the period that have survived intact. Most research has been done by art historians who were often employed at the Kunsthistorisches Museum and whose approach is necessarily more objectoriented than that of cultural or intellectual historians. However, Karl Rudolf's study on the artistic patronage of Maximilian II cited above has shown that the dearth of available sources might be remedied by more extensive and systematic archival research. This material doubtless contributed to the revaluation of the court of Maximilian ii that is evident in the catalogue of the 2007–2008 exhibitions in Paris and Vienna dedicated to his court-painter Giuseppe Arcimboldo. There at least some attention was paid also to Strada's role at court.

It is particularly odd that the materials from Strada's studio preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and in the University Library of Vienna have hardly attracted any scholarly attention since Zimmermann. Even two contemporary lists of manuscripts and books from Strada's library that are probably of considerable value for the history of the early holdings of the Hofbibliothek—the list of

printed books is an offer of sale, and the items listed were probably sold to Rudolf II by Strada or his heirs—has incited no interest; this in contrast with similar lists relating to acquisitions by or from contemporaries such as Joannes Sambucus and Hugo Blotius. In general very little attention has been paid to Strada's place in the history of the book, considering his close connection with two of the greatest libraries of the sixteenth century and his activities in the book trade in general. Doubtless this is largely due to the fact that he was not a locally established publisher, but had his books printed in three different countries.

Another strange lacuna in scholarship is Strada's role in the creative process of Wenzel Jamnitzer's workshop. In view of the available documents, printed already in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, it is inconceivable and unjustifiable that his name does not appear even once in the recent detailed, three volume survey of the history of Nuremberg goldsmith's work, an omission the less explicable since recent scholarship has at least indicated some intimations of his possible importance in this field.

Other themes may not have been taken up because their intrinsic interest seems not to recompense the quantity of work—and expense—involved: the best example is Strada's Magnum ac novum Opus, the corpus of over nine thousand numismatic drawings preserved at Gotha. In spite of the fame it enjoyed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it has only recently been the subject of a preliminary material investigation. The modest quality of most of the drawings as works of art would not soon invite art-historical interest, and their value for modern numismatic studies is limited. They could, however, be of interest as documents of the intellectual preoccupations and scholarly procedure of the sixteenth century: for that reason the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft DFG has decided to fund a project to digitize both Strada's coin-images in Gotha—which are already accessible on-line—and his related coin-descriptions.

Weaving the Strands Together: The Purpose of this Study

It is clear that most available information on Strada comes from specialized publications, which illustrate only one or at most a few aspects of his career. This also holds for most of my own earlier publications on Strada, which deal with specific themes: Strada's relations with his patrons, especially at the Imperial court, his activities as a collector and dealer in art and antiquities, his antiquarian studies, and his interest in architecture.

The present book may fill some of the lacunae signalled above, but it is primarily an attempt towards an all-round biography of Jacopo Strada. First it will give as complete an overview as possible of the many different activities in which he engaged during his long life. Second, its aim is to analyse each of these activities in their context, or rather contexts: context of place and context of time; context of traditions continued, and of innovations introduced by Strada and his contemporaries. Most important, Strada's activities will be considered not as separate or isolated events, but will be studied in relation to one another. One question will be whether it is possible to reduce the manifold and at first sight disparate aspects of Strada's life and career to something approaching a meaningful and coherent order. Can a consistent pattern be discovered in his activities that would allow us to add them up to something approaching a distinct profession? And if so, was such a profession more than just a private concept present in Strada's mind, or can it be considered a more or less generally recognized trade, craft or calling?

If so, the name of that profession is clearly and proudly indicated on the title pages of all of Strada's books and presentation manuscripts, and was never omitted from his signature in his letters to his patrons: Antiquario in Italian, Antiquarius in Latin. As we have seen, in English these terms can be translated by 'antiquarian', 'antiquary', or even 'archaeologist'. In my text I generally prefer to use the term 'antiquary', as being the most neutral and least anachronistic.103 A comparative study of other individuals indicated or indicating themselves with this appellation is no part of this study, but I hope the presentation of the data of Strada's career in future will help to answer that question by making such a comparison feasible.

Considering the certain data on Strada's life in their mutual interdependence and in their context will allow me to draw some conclusions not warranted by the isolated facts alone. The extant documents, which are listed in the chronological list of sources inserted at the end of this book, allow me to sketch a truthful, though incomplete map of his career, to define the location and the size of the remaining white spots on this map, and in some cases provide at least an inkling of what may be found there. One of the white spots is, for instance, the commercial side of Strada's workshop: as for almost all of his contemporaries, his private accounts have not been preserved, though it is clear that particularly in his case the information these would provide would have been invaluable. Another white spot is the role Strada played with regard to the artistic patronage at the court of Maximilian ii, his most important patron. It will be argued that the lack of conclusive evidence here is largely caused by the fact of Strada's personal presence at court, where his influence was chiefly exerted through direct oral consultation with his patron and with other courtiers, as well as with the artists and scholars involved in the Emperor's projects.

The next step is to fill in the white spots as far as possible, by means of a process of reasonable conjecture. It is, for instance, rather likely that Strada was paid a substantial salary as a court architect because he was expected to actually contribute to the building projects at court. We may reasonably assume that he did so, even though we do not exactly know what he did, when and for which project. Setting out from that assumption, a detailed examination of what we do know factually about Strada as an architect and designer, about the building projects at court, and about possible competitors, will help us to define his general role more clearly, and possibly even allow us to assign specific tasks or commissions to him. Likewise, it is very unlikely that Wenzel Jamnitzer would have chosen Strada as a designer for the prestigious commission Archduke Ferdinand gave him, if he did not know Strada personally, and had not had previous experience of his competence. We may reasonably attempt to reconstruct their collaboration on the basis of further documentary and stylistic evidence. Though such reasonable conjectures are bound to remain hypotheses which for lack of explicit data may never be proved conclusively, they nonetheless carry us as far into the white spots in Strada's life, and as close to the historical truth, as we will ever be able to get.

By spinning such loose fibres, fragments of factual evidence, into threads, and weaving these uneven threads together, I hope to produce a fabric that— however loosely-knit and full of holes—will be strong enough to support some definite conclusion about Strada's profession, his character, and his place in the cultural history of his time. The most important of these will be an estimate of his influence on the development of ideas and taste in the regions where he was active, in particular his role as an agent in the transmission of the ideas and artistic forms of the Italian Renaissance across the Alps. <>

WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE A BIRD: FROM FLYING TO NESTING, EATING TO SINGING--WHAT BIRDS ARE DOING, AND WHY by David Allen Sibley [Sibley Guides, Knopf, 9780307957894]

The bird book for birders and nonbirders alike that will excite and inspire by providing a new and deeper understanding of what common, mostly backyard, birds are doing—and why: "Can birds smell?"; "Is this the same cardinal that was at my feeder last year?"; "Do robins 'hear' worms?"

"The book's beauty mirrors the beauty of birds it describes so marvelously." —NPR

In **WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE A BIRD,** David Sibley answers the most frequently asked questions about the birds we see most often. This special, large-format volume is geared as much to nonbirders as it is to the out-and-out obsessed, covering more than two hundred species and including more than 330 new illustrations by the author. While its focus is on familiar backyard birds—blue jays, nuthatches, chickadees—it also examines certain species that can be fairly easily observed, such as the seashore-dwelling Atlantic puffin.

David Sibley's exacting artwork and wide-ranging expertise bring observed behaviors vividly to life. (For most species, the primary illustration is reproduced life-sized.) And while the text is aimed at adults—including fascinating new scientific research on the myriad ways birds have adapted to environmental changes—it is nontechnical, making it the perfect occasion for parents and grandparents to share their love of birds with young children, who will delight in the big, full-color illustrations of birds in action.

Unlike any other book he has written, **WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE A BIRD** is poised to bring a whole new audience to David Sibley's world of birds.

Review

"Lingering over every page of **WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE A BIRD**, this is what can be seen: The book's beauty mirrors the beauty of birds it describes so marvelously." **—NPR**

"Any new Sibley book is an event . . . A sprightly, information-packed encyclopedia of bird behavior. What lifts it into the realm of art is Sibley's illustrations—330 of them, many life-size. Captured in pencil and gouache, Sibley's birds are as scientifically accurate as Peterson's or Audubon's, but less static, more alive . . . The American robin with a rust-red Dickensian waistcoat; a martial, copper-feathered red-tailed hawk perched watchful along a country road—these and all the birds celebrated in **WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE A BIRD** seem ready to take flight." **—Peter Fish, *San Francisco Chronicle***

"An afternoon with this sprawling volume on my lap was a lovely way to tolerate a day of social distancing . . . **WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE A BIRD** gives Sibley's artwork ample room to spread its

wings . . . In a spring shadowed by the darker mysteries of nature, Sibley's book is a welcome occasion to connect with the more pleasing puzzle of what our feathered friends are up to." —**Danny Heitman,** *The Christian Science Monitor*

"After years of rushing to his indispensable field guides for sure resolution of any bird or tree ID conundrum, I'm delighted to find David Allen Sibley stretching his considerable artistic and literary wings . . . Having painted them all in every possible plumage permutation, evenly lighted and in profile, Mr. Sibley's joy in creating chiaroscuro tableaux of birds feeding, flying and tending their young is palpable . . . Expect to be surprised at the mental and physical capabilities of birds." —**Julie Zickefoose,** *The Wall Street Journal*

"Simply gorgeous . . . Appropriate for general readers as well as bird experts, and it is perfectly suitable for young readers . . . As the world's bird population shrinks, it is helpful and even inspiring to learn as much as possible about the amazing feathered creatures that share our planet. There is no better way than to browse through David Allen Sibley's new book, *What It's Like to Be a Bird.*" —**Nancy Gilson,** *The Columbus Dispatch*

"You'll want to linger on each page to enjoy Sibley's illustrations . . . If you love birds, you'll love this book." —**Jennifer J. Meyer,** *The Backyard Birder*

"Sibley answers all kinds of questions people have about birds . . . [His] exacting artwork and wide-ranging expertise bring observed behaviors vividly to life." —***Birdwatching***

"Gorgeous art and fascinating information come together here. The organization makes it easy to pick up and read whatever strikes your fancy, while the depth of information means that anyone can learn a great deal. And then there's the art—lots and lots of it. All that makes this book attractive to anyone even remotely interested in birds." —***The Birder's Library***

"A fascinating work that fulfills its goal to 'give readers some sense of what it's like to be a bird' . . . [Readers] will emerge with a deeper appreciation of birds, and of what observable behaviors can reveal about animals' lives." —***Publishers Weekly***

LIVING AS A BIRD by Vinciane Despret, translated by Helen Morrison [Polity Press, 9781509547265]

In the first days of spring, birds undergo a spectacular metamorphosis. After a long winter of migration and peaceful coexistence, they suddenly begin to sing with all their might, varying each series of notes as if it were an audiophonic novel. They cannot bear the presence of other birds and begin to threaten and attack them if they cross a border, which might be invisible to human eyes but seems perfectly tangible to birds. Is this display of bird aggression just a pretence, a game that all birds play? Or do birds suddenly become territorial – and, if so, why?

By attending carefully to the ways that birds construct their worlds and ornithologists have tried to understand them, Despret sheds fresh light on the activities of both and, at the same time, enables us to

become more aware of the multiple worlds and modes of existence that characterize the planet we share in common with birds and other species.

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'Without forgetting the dangers of violence and extinction, Despret's writing always makes the world more generous, open, surprising, and generative. **LIVING AS A BIRD** inquires about and engages with "territory" and "territoriality" in exquisite specificity and concrete detail, exploring these birds, these writers and observers of birds, these sounds and calls, these rituals and affects. In the process, this potent little book describes and proposes a polyphonic score. Readers learn how to pay attention, to attend, to tune the senses and to open the imagination. What emerges are bird-rich, science-rich stories that are less deterministic, less self-satisfied with Explanation, more open to manoeuvre, both for birds and for humans who tune themselves to complex avian performances of their becoming in place.'
Donna Haraway, Professor Emerita at the University of California, Santa Cruz

Counterpoint

There are more things between heaven and earth (the realm of birds) than our philosophy can easily explain. — Etienne Souriau

It all began with a blackbird. My bedroom window had remained open for the first time for many months, a symbol of victory over the winter. The blackbird's song woke me at dawn. He was singing with all his heart, with all his strength, with all his blackbird talent. From a little further away, probably from a nearby chimney, another bird replied. I could not get back to sleep. This blackbird was singing, as the philosopher Etienne Souriau would say, with all the enthusiasm of his body, as animals do when they

are utterly absorbed in their play and in the simulation of whatever it is they are acting out. Yet it was not this enthusiasm that kept me awake, nor what an ill-humoured biologist might have called a noisy demonstration of evolutionary success. It was the sustained determination of this blackbird to vary each series of notes. From the second or third call, I was spellbound by what was transforming into an audiophonic novel, each episode of which I greeted with an unspoken 'and what next?' Each sequence differed from the preceding one; each was reinvented as a new and original counterpoint.

From that day on, my window remained open every night. With each successive sleepless episode like the one I experienced that first morning, I rediscovered the same surprise, the same sense of anticipation which prevented me from going back to sleep (or even wishing to do so). The bird sang. But never before had song seemed so close to speech. These were phrases. Recognizable as such. They caught my ear in exactly the same way as words themselves would do. And yet, in that sustained effort imposed by the urge to avoid repetition, never had song seemed further removed from language. This was speech, but taut with beauty and where every single word mattered. The silence held its breath and I felt it tremble in tune with the song. I had the most clear and intense feeling that, at that moment, the fate of the entire world, or perhaps the existence of beauty itself, rested on the shoulders of this blackbird.

Etienne Souriau referred to the enthusiasm of the body. The composer Bernard Fort told me that certain ornithologists use the word 'exaltation' with reference to skylarks. For this blackbird, the word 'importance' imposed itself above all else. Something mattered, more than anything else, and nothing else mattered except the act of singing. And whatever it was that mattered was invented in a blackbird's song, suffusing it completely, transporting it, carrying it onwards, to others, to the other blackbird nearby, to my body straining to hear it, to the furthest limits to which its strength could convey it. Perhaps that feeling I had of a total silence, clearly impossible given the urban environment beyond my window, was evidence that this sense of importance had seized me so powerfully that everything outside that song had ceased to exist. The song had brought me silence. The sense of importance had imposed itself on me.

Perhaps also the song affected me so powerfully because I had recently read The Companion Species Manifesto by Donna Haraway. In this extremely beautiful book, the philosopher describes the relationship that she has forged with her dog, Cayenne. She explains how this relationship has had a profound effect on the way she relates to other beings, or, more precisely, to 'relations of significant otherness, how it has taught her to become more aware of the world around her, more closely attuned to it, more curious, and how she hopes that the experiences she has shared with Cayenne will stimulate an appetite for new forms of commitment with other beings who will one day matter in the same way. What Haraway's book does, and I was struck by this in the context of my own experience, is to stimulate, encourage and bring into existence, to render attractive, other modes of attention? And to focus attention on these forms of attentiveness. It is a matter not of becoming more sensitive (a rather too convenient hotchpotch of a notion which could just as easily lead to allergies) but of learning how to pay attention and becoming capable of doing so. Paying attention here with an added sense of being attuned, of 'giving your attention' to other beings and at the same time acknowledging the way other beings are themselves attentive. It is another way of acknowledging importance.

The ethnologist Daniel Fabre would often describe his profession as one which focused attention on whatever prevented people from sleeping. The anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro came up with

a very similar definition of anthropology, describing it as the study of variations of importance. He writes moreover that, 'if there is something that de jure belongs to anthropology, it is not the task of explaining the world of the other but that of multiplying our world.'6 I believe that many of the ethologists who observe and study animals, following in the footsteps of the naturalists who preceded them and who took this task so much to heart, invite us to follow a similar path: that of becoming aware of, of multiplying 'modes of existence' - in other words, 'ways of experiencing, of feeling, of making sense, and of granting importance to things'? When the ethologist Marc Bekoff says that each animal is a way of knowing the world, he is saying the same thing. Scientists cannot, of course, dispense with explanations altogether, but explaining can take many very diverse forms. It can, for example, be a way of reconfiguring complicated stories as the vagaries of life which stubbornly insists on trying out every possible variation, or it can mean trying to seek answers for puzzling problems, the solutions to which have already been invented by this or that animal, but it can also reflect a determination to find a general all-purpose theory to which everything would conform. Put another way, there are explanations which end up multiplying worlds and celebrating the emergence of an infinite number of modes of existence and others which seek to impose order, bringing them back to a few basic principles.

The blackbird had begun to sing. Something mattered to him, and at that moment nothing else existed except the overriding obligation to allow something to be heard. Was he hailing the end of the winter? Was he singing about the sheer joy of existing, the sense of feeling himself alive once again? Was he offering up praise to the cosmos? Scientists would probably steer clear of such language. But they could nevertheless assert that all the cosmic forces of an emerging spring had converged to provide the blackbird with the preliminary conditions for his metamorphosis. For this is indeed a metamorphosis. This blackbird, who had probably lived through a relatively peaceful winter, albeit a challenging one, punctuated from time to time by a few unconvincing moments of indignation towards his fellow creatures, intent on maintaining a low profile and living a quiet life, is now singing his heart out, perched on the highest and most visible spot he could find. And everything that the blackbird had experienced and felt over the last few months, everything which had, until that moment, given meaning to things and to other creatures, now becomes part of a new importance, one which is urgent and insistent and which will totally modify his manner of being. He has become territorial.

A Poetic of Attention
`Slow down: work in progress'

Vinciane Despret listens to the blackbird singing and to ornithologists thinking.

Countering the trend of a science in a hurry to promulgate great universal laws, as in physics or chemistry, and to jump, far too quickly, to the conclusion that nature is simply a jungle where the notion of the survival of the fittest holds sway, Vinciane advances tentatively, one step at a time. She observes the ideas of ornithologists in the same way that these observe birds. She calls for researchers who are ready to observe tirelessly, who are not afraid to hesitate or to suspend judgement, and who take the time to allow the smallest differences to emerge, the most modest particularities to become apparent. Taking infinite care, Vinciane explores the labyrinth of their theories. She is on the lookout for ideas, hunting them down, and, as she writes, we see them appear, evolve, disappear, and sometimes reappear once again. There is a kind of ecology of ideas at work here. Vinciane pays attention to whatever

attracts the attention of these scientists: a supercharged attention which enables the subtle diversity of things, of beings and of ideas to express itself.

The most interesting biology of our time is one which politely focuses on the smallest details, the most minuscule particularities. Differences are no longer wiped out by statistics but, on the contrary, are invited to speak for themselves. The living world is full of exceptions to the rule; life evolves only by diverging from a central equilibrium. Sensors with previously unknown levels of precision, new techniques of identification and long-distance tracking allow us to analyse statistically an extraordinary body of observations previously relegated to the ranks of mere anecdote. Today biology is capable of revealing individuals and, even better, personalities, life histories, genealogies, complex social relationships, learning processes and the transmission of experience and of cultures.

Biologists are turning into biographers and biology is becoming a literary undertaking.

In praise of slowing down

By teaching us patiently to observe all the living creatures around us, those naturalists summoned by Vinciane open doors for us, expanding our imaginations, multiplying perspectives and the opportunities to enrich the world. Biology is a slow science. There is a genuine grace in advancing slowly in this way, on tiptoe, taking small steps to avoid trampling on things and on creatures. It is a science focused on individual variations which enchants the world by delicately and elegantly unfolding for us other ways of living and new ways of thinking. And, as a result, the world becomes more complex, more difficult to grasp, certainly, but infinitely richer and more fascinating

But this poetic of attention is also a matter of politics, for if this biology is indeed a science of wonder, it is also a lesson in how to live. Through it we can glimpse hitherto unimagined ways of living together, of cohabiting, of spending time with each other and of sharing spaces and stories with neither exclusion nor conflict. In short, it invites us to imagine new perspectives which will enable us to envisage a new form of alliance with the natural world.

And the starting point for all of that might mean agreeing to be awoken at dawn by a blackbird's song ... perhaps even looking forward to it, hoping to hear it and being grateful for it ... — Stephane Durand <>

A Harp in the Stars: An Anthology of Lyric Essays by Randon Billings Noble [University of Nebraska Press, 9781496217745]

What is a lyric essay? An essay that has a lyrical style? An essay that plays with form in a way that resembles poetry more than prose? Both of these? Or something else entirely? The works in this anthology show lyric essays rely more on intuition than exposition, use image more than narration, and question more than answer. But despite all this looseness, the lyric essay still has responsibilities—to try to reveal something, to play with ideas, or to show a shift in thinking, however subtle. The whole of a lyric essay adds up to more than the sum of its parts.

In **A Harp in the Stars,** Randon Billings Noble has collected lyric essays written in four different forms—flash, segmented, braided, and hermit crab—from a range of diverse writers. The collection also

includes a section of craft essays—lyric essays about lyric essays. And because lyric essays can be so difficult to pin down, each contributor has supplemented their work with a short meditation on this boundary-breaking form.

Review

"I've been searching for a book like this for over twenty years. Its remarkable dazzle—a sharp, eclectic anthology combined with whip-smart craft essays—carves out a fascinating look into the bright heart of what the lyric essay can be."—Aimee Nezhukumatathil, author of *World of Wonders*

"Perhaps the best way to define the lyric essay—a notoriously borderless, slippery literary form—is to gather several dozen finely written examples that invite the reader to engage in acts of mapping and naming themselves. This anthology does just that, with the added bonuses of thought-provoking craft pieces with decidedly lyric bents and a special attention to intersections of the lyric and the personal. I can easily imagine assigning this book in any forward-thinking class, graduate or undergraduate, that involves writing or analyzing expressive prose."—Elena Passarello, author of *Let Me Clear My Throat: Essays*

"Randon Billings Noble has assembled a stellar collection of lyric essays that truly highlights the best these forms have to offer. This book will be pulled from my shelf again and again—for my own reading and as a resource for my students."—Brenda Miller, author of *An Earlier Life*

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Nevermore KATIE MANNING
Classified SUSANNA DONATO
Prophecy ERIC TRAN
Scars, Silence, and Dian Fossey ANGIE CHUANG
Nausea LAYLA BENITEZ-JAMES
Manual AMY BOWERS
Elementary Primer MICHAEL DOWDY
The Punch CHRISTOPHER LINFORTH

Late Middle English (in the sense 'bring [a person] into a place or group'): from Latin introducere, from intro- 'to the inside' + ducere `to lead'

Where to begin?

In 1993, when Deborah Tall first used the term lyric essay?

Or back in the late 1500s, when Montaigne used the word essay to describe what he had been writing?

Or at the turn of the tenth century, when Sei Shonagon wrote her pillow book full of what we might now call list or nonce or :lash essays?

Or further back, with the ancient Greeks, and the invention of the lyre that eventually gave us the word lyric?

> ORIGIN late 16th century: from French lyrique or Latin lyricus, from Greek Iurikos, from Iura 'lyre'

Lurikos, Iura, lyre. To the ear, "lyre" and "liar" sound the same, which I resist because I do not condone lying in essays, lyric or otherwise. But mythology tells us that the origins of the lyre come from a kind of lie.

Hermes, the gods' messenger and something of a trickster, stole Apollo's sacred cattle. Taking off the cattle's feet, he reattached them backward to hide their tracks as he drove them to a secret cave. When Apollo could not find them, he was furious. Hermes tried to deny his theft but ultimately confessed. In atonement, he gave Apollo a new way to make music: the lyre. First made of a tortoise shell, reeds, and gut, it evolved into a U-shaped instrument, similar to a harp, with a crossbar and seven strings. It was played alone or as an accompaniment to songs or poems. Music to sweeten a story.

> Apollo accepted the gift (or payment, really) and became the god of music. Later he taught Orpheus how to play the lyre. Orpheus became the best musician and poet known to humankind. He charmed trees, rocks, and rivers. While sailing with the Argonauts he overpowered the Sirens with his songs, allowing the ship and its crew to pass safely on their quest to find the Golden Fleece. And when his wife died, he sang his way into the dark underworld to retrieve her. His music was so powerful it could almost—almost—raise the dead.

Lyric essays have the same power to soothe, to harrow, to persuade, to move, to raise, to rouse, to overcome.

Like Orpheus and his songs, lyric essays try something daring. They rely more on intuition than exposition. They often use image more than

narration. They question more than answer. But despite all this looseness, the lyric essay still has the responsibilities of any essay: to try to figure something out, to play with ideas, to show a shift in thinking (however subtle). The whole of a lyric essay adds up to more than the sum of its parts.

But the lyric essay is slippery. There's no widespread agreement on what it is or what to call it. When Montaigne first started writing his essais, he was just essaying—trying out new lines of thought. Only later would the idea—and the name—of "essay" stick.

And when Sei Shonagon was noting observations in her pillow book she wasn't thinking about whether her lists and notes would be considered essays, lyric or otherwise. But by the 199os, a thousand years after she had written them, excerpts were anthologized in books like Philip Lopate's The Art of the Personal Essay, and they became, indeed, essays—lyric essays.

Around this same time the Seneca Review, edited by John D'Agata, published an anthology called We Might As Well Call It the Lyric Essay. Deborah Tall had used the term lyric essay in an email to D'Agata, who quickly took up the term and popularized it. He also stretched it—perhaps too far—to include poems and some fictions. The last line of the introduction to his anthology is "We might as well call it the lyric essay because we need as many terms as there are passions for the form:'

With this I agree. Lyric essays require a kind of passion, a commitment to weirdness in the face of convention, a willingness to risk confusion, a comfort with outsider status. When I'm writing a lyric

essay, I'm not worried about what it is or what to call it. But when I started teaching lyric essays, I needed to put words to the form, to try to define it, to make

it at least a little more accessible and understandable—even as I kept running into contradictions in my own thinking. Sometimes I enjoyed the lyric essay's elusiveness; other times I felt like I was the one following the backward hoofprints. But the lyric essay's wily capaciousness is among its strengths.

I came to define a lyric essay as

> a piece of writing with a visible / stand-out / unusual structure
> that explores / forecasts / gestures to an idea in an unexpected way

But about that visible / stand-out / unusual structure, those gestured-to ideas: lyric essays are tricky If you try to mount one to a spreading board, it's likely to dodge the pin and fly away. If you try to press one between two slides, it might find a way to ooze down your sleeve. And if you try to set it within a taxonomy, it will pose the same problems as the platypus—a mammal, but one that lays eggs; semiaquatic, living in both water and on land; and venomous, a trait that belongs mostly to reptiles and insects. It will run away if on land—its gait that of a furry alligator—or swim off in the undulating way of beavers. Either way it can threaten you with a poisoned spur before it ripples off.

Despite its resistance to categorization, there are broad forms of the lyric essay that are worth trying to define. In this anthology you will find four of them.

Flash Essays

> ORIGIN Middle English (in the sense 'splash water about'): probably imitative; compare with flush and splash

I've defined flash essays as being one thousand words or fewer. They are short, sharp, and clarifying. The shortest ones illuminate a moment or a realization the way a flash of light can illuminate a scene. Longer ones may take a little more time but regardless of their length, the meaning of the essay resonates more strongly than its word count might suggest. Nels P. Highberg's "This Is the Room Where" unpacks decades of life in one room and one sentence. "The Sound of Things Breaking" by Ru Freeman centers around a broken plate but encompasses infinitely larger questions of loss amid identity. And Marsha McGregor's "On Beauty Interrupted" stumbles upon a grisly sight on a forest floor that redefines our very notion of beauty.

Lightning flashes, as do cameras, flares, signals, and explosions; all show a brief moment in a larger scene. A small syringe can deliver a powerful drug. A capsule can too—unless it dissolves in a glass of water to reveal a paper flower. Regardless of their content, flash essays are imitative of their form. They give the reader a splash of a moment and leave us flushed with emotion and meaning.

Segmented Essays

> ORIGIN late 16th century (as a term in geometry): from Latin segmentum, from secare 'to cut'

Segmented essays are divided into segments that might be numbered or titled or simply separated with a space break.

These spaces—white space, blank space—allow the reader to pause, think, consider, and digest each segment before moving on to the next. Each section may contain something new, but all still belong cogently to the whole. Sarah Einstein's essay "Self-Portrait in Apologies" is comprised of a series of

apologies to wronged parties from ex-boyfriends to ancestors. Lia Purpura writes about sparrows, fires, and open space—all united under a single "Loss Collection?' And the hurts in Sayantani Dasgupta's "The Boys of New Delhi: An Essay in Four Hurts" add up to reveal the lingering effect of a certain kind of pain but also the new understanding that follows.

Segmented essays are also known as Fragmented
(ORIGIN late Middle English: from French, or from Latin fragmentum, from frangere 'to break')

Paratactic
(ORIGIN mid-19th century: from Greek parataxis, from pare-'beside' + taxis 'arrangement'; from tassein 'arrange')

Collage
(ORIGIN early 20th century: from French, literally 'gluing')

Mosaic
(ORIGIN late Middle English: from French mosaique, based on Latin musi(v)um 'decoration with small square stones, perhaps ultimately from Greek mousa 'a muse)

How you think of an essay may influence how you write it. Citrus fruits come in segments; so do worms. Each segment is part of an organic whole. But a fragmented essay may be broken on purpose and a collage or mosaic deliberately glued together.

Braided Essays
ORIGIN Old English bregdan 'make a sudden movement, also 'interweave, of Germanic origin; related to Dutch breien (verb)

Braided essays are segmented essays whose sections have a repeating pattern—the way each strand of a braid returns to take its place in the center.
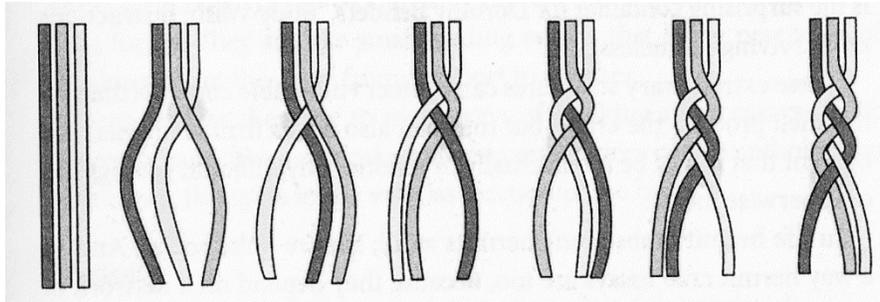
Each time a particular strand returns, its meaning is enriched by the other strands you've read through. In this anthology, Elissa Washuta's braided essay "Apocalypse Logic" weaves together the United States' history of treaties and betrayal, the 2016 election, Chinuk Wawa, and her own family's history; by the end of the essay you have a new understanding of the destructive pressure whiteness imposes on Native American life. Aimee Baker's "Beasts of the Fields" starts with an infestation of rats and weaves in seasonal cycles and her brother's increasing distance and decline to reveal how some threats are nearly impossible to eradicate once they take hold.

> You can braid hair for containment or ornamentation. You can braid tubers into a basket to carry something or into a rope to tie something. Maybe it's something you want to hold fast. Or maybe it's to tense a kite against the wind—to fly.

Hermit Crab Essays

> ORIGIN Middle English: from Old French hermite, from late Latin eremita, from Greek eremites, from erêmos 'solitary'
>
> ORIGIN late 16th century (referring to hawks, meaning 'claw or fight each other'): from Low German krabben

Hermit crab essays, as Brenda Miller named them in Tell It Slant, borrow another form of writing as their structure the way a hermit crab borrows another's shell. Laurie Easter uses a word-search puzzle as the form for her essay about a missing friend, "Searching for Gwen." The footnotes to "Informed Consent" tell more of the story behind Elizabeth K. Brown's participation in a study on families of alcoholics. And a bottle of body wash is the surprising container for Dorothy Bendel's "Body Wash: Instructions on Surviving Homelessness."

These extraliterary structures can protect vulnerable content (the way the shell protects the crab), but they can also act as firm containers for content that might be intellectually or emotionally difficult, prodigious, or otherwise messy.

In life hermit crabs aren't hermits at all; they're quite social. And in a way hermit crab essays are too, because they depend on a network of other extraliterary forms of writing—recipes, labels, album notes—and what we already know of them.

I've always thought that a hermit crab's front looks like a hand reaching out of the shell, a gesture that draws the onlooker inwards. Instead of a needing a shell that protects, the content of a hermit crab essay might lie in wait—like the pellets in a shotgun shell or a plumule of a seed—ready to burst beyond the confines of the form and take root in the reader's mind.

But some of these forms overlap. Sandra Beasley's "Depends on Who You Ask" is a flash essay that's also segmented; its diptych structure gives you the needed space to understand each part until you realize what the essay as a whole is really about. Tyrese L. Coleman's "Why I Let Him Touch

> My Hair" is both flash and a kind of braid, with the scene that leads up to the hair-touching acting as the repeated strand. A lyric essay can be many things at once, the way a square is also a rectangle, a parallelogram, a quadrilateral. One shape, but many ways of naming it.

Near the end of this book is another kind of overlap:

Craft Essays

> ORIGIN Old English crft 'strength, skill', of Germanic origin; related to Dutch kracht, German Kraft, and Swedish kraft 'strength'. Craft (sense 3 of the noun), originally in the expression small craft 'small trading vessels, may be elliptical, referring to vessels requiring a small amount of 'craft' or skill to handle, as opposed to large oceangoing ships.

These craft essays are also lyric essays. They are separated out for easy reference but also because they are united by content (they all think overtly about lyric essays) even though they express that content in a variety of lyric forms. They are like small trading vessels that bring new ways of thinking about the essay from one port to another.

And because there are so many ways of thinking about essays—lyric essays in particular—I've asked all the contributors of this anthology to share their thoughts in the very last section of the book.

Meditations

> ORIGIN mid-16th century: from Latin meditat- 'contemplated, from the verb meditari, from a base meaning 'measure'; related to mete

Here you will find a wide range of thinking about the lyric essay: how it can leap, search, wander, hint at, unravel, excavate, and create; how it can both replicate and explain trauma; how it comes from or leaves behind fiction and poetry; how it acts like a panther, an iceberg, an on-ramp, an artichoke; how it's defined and how it can never be defined; how it tries and how it delivers; how it sings and how it plays.

Orpheus's lyre accompanied him through all sorts of adventures. It traveled with him as deep as the underworld and after his death was sent by Zeus to live among the stars. You can see its constellation—Lyra—in the summer months if you live in the Northern Hemisphere, the winter months if you live in the Southern. This feels like an apt metaphor for the lyric essay:

> The stars are there, but their shape is what your mind brings to them.

It is my hope that writers, readers, students, and teachers will both learn and take pleasure from the surprising, beautiful, wily, and diverse lyric essays that follow. <>

OUR UNFINISHED BIOLOGICAL EVOLUTION by Seymour Itzkoff [Academica Press, 9781680539226]

Seymour W. Itzkoff is one of the world's leading intelligence researchers. His exciting new book Our Unfinished Biological Revolution offers a bold and highly original new study on the evolution of human intelligence from the origin of life to our times. With the help of evolutionary theory, Itzkoff explains the nature of human intelligence as we know it today. Most importantly, it demonstrates that evolution led to the rise of what intelligence researchers call the general intelligence factor: the human ability to plan ahead and solve problems for which natural selection did not prepare us. The book also argues that humans vary in intelligence (as with all traits shaped by Darwinian evolution), and hence in their propensity to think abstractly and anticipate long-term consequences of their actions. **OUR UNFINISHED BIOLOGICAL REVOLUTION** explores the social implications of these two factors as they unfold in modern technological societies, in which intelligence plays an increasingly important role. Finally, the book argues that human intelligence may offer our best hope in solving the daunting problems of the present era—including population growth, the exhaustion of natural resources, and the rise of simplistic and devastating ideologies.

All animals do what natural selection programmed their ancestors to do (...). If any species in the history of life has the possibility of breaking away from short-term selfishness and of planning for the distant future, it is our species. — Richard Dawkins

Where from/Where to: Evolutionary Perspective

Awakening experience

In 1968, the wonderful president of the college at which I taught gave me a grant to participate in a European study group's investigation of European educational efforts and underlying philosophical support system. During the course of five weeks, we traveled to London, Moscow, Copenhagen, Prague, and East Berlin, with short stops in Lithuania, somewhere in Yugoslavia, and Sweden.

Growing up in New York City and educated in its public schools, including a couple of years at City College of New York, later as a faculty member at Hunter College and Lehman College, all these then free tuition institutions in New York City, I was a city boy. Given New York City's buzzing, blooming diversity of races, ethnicities, social classes, the European tour, my first, was a shock.

I expected the diversity of political ideologies and the Cold War antithesis of values. What shocked me were the faces of the citizens of these locales. For example, except for a hint of Genghis Kahn in Moscow, the Soviets had the same blondish hair, blue eyes, skin complexion as residents of Copenhagen, Berlin, and the other nations. Looking at Europeans was like looking at an extended family.

Why and what meaning could one attach to the bloody internecine past and the then possibility of a new horror in the not too distant future? Of course, I thought about the American Civil War. After the five weeks of thought awakening, I guess I was a better teacher of Comparative Educational Systems, even

considering the expense of the trip for my institution. To say the least, it was an eye and mind opening experience. It set me on a course of research into the evolutionary meaning of this visual and cultural reality.

Where from these people?

Thirty years later, in the late 1990s, during my third work in the study of general evolution and human evolution especially, I came across a series of articles studying the genetic relationship of Europeans. These articles attempt to trace back Europeans' origins in terms of the genetic variation that supposedly affects individuals at a genetic and probable geographic distance. The writers called this the "genetic blockade." I believe a better description of what was going on would be "the funnel effect," as in pouring a quart of oil into the oil reservoir of the motor of your automobile. Only in this case, the action would start at the narrow opening of the funnel. Perhaps this process of Europeanization occurred over quite a long extension and then suddenly widening (into where you pour the oil) Europe.

Their timeline analysis back in evolutionary history shows a much shorter period of genetic deviation than, for example, the human residents of Africa. In Eurasia, the expansion of the to-be Europeans occured some two to four hundred thousand years in the past. Again, these writers saw this happening somewhere in Eurasia, where other long-term residents of the Eurasian land mass, such as the Neanderthals, lived. These new genes, which entered the funnel, and then probably a long time afterward, exited it with very different survival adaptations, were probably sister and brother relatives of the Neanderthals. During these two to four hundred thousand years of undergoing a funnel/genetic blockade transformation, they had undergone a radical genetic and thus a phenotypic (external body) revolution.

A different animal

The products/descendants of this genetic/phenotypic revolution were the modern Europeans. First appearing in fossil and cultural form (with tools-physical evidence of their way of life) throughout mainland Europe and west Asia, we have named these humans and their associated culture the "Cro-Magnons." This evidence for the flourishing of a people with an evolving, non-literary civilization comes into view about 40,000-45,000 years ago. This is quite a long span of time, let us say, 200,000 to 45,000 years BP (before the present), for these people, and their cultural and social systems to have been hidden.

Along with the Neanderthals in c. 600,000-40,000 (Before the Present, BP), there were other humans living in Europe; Asia; west and east Africa; but not in North and South America, and certainly not in Antarctica. The characteristic heaviness of bone and body structure, which we see in the Neanderthals, at least partially attributed to adaptations to the sometime colder climate of the Eurasian north during the "ice ages," is also seen in their contemporaries south and east, in Africa and Asia.

A characteristic of the evolutionary process is the manner in which successful mammals, as they exploit their adaptations and create an economics of success, tend to become specialized physically and behaviorally, capitalizing on their success, leaving little room for new breakouts. This seems to have become true of humans, having had many millions of years heading forward onto the pathways of adaptive success, in terms of hunting, scavenging, and scrounging for fruit and vegetables. The result of this was a comfy heaviness of the body structure, ever more deepening their dependency on the status quo of environment, ecology, animal competition.

This occurred until the coming of the revolutionary creature, hominin Cro-Magnon, who had long exited that genetic funnel. In addition to wandering and spreading their genes around in small but potent quantities, the Cro-Magnon clearly had gradually discovered the meaning of behavioral/adaptive success. By 45,000 BP, the key genetic and physical dimensions of their lives, and even the technology they wielded now set them clearly apart.

Pandemic: Perspective on Our 21st-Century Apocalypse

In a dark time, the eye begins to see. — American poet Theodore Roethke (1908–1963 CE)

Nature's autonomy

The global infection of the Corona Virus gives sharp factuality to the warning described in Chapter 20 of this writing; a prediction about our species' impending future. That chapter focused on the still to be worldwide crude oil and natural gas shortages. Still, in less than a decade, given no future pandemics, these shortages will be sharply felt by the economy of most of the nations of the world and especially those with the greatest population to natural resource imbalances. The serious economic consequences for our world will be direct. To add to future concerns, the impact of this 2020 Covic-19 pandemic will long be felt, unlike previous plagues—the pandemics of the 20th and 21st centuries.

The Corona Virus is the latest "black swan" event hinted at in the above chapters. As predicted, there are already resources mustered to bringing this pandemic under scientific, medical control and then, hopefully, economic resuscitation. Soon, there will be a great effort to rebuild to the model of the current status quo. It will not work. Compounded by the inevitable drying up of fossil fuel resources, and possibly recurring virus attacks, the future of our species is opaque and vulnerable.

Where we are

As argued throughout this book, our species is an unfinished evolutionary work in progress. We are, as the present chaos reveals, reaping the harvest of a runaway set of dynamics in clear violation of the Darwinian adaptive and selective rules of the game. Fundamentally, we are an integral part of organic life's fight against the implications of Carnot's 2nd law of thermodynamics—entropy— requiring constant mobilizing of external energy sources to maintain our existence. Our human part in this galactic struggle is to create an adaptive and selective defensive position for the long-run, to try to protect our form of life against evolutionary events still beyond our ken, and perhaps ever beyond our control.

Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse

The theme of human weakness and the appeal for supernatural intervention goes back long in human history. Today we put our hopes in the mysterious powers of our "medicine men." The four horseman theme constitutes the back ground noise of every society, we also, are struggling against ourselves and nature.

New Testament, Revelations 6. These four horsemen appear to symbolically portray four disastrous occurrences that will take place before the second coming of Jesus Christ. Historians have argued over whether these events had already happened or whether mankind had yet to experience them. Most evidence points to the fact these had yet to have taken place. The prophetic characters of the "four

horsemen" previously appeared in the Old Testament's Book of Zechariah, and in the Book of Ezekiel, where they are named as punishments from God.

We can propose four horsemen of the modern apocalypse, three, human initiated, the monstrous fourth, beyond the hands of human kind:

1. Overpopulation
2. Intellectual capital
3. Ideology/war/terrorism
4. Fear of Nature: resource depletion; radical climate/geological change; desertification/starvation, pandemics.

Overpopulation

We now consider this issue in the light of the Covid-19 pandemic. What was an ignored cloud on the horizon in 2019, now becomes a factor in the survival of Western civilization. For a few years, we will not have to face the looming prospect of demand for fossil fuels out-spanning possible supply; or, even the willingness of fossil energy surplus nations to deliver the last readily available barrel of oil to the wider world.

Some seers estimate the 2100 world population at 11 billion. Today, we have 7.9 billion. The increase is predicted to be centered in the so-called developing world. European and North American indigenous Homo sapiens sapiens population are slated to remain stable and even be reduced. Remember, even while humanity was engaged in the blood baths that characterized the 20th and 21st centuries, human fecundity, scientific medicine, and fossil fuels still exploded the total demographic imprint of Homo sapiens.

Immigration into wealthy lands will give rise to their increase. But that increase is estimated on the basis of our former global economic fortunes. It is clear that the quarantines around our planet, the wave of unemployment, and the psychological impact of happy generational dreams now evaporated, else placed on hold, will soon give us a very different set of predictions for economic growth.

We have, in earlier chapters, chronicled the explosive growth of world-wide populations, both of Hs and Homo sapiens sapiens, in terms of potential intellectual capital. But it was the Homo sapiens sapiens who created and developed the harnessing of fossil energy, including coal, as well as invented the medical miracles that the scientific mentality created. These two factors were fundamental in lifting up our world demography to what every educated person should long have realized are unsustainable levels. And now we will know this reality.

The shutdowns of the economies of all the nations by the governmental response to the virus has left vast numbers of the least educated in limbo, momentarily supported by printed "dollars" in the trillions. Many predict that the recovery by both the private and public spheres will fail. Already, governors of the states are teetering on the edge of "bankruptcy," as their budgets are deeply in the red and they cannot pay their current workers as well as the pensions of those in retirement.

The corona virus, while having infected the powerful as well as the weak, is by and large an urban catastrophe. The United Nations estimates that there are eighty-one cities in the world with populations over five million, and many more vastly beyond this figure. This is hardly the demographic picture we

have described, which created the proto civilization of the Cro-Magnons, as well as the literacy of the urban Sumerians. Here, we tabulate hundreds of thousands of generations in the making. We have had devastating plagues in the recent past, such as the terrible flu epidemic of 1918. They were not global in impact.

We are only on first base in seeing the consequences of this 2020 event. When governments are printing untold monies in the attempt to help the masses, there are still consequences to be discovered. The financial system itself is slated for collapse. Forget the democratic institutions as we have built them since the Enlightenment. Forget the dreams of the libertarians. It is difficult enough management for any nation when coal, crude oil, and natural gas are plentiful and cheap. Uranium, ad the wind that blows over the wheat field, the minerals that create the solar panels, dream on! The governments that print the Euros will have to manage (control) the masses of humans in panic within these imploding urbs.

The viruses that continually challenge modern human life confront us—a memory from the earliest eons of life itself. They mutate constantly and kill, especially as they penetrate the cancer that is human overpopulation.

Intellectual capital

In the period before the Enlightenment and the beginning of the scientific/industrial period, the world population had many ups and downs. One might deem it a continuum of prosperity and decline. We write here of the progeny of Cro-Magnon, discussed earlier in the context of civilizational advances from the Atlantic, east to the Pacific Ocean. Inevitably, the rise and decline of these Homo sapiens sapiens societies gave impetus to varying skill and educational levels. The example of Rome, the urban center of the empire, is illustrative. Rising up over a period of 500 years, it had attained through conquest and economic unification a cosmopolitan mix of the educated, which engendered games, sometimes brutal, to entertain the 1–2 million inhabitants who resided there, under Augustus, 1st century CE. The continual wars with the invading German tribes over the following centuries reduced the population, so that when Alaric the Visigoth gained control in 410 CE, there were only several hundred thousand inhabitants.

As time went on, even under Papal control, the city became a shell of its greatness. Estimates are that in the period 1000–1200 CE, there may have been only 30 thousand inhabitants in Rome. One wonders about the character of the populations, not only of Rome, but of the other cities and towns of Italy during the supposed "dark ages" of Europe. Where one would describe the culture of imperial Rome, compared to the Hellenistic Greeks' of a similar time frame, leading up to c.100 CE, as populist and brutally low in intellectual elan except for a literary minority, the later burst of Renaissance creativity, now under the aegis of a religious hierarchy, and in the same geographical space and economic and technological advance as imperial Rome, must have arisen from a very different "populist" ecology. Clearly, quiet events in the demographic transition of the populace provided an environment of hardship, struggle and a selective intellectual rise in the character of the people. It could not alone have been the mere addition of those "violent" gothic genes to the population of Italy that created this oncoming Renaissance.

Many view the "Black Death" of 1346–1369, which ravaged Europe as well as the Near East and killed more than 50 million people, as a puzzling event in the history of humanity. Coming at the beginning of the Renaissance in Europe, it seemed to have ricocheted into a turning point in the humanistic

perspective on life. The pickup in economic activity was one puzzling element, as was the seeming emancipation from the fatalism of the religious explanations of its horror—it was an invitation to secular thought and inquiry.

The Italian writer and poet, Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375 CE), author of The Decameron, which recounts the tales of a group of ten citizens trying to escape the plague by seclusion, describes in his introduction the main ways in which people reacted to the pestilence:

There were some people who thought that living moderately and avoiding any excess might help a great deal in resisting this disease, and so they gathered in small groups and lived entirely apart from everyone else. They shut themselves up in those houses where there were no sick people and where one could live well by eating the most delicate of foods and drinking the finest of wines, allowing no one to speak about or listen to anything said about the sick and dead outside...Others thought the opposite: they believed that drinking excessively, enjoying life, going about singing and celebrating, satisfying in every way the appetites as best one could, laughing, and making light of everything that happened was the best medicine for such a disease...Many others adopted a middle course between the two attitudes just described: They did not shut themselves up, but went around carrying in their hands flowers, or sweet-smelling herbs, or various kinds of spices and they would often put these things to their noses, believing that such smells were wonderful means of purifying the brain, for all the air seemed infected with the stench of dead bodies, sickness, and medicines. (Mark 2020, 7–8)

There is a possible message here from our own pandemic, which, if not as devastating in terms of human mortality as the "Black Plague," is sure to leave its economic, intellectual capital, psychological and even ideological mark. Our world being so interconnected and heavily populated, will feel the sharp brand of this Pandemic, as well as the consequences of the spectacular efforts made around the world to protect vulnerable humans.

Note, the new heroes of this battle to protect the civilians of our nations are the medical savants, from the brainiest medical researchers to those assigned to clean and disinfect the hospitals and research labs. In this war, the tanks, missiles, aircraft carriers are in abeyance except as mobile hospitals. The strategists against this mysterious enemy are the medical experts, here garbed in an almost religious mantle of prophetic leadership. The vast amounts of debt nations are issuing are to protect the viability of least specialized members of the economic hierarchy. The expectation in this descent into defensive expediency is that we will have to fight hard to recover a decent working-class economy for masses of humans now furloughed or laid off their jobs. Many of these jobs will disappear, as the employer classes attempt to maintain solvency by biting hard on the human and taxation costs. Instead of an advancing, growing financial economy that needs to absorb more hands, a world in fear of a recurrence of viral pandemics will now tread very carefully as they plan for the future. An economy which again begins to use fossil fuels—the blood that flows through the arteries of a 20th and 21st-century prosperity and war—will soon reveal to its users that these resources are not immune from history.

In the short run, the next few decades, things will be rough in terms of the political conflicts over government controls, attempts at egalitarian socialism, the inevitabilities of debt repayment and progressive tax policies. We are likely to witness a universal search for skilled, abstract, intellectual abilities to do the work that a modern robotic economy will now demand. Soon, from the police to the military, even parking lot and cleanup skills, the efficient mind will move to the front. Governments

which are not lean in the use of tax revenues, along with the private sector's efficiency in the use natural and human resources, will bankrupt their nation. As the parable notes, "when the tide goes out we will know who is swimming naked."

Every nation that is an ethnicity will be selfishly pulling in its borders for protection in the search for economic and then social survival. The smart ones at the top will be rewarded for creating the most efficient modes of production. Even Vladimir Lenin, taking his lesson from Marx's historical view of economic modernity, realized that the Soviet Union could never compete with its neighbors unless it allowed the free mentality of his people to drive the nation towards modernity. By freeing brain power with all its sociological and economic hybris, Lenin, in 1921, was opening the door to national survival.

What we will be witnessing in the decades to come is the continuation of an ancient evolutionary dialogue between the dynamics of plenty and scarcity. For two centuries, the human species has been expanding on the wings of an indulgence of plenty. Science and natural resources have exploded our population within the world of Homo sapiens sapiens humans. They have also extended philanthropy to the outlier Hs domains. It is doubtful that this dynamic can continue to maintain a large portion of our nearly 8 billion humans aboard this planet.

From plenty, we slip into scarcity, to witness a new human move. The war for survival between the intellectually competent producers and protectors of our civilization, and those who are the receivers of this diminishing surplus of care for the poor, continues. In the West, will we continue the maintenance of Medicare and Medicaid, government-subsidized health, food stamps, varieties of government assistance to the "needy," including "great society" grants to single parents? Government policy is built on the taxes produced by the free marketplace, else in a totalitarian state, ladled out by fiat. The poor have little philanthropic recourse. In semi-democracies, this war for survival becomes political. How long will the tax payers tolerate such "misuse" of their labor? In any case, scarcity argues for the renewed dominance of the Homo sapiens sapiens mentality, as it adjusts to the now ever-advancing cognitive demands of science and technology for social survival.

Ideology

We have noted in earlier chapters of the historical transition in humanity's need to believe, this from theistic and monarchical obeisance, given the failures to predict and realize their commands, to a more secular search for factual, symbolic methodologies that one could commit to. The issue of hierarchy in human society has always been a contentious element in our social interrelationships. For a few thousand years, priests, with their literate and intellectual skills, along with the charisma of warrior kings, gave these groups authority and privilege.

Even in the democratic and republican political environment exemplified by ancient Greece and Rome, the oligarchic classes held sway in many communities, fighting for privilege with egalitarian and populist persuasions. Indeed, in dynamic expansive times, wealthy privilege was sustained, while the hoi polloi, engorged on their crumbs, kept quiet. In our own dynamic centuries, wealth has accumulated outside of the political arena due to the creative thrust of industrial and technological innovation. When this innovation and wealth began to create significant institutional class and political power difference, the masses shifted their allegiance to socialism's claim of populist intellectual equality. And therefore, social class power immorality, a la Marx.

As we have previously explained, there came to be one massive, century-long and worldwide ideological commitment of belief that this wealth and seeming power differential was not earned. Rather, it was an illegitimate and grasping moral evil that required extirpation. And thus, the 20th century saw hundreds of millions of talented Homo sapiens sapiens humans destroyed in wars and genocides by their fellow Homo sapiens sapiens compatriots, often because of their ethnicity.

In so-called leftist circles, mostly in "democratic" environments such as the USA, enormous accumulations of private wealth have been created along with a thriving working and middle class. Yet, a very large part of its population is still essentially economic and political wards of the state. What the USA had going for it in the late 20th and 21st centuries was a dynamic which allowed for the government subsidization of a large welfare class, including millions of illegal immigrants magnetized by the "freebies"—medical, educational, and economic benefits not available in their countries of origin.

Hypothetically, our new virus might never obtain classical immunity relief for its recipients. Other viruses have remained beyond medical reach. If this occurs, it could engender a permanent imprint on the world, of fear, scarcity, and morbidity, such that the generosity of political philanthropy both within nations and between nations could create a "me first" nationalistic tonality in our planet of disappointed expectations. It will be fatal for globalization and the wars of ideology will return.

> Argument 1: Why are groups of humans within and between nations having such tough luck? Is it not a conspiracy of the well-off, the power makers, to take it out on the poor, especially when they are identified by having different ethnic orientation or skin coloration?

What will the other side counter to this revolutionary accusation?

> Argument 2: No, the other side will say, it is a matter of personal lack of discipline, not of studying, working hard enough, or engaging in bad behavior.

In democratic societies, the poor can still vote and agitate, assisted by committed ideological leaders, "socialist or fascist." The issue of human intelligence variability is on the prohibition index. Such ideas cannot be entertained without significant duress. One cannot predict the outcome in a universal environment of blindness and ignorance.

If secular rationality could obtain a place in our discussion, as we have argued in this and in other writings, there could be mustered national and international efforts to gradually complete our "unfinished biological revolution." We could be on our way to create a world wherein all humans have sufficient intellectual and educational capacities to compete economically and socially. This, while the smartest Homo sapiens sapiens are creating ever-heightening, abstract educational and work skills. Remember, we are on the road for a new intellectual direction in economic productivity. <>

COMING TO TERMS WITH AMERICA: ESSAYS ON JEWISH HISTORY, RELIGION, AND CULTURE by Jonathan D. Sarna [A JPS Scholar of Distinction Book, Jewish Publicaton Society, 9780827615113]

COMING TO TERMS WITH AMERICA examines how Jews have long "straddled two civilizations," endeavoring to be both Jewish and American at once, from the American Revolution to today.

In fifteen engaging essays, Jonathan D. Sarna investigates the many facets of the Jewish-American encounter—what Jews have borrowed from their surroundings, what they have resisted, what they have synthesized, and what they have subverted. Part I surveys how Jews first worked to reconcile Judaism with the country's new democratic ethos and to reconcile their faith-based culture with local metropolitan cultures. Part II analyzes religio-cultural initiatives, many spearheaded by women, and the ongoing tensions between Jewish scholars (who pore over traditional Jewish sources) and activists (who are concerned with applying them). Part III appraises Jewish-Christian relations: "collisions" within the public square and over church-state separation.

Originally written over the span of forty years, many of these essays are considered classics in the field, and several remain fixtures of American Jewish history syllabi. Others appeared in fairly obscure venues and will be discovered here anew. Together, these essays—newly updated for this volume—cull the finest thinking of one of American Jewry's finest historians.

Reviews:

"A *tour d'horizon* of a remarkable historian's storied career, this valuable collection of essays is as much a testament to the complexity and creativity of the American Jewish experience as it is a celebration of the scholarly imagination."—Jenna Weissman Joselit, author of *Set in Stone: America's Embrace of the Ten Commandments*

"For over four decades, Jonathan Sarna has enriched our understanding of the American Jewish experience. How fortunate we are to now have in one volume so many of Sarna's groundbreaking articles! Replete with memorable anecdotes and brilliant insights, **COMING TO TERMS WITH AMERICA** is a trove of riches for all who care about American Jewish culture and American religion."—Shuly Rubin Schwartz, chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary

"The breadth and depth of Jonathan D. Sarna's work on the American Jewish experience is electrifying. This collection of the author's most outstanding historical essays is a page-turning exploration of the dynamics of Jewish life, shedding light on American Jewry's ongoing effort to 'straddle two civilizations.' Readers will discover that even as America has transformed Judaism, so too have Jews contributed to the shaping of the American nation."—Gary P. Zola, executive director of the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

"Jonathan Sarna, the most erudite of historians of American Jewry, speaks of the past and of the present through this thought provoking and engaging volume."—Deborah Lipstadt, Dorot Professor of Modern Jewish and Holocaust History at Emory University

"As a doyen of American Jewish history, Sarna's work has long helped define this field of study. This collection of his pathbreaking essays offers scholars and students of history alike a second look at his sterling contributions to illuminating the Jews' and Judaism's encounter with America's free society."—Jeffrey Gurock, Libby M. Klaperman Professor of Jewish History at Yeshiva University

"Bringing together a wealth of insights from Jonathan Sarna's long scholarly engagement with American Jewish culture, **COMING TO TERMS WITH AMERICA** illuminates the evolution of the field of American Jewish history itself."—Beth S. Wenger, associate dean for graduate studies and Moritz and Josephine Berg Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania

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Excerpt: This volume explores how, in the wake of the American Revolution, Jews came to terms with the United States of America. The new nation, governed by a unique constitution, granted Jews far more freedom and equality, within a more religiously pluralistic setting, than Jews had ever previously known. It extended to Jews new opportunities and also posed new challenges.

How to be both Jewish and American became a defining question. While apologists insisted that there could be no contradiction, that being a better Jew made one a better American and vice versa, Jews learned from experience that reality was far more complicated. For much of American history, for example, the legal work week extended to six days, and state blue laws mandated that Sunday be set

aside as the day of rest. This posed a challenging problem for Jews who observed their Sabbath on Saturday. Should their children attend school or synagogue on Saturday? If they kept the seventh day holy, as Judaism demanded, that meant working fifty-two fewer days than their neighbors, and might cost them their jobs ("If you don't come on Saturday, don't come in on Monday"). Jewish holidays in the fall and the spring posed similar problems. Even famous sports figures like baseball stars Hank Greenberg and Sandy Koufax eventually had to choose whether or not to play in the World Series on Yom Kippur—a microcosm of the occasional but unavoidable tensions inherent in being both an American and a Jew.

Straddling Two Civilizations

Part 1 of this book explores diverse aspects of this theme, showing how in different ways, as well as in different times and locales, Jews "straddled two civilizations," looking mostly if not always successfully to synthesize them. As early as 1783, Philadelphia's Jews, led by their patriotic religious leader Gershom Seixas, assured Pennsylvania's Council of Censors, an elected body that evaluated the activities of the state government, that the "conduct and behavior of the Jews has always tallied with the great design of the Revolution Consciously ignoring the many Jews who had actually supported the British Crown during the Revolutionary era, Seixas chose instead to focus on Jews' patriotism, the purported congruity between their "conduct and behavior;' and the Revolution's "great design." He understood how important it was to proclaim that Judaism and the new nation marched hand in hand.'

Subsequently, the question of how exactly to tally being at once Jews and Americans proved an unending challenge. For much of American Jewish history, chapter 1 shows, American Jews did try to synthesize their dual identities, looking to forge a Judaism and an Americanism that reinforced one another. This "cult of synthesis" provided American Jews with the optimistic hope that, in the United States, they could accomplish what Jews had not successfully achieved anywhere else in the Diaspora. Instead of having to choose between competing allegiances—the great Enlightenment dilemma—they could be American and Jewish at one and the same time. American Jews advanced this vision in a range of ways, including championing a definition of America that warmly embraced them as insiders. In so doing, they also helped to redefine what being an American actually meant.

Chapter 2 shows how what Seixas called "the great design of the Revolution" had already begun to significantly reshape American Judaism during the immediate post-Revolutionary decades. In response to the political, social, and spiritual revolution wrought by independence and the beliefs flowing from it, Judaism in America was challenged and radically transformed so as to harmonize it with the country's new republican ethos. Liberty, freedom, and democracy became important religious themes to Jews during these years. Following decades of religious ferment, chaos, and originality, a new and more democratic Judaism emerged, attuned to post-Revolutionary Protestantism and to the new nation's distinctive values.

"The Jewish Prayer for the Government," discussed in chapter 3, provides a granular case study of how Jews reshaped their "conduct and behavior" in response to these distinctive values. Focusing on a prayer traditionally recited for kings, it shows how the prayer's words and sentiments underwent significant transformation as it accompanied American Jews through centuries of political, social, and religious change. Both the variations Jews introduced into the prayer and new prayers composed in place of the

original one shed light on the effort to balance religious tradition and devoted patriotism. They likewise illuminate the changing relationship between American Jews and the American state.

The two chapters that follow, one dealing with the Jewish experience in Cincinnati and the other with Boston, offer case studies of a different sort. Each examines how Jews' "conduct and behavior" interacted with civic culture ("the culture of place") to forge a distinctive communal ethos and vision. In Cincinnati, where British, Dutch, and German Jews numbered among the city's founders and builders, that vision rested on four interrelated premises: first, that Jews could succeed economically in the city; second, that they could interact freely and on an equal basis with their non-Jewish neighbors; third, that they had a mission, both as good citizens and as good Jews, to work for civic betterment; and finally, that they had an obligation to advance a new type of Judaism in Cincinnati, one better suited than traditionalism to the American milieu. Chapter 4 traces the rise and fall of this "lofty vision," illuminating how Jews straddled two civilizations on the local level.

Chapter 5, focused on Boston, shows how in a very different American city, East European Jews who had not stood among the city's founders likewise formulated a distinctive local ethos and vision, in this case deeply influenced by Boston's image of itself as the "Athens of America." Local Jews sought to forge a creative synthesis between Boston and Jew, a mélange they hoped would combine the best features of each culture—"Athens" and "Jerusalem"—and help Jews committed to both of them feel welcome.

Not all Jews, however, cherished the goal of synthesis; nor did all of them model the kind of "conduct and behavior" demanded of insiders. The subjects of chapter 6, instead, cast themselves as critics, subversives, and dissenters. They pushed the bounds of propriety, spoke out against hypocrisy and prejudice, and rebelled against the social and religious norms of their time. While subversive Jews who violated the cultural conventions of their day were far from typical, especially in early America, they too shed light on the central themes of this section. Even as the majority of American Jews looked to straddle two civilizations in a bid to become insiders, subversive badly behaved Jews sometimes made history as outsiders.

The Shaping of American Jewish Culture

In the late nineteenth century, as the size of the American Jewish community swelled, projects designed to secure it religiously and culturally proliferated. A new generation of Jews, women as well as men, many of them young, American educated, self-confident, and forward looking, undertook to lead American Jewry from the wilderness of insignificance into the promised land of Jewish cultural renown. Not content just to come to terms with America, they aimed to transform it into a center of Jewish culture, creativity, and scholarship.

The three chapters in part 2 trace this cultural transformation. "The Late Nineteenth-Century American Jewish Awakening" introduces the subject, showing how and why so many different religio-cultural initiatives—many of them spearheaded by women—took root between the late 1870s and World War I. Chapter 7 focuses on the nineteenth century, but also carries four lessons of continuing relevance to students of Jewish cultural renewal. First, continuity often depends upon discontinuity. Some of late nineteenth-century Jews' most successful and creative innovations, notably their emphases on religious particularism and Zionism, turned past wisdom on its head. New historical conditions created new movements, new emphases, and new paradigms—the very opposite of the tried and true. Second, magic formulas should be mistrusted. Many of those engaged in the effort to preserve and revitalize American

Jewish life in the nineteenth century believed they held the secret to success—spiritual renewal, Jewish education, Zionism, unleashing the potential of Jewish women, and so forth. Not one of those panaceas by itself lived up to its advanced billing. Together, however, they succeeded wondrously, and in ways nobody could have predicted in advance. Third, the most creative ideas for revitalizing Jewish life often flow from the bottom up, rather than from the top down, and from outsiders rather than insiders. The young, the alienated, and those on the periphery of Jewish life produced innovative approaches and creative ideas precisely because they were not wedded to the community's central assumptions. Fourth, challenges, when cleverly addressed, can prove beneficial to the Jewish community, leaving it stronger than before. Confounding those who predicted gloom and doom, the late nineteenth-century American Jewish community experienced surprising bursts of new life.

Chapter 8 explores how Jewish publishing helped shape that new life. It argues that two central impulses underlay this effort: the quest to forge a new Jewish cultural center in America and the desire to integrate American Jewry into a nationwide community bound together by a common culture of print. The first objective was achieved; the second not. Ultimately, instead of uniting American Jews, print media came to represent all that divided them. The same tension between the one and the many— between unum and pluribus—that has characterized so many other aspects of American culture came to characterize American Jewish culture as well.

Chapter 9, focused on the Jewish Theological Seminary, examines another tension in American Jewish culture: between timeless texts and timely issues. It shows how within the world of the Seminary— though, of course, not there alone—dispassionate scholars who pored over traditional Jewish texts clashed with activist scholars concerned with the application of those texts to improving Jewish life. It argues that competing visions of Jewish scholarship—one rarified and exclusive, the other popular and inclusive—reflected profoundly different conceptions: not only of the purposes of Jewish learning, but also of a seminary's objectives, obligations, and mission to the world at large. <>

MESSIAS PUER: CHRISTIAN KNORR VON ROSENROTH'S LOST EXEGESIS OF KABBALISTIC CHRISTIANITY: EDITIO PRINCEPS PLENA WITH TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION by Anna M. Vileno and Robert J. Wilkinson [Series: Aries Book Series, Brill, 9789004426481]

Previously considered irretrievably lost, the discovery of the only manuscript of the **MESSIAS PUER** composed by Knorr von Rosenroth, the leading exponent of Christian Kabbalah in the seventeenth century, gives us an important insight into the evolution of his thought and specific vision of the relations between Jews and Christians. Moreover, the subtle intertwining of both Kabbalah and the emerging biblical criticism at work in this partial commentary on the New Testament Gospels sheds new light on the largely unexplored role of Esotericism during the Modern Era in the construction of the future study of religion. This book includes a critical edition of the original manuscript and an annotated translation.

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Christian Knorr von Rosenroth was born in 1636 in the vicinity of Glogów, a Silesian city in present day Poland. The son of a protestant pastor, Knorr enjoyed a classical education, embracing theology, philosophy and the study of ancient classical and oriental languages. His student dissertation, presented in Leipzig, was devoted to the "Theology of the Gentiles" as it may be gleaned from the medals and coins conserved from Greek and Roman Antiquity. This rather curious work appears to contain the seeds of many of the interests later entertained by Knorr and to reflect an early stage of his interest in the ancient traditions sometimes called philosophia perennis. If von Rosenroth is best-known today for his Kabbala Denudata, a Latin anthology of kabbalistic texts partly taken from the Lurianic tradition, he did not confine his research to Kabbalah. A real "Renaissance man", he was productive as an author, translator, editor and commentator and took interest in fields as variegated as antique numismatics, medicine, biblical exegesis and landscape architecture.

As was the custom at the time, Knorr travelled throughout Europe in order to complete his education. Among the various countries that he visited— France, England and the Netherlands—his stay in Amsterdam seems to have been of particular importance for the future development of his thought. During the Seventeenth Century the welcoming city of Amsterdam hosted a large and motley Jewish community, of many different tendencies. Amongst these, the Marranos, the Jews who had converted to Catholicism while living in Spain or Portugal and who were now in some cases returning to Judaism, played an important role in the numerous cultural transfers that took place at the time between Jews and Christians. Through his meeting with a large number of scholars, Jews and Christians alike, who cultivated a deep interest in Kabbalistic studies, Knorr's interest in mystical Jewish literature was stimulated. The city of Safed, in upper Galilee, was an important centre where different audacious and innovative kabbalistic systems were elaborated by leading Jewish scholars such as Moshe Cordovero, Salomon Alkabetz and Isaac Luria, the most prominent figure of Safedian Kabbalah. Kabbalistic texts began to spread to the common Jewish folk. The study of esoteric lore became popular in Europe even beyond the strictly religious sphere where it had been confined until then. Although we lack precise information about the textual sources of his work, it is probably that, while wandering through Europe, and especially in the Netherlands, Knorr gathered texts from the Lurianic tradition that would soon lie at the core of his kabbalistic anthology, Kabbala Denudata.

Furthermore, in the years 1662–1663 in Amsterdam, Knorr had the opportunity to encounter followers of the Sabbatean movement, which spread all over Europe in the wake of the messianic activities of Sabbatai Tsevi (1625–1676) the Jewish Messiah of Early Modern times. Born in Smyrna, in present day Turkey, Tsevi was the leading figure of an extensive messianic movement that spread across Europe and North Africa. Despite his conversion to Islam in 1666, Sabbatianism remained a strong and influential trend in Jewish life throughout the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Centuries and inevitably provoked vigorous opposition from the rabbinic authorities. The extent of the consequential social unrest led

inevitably to the involvement of the Christian authorities, who were solicited by other Jews to condemn Sabbatean adherents. This explosion of messianic fervour attracted the attention of several Christian scholars at the time, for example, the French biblical critic Richard Simon. According to some modern scholars, arguing from the concurrence of Sabbatianism and von Rosenroth's work, his publication of the Kabbala Denudata at the Palatine Court of Sulzbach where he was Privy Counselor needs to be considered in the light of the Sabbatean influence. This period, the second half of the Seventeenth Century in Europe, was characterized by strong messianic expectations, in both Jewish and Christian communities, and many Christian millenarians took a serious interest in the Sabbatean movement. Without doubt, this messianic tension needs to be born in mind when we account for the genesis of the last work of Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, the Messias Puer.

Christian Knorr von Rosenroth was deeply rooted in the intellectual life of his time. He carried on epistolary exchanges with such personalities as the Cambridge Platonic philosopher Henry More, which were published in the first volume of the Kabbala Denudata in 1677. More had expressed his views on Kabbalah in 1653, in his Conjectura Cabbalistica, and when he became acquainted with Lurianic Kabbalah recently made available in Knorr's Latin translations, he reacted vigorously against its use in a Christian context.9 Through Henry More, Knorr became acquainted with the thought of the French philosopher René Descartes, about whose work Knorr addressed many questions to his English correspondent.

Among Knorr's many connections we find G.W. Leibniz, whose friendship with Knorr has been illuminated particularly in the works of Allison Coudert. Until thirty years ago, Leibniz was considered as being quite indifferent to what were conceived as the "occultist" interests of Kabbalah. Though often presented as the incarnation of rationalism, the herald of modern science and mathematics, Leibniz was in fact attracted by the esoteric tradition of Judaism, and, in a world where philosophy, science and religion were hardly distinguishable, admired von Rosenroth's work. As the librarian of Duke Anthony Ulrich of Brunswick, Prince of Wolfenbüttel, Leibniz was well informed about the various publication projects of the République des lettres, and his correspondence preserves one of the very few early attestations we have of Messias Puer and its content. Leibniz was introduced to Knorr in 1671 when he was preparing his kabbalistic anthology by Knorr's friend and colleague Francis Mercury van Helmont. It appears that during one of his trips, in 1688, Leibniz spend a period with Knorr in Sulzbach and Leibniz's letters written during and after this stay attest his keen interest in Knorr's enterprise.

A central role in Knorr's life was played by his friendship with the Belgian physician and alchemist Francis Mercury van Helmont. Knorr wrote the preface to the latter's Alphabeti vere naturalis hebraici brevissima delineatio, about the Hebrew alphabet and its usefulness in the education of people affected by deafness. The collaboration of Knorr and van Helmont contributed to the publication of several works important for the intellectual history of seventeenth-century German culture: a German translation of Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy and a translation of the medical summa of Jean-Baptiste van Helmont, Francis Mercury's father, the Ortus medicinæ among them.

The exact role that each of the two companions played in the Hebrew printing and translation programme of the circle of the Palatine Court of Sulzbach is still under discussion among scholars. Was Knorr merely a compiler, (as he himself describes his function) and just the translator of versions that were requested from him by van Helmont, who in that case would be the real initiator of the project? Or did Knorr take a fully active part in the projects? As we suggest in this book, Knorr may have been only a major participant to the anthological project as a translator, but his close acquaintance with the

texts allowed him to assimilate kabbalistic doctrines to such an extent that he became able to produce personal and original works such as the major part of Adumbratio and, of course, his most prominent and original achievement, Messias Puer.

As we have seen, Christian Knorr von Rosenroth was a German Christian Kabbalist who distinguished himself by the translation into Latin of Hebrew mystical texts belonging mainly to the Lurianic tradition and collected in an anthology called Kabbala Denudata published between 1677 and 1684. According to Gershom Scholem, the great twentieth-century scholar of Kabbalah, the kabbalistic system of Isaac Luria (1534–1572), the last stage in the historical development of Kabbalah, was characterised by strong innovative hermeneutics and was to become, through its reception in Hassidism, the most influential upon Jewish religious life until the present day—to such an extent that Lurianic Kabbalah can be considered today as the "official theology of Judaism". The quality of Knorr's translation work did not escape Scholem's notice any more than the reliability of his Hebrew sources.18 Whenever it is possible, a comparison of the Hebrew text and Knorr's translation reveals the latter accurately to convey the meaning of the Hebrew. Furthermore, Knorr showed a desire fully to grasp the multiple meanings of Kabbalistic texts, as one may see in his Loci communes kabbalistici, a dictionary of the most commonly encountered Kabbalistic notions, each entry of which exposes several different possible interpretations. In this way, the text is never reduced to just a single possible reading.

In addition to his translations and epistolary exchanges with notable contemporaries19, Knorr also worked energetically on Christian Kabbalah. Some works, like Adumbratio kabbalæ christianæ, probably produced in collaboration with his regular companion, Francis Mercury van Helmont and published in 1684 in the second volume of Kabbala Denudata, reflect his engagement in an intellectual programme aimed at re-interpreting Christian doctrines in the light of Kabbalistic teachings. But, in addition to the singular and original production of Adumbratio, Knorr was also responsible for an edition of the Syriac New Testament printed in unvocalised square Hebrew letters in Sulzbach in 1684. This year of 1684 was thus important in Knorr's intellectual development for with this Peshitta, our author took an important step in the general development of his own research into Christian Kabbalah. The significance of the Syriac Peshitta New Testament for Knorr was that he considered it was written essentially in the same Aramaic as the Zohar and thus allowed the New Testament to be understood in the light of Zoharic categories and doctrines.

This same year of 1684 saw the fruition of the next aspect of this important co-ordinated project of Knorr, namely the publication of an edition of the Zohar itself in Aramaic. In a certain fashion all of Knorr's publications since the first volume of Kabbala Denudata anticipated this publication which for a long time afterwards remained a work of reference for Hebraists. In the Latin introduction to the Sulzbach Zohar, Knorr, in pedagogic mood, proposes a progressive approach to the reader: to become familiar with the un-pointed Aramaic which appears in Hebrew letters in the Zohar Knorr recommends practice in reading the extracts of the Zohar published in the second volume of the anthology which give a vocalised text in the same Hebrew characters opposite a Latin translation and accompanied by commentaries. The exercise of reading the Syriac New Testament in square Hebrew type together with the Kabbalistic lexicon which is the Loci, should enable the reader to approach the text of the Zohar without difficulty. A Zoharic reading of the New Testament thus becomes attainable.

The second volume of the Kabbala Denudata begins with a long preface in which Knorr, basing himself on authentic identifiable textual sources, sets out the history of the collection of the Zohar, as it is

reported in Jewish tradition. Undoubtedly having himself an interest in the question, Knorr defended the antiquity of the Zohar. Indeed to trace the Zohar back to Simon bar Yochai as tradition demands, entails placing it close to the time of Jesus. It is then far easier to claim that the Zohar contains Christian truths. The principal object remains however to render the Zohar accessible to Latin readers, though Knorr's apologetic concerns are particularly clear in this year of 1684. However in addition to Adumbratio kabbalæ christianæ already mentioned, Christian Knorr von Rosenroth was also the author of a work entitled Messias Puer, which now with this edition can be seen to represent the final outcome of his Kabbalistic studies from a Christian perspective.

The work of Christian Knorr von Rosenroth enjoyed a wide and long-lasting reception. His kabbalistic anthology remained, until the end of the Nineteenth Century the principal if not the only one source through which readers could access kabbalistic studies without mastering the Hebrew language. Major scholars and intellectual personalities such as Adolphe Franck, Heinrich Graetz or Paul Vulliaud quoted Knorr extensively until the very beginning of the Twentieth Century. Most strikingly, standing both in the tradition established by earlier Christian Kabbalah and also representing its last most significant monument, Knorr's work was responsible for taking Kabbalah out of the field of the Jewish Studies and introducing it into the larger field of Modern Esotericism and Occultism. The kabbalistic library offered by Knorr, even though it often remained, so to speak, an unknown quantity under a well-known title, enjoyed such a wide fame that it progressively assumed a kind of mythical status itself. Beyond its historical and philological contribution in spreading kabbalistic texts through a wide European readership, the Kabbala Denudata also began to function as a kind of "warranty certificate" under the validation of which all kind of magical and esoteric texts circulated.

Amongst the texts presented in Knorr's anthology, two attracted particular attention: a lost alchemical treatise known as Esh Metsaref, and a selection of excerpts of the Zohar. Indeed, the Kabbala Denudata remains famous in Hermetic milieux because it preserves the only available fragments of a "Compendium Libri Cabbalistico-chymici", the title of which Knorr spells Æsch Mezareph, literally the "Burning Fire", which deals with the Philosophers' Stone. Quite quickly, these fragments were reassembled and published by an anonymous freemason in an English translation of 1714. The history of the Esh Metsaref is surrounded by a halo of mystery. If most of the sources that Knorr used in his anthology are identifiable, the case of this alchemical tractate is more complicated. Despite its title, no Hebrew work is known under this name. This has given rise to a lot of speculation and animated research. Basing himself on a close analysis of Knorr's translation, Scholem estimated that "the tournures as well as the content demonstrate in a very clear way that Knorr had at his elbow a real Hebrew manuscript and not some Latin version of the work". The Burning Fire builds on systematic parallels between the kabbalistic and the alchemical traditions. The rediscovery of the text by one of the most influential British Freemasons of his time, William Wynn Westcott, founder with Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers of the Golden Dawn, introduces us to the story of the latter reception of the Kabbala Denudata in the new context of nineteenth-century Hermeticism and its renewal through the perspective offered by Carl Gustav Jung.

To grasp this second important contribution of Knorr's Kabbala requires us to consider a major link in the chain of transmission of the Kabbala in its English version, Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers (1854–1918), one of the founders of the renewed Golden Dawn society, at the end of the Nineteenth Century. In 1887 Mathers provided a translation of the three Zoharic tractates brought to light by

Knorr, namely the Sifra De-Tseniuta (the "Book of the Concealed things"), the Idra Rabba (the "Great Assembly") and the Idra Zuta (the "Lower Assembly"). Mathers published his work under the barely innocent title of Kabbalah Unveiled. Most probably, the success of the Isis Unveiled published some ten years earlier by Helena Blavatsky played a significant part in Mather's choice. His translation was itself translated into many European languages and hence reached a very large readership. The crucial point here is that these tractates reflected a particular trend in the history of Kabbalah, that of Lurianic Kabbalah. As noted above, Lurianic Kabbalah brought a wholly fresh contribution to the history of Jewish mysticism and paid a particular attention to the three Zoharic tractates chosen and translated by Knorr. They were subject to numerous commentaries by the members of the Lurianic School (a great part of which Knorr integrated in the second volume of his anthology) and were widely considered the most dense and sophisticated of kabbalistic texts. Knorr's chosen emphasis on Lurianic Kabbalah in his translations was handed down, through the latter French and English versions, to the larger readership of the Nineteenth Century. This particular transmission history of kabbalistic texts lead gradually to a greater focus on the Zohar, and more specifically, upon these three tractates, considered as a kind of "essential Zohar". Through the work of the French Occultist Éliphas Lévi, an even sharper focus fell upon the short tractate Sifra De-Tseniuta, the "Book of the Concealed Things".

Éliphas Lévi whose real name was Alphonse Louis Constant (1810–1875) played a crucial role (along with the activities of Mathers and his friends) in framing a new conception of Kabbalah. Levi not only established a new occultist science articulated around the teachings of Kabbalah, he placed it at the very core of his new system. The Zohar and in particular the Sifra DeTseniuta became under his pen an "encompassing key" that allows one to explain everything that occurs and the operating mode of all traditions. Kabbalah became here the source of all esoteric and religious movements and the most intimate explanation of everything. Many of Éliphas Lévi's works are orientated towards this explanatory goal, among others his (quite personal) French translation of the Zohar. Here we encounter Knorr von Rosenroth again, since Éliphas Lévi based his translation on the Latin version of the Zohar published in the Kabbala Denudata and not, as he claimed, on the original text. Obviously, Levi did not have sufficient mastery of Hebrew and Aramaic to produce a translation by himself. Éliphas Lévi none the less insisted repeatedly on the necessity of going back to source texts and not relying only on secondary literature that had been produced by previous Christian Kabbalists. In that perspective, he recommended his disciples to read Knorr's Zohar and we learn from his German editor and biographer that Kabbala Denudata became, from 1850 onward, Éliphas Lévi's bedside book. In his Dogme et rituel de la haute-magie published between 1854 and 1856, Éliphas Lévi set up a systematic parallel between the kabbalistic tradition and the Tarot through his 22 chapters. There Lévi stated that the Zohar was "absolute secret knowledge". In 1896, the work reached the English readership thanks to the translation of Arthur Edward Waite, Transcendental Magic, its Doctrine and Ritual.

The close link established during the Nineteenth Century between Esotericism and Esoteric Freemasonry on one hand, and literature on the other hand, transmitted the influence of Knorr's work, though it became increasingly remote. Thus we find (as far as France is concerned) reminiscences of it deep in Joris-Karl Huysmans' literature of decadence and in the surrealism of André Breton and in Britain, in the work of Max Theon and Arthur Edward Waite. In the works of American freemasons like Albert Pike and Kenneth Mackenzie, the Kabbala Denudata became the foundation of the deepest arcana of the esoteric High Grades, whereas the revolutionary contribution of Helena Blavatsky offered for

Knorr an unexpected posterity, now dechristianized and parallel to the recently discovered Oriental Tradition.

In contrast with the many translations, compilations and editions he produced, Knorr left us very few original productions, the most significant until now having been his Adumbratio kabbalæ christianæ. This makes it quite difficult for the scholar to enter the most intimate convictions and motivations of this discrete man who, as we have shown, nevertheless exerted a strong and long-lasting influence on the later developments of Western Esotericism. However, as will become evident in the following pages, Knorr's recovered Messias Puer introduces us into the final and most comprehensive formulation of his system of thought, through the systematic application of all his kabbalistic studies to the Syriac text of the New Testament. Indeed, as our apparatus to the Latin text makes clear, his Kabbala Denudata is omnipresent throughout his commentary, building a consistent world of references without which the complexities of this last work would remain impossible for the reader fully to grasp.

With the recovery of Messias Puer, there will now be scope for a detailed investigation of the manner in which Knorr presented several doctrinal matters and also opportunity to observe the development of his audacious and radical hermeneutic based on a complex but systematic and coherent re-reading of the Gospels. Both areas of innovation touch critically on the question of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity and offer an insight into Knorr's closely-argued exegetical deployment of the Lurianic doctrines in his engagement with New Testament texts as he sought to find a road to reconciliation between Judaism and Christianity.

Knorr had already demonstrated his mastery of traditional Jewish texts. But the Messias Puer is equally characterised by a linguistic component displaying a proficiency in comparative philology which is the basis for many of the text's developments. In practice, the Greek and Syriac versions are forensically compared to extract the interpretation at once most rich and also closest to the letter of the text, a principal focus of Knorr. In this context the Syriac version is generally preferred. Knorr is however aware of the Arabic version, feels confident to prefer an Arabic etymology from a Lexicon, and to refer to other Arabic material at second-hand. He was also familiar with contemporary work on Ethiopia and Ethiopic texts. A fuller consideration of Knorr's new work will now enable him to be placed in the context of a wider Oriental philology.

Also, considerable attention is devoted in the Messias Puer to the circumstances of the production of the New Testament texts as well to the historical context of the events related therein. The Jewish tradition is here seen as the key to unlock the New Testament passages which had always resisted convincing interpretation. In this respect Knorr is evidently heir to the work of John Lightfoot in Cambridge (whose work he had beside him)45 and his approach has similarities to Richard Simon's Comparaison des cérémonies des Juifs et de la discipline de l'Eglise which in the same period turned to Hebrew texts to elucidate the traditional Christian Scriptures. The topics thematically developed by the Messias Puer, the sources exploited, as well as the deployment of its exegetical technique, thus place this work at the centre of research into Orientalism in the context of developing Biblical Criticism. Yet what is missing from Lightfoot is a positive appreciation of the religious value of the Mishnaic and Talmudic material he exploited in his reconstruction of the realia of New Testament times, and what is not found in Simon is the deep conviction that the Jewish mystical tradition is the bearer of the True Gospel. Both these convictions inform the newly recovered Messias Puer. <>

SEEKERS OF THE FACE: SECRETS OF THE IDRA RABBA (THE GREAT ASSEMBLY) OF THE ZOHAR [Stanford Studies in Jewish Mysticism, Stanford University Press, 9781503628427]

A magisterial, modern reading of the deepest mysteries in the Kabbalistic tradition.

SEEKERS OF THE FACE opens the profound treasure house at the heart of Judaism's most important mystical work: the Idra Rabba (Great Gathering) of the Zohar. This is the story of the Great Assembly of mystics called to order by the master teacher and hero of the Zohar, Rabbi Shim'on bar Yochai, to align the divine faces and to heal Jewish religion. The Idra Rabba demands a radical expansion of the religious worldview, as it reveals God's faces and bodies in daring, anthropomorphic language.

For the first time, Melila Hellner-Eshed makes this challenging, esoteric masterpiece meaningful for everyday readers. Hellner-Eshed expertly unpacks the Idra Rabba's rich grounding in tradition, its probing of hidden layers of consciousness and the psyche, and its striking, sacred images of the divine face. Leading readers of the Zohar on a transformative adventure in mystical experience, *Seekers of the Face* allows us to hear anew the Idra Rabba's bold call to heal and align the living faces of God.

Review

"Melila Hellner-Eshed's deep grasp of some of the most complicated and elusive parts of the zoharic literature is palpable and highly impressive, matched by her ability to convey the striking wisdom of the *Idra Rabba* in a wonderfully lucid, engaging, and evocative manner. Her love for the Zohar is contagious." -- Eitan P. Fishbane — *The Jewish Theological Seminary, author of The Art of Mystical Narrative: A Poetics of the Zohar*

"Having read this book, I know that I will never read the *Zohar* in the same way again. All students of Kabbalah will come to view *Seekers of the Face* as a prerequisite, with its unique and innovative synthesis of the Jewish tradition, Jungian theory, mysticism, and feminist thought." -- Pinchas Giller — *American Jewish University, author of Kabbalah: A Guide for the Perplexed*

"The Zohar is the masterpiece of Jewish mysticism, and one of its greatest narratives is the *Idra Rabba*. For seven centuries, this intricate tale has perplexed readers—but now Melila Hellner-Eshed, a brilliant Israeli scholar of Kabbalah, has decoded the *Idra Rabba*, revealing its deepest secret: how God needs us." -- Daniel Matt — *translator of The Zohar: Pritzker Edition*

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Excerpt: The work known as the Idra Rabba—the Great Assembly—is a grand story, perhaps the greatest story in the Zohar. The Idra Rabba tells of an emergency assembly convened by Rabbi Shim'on bar Yohai, the Zohar's hero, to which he summons his disciples, the havrayya (Companions). The gathering takes place in a field, among the trees, at a time beyond time and in a place beyond place. The assembly's mission is an audacious one: to heal the face of God, and thereby transform and heal the face of the Jewish religion. This is to be done by invoking and manifesting three distinct faces of the Divine, reconfiguring them and realigning them in order to ensure the flow of abundant blessing into the world.

The story of the Idra Rabba—which begins with the dramatic call Time to act for YHVH! (Psalms 119:126)—is inlaid throughout with revelations of profound secrets concerning the Divine, spoken by the teacher and his disciples. The Idra Rabba portrays the Divine with daring anthropomorphic images and descriptions. The various dimensions of the Divine are conceived and interpreted in the language of "faces" (partsufim), as well as boldly embodied and detailed descriptions of the male and female bodies within the Divine, bodies that manifest an erotic and sexual relationship.

A daring myth emerges from the work as a whole, setting forth the development of the various faces of the Divine, which human beings encounter in a revealed or concealed manner, in thought, imagination, and experience. Simultaneously, the gathering is an initiation ceremony for the disciples of Rabbi Shim'on bar Yohai, who are summoned to join their teacher and become "pillars," mystically upholding and sustaining all existence.

Alongside the Idra Rabba in zoharic literature is the Idra Zuta—the Small Gathering—which relates the events of the day of Rabbi Shim'on bar Yohai's death, and records the secrets that he reveals to his disciples before departing this world. These two works, along with some other fragments scattered throughout the Zohar, are unique in their conceptual, religious, linguistic, and literary characteristics, setting them apart as a distinct stratum within the zoharic corpus: the stratum of the Idras. Among the many religious-mystical-revelatory languages we find in zoharic literature, the language of the Idras probes particularly deep layers of the psyche.

These two assembly narratives occupy a unique and sacred position within the Zohar—a status that has become only more exalted as the Zohar's reception and canonization has progressed. Through the generations, the Idras attracted commentaries and interpretations from some of the greatest and most creative kabbalists. These two magnificent compositions broadened the horizons of Jewish mystical and esoteric thought, enriching it and adding new layers of complexity.

The Idra Rabba sits at the heart of my book. Despite its formidable density, the Idra Rabba is coherent in its concepts, language, and style, and possesses narrative continuity and a complex and sophisticated literary structure. In this book, I seek to mediate between the text and the reader: describing and illuminating this classical work, whose daring theology and dense literary style render it inaccessible to most readers today, even those well versed in Jewish literature.

This book aims to clarify and shed light on numerous dimensions of the Idra Rabba: the narrative of the assembly with its various characters; the theology and mystical language that distinguish the work; possible motivations for its authorship; the religious-spiritual principles that emerge from it; and the components that make it transformative, intoxicating, and both attractive and threatening. Throughout, these investigations are accompanied by my attention to the Idra's great call for the transformation and healing of religion. This call captivated me from my very first reading of the work, awakening me to the inspiration that it may hold for contemporary spiritual seekers.

My Path to the Idra and to Writing This Book

Once I began to read the Zohar and to immerse myself in it, I found that its diverse ideas, figures, forms, and textures captured me—echoing central aspects of my own life at different periods. It was as if I were constantly wandering in the same field, yet with each season certain flowers would stand out in their beauty, often very different from previous ones. Perhaps this is the experience of studying any

great classic work that we encounter time and again throughout our lives, or at least any work in which we have immersed ourselves for an extended period. Such is the way of Torah (teaching).

For many years, the world of the zoharic Companions and their great teacher Rabbi Shim'on bar Yohai was the central focus of my study, teaching, and writing. The mystical and experiential world—both divine and human—that unfolds in the stories of their escapades and scriptural interpretations, with the profound mysticism and eroticism that they generate, filled my heart, mind, and imagination. These stories are the distillery for the unique zoharic spirit, sweet and spicy and flowing like honey, that illuminates the eyes of those who taste it. This unique spiritual flavor of the zoharic stories changed my life.

In the first year of my studies at the Hebrew University, I read my beloved teacher Yehuda Liebes' article "The Messiah of the Zohar," which is dedicated entirely to an exploration of the Idras, and in particular to the Idra Rabba. The article astounded and moved me. Never before had I encountered an academic article of this kind: dense with ideas, associative, full of inspiration and creativity. I wanted more, and of course I immediately wanted to read the Idra literature that was the focus of his study.

I remember my initial readings of the Idra Rabba as an experience shrouded in wonder and mystery, and almost entirely inscrutable. In recent years, the Idra literature has once again captivated me. This time, I returned to it after decades of immersion in the Zohar, its language, and world. Now I felt ready to enter the inner sanctum of this magnificent composition.

There is something scandalous, astonishing, fascinating, and terrifying in the encounter with a sacred Jewish text that is primarily concerned with the various faces of the Divine, and with the hyperrealistic fine details of those faces, from the eyes to the curls of the beard. One's bewilderment at being exposed to the Idra's face terminology only grows as one encounters descriptions of the emanation of the divine body, and its distinctly sexual development into masculine and feminine bodies.

How can we understand the language of God having a face in the context of Judaism—a religious civilization that has often tended toward avoiding, if not outright rejecting, anthropomorphizing of the Divine? How might one grasp a deity portrayed as multifaceted—with a face, body, and sexuality? How might one read this great call to transform the face of the Jewish religion? How might one decipher the theology that emerges from a discourse that is so richly imaginative and mythological?

My encounter with the Idra Rabba—with the divine faces as they are gradually woven with words into living sacred images, with the courage to get up and demand a change in religious worldview, with the expanding states of consciousness of the participants in the gathering, and with the multiple dimensions of reality that are present and occurring simultaneously—has influenced my consciousness, its borders growing flexible and its horizons ever-widening.

As my reading progressed, the inscrutable density of the language came alive and started speaking to me in ways that I could comprehend with growing excitement and delight. The divine images, at first schematic and rigid, became fluid, taking on various guises. Very slowly, I found my way through the pathways of the Idra's world. I have no doubt that part of my attraction to the Idra stems from the very effort it demands of us to open the eye of the spirit, so as to perceive its images and become acquainted with its religious and mystical language.

In addition, I was attracted by the remarkable shift from the discourse of levels, lights, and sefirot prevalent throughout the Zohar to the discourse of faces and bodies in the Idras. There was something at once thrilling and frightening in the experience of relinquishing a safe foothold in order to encounter the surreal—even psychedelic—imagery of the Idras, without knowing where or how exactly I might return to ordinary reality. For me, engaging with the Idra Rabba was akin to diving into the depths of a vast ocean, gradually and excitedly discovering its treasures.

To write this book, I needed to grasp the conceptual depth and exegetical imagination that lie at the foundations of the Idra's project of transforming and healing religion, Divinity, and all realms of reality. To this end, I had to become intimately acquainted with the Idra's terminology of faces, and to sit with its opaque and paradoxical modes of expression. In addition, the Idra Rabba required me to experience different states of consciousness, and to internalize a mythical language with a unique syntax, grammar, and inner landscapes. All of this was necessary in order to make sense of a religious language that speaks of Divinity in terms of "expansion of the face," "relaxation of the face," "healing" or "sweetening the face," "filling the face with fragrance," and "illuminating one face with another."

In the course of researching this book and writing it, I had to seek out the tools best suited to convey something of the Idra's world—in terms of language, imagination, thought, and consciousness. I discovered that I had to let go of my need to answer and explain. Rather, I needed to identify the right questions to ask—questions that would enable me to understand better the nature of this classic work.

Further, I confess that the desire to write has led me to confront my great fear of entering the Holy of Holies of the Zohar, lest I err or cause harm by trespassing on sacred ground. In order to enter, I felt that I had to gain Rabbi Shim'on bar Yobai's approval. When faced with the choice between fear or love, I followed the example of the Idra Rabba: I chose to write out of love. My intention is to delicately unveil the essence of this work that I so admire, while taking great care to reveal its secrets in an appropriate manner, avoiding crude exposure, and doing my best not to diminish this unique cultural treasure. I hope that I have succeeded in this task.

On the Idra in Our Contemporary World

For contemporary readers, studying the Idra Rabba provides an encounter with one of the classics of Jewish esoteric literature and Jewish literature in general, and a work of great importance within the mystical literature of the world. Studying it enables us to enter into an intellectual-mythical-mystical composition that intensively investigates questions concerning the origins of being beyond space and time, and illuminates the processes of human consciousness and development.

This is an encounter with one of the most marvelous human attempts to imagine, perceive, and express the Divine in order to establish a living connection with it. Far from being a philosophical treatise, the Idra Rabba is a work of religious art. It is a testament to the creative power of a protest against the increasing rigidity of religion—one that produced an exceptionally daring and creative religious alternative, born from the recesses of the soul.

Studying the Idra reveals the unique charm of a text that in its very fabric embraces both the abstract and the concrete, the unconscious and the conscious, the transcendent and the personal, the ideational and the sexual, all somehow infused into one another. These qualities demand that the reader's consciousness becomes flexible in order to contain modes of apprehension that are not dualistic, binary,

schematic, or modular. To one who makes the effort to become familiar with its world, the Idra Rabba offers a wealth of myth, mysticism, and theology, in a uniquely Jewish language. Reading it is an adventure, a journey through multidimensional expanses to the face of God.

We live in a period in which many voices are calling for a renewal of religion, in an effort to maintain its vitality and relevance. There is no doubt that my wish to write this book was strengthened by my sense that in the Idra Rabba there flow rare wellsprings of inspiration for this quest. I perceive cultural attitudes that enable a growing openness to and appreciation of different aspects of the language of the Idras emerging in these first decades of the 21st century. This openness is connected to a deep thirst for an amplified religious language that can contemplate a God more expansive than the traditional metaphors of king, father, and master allow.

Alongside the traditional imagery of God as a masculine creator and king, the Idra Rabba introduces two additional divine figures of central importance: the non-dual Divinity in its ultimate oneness, and the feminine Divine in her various guises.

Some elements of the Idras' archaic imagery may remain foreign, incomprehensible, even off-putting to many contemporary readers. Nevertheless, in certain circles today, there are aspects of religious-spiritual consciousness that are more open to many of the concepts expressed in the Idras. The following two sections briefly describe some of the reasons for this.

On Oneness

Intellectual, theological, and spiritual trends of the 21st century offer a variety of conceptions of God's unity. Contemporary conceptions of divine oneness are primarily a product of a confluence of distinct cultural, intellectual, and spiritual traditions: the spiritual traditions of the East, neo-Hasidic discourse (which is kabbalistic in origin), the syncretism of New Age thought, as well as various psychological theories, Jungian among others. The dissemination of these concepts has also been accelerated due to the growing popularity of various meditative practices (especially from the Hindu and Buddhist traditions) that explicitly aim to cultivate a quieting of the dualistic and active mind, in order to connect to a still consciousness and a sense of oneness that lies at the source of all manifestations.

I can personally attest to the sheer surprise and joy at encountering the Idra's language of oneness within my own religious tradition. So there is indeed a concept of a dimension of divine oneness in Judaism, coexisting with the particularistic language of the God of Israel! However, in the Idra, this dimension of being is not described in static terms of abstract perfection (as in the philosophical tradition), but rather with lively dynamism.'

Reclaiming the Feminine Divine

Concepts of the Divine as a feminine being are also resurfacing in contemporary Jewish cultural consciousness, which is gradually rediscovering the figure of the Shekhinah. The Shekhinah—the divine presence that dwells in our world, understood as a feminine aspect of God—had been a living force in the religious language of Kabbalah and Hasidism. This figure received a near-mortal blow in the wake of the widespread popularity and influence of the Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment) movement. In the loth century, poets such as Hayyim Nahman Bialik, mystics such as Hillel Zeitlin, and writers such as Shai Agnon were among the few who lamented that the Shekhinah "has been exiled from every corner," as Bialik put it in his poem "Alone" ("Levaddi").

In recent decades in Jewish culture, especially in North America, the feminist struggle on the part of Jewish women and men has sought to express and acknowledge the feminine and motherly aspects of the Divine in the language of prayer and in the texts of ritual blessings (berakhot). In addition to the spiritual-religious aspiration to raise the Shekhinah from the dust and allow her to attain her former stature in Jewish religious culture, one can detect the influence of the goddess culture that has emerged from the study of myth, New Age feminism, and neo-paganism.

These distinct intellectual currents have a common aspiration, namely, to make religious language more flexible and inclusive, so that it may accommodate new-ancient feminine formulations, for those seeking a connection with these aspects of the Divine. Within Judaism, these approaches—holistic, feminist-theological, Jungian, New Age, and so forth—have brought into stark relief the heavy toll of the loss and neglect of the feminine in Jewish theological language.

The foundational quality of the call to the Idra Rabba's gathering is one of emergency. To write about this work, I needed to recognize that I too feel a sense of urgency in the impulse to write about the world that opened before me when I read the Idra. I had to impart the call to transform and heal religion to those around me, and to share the startling experience of encountering the faces of the Divine as they move from abstraction to living presence.

In the Jewish world in which I live—just as in Muslim, Christian, and Hindu societies—ideologically narrow agendas and fundamentalist tendencies are now growing stronger. In response to these agendas, I felt a need to incline my ear in a more attentive way to the manifesto offered by the Idra Rabba for the religious world, calling for reform, and offering healing and expansion. In the Idra, I have searched for inspiration for those confronting the religious confusion that has come to characterize our world. I have tried to put my heart and mind to depicting accurately the radical broadening of legitimate religious language that one finds in zoharic literature in general, and in the Idras in particular. This expansion of religious language comes to refresh the religious world and enliven it.

Tools and Supplies for the Journey

Thinking about the appropriate tools for deciphering the Idra Rabba's dense and multilayered text is bound up with the question of what the work is and how to read it: Should it be read as the most highly developed and complex story in the zoharic collection? As a theological-political manifesto in the guise of a story? As a myth? As a mystical revelation—the climactic event in the human encounter with the various faces of the Divine? As a polemic against the conception of God that Maimonides presented in The Guide for the Perplexed? In my reading, I have found the Idra Rabba to be all of these things, and more. Out of the many tools that might shed light on such a complex work, I chose those that were at my disposal, and those in which I have a personal interest.

My teachers have taught me to read each and every sentence very slowly, to try first to understand what I was reading within the conceptual and linguistic context of the work itself and then within the wider context of the Idras and zoharic literature in general. And finally, to explore the text against the background of associations from Jewish sources that predate the Zohar: Jewish philosophy, ancient Hekhalot literature, classical rabbinic literature, and of course the Hebrew Bible, whose language rests at the very foundation of the Idra's creative midrash.

This exploration has taught me that, in order to understand the language and imagery of the Idra, one must be wary of the temptation to think systematically according to the familiar map of the ten sefirot as we know it from kabbalistic literature and its appearances throughout the Zohar. I also learned that I had to refrain from a technical or allegorical reading, and from overreliance on later commentators.

Additionally, I found that the intensity of contemporary notions and ideologies regarding gender and sexuality had the potential to create a barrier between the reader and the text itself. In order to have an appreciation of the idraic world and encounter it in its fullness, I needed to be mindful in deciding when to use this contemporary lens and when to try to temporarily set it aside.

Another lens through which I considered the Idra Rabba, and which provided central inspiration to me, was the assumption that its authorship emerged from personal and experiential contemplation of human consciousness in its various states. The Idra is a daring attempt to describe consciousness in its encounter with the divine realm, and it is a testament to the richness of human consciousness in depicting various dimensions of Divinity. The tools that served me for this purpose are various conceptions concerning human consciousness borrowed from depth psychology, and from the language of archetypes from the school of Carl Gustav Jung and his student Erich Neumann, whose highly original and creative research explored the emergence and stages of development of human consciousness. In addition, new insights into human consciousness have been furnished by the mystical psychologies of Sufism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Finally, openness is perhaps not something that we are accustomed to viewing as a tool, but I would suggest that openness of mind, imagination, and heart to the Idra Rabba's multidimensionality and simultaneity is a necessary condition for a grounded and insightful reading of this work.

The Structure of This Book

Part 1 of this book may be viewed as a broad introduction to the Idra Rabba. It deals with the terminology of faces that makes the Idra unique and with the fundamental subjects at the Idra's core. The first four chapters in this part introduce the various divine faces that feature in the Idra's lexicon, constituting a gateway for those who wish to enter into its unique and otherwise inaccessible world.

The last three chapters (Chapters 5, 6, and 7) in this part are concerned with fundamental issues that emerge from studying the Idra, such as the relationship between various divine entities and the work's stylistic and literary distinctiveness, its mystical character, and its overarching themes. Part concludes with these central questions: What is the Idra trying to say? What meaning might lie concealed within it for us, its readers?

Part 2 of this book follows the textual order of the Idra Rabba as it presents a study and analysis of the work. Thus, this part matches the structure of the Idra: moving from the highly impressive opening scene (Chapter 8) through the processes of configuring the divine partsufim, Arikh Anpin and Ze`eir Anpin (Chapters 9 through 17), and the description of the sexual union of the male and female bodies of the Divine (Chapters 18 through 21) to the dramatic closing scene (Chapter 22). This part is characterized by analyses of extensive selections from the text of the Idra, and discussions of the themes arising from those selections. From time to time, I elaborate on a specific theme or provide the necessary background for the interpretive discussion.

This book's two parts thus present various levels of treatment of the work, with different resolutions: in the first part, I consider the Idra from a bird's-eye view and examine its general themes; in the second part, I attempt to mediate between the text and the reader, presenting a close analysis of selections from the work—indeed, this section is something of a personal conversation with the Idra Rabba. <>

PORTRAITS; THE HASIDIC LEGACY OF ELIE WIESEL by David Patterson [Contemporary Jewish Thought SUNY Press, 9781438483979]

IMAGERY TECHNIQUES IN MODERN JEWISH MYSTICISM by Daniel Reiser [Studia Judaican De Gruyter, Magnes Press, 9783110533941]

Co-publication with Magnes Press

This book analyzes and describes the development and aspects of imagery techniques, a primary mode of mystical experience, in twentieth century Jewish mysticism. These techniques, in contrast to linguistic techniques in medieval Kabbalah and in contrast to early Hasidism, have all the characteristics of a full screenplay, a long and complicated plot woven together from many scenes, a kind of a feature film. Research on this development and nature of the imagery experience is carried out through comparison to similar developments in philosophy and psychology and   is fruitfully contextualized within broader trends of western and eastern mysticism.

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Explores Elie Wiesel's portraits of the sages of Judaism and elaborates on the Hasidic legacy from his life and his teaching.

Elie Wiesel identified himself as a Vizhnitzer Hasid, who was above all things a witness to the testimony and teaching of the Jewish tradition at the core of the Hasidic tradition. While he is well known for his testimony on the Holocaust and as a messenger to humanity, he is less well known for his engagement with the teachings of Jewish tradition and the Hasidic heritage that informs that engagement. *Portraits* illuminates Wiesel's Jewish teachings and the Hasidic legacy that he embraced by examining how he brought to life the sages of the Jewish tradition. David Patterson reveals that Wiesel's Hasidic engagement with the holy texts of the Jewish tradition does not fall into the usual categories of exegesis or hermeneutics and of commentary or textual analysis. Rather, he engages not the text but the person, the teacher, and the soul. This book is a summons to remember the testimony reduced to ashes and the voices that cry out from those ashes. Just as the teaching is embodied in the teachers, so is the tradition embodied in their portraits.

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Although I never had the honor of sitting in one of Professor Elie Wiesel's seminars at Boston University, I have counted him among my teachers ever since one of my own students placed in my hands a copy of Night in 1978. Reading his first book not only set me upon a path of reading everything he published, but it also launched me on a never-ending journey through an ocean of Jewish texts and teachings, as well as Jewish thought and testimony. I began corresponding with Professor Wiesel in 1982, whereupon he graciously invited me to meet with him should I ever be in Boston or New York. In 1984 I had my first meeting with him in New York; as a result of that meeting I wrote a now-obscure book, In Dialogue and Dilemma with Elie Wiesel, which consists of transcripts of our conversation followed by my reflections on his words and works. With his characteristic generosity, he told me that he regarded that book as an expression of friendship; those who knew him know that friendship meant a great deal to him, and his words meant even more to me. Over the subsequent years I was blessed to sit with him and to learn from him on many other occasions.

Although I could never attain the merit of calling myself a Hasid, I count myself among the heirs to Wiesel's Hasidic legacy, and my own embrace of Jewish tradition has been shaped by that legacy. Therefore this book is, in a deep sense, the work of one of Professor Wiesel's students and not the work of one who comes to this subject matter with the cold distance of scholarly objectivity. The Baal Shem's call, Wiesel insisted, was a call to subjectivity, to passionate involvement. This study of Elie Wiesel's teachings, as they unfold through his personal engagement with the portraits of Judaism's sages and dreamers, is an attempt at just such an involvement. Years ago a critic once said that to read Wiesel is to burn with him. And so, at least for me, it is true: my attempt to convey the Hasidic legacy of this soul on fire is an attempt to transmit the fire he has transmitted to me.

I should also note that when, for example, I refer to "Jewish teaching: I am aware that my understanding of Jewish teaching is not the only legitimate one; it is my best understanding, informed by my own study of Judaism, as well as by what I have learned from the Hasid Wiesel. Indeed, Wiesel's portraits of biblical figures and Talmudic sages are rooted in his Hasidism; so all of these portraits, not just the portraits of the Hasidic masters, belong to his Hasidic legacy.

One other thing: the Holocaust. If there can be a post-Holocaust legacy, it must include a Hasidic legacy, a legacy that stems from that segment of world Jewry so profoundly and so brutally ravaged in the Shoah. And if it can be expressed as a Hasidic legacy, who better than Elie Wiesel to give voice to that expression, to that summons? A legacy is above all an inheritance, and an inheritance is a summons. It is a call, even a commandment, to zakhor v'shamor, to remember and to observe; it is a commandment that, says the Talmud, is woven into in a single utterance from Mount Sinai (Shevuot 20b). Turning to Mount Sinai—turning to those who turned to Mount Sinai—Professor Wiesel bequeaths to us an inheritance couched in the commandment to remember and observe voiced in a single utterance. His Hasidic legacy is a summons to remember what happened and why it matters. It is a summons to

remember the testimony reduced to ashes and the voices that cry out from those ashes. It is a summons to remember and observe—to remember and watch over—the teaching and tradition consigned to obliteration as the Jews made their way to the gas chambers under the towers that watched over them in Auschwitz. Just as the teaching is embodied in the teachers, so too is the tradition embodied in their portraits.

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Most of what is known about the Baal Shem Tov belongs to Hasidic lore. It is said, for example, that he received the "Hidden Wisdom" from the great mystic Rabbi Adam Baal Shem of Ropczyce, who discovered a manuscript containing the secrets of Torah hidden in a cave; it was revealed to him in a dream that he should pass the secrets on to Israel ben Eliezer. Early on the Baal Shem underscored the immanence of God's presence in the world and taught the ways of devekut. Before long he became known for his wisdom, erudition, and righteousness. Immanuel Etkes observes that "the Besht's abilities to combat supernatural entities was evident also in his efforts to heal the sick. In one story, the Besht cures a child on his deathbed by confronting the soul of the child and commanding it to return to its body." As Biale has noted," contrary to some legendary accounts, when the Baal Shem arrived in Medzhibozh—a town destroyed in the Chmielnicki Massacres and rebuilt in 1660—in the 1740s he was already known as a great healer and mystic. Moshe Rosman reinforces this view."

The potency of the Baal Shem's presence, prior to the advent of any -ism, set into motion a transformation of everyone who encountered him. Etkes reminds us that "the Besht did not regard himself as the leader of a movement, not only because in his day the Hasidic movement did not yet exist, or because it had never even occurred to him to found such a movement, but mainly because he perceived himself as bearing responsibility for the welfare of the Jewish people as a whole." There we have one category that defines the Hasidic movement and Wiesel's Hasidic legacy: the responsibility that devolves upon each for the sake of all. The Baal Shem's popularity drew reproach from Jews known as the Mitnagdim, or the "Opponents," chief among whom was the renowned Elijah ben Solomon Zalman, the Vilna Gaon; he believed that the Hasidim were spreading too many of the esoteric teachings among too many people too quickly. Biale maintains, however, that the conflict between the Mitnagdim and the Hasidim was relatively insignificant. Still, he concedes, when the Hasidim celebrated the death of the Vilna Gaon in 1797, the spilt took on an unprecedented intensity." In 1798, for example, the Mitnagdim went to the Russians and accused Rabbi Schneur Zalman of Liadi, the founder of the Chabad Lubavitch Hasidic dynasty, of espionage.

The Baal Shem attracted numerous followers, both from the elitist segments of East European Jewry and from the not-so-elitist segments of that world. Key figures in the transmission of his legacy were Yaakov Yosef of Polnoe and Dov Ber, the Maggid of Mezeritch. Through these leaders there emerged the person of the tzaddik, a "righteous one who is able to elevate his entire following and to serve as a bridge between this realm and the upper realms. This particular understanding of the tzaddik, as it evolved over the generations immediately following the advent of the Baal Shem Tov, is another distinctive feature of Hasidism.

The tzaddik, Biale and others explain, "must bridge the chasm between himself and his followers by 'descending to the people: He must periodically interrupt his state of communion with God and go down to the level of his followers in order to raise them up by joining himself to them. . . . What, more

precisely, is the relationship between tsaddik and Hasid? The tsaddik is obliged to take care of both the spiritual and material needs of his followers, while the Hasidim are obliged to believe in the powers of the tsaddik and consequently to 'adhere' to him." It is important to note, he adds, that "the tsaddik is not a passive conduit between the upper and lower worlds. Instead, he is the quintessential expression of the movement in and out of the state of devekut." Note well: the tzaddik draws his Hasidim into the upper realms not only spiritually but also physically. This view of "the whole person of the Zaddiq as a channel, and not only his soul," Moshe Idel observes, may be traced to the time of the great Lurianic mystic Moshe Cordovero (1522-1570), if not before. He goes on to note that "there can be no doubt" that the Hasidic masters were familiar with Cordovero's most famous kabbalistic text, the Pardes Rimmonim, the writings of Isaiah Horowitz (1555-1630), and other Kabbalists, which expound on this notion of the tzaddik as a channel. In the nineteenth century, Hasidic dynasties stemming from the tzaddikim would come to the fore, based on the places where their followers lived, such as Belz, Bobova, Lubavitch, Bratzlav, Ger, Satmar (Szatmárnémeti), and Vizhnitz, the Yiddish name for Vizhnytsia, a town in present-day Ukraine. It is the dynasty to which Elie Wiesel was heir: he always identified himself as a Vizhnitzer Hasid.

For Hasidic Jews and for Wiesel's Hasidic legacy, gratitude and joy resting upon relationship are paramount. That is one way in which Hasidism epitomizes Judaism: in its accent on relationship. "What is Hasidism," writes Wiesel, "if not the belief that man must have faith in God and in people? You suffer? Pray to God but speak to your friend.." Few of us can fathom how extraordinary these words are, coming from a Hasid who emerged from the gullet of the antiworld. Faith in God? Faith in people? What can these words mean in the aftermath of Auschwitz? And yet Wiesel's Jewish teachings and testimonies are an effort to restore meaning to these words in the aftermath of a radical assault on the bond between word and meaning. Indeed, his is an effort to restore meaning to the very word after. "After?" he has written. "Did you say: after? Meaning what?" Only a legacy can restore an after.

And so we come to the after in the Hasidic legacy. Here Arthur Green, with his notion of Neo-Hasidism, is of particular help. The Shoah is such a radical, unprecedented rupture of Jewish life, teaching, tradition, testimony—including the life and teaching of the Hasidim—that we should think of Wiesel's Hasidic legacy in terms of a Neo-Hasidic legacy. What does Neo-Hasidic mean? Green explains that it is "the notion that Hasidism has a message wider than the borders of the traditional Hasidic community, that Jews and others who do not live the lives of Hasidim and who have no intention of doing so might still be spiritually nourished by the stories, teachings, music of Hasidism—indeed by the telling of the narrative of Hasidic history itself."" Here Green has captured the meaning of legacy, as well as the innovation that Wiesel brings both to Hasidism and to Judaism. Wiesel's Hasidic legacy—his Hasidic demand—is for all humanity, and not just for the Jewish people, the traditional audience of the Hasidic sages. The Nazis obliterated the Hasidic world that was confined to Eastern Europe; Wiesel is chief among those witnesses who extend that world throughout the wider world. In A Beggar in Jerusalem he gives voice to the teaching couched in this universality: "There comes a time when one cannot be a man without assuming the Jewish condition." If, as Green says, "Wiesel offers the first significant retelling of the story of Hasidism after the Holocaust," it is because Wiesel's legacy is Hasidic through and through. For Wiesel, Jewish and Hasidic (not to mention human and Hasidic) have virtually become the same thing.

I once repeated to Elie Wiesel a story about the Hasidic master Rabbi Uri of Strelisk, from his book *Somewhere a Master*. According to the tale, Rabbi Uri would make his final farewells to his family each morning before he set out to the synagogue for the morning prayers. Rabbi Uri was convinced that if he should attain the ascent to the upper realms that the prayers required, his soul might not return to this world.48 Realizing that Wiesel's soul would not ascend but would descend into dangerous realms when he took up the task of writing his novels, I asked him: "How do you survive writing one of your novels? Do you not approach the edge of an abyss when you sound those depths?" He answered: "Yes. I descend . . . somewhere. But I have my . . . safety measures. My lifelines. I never write a novel without also studying or writing about something else: the Bible, the Talmud, Midrash, Hasidism. Without that lifeline, I could not find my way back to life." That lifeline was fundamentally Hasidic. Many of Wiesel's first lectures at the 92nd Street Y in the 1960s were on the Hasidic masters. His first collection of portraits were portraits of Hasidic masters. And he always prayed according to the custom of the Vizhnitzer Hasidim, just as he prayed in Auschwitz.

The Talmudic sage Shimon ben Azzai maintains that the most foundational of all Jewish teachings—and therefore of all Hasidic teachings—is that all human beings have their beginning in a single human being (Talmud Yerushalmi, Nedarim 9:4; Bereshit Rabbah 24:7). This teaching contains what Wiesel refers to when he says that "at Auschwitz, not only man died, but also the idea of man." This most fundamental of Jewish teachings would become the teaching most fundamentally opposed to the Nazi view on what imparts meaning and value to the other human being. Why did God begin with just one human being and not two? The sages say it was so that no one may declare to another, "My side of the family is better than your side of the family" (Tosefta Sanhedrin 8:4). There is only one side of the family, which means that all of humanity is interrelated, physically through Adam, metaphysically through the Creator, with all the ethical demands that come with being part of a family. Indeed, the Hebrew term for "human being" is ben adam, a "child of Adam." There is no teaching more inimical to National Socialism's pivotal claim that there is no connection between the Aryan and the non-Aryan and no ethical obligation of one human being toward another. And this ethical demand lies at the core of Wiesel's Hasidic legacy.

The Baal Shem did not call for a resurgence of the study confined to the narrow circles of scholars, nor did he turn to the asceticism that had been associated with earlier Hasidim. To be sure, the Baal Shem drew one of his closest disciples, Yaakov Yosef of Polnoe, into his circle by turning him away from asceticism. Rather, he opened up the gates to God to anyone capable of gratitude and joy, precisely in a time when all were blind to anything for which they might be grateful or that they could rejoice in. The Baal Shem Tov, says Wiesel, "taught them to fight sadness with joy. 'The man who looks only at himself cannot but sink into despair, yet as soon as he opens his eyes to the creation around him, he will know joy'. And this joy leads to the absolute, to redemption, to God; that was the new truth as defined by the Baal Shem." Given their post-Holocaust context, these words are as extraordinary as Wiesel's post-Holocaust legacy.

Equally extraordinary is the Hasidic emphasis on gratitude, which is also a key to redemption. Says Wiesel in his commentary on the Passover Haggadah, "A Jew defines himself by his capacity for gratitude. A Jewish philosopher was once asked, 'What is the opposite of nihilism?' And he said, `Dayenu', the ability to be thankful for what we have received, for what we are." Wiesel's Hasidic legacy tells us that the path to redemption, both for God and for humanity, lies in joy even in the midst of despair, in gratitude even when we are hungry, and in struggling with God.

When in Wiesel's Ani Maamin Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob confront the Holy One with the murder of the children, we read, "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob go away, heartened by another hope: their children. They leave heaven and do not, cannot, see that they are no longer alone: God accompanies them, weeping, smiling, whispering: Nitzhuni banai, my children have defeated me, they deserve my gratitude. Thus he spoke. He is speaking still. The word of God continues to be heard. So does the silence of his dead children" So you see, just as the redemption of humanity rests upon human gratitude, so too does the redemption of the Shekhinah rest upon divine gratitude, even amidst the silence of her dead children: gratitude not for their immense suffering but for the truth that their suffering matters, despite the impossibility of deriving any meaning from it. As the character Gregor declared to the Rebbe in The Gates of the Forest, "I tell you this: if their death has no meaning, then it's an insult, and if it does have a meaning, it's even more so."" The redemption opened up by joy, gratitude, and struggling with God, even as God struggles with Himself, does not come through suffering but rather in spite of suffering.

If Auschwitz is central to Wiesel's post-Holocaust legacy, Jerusalem is central to his Hasidic legacy. The Hasidic master "Rabbi Nahman of Bratzlav," Wiesel relates, "the storyteller of Hasidism, liked to say that no matter where he walked, his steps turned toward Jerusalem.." As the site where the Temple stood, Jerusalem signifies the emanation of Torah into the world, and Torah signifies the sanctity of life in the world. The Midrash teaches that the windows of the Temple were designed not to let light in but to allow the light of Torah to radiate out from the Temple and into the world (Tanhuma Tetzaveh 6). Thus the third-century sage Rabbi Yehoshua ben Levi taught that the Temple was a greater blessing to the nations than it was to Israel (Bamidbar Rabbah 1:3). The nations, and not just the Jews, can no more live without Jerusalem than they can live without God. Like a tzaddik, Jerusalem is for everyone a bridge between this realm and the upper realms. "That's where the town of my childhood seems to be now," says Wiesel, "up there, in a Jerusalem of fire, hanging onto eternal memories of night."" That is why the young Eliezer would weep at night over the destruction of the Temple," even though he may not have known it at the time: the town of his childhood would be the heavenly Jerusalem of fire, hanging on the eternal memories of fire, of flames such as there have never been.

"How was I to reconcile Auschwitz and Jerusalem?" asks Yedidyah, the main character in Wiesel's The Sonderberg Case. "Would the former merely be the antithesis, the anti-event of the latter? If Auschwitz is forever the question, is Jerusalem forever the answer? On the one hand the darkness of the abyss, on the other the dazzling light of daybreak? At Birkenau and Treblinka, the burning bush was consumed, but here the flame continues to warm the hearts of messianic dreamers."" Amidst the flames of the Hasidic house of prayer consumed in the Holocaust there is another flame, one that warms the hearts of the messianic dreamers. It is the flame of the Hasidic legacy that Elie Wiesel has bequeathed to us through his portraits of the patriarchs and prophets, as well as the sages and masters. It is a legacy that we receive from a Hasid who loves Jews and Judaism and celebrates both. His first two volumes of portraits, in fact, were celebrations: Celebration hassidique: portraits et legendes [Souls on fire: Portraits and legends of Hasidic masters] (1972) and Celebration biblique: portraits et legendes (Messengers of God: Biblical portraits and legends (1975).

Finally, with regard to Elie Wiesel's Hasidic legacy, we should note one more thing about his innovative approach to Judaism. Wiesel understood that after the Holocaust nothing remained the same. "In the beginning there was the Holocaust," he asserts. "We must therefore start all over again."" Wiesel's Hasidism enables him to start all over again. It opens up for him the and yet, which he describes as his

"two favorite words" and are so crucial to his approach to Judaism in the aftermath of the Shoah. It is a Judaism that leads us to put God on trial but to pause for Minhah, the afternoon prayers. It is a Judaism that leads us to cry out Ayekah!?—Where are You!?—to God in the midst of the Hineni!—Here I am for You!—that we offer up to Him. It is a Judaism that makes it possible to love Jews, love God, and celebrate both in the aftermath of the unthinkable.

His Hasidism leads him to the reintroduction of another category in Jewish texts: the portrait. The Jewish tradition of portraiture is, from one perspective, ancient. Examples can be found in the writings of Flavius Josephus (CE 37-100), Tzena Ureina of the 1590s (sometimes called the Women's Bible), and the MeAm Lo'ez of Yaakov Culi (d. 1732), as well as in the hagiographic literature, such as portions of the Sefer HaKabbalah of Abraham ibn Daud (1110-1180), the martyrologies from the time of the Crusades, and portions of the Zohar. Others include the Sefer HaHezyonot, which contains portraits of Isaac Luria sketched by his student Chayyim Vital (1542-1620), as well as the Shivhei HaBesht compiled by the disciple of the Baal Shem, Dov Ber of Mezeritch. Although there are later precedents for portraiture, such as Hillel Zeitlin's (1871-1942) volume on Nahman of Bratzlav, the post-Holocaust context imparts to Wiesel's portraits an unprecedeneted dimension. And, unlike the earlier examples of portraits of the sages, Wiesel uses the word portrait in the titles of his essays on the sages.

Through his portraiture Wiesel brings out the flesh and blood, the heart and soul, and the very humanity of these men and women who otherwise get lost in the teachings and traditions they bequeath to us. For the meser or the "message" transmitted through the mesorah or the "tradition" is not merely the teachings that belong to a doctrine; if that were all Judaism amounted to, it would indeed have been lost in the Shoah. No, the message transmitted through the tradition lies in the humanity of our teachers and not just in their teachings. It lies in the very meaning of humanity that came under a radical assault in the time of the Shoah. Let us consider, then, this innovation that Wiesel brings to Judaism and that constitutes his Hasidic legacy: the portrait. <>

"A Voice Calls from the East:" Imagery Techniques in Light of the East

The mundus imaginalis (world of imagination) is mentioned both in kabbalistic and Sufi literature, as a mediating world between the corporeal and spiritual realm.' Moshe Idel claims that, due to this parallel, this concept was appropriated into the teachings of R. Isaac of Acre (a student of Nathan ben Sa'adyahu Harar, from Abulafia's ecstatic kabbalah circle) from Sufism and that this circle was proximate to Sufism.

The Sufi master, Abu `Abd Allah Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn `Arabi, commonly referred to as Ibn 'Arabi (1165 —1240), developed the conception of the imagination and brought it to new heights. In his opinion, human consciousness is dependent upon the imagination. The imagination is the creator of our reality, not as a false entity, but as a reflection and mirror of true existence. True entities belong to the divine realm and the imagination is the mirror through which these entities are seen.' The Islamic scholar Henry Corbin (1903 — 1978) focused his scholarship on Ibn 'Arabi's teachings, coined the term imaginaire, and situated it within modern discourse.

Corbin was a phenomenologist of religion, specifically religious consciousness, who first and foremost opposed all static conceptions. Corbin's metaphysics renounce the false security of faith in something permanent and stable. According to him, this type of faith, whether it be in the humanities, sciences, art, politics, and even life itself—creates an idol, a false god. In contradistinction, the imagination is

perpetually and constantly moving and thereby creates a symbol, an icon. The idol is impermeable and does not allow for transcendence, whereas the icon allows a vision and sight of transcendence:

> The ambiguity of the Image comes from the fact that it can be either an idol (Gr. eidolon) or an icon (Gr. eikon). It is an idol when it fixes the viewer's vision on itself. Then it is opaque, without transparency, and remains at the level of that from which it was formed. But it is an icon, whether a painted image or a mental one, when its transparency permits the viewer to see through it to something beyond it, and because what is beyond can be seen only through it. ...Idolatry consists in immobilizing oneself before an idol because one sees it as opaque, because one is incapable of discerning in it the hidden invitation that it offers to go beyond it. Hence, the opposite of idolatry would not consist in brealdng idols, in practicing a fierce iconoclasm aimed against every inner or external Image; it would rather consist in rendering the idol transparent to the light invested in it. In short, it means transmuting the idol into an icon.

Corbin claims that the main characterization of Western philosophy is the chasm between "thought" and "being." In Western philosophy two types of knowledge are presented—sensory perception and logical comprehension, in which the sensory conception does not necessarily affect the logical conception, and whereas the intellect does not inevitably affect man ontologically. Corbin challenged this view and asserted that there is a third type of knowledge, an intermediate knowledge between the intellect and the sense—the "Active Imagination," which appears in Sufi literature.' According to this view, man has primary access to spiritual and religious phenomena, which is not mediated through the intellect or senses, but rather through the third source of knowledge—the Active Imagination, a source of knowledge neglected in Western philosophy which "has been left to the poets:

> Between the sense perceptions and the intuitions or categories of the intellect there has remained a void. That which ought to have taken its place between the two, and which in other times and places did occupy this intermediate space, that is to say the Active Imagination, has been left to the poets.

Corbin clarifies that his utilization of the concept of imagination is not in its common use as fantasy or fiction, but as an objective and authentic source of knowledge:

> Here we shall not be dealing with imagination in the usual sense of the word: neither with fantasy, profane or otherwise, nor with the organ which produces imaginings identified with the unreal; nor shall we even be dealing exactly with what we look upon as the organ of esthetic creation. We shall be speaking of an absolutely basic function, correlated with a universe peculiar to it, a universe endowed with a perfectly 'objective' existence and perceived precisely through the Imagination.

According to Corbin, the imagination allows access to a world in which the intellect and senses are unified. Without the imagination, religious phenomena in general and religious experience in particular would be impossible! Through the imagination, man perceives "icons" and religious meanings therein, which allow him a glimpse of transcendence:

> Unlike common knowledge, which is effected by a penetration of the sense impressions of the outside world into the interior of the soul, the work of prophetic inspiration is a projection of the inner soul upon the outside world. The Active Imagination guides, anticipates. molds sensory perception; that is why it transmutes sensory data into symbols. The Burning Bush is only a brushwood fire if it is merely perceived by the sensory organs. In order that Moses may perceive the Burning Bush and hear the Voice calling him 'from the right side of the valley'—in

> short, in order that there may be a theophany—an organ of trans-sensory perception is needed... This theophanic perception is accomplished in the "alam almithal," whose organ is the theophanic Imagination.

The Active Imagination is necessary in order to verify reality and understand numerous personal experiences, including dreams, visions, and prophetic revelation.' The imagination, as a source of knowledge, allows access to a world of true existence, an objective world which Corbin, inspired by the Islamic concept of alam al-mithal, which appears in the mystical doctrine of Ibn 'Arabi and others, calls the imaginal world or mundus imaginalis.

The Active Imagination in Corbin's thought is not only a source of knowledge and an intermediary between the logos and the senses, but is also primarily a "creative imagination."' The imagination is both the epistemological awareness of an object and is simultaneously that which creates it! Corbin demonstrates this primarily in the realm of prayer in which the imagination creates the divine revelation:

> Prayer takes on a meaning which would have been profoundly repugnant not only to Ibn 'Arabi but to Sufism in general. For prayer is not a request for something: it is the expression of a mode of being, a means of existing and of causing to exist, that is, a means of causing the God who reveals Himself to appear, of 'seeing' Him, not to be sure in His essence, but in the form which precisely He reveals by revealing Himself by and to that form, This view of Prayer takes the ground from under the feet of those who, utterly ignorant of the nature of the theophanic Imagination as Creation, argue that a God who is the 'creation' of our Imagination can only be 'unreal' and that there can be no purpose in praying to such a God. For it is precisely because He is a creation of the imagination that we pray to him, and that He exists. Prayer is the highest form, the supreme act of the Creative Imagination. ...the Prayer of Man accomplishes this theophany because in it and through it the 'Form of God' (surat al-Haqq) becomes visible to the heart.

The visualization of God during prayer causes the same imaginal God to disclose himself to the imaginer. According to Corbin, prayer in its essence is not supplication, even if it is full of supplications. Prayer in its essence, "is the expression of a mode of being, a means of existing and of causing to exist." Prayer, based on man's imagination, creates divine revelation, for "through it the 'Form of God' (surat al-Haqq) becomes visible to the heart." God, "epiphanizes Himself insofar as He is the God whom and for whom we pray." Furthermore, Corbin emphasizes the fact that the imagination takes shape in works of art and science, as well as modern parapsychological performances, and thus its creative power is actualized.

Indeed, although Corbin only disseminated his scholarship on Islam and the imagination throughout Europe mainly in the second half of the twentieth century, nonetheless, there is no doubt that there were already, non-mature, prior ideological structures in the beginning of the twentieth century which brought the Sufi conception of the imagination to Europe. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century it is possible to identify an incursion of Sufi doctrines and practices in Europe, and with them the importance of the imagination, both in the philosophical and practical (as well as mystical, psychological, and medical) realm. William James presented them in his work, which was published already in 1902. Thinkers at the periphery of hasidism, like Hillel Zeitlin, who was concomitantly in contact with hasidic leaders and public Jewish figures, quotes James in his books and writings that were published in Poland and Europe in Hebrew and Yiddish.' This is one example of the possible dissemination of Sufism among European Jewry, through James's work."

Not only did Sufism gain a foothold in Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century, but so did techniques from the Far East. Surprisingly, there was a widespread and detailed knowledge of Eastern mystical techniques from India, and even Tibet, in hasidic circles already from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Evidence for this can be found in books like, Me'ora't Sevi: Sipur Halomot Qes Hafla'ot (Lemberg: J. Rosanes Press, 1804), which was presumably written by R. Yisra'el Yafeh, who published Shivhei ha-Besht. This literary style also appeared in non-hasidic books (which were in any case available for all) like the book Sefer Shevilei Olam (1822) and Masa'ei Yisra'el (1859). This literature re veals extremely intimate knowledge of Eastern and African religions and makes it accessible to a wider audience.' Indeed, our attention should also be drawn to the remarkable fact that modern colonialism and imperialism (which peaked at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century), which revealed and brought the West to the East, ultimately created a cultural encounter between them. This encounter also brought the East to the West, such that Eastern conceptions, methods, and practices were spread into the heart of Western culture, which until this day is still engaged with this encounter and is in dialogue with it.

In this context it should be noted that the scholar of religion, Mircea Eliade (1907-1986), was in India for his studies between the years 1928 and 1931 at Calcutta University (now Kolkata) and half a year in an ashram in Rishikesh in the Himalayan area.' His time in the Far East engendered his doctoral thesis on In dian Yoga. This composition constituted a preliminary stage in his understanding of Indian spirituality and his philosophical focus on techniques, which was later incorporated in his book Yoga: Immortality and Freedom.' These studies and his concentration on techniques, which were published in Europe in the first half of the twentieth century, were not only used as academic resources, but also changed the modes of thinking about the East and allowed for yogic and similar techniques to enter the European consciousness.'

The terms that Eliade disclosed to the West became a fertile ground for innovative thought and the formation of new techniques. Eliade's introduction of the concept of Karma, "The law of universal causality which connects man with the cosmos,' to the West, constituted a possible setting for the development of imagery techniques of a universal and cosmological character. Additionally, Indian techniques, like Yoga, emphasized the necessity for human initiation together with its practical side.' This conception parallels that found in hasidism, also predicated upon human initiative and the necessity of developing and searching for techniques. Another spiritual resource that Eastern techniques presented was the need for a spiritual guide. Man does not learn Yoga alone, he is dependent on instruction from a guru. Similarly, the imagery techniques that I have presented in this study are characterized by guidance, where the "guru," is the hasidic saddiq. It should be noted that Yoga, unlike Samkhya, is theistic since it posits the existence of God (Isvara) and stresses meditative techniques (in contrast to Samkhya, which sees metaphysical knowledge as the sole means for salvation)." Most likely its theistic nature facilitated its permeation, to the extent that there was, into different religious circles. Furthermore, the con cepts of bittul ha-yesh (the nullification of something) and bittul ha-ani (self-annihilation) are found in Yoga," as well as hasidism, a correlation which can allow for the proliferation of Yoga and its measured absorption in hasidic thought.

In his studies Eliade dealt with imagery techniques developed in Tibet. In Tibetan Tantra, imagination and imagery techniques play a central role as enablers of meditation.' Moreover, he highlighted the fact that "Indian psychology" was well aware of hypnosis and attributed it to a temporary state of concentration."

This particular identification of Yoga techniques and modem hypnotic techniques amplified Yoga's popularity and its absorption in Europe, specifically when hypnosis reached maturity. According to Eliade:

> The ideal of Yoga, the state of jivan-mukti, is to live in an 'eternal present,' outside of time. `Liberated in life', the jivan-mukta no longer possesses a personal consciousness—that is, a consciousness nourished on his own history—but a witnessing consciousness, which is pure lucidity and spontaneity... Yoga takes over and continues the immemorial symbolism of initiation; in other words, it finds its place in a universal tradition of the religious history of mankind.

The aspiration for eternal life is not in the sense of physical immortality, but rather supra-temporal life. This life is one of the annihilation of personal consciousness, comprised of its own experiences, and the acquirement of an alternative consciousness—of "pure lucidity and spontaneity." Eliade terms this consciousness a "witnessing consciousness," a conception that is similar to the philosophical underpinnings of Menabem Mendel Ekstein's autoscopic imaginal visualization techniques, in which man observes himself from an external viewpoint.

European interest in the East at the turn of the century had a weighty impact on Jewish identity. In Western Europe, assimilation, which had already taken root, brought with it a loss of identity and feelings of inferiority. The younger Jewish generation was drawn towards Orientalism and found for itself a place of self-definition within this complex process. Paul Mendes-Flohr discussed the renewed interest of Jewish youth, at the turn of the nineteenth century, in Indian, Buddhist, and Islamic mystical teachings, as well as a renewed interest in the mystical tradition of medieval Christianity.

Eastern culture, which before the turn of the century was viewed as inferior, suddenly became quite attractive. The invalidation of the moral and material promise of the Enlightenment, primarily by the philosophies of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, contributed to the veneration of the East. The Ostjuden (Oriental Jews) were now able to feel a renewed sense of self-satisfaction while the East was granted a new positive image. One may find organizations, like the Bar Kochba Association in Prague, and volumes, like Von Judentum (1913), which cultivated a transformed sense of Jewish pride and increased interest in Eastern spirituality and mysticism. Martin Buber was officially appointed in 1908 to be the spiritual guide of the Bar Kochba Association, which called for a Jewish renaissance. Buber's lectures delivered to this association elaborated on the mystical quality of hasidism and compared the hasidic spirituality with different mystical traditions, like Indian, Chinese, Finnish, Celtic, and Persian. Hasidism, according to Buber, expresses the authentic "oriental" nature of the Jew," and he presented it as an "oriental myth."

This European zeitgeist, influenced by the East and the West, modern psychology and philosophy, serves as a specific setting for the understanding of the development of imagery techniques of the nineteenth and twentieth century found in hasidism as well as the Musar movement. The development of imagery techniques in Jewish mysticism, from linguistic techniques in the early kabbalah to visual techniques, focusing on individual scenes, in early hasidism, and finally to the imaginal visualization of entire plots in later hasidism, did not occur in a vacuum. This development should be seen as part of a more encompassing and universal process, even when there is no proof of direct influence, and all the more so where there is. Jewish figures developed imagery techniques against the background of parallel developments and sometimes as a reaction to them, travelers in the Adventures of Ideas. <>

FINAL JUDGEMENT AND THE DEAD IN MEDIEVAL JEWISH THOUGHT by Susan Weissman [The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization in association with Liverpool University Press, 9781906764975]

Through a detailed analysis of ghost tales in the Ashkenazi pietistic work Sefer hasidim, Susan Weissman documents a major transformation in Jewish attitudes and practices regarding the dead and the afterlife that took place between the rabbinic period and medieval times. She reveals that a huge influx of Germano-Christian beliefs, customs, and fears relating to the dead and the afterlife seeped into medieval Ashkenazi society among both elite and popular groups. In matters of sin, penance, and posthumous punishment, the infiltration of Christian notions was so strong as to effect a radical departure in Pietist thinking from rabbinic thought and to spur outright contradiction of talmudic principles regarding the realm of the hereafter. Although it is primarily a study of the culture of a medieval Jewish enclave, this book demonstrates how seminal beliefs of medieval Christendom
and monastic ideals could take root in a society with contrary religious values-even in the realm of doctrinal belief.

Review

"'This exceptional piece of work demonstrates almost beyond question that elements of Sefer Hasidim's perception of key aspects of the afterlife were influenced by an array of beliefs current in the larger society involving both theology and folklore... The theses proffered are persuasive, grounded
in a command of rabbinic material and familiarity with both Christian doctrines and European folktales... This is an eye-opening work that will have a significant impact on medieval Jewish studies."
David Berger, Yeshiva University

"Weissman's work is a masterpiece of history, splendidly written. It displays a rare maturity and a high degree of mastery of the sources cited, but more important, a high degree of historical intuition and intelligence in their interpretation ... I am confident that it will become a classic of
medieval Jewish studies; by the same token, I am sure that medieval researchers and students of Christian cultural space will also find in this book both matters of substance and stimulation that will enhance the general understanding of the period."
Sylvie Anne Goldberg, cole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

"Weissman's study, as remarkable for its erudition as for its precision in textual analysis, sheds new light on key concepts that the Ashkenazi Jews of the high Middle Ages shared with local Christians. It shows how Sefer Hasidim reflects ideas that contradict rabbinic and talmudic tradition, a
development that Weissman attributes to Jewish contact with the dominant Christian culture. ... An outstanding work likely to be of enduring importance."
Jean Claude Schmitt, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

"A superb study of how Germanic and even Christian ideas about the nature and time of divine

judgment and the complex relationship between the living and the vibrantly alive dead influenced Jewish thought. It is the first serious proof of common cultural notions of an entire area of human experience (and not simply of an idea or ceremony or two) since Trachtenberg's Jewish Magic and Superstition. It makes a major contribution to our understanding of medieval Ashkenaz."
Haym Soloveitchik, Yeshiva University

"Weissman has access to Christian society only at second hand, through the abundance of North American libraries and the large amount of work and of the intelligence used here to make the most of it. In addition to the works in Hebrew and English, one must welcome not only the bibliographical mention but also the effective use in the text of numerous French-language studies, a rare occurrence in the intellectual circles from which this book comes." (Translated from French)
Jean-Pierre Rothschild, Notes Bibilographies

CONTENTS

This book is actuality, two books. Although not formally structured as such, it contains two distinct studies, which conceptually, although not thematically, divide it into two. One study assesses the degree of cultural embeddedness that was manifest among the Jews of medieval Ashkenaz with regard to their beliefs and practices surrounding the dead and their world. This first study seeks to contribute to the general research on death and the afterlife in medieval Europe by showing how some of the current beliefs and rituals were cross-culturally shared by neighbours, Jews and Christians alike. It compares medieval Jewish beliefs regarding the dead and their world to those of an earlier period, the great midrashic, talmudic thought-world of the rabbis which medieval Jews inherited. The portrait that emerges will hopefully contribute to a clearer conception of the unique cultural and religious history of medieval Ashkenaz.

The second study presented in this book pertains specifically to the German Pietists (Hasidei Ashkenaz), an elitist group of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Ashkenazi Jews that was heir to a mystical tradition,

and whose leader, R. Judah the Pious, proposed a radical religious and social programme. The subjects of many studies, the Pietists have been examined for their mystical beliefs,' social theories, and models of communal organization,' as well as their supra-legal system of law entitled retson babore and their religious programme,' their doctrine of penance,

attitude towards women, and views on martyrdom,' among others. Their very existence as a movement? or a sect,' has been debated as well as the relative impact they had on their contemporaries and later generations' This study seeks to evaluate the particular views of the Pietists on matters pertaining to the dead and the afterlife. In its exploration of the theories of sin and punishment, doctrines of atonement and penance, and attitudes towards prayer for the dead and Divine judgement that R. Judah puts forth, this second study arrives at conclusions regarding the very nature of Pietism—its influences, its origins, and even possible reasons for its swift dissolution.

These two books intersect through the medium of another book, the great religious-ethical work of the Pietists, Sefer hasidim (Book of the Pious). In the 1930s, Joshua Trachtenberg produced a study of the huge infiltration of non-Jewish popular notions and practices into Judaism as lived by Franco-German and east European Jewry from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries." Among other works, he used Sefer hasidim as a valuable resource. Even before that, in the previous century, Moritz Gudemann detected the influence of Christian currents upon the thinking of R. Judah the Pious." Since then, scholars have argued about the question of outside influence upon Sefer hasidim, specifically in relation to its doctrine of penance, and have taken extreme positions at either end of the spectrum as well as compromise positions in between.

In this book I explore the nature of this influence, and assess how far death-related beliefs and practices that circulated in the GermanoChristian environment of the time penetrated Sefer hasidim. This thirteenthcentury work is a rich storehouse of information on popular notions, practices, and sensibilities reflective of high medieval German Jewish society. Although the German Pietists appear to have had little influence even in their own time, and despite the clear pietistic programme of its author, Sefer hasidim contains a multitude of descriptions of everyday situations which present a realistic portrayal of late twelfth- to thirteenth-century German Jewish life. Add to this the fact that the book is clearly popular in its reach and it becomes legitimate to assume that the images, ideas, and practices regarding the dead and the hereafter which it records were popularly known or imagined. It is the working hypothesis of this study that Sefer hasidim can be successfully mined to detect such attitudes and practices, which were the common property of Pietist and non-Pietist alike.

In particular, I have employed the ghost tales in Sefer hasidim to explore the larger issue of the role that the dead and beliefs about the afterlife play in the book and in medieval Ashkenazi society in general. Termed 'the invasion of ghosts' by Jean-Claude Schmitt, a flood of stories involving the dead inundated western Christendom during the high Middle Ages. I propose that, although few in number compared to those prevalent in non-Jewish sources, the ghost tales of Sefer Maim are outgrowths of this larger phenomenon. By comparing these tales with external contemporary sources, such as Icelandic sagas, ancient Germanic tales, high medieval exempla (illustrative or moralizing tales), early medieval visionary accounts, historical and literary chronicles, miracle stories, saints' lives, and monumental church art, I conceptualize the role that the dead and beliefs about the afterlife played in the society of the living. I have tried to uncover the nature and extent of the outside influence upon these conceptualizations by contrasting the material contained in Sefer Maim with internal Jewish sources, both antecedent—

rabbinic, post-rabbinic, and geonic and contemporary—tosafist commentary, halakhic literature, pow commentaries, illuminated manuscripts, and Pietist writings. All this with the goal of enriching our understanding of Ashkenazi Jewish culture in general, and the unique world-view of the Pietists in particular.

In establishing the specific outlook of the Pietists, I have only used material that stems from the writings of R. Judah the Pious, a leader of the movement, and those in his circle, not sources that merely report on them. Thus, I have not included the cycle of miracle stories that surround the persona of R. Judah and his father, R. Samuel the Pious, contained in the Ma'aseb bukh, a Jewish hagiographical work of the early modem period. Eli Yassif has argued that, although the stories surrounding R. Judah are found in a sixteenth-century manuscript, they form part of the earliest strand of tales and originate from around the year 1300. Even granting the early date of these stories (a contested matter), it is still an open question whether wonder tales of holy men reflect what a holy man was or the mind of the people who composed the tales. I maintain that, with a few exceptions, these stories are unlike those found in Sefer hasidim. They differ totally from the unique atmosphere of Sefer hasidim, not to speak of the values expressed and endorsed there. Universal consent has it that R. Judah is one of three major figures that led the Hasidei Ashkenaz (R. Judah, his father, and his pupil, R. Eleazar of Worms) and that Sefer basidim reflects the Pietist Weltanschauung, so I find it implausible that one figure could generate two sharply different ideological images. If someone wishes to insist that such is the case, they are entitled to their view; I am analysing the corpus that has for centuries been seen as the work of this famous figure and that is sufficient for me. Since, in their descriptions of the dead and the afterlife, the miracle stories of the Ma'aseb bukb paint a very different portrait of R. Judah the Pious than the one that emerges from the pages of Sefer hasidim, I feel the miracle stories reflect the opinions of their redactors (and their intended audience) rather than offer a true description of the man and his views.

When dealing with material from Sefer hasidim itself, it, too, remains an open question whether or not the book reflects a unified outlook. Given its aggregate nature and the tangled question of authorship, one might conclude that it is a composite work. In fact, some isolated passages within it have been shown to be contradictory and may be the work of editors and compilers who freely inserted their own or others' material into the texts. The bewildering variety of topics covered in the book supports the supposition that one author may not be responsible for every single passage in it. Inbal Gur has gone so far as to argue that R. Judah's authorship can never be established with absolute certainty since nothing currently exists that was penned by him. On the other hand, Ivan Marcus points out the segmented nature of the book and attributes it to the distinctive features of its composition. An 'open book', Sefer hasidim results from the combination of a multitude of parallel editions (rather than one original) built upon shorter units of texts disjunctively combined. Despite this multi-layered structural characterization, Marcus marshals a host of evidence which connects R. Judah the Pious with many passages within the otherwise anonymously written Sefer hasidim and establishes him as its primary author.

While I agree that a sole individual is not the author of every section of the book, I argue, on the basis of thematic evidence presented in this study with regard to matters of death and the afterlife, that there exists a consistency of opinion in Sefer hasidim on these issues that points to a single prominent voice. Of the three leaders of the German Pietists, two main figures stand behind Sefer hasidim—R. Judah the Pious and R. Eleazar of Worms. Since the opinion I find in Sefer Maim does not always align with the view of R. Eleazar, by elimination it stands to reason that it reflects that of R. Judah. I will therefore

speak of R. Judah as the author of the work when citing passages that relate to these matters, and even in areas where his views are in consonance with those of R. Eleazar. However, should someone insist that the major voice speaking in Stier hasidim is that of another Pietist, I would not argue with them as it would not affect my basic argument about the views of the book on the dead and the afterlife, sin and punishment, or ghosts and final judgement. Personally, I feel it is highly improbable that major themes in the work are the making of an anonymous hasid; but if someone wishes to substitute all my mentions of R. Judah with 'the hasid', he or she should feel free to do so; I will ascribe that voice to R. Judah. I would argue further that the best way to address this problem is not by scouring medieval sources for attributions of authorship, but rather by testing, through a series of thematic studies such as this one, the unity of its thought on specific issues.

Medieval Ashkenaz as a cultural milieu included the Jewish communities of Germany (the empire north of the Alps), France north of the Loire, and England—a French community dating from the Norman conquest in z o66. The temporal contours of the study reflect the period in which Ashkenaz flourished as a creative Jewish centre; its first literary traces date from around the year moo, while its intellectual creativity came to an end in the late thirteenth century in northern France and England, and in the early years of the fourteenth century in Germany.

Historians of western Europe have documented major transformations in attitudes and practices related to death and the hereafter which took place in that period. One such transformation consisted of a movement away from the perception of death as a generalized, objective experience and towards a more subjective, individualized notion of it. Belief in personal judgement after the death of the individual similarly became widespread at the time. The rise of the Cluniac cult of the dead, with its annual commemoration of all Christians who have passed on, can be dated back to around the year moo. The following two centuries produced an abundance of works of varying genre, each of which contains myriads of tales of the ordinary dead who return to the world of the living. In the realm of the hereafter, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed the rise to prominence of Purgatory as a distinct locus, separate from Heaven and Hell. Historians of popular culture point to ancient pre-Christian notions of the dead, still extant in high medieval Europe, that played no small role in the widespread acceptance of Purgatory and in the promotion of the idea of reciprocal relations between the living and the dead. This study builds upon the work of historical anthropologists who have laboured in the field of the study of death and the afterlife.

Historians of medieval Jewry have also pointed to the primacy of the high medieval period in the shaping of Jewish practices and attitudes regarding the dead. That period was particularly fertile in this regard as it gave rise to the Yizkor service, the Jewish ceremony of commemorating souls, and parallels between the memorbukbs of Ashkenaz and medieval monastic necrologies, libri vitae (books of lives) and libri memorials (books of commemoration), have been documented. In terms of the hereafter, the practice of reciting the mourners' Kaddish—a prayer performed by the living for the benefit of the dead—emerged in medieval Ashkenaz. Apart from the Kaddish, liturgical practices rooted in an ancient belief in the sabbath rest of souls in Gehenna sprouted and flourished in the communities of Ashkenaz at this time.

Bearing in mind these simultaneous shifts in consciousness and praxis within both the dominant culture of Christian Europe and the subculture of medieval Ashkenaz, I have sought to discover whether these changes were related or merely coincidental. Even though the Jews of medieval Christendom strictly

adhered to traditional rabbinic norms and practices, and maintained cultural boundaries with the surrounding society, the small size of their communities and the socio-economic ties they developed with their Christian neighbours often brought them into close contact with those neighbours' beliefs and practices. My general readings in the areas of death and the afterlife showed enough similarity to lead me to suspect that there was some degree of influence of the general environment upon the beliefs and practices of medieval Ashkenazi Jewry. What I had not realized was just how massive that influence actually was, and who, of all people, was most receptive to it. I discovered that the significant developments in attitudes to death and the hereafter that took place in western Europe at this time had an enormous impact upon Jewish attitudes. After my research was completed, I began to see that my findings of cultural influence were shared by other scholars in the field. Since my intent was to reveal information regarding Jewish customs and beliefs about the dead that were uniquely medieval, I compared the beliefs found in Stier hasidim with those prevalent in talmudic and midrashic literature. What I uncovered was a major transformation in Jewish attitudes towards and practices regarding the dead and the afterlife that had occurred from the rabbinic period to medieval times. A huge influx of Germano-Christian beliefs, customs, and fears had seeped into Ashkenazi society, which shared, even if unwittingly, the mental and cultural structures of high medieval Europe in this area of great theological import.

Even more surprising to me in the course of my research was to find a significant divide between the ideas and practices that impressed themselves upon Ashkenazi Jews and those that penetrated Pietist thinking and praxis. Stier hasidirn bears witness to the cultural infusion of GermanoChristian beliefs on two levels: first, when it reflects those of Ashkenazi society in general, and second, on a deeper level, when it communicates the doctrines specific to Pietism. Here, too, the objectives of the 'two books' within this study collide.

With my interest piqued, I sought to evaluate the particular position of R. Judah the Pious on the topic of the hereafter in light of the tradition he had received. As heir to an authoritative corpus of halakhic and aggadic texts, R. Judah encountered an entire body of rabbinic literature with its own set of teachings on the matter of the dead and the afterlife. My question was whether he perpetuated these traditional teachings or whether he advocated a new stance, one more consonant with the regnant views of his host society. If, in fact, the latter was found to be true, then the further question arose as to how he dealt with those traditional Jewish teachings and texts that were in conflict with his innovative stance. After first comparing R. Judah's views with those of his halakhic predecessors, I proceeded to examine them alongside those of his contemporaries: the great masters of talmudic dialectics, the tosafists. As heirs to the same legal and narrative corpus, I wondered, did the tosafists interpret these texts in the same way as R. Judah did.

My findings revealed that there was a profound influence of Christian attitudes upon Pietist ideology in areas I had not imagined were susceptible in this way. While traditional texts may have been the source of R. Judah views on matters pertaining to the dead and the hereafter, I argue that, though he may not have intended it, outside influence had infiltrated his thinking. This infiltration was so strong as to effect a radical departure in Pietist thinking from rabbinic thought, and to spur outright contradiction of talmudic principles. In the areas of sin and posthumous punishment in particular, the degree of penetration into the worldview of R. Judah was enormous, such that, in this realm, he had absorbed entire narratives from Christian teaching.

This unconscious absorption of fundamental Christian dogma came to isolate R. Judah from his contemporaries. His unique views on the ubiquitous nature of sin and on the harsh character and inescapability of posthumous punishment were totally at variance with those held in the tosafist academies, and ran against the elevated Ashkenazi self-image and the notion of the kebilab kedosbab (holy community) portrayed by Haym Soloveitchik, and which also animated tosafist thought in the thirteenth century. Additionally, R. Judah parted company on these matters with key members of his own movement. R. Eleazar of Worms disagreed with him in matters of sin and posthumous punishment, as did R. Eleazar's student, R. Abraham b. Azriel, author of a liturgical commentary that bears the influence of the mystical tradition of the Pietists. This difference of approach between R. Judah and R. Eleazar, first noted by Haim Hillel BenSasson in 1971 in matters of social reform, and confirmed by Ivan Marcus ten years later in that arena as well as in the cardinal hasidic doctrine of penance,°' I have now extended to the realm of the afterlife. R. Judah's radical, sectarian Pietism, with the sage-confessor at its helm, as formulated by Marcus, is consonant with R. Judah's extreme stance on matters of Divine judgement as portrayed in this book. Similarly, R. Eleazar's more moderate and mainstream views on posthumous judgement, which are reflective of medieval Ashkenaz as a whole, also match Marcus's characterization of his position regarding social melioration and private penitence—both areas where R. Eleazar expressed a more conventional type of Pietism This alignment in the patterning of the views of each of the two rabbis on social reform, penance, and aspects of the afterlife strengthens the argument for seeing a unified approach, expressive of a single voice, that of R. Judah the Pious, in Sefer hasidin.

I find the Christian origins of R. Judah's thinking in doctrinal matters to be both shocking and ironic, considering the great antipathy and palpable revulsion he expressed towards that religion, its symbols, its institutions, and its proponents What could have compelled him, even if unconsciously, to adopt such foreign elements? In the process of seeking answers to this question, I uncovered an ideology that stretched far beyond matters of the dead and their world to include several other key aspects of Pietist thought This ideological tendency was, in fact, so fundamental to Pietism as possibly to have spurred its very creation, while, at the same time, serving as a catalyst for the movement early demise.

Although this book is primarily a study of the culture of a medieval Jewish enclave, it seeks to demonstrate how the seminal beliefs of medieval Christendom could penetrate beyond their place of origin and take root in a society of competing religious values—even in the realm of doctrinal belief. It opens a window on a parallel universe, or, more accurately, it shows how shared Germano-Christian conceptions of ghosts and the afterlife played themselves out in parallel universes. By bringing these concepts into sharp focus and examining them in the context of the beliefs of the surrounding Christian society, I hope to shed light on the importance of the dead and their world within the society of the living in the Middle Ages.

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The book is divided into two parts. The first, entitled 'The Dead of Sefer Hasidim', comprises Chapters 1 to 4. It identifies who the 'characters' of the dead are in Sefer hasidim: the dangerous dead (Chapter 1, the sinful dead (Chapter 2), the holy dead (Chapter 3), and the neutral and Pietist dead (Chapter 4). The focus of this section is to highlight the disparity between the nature and role of these characters as they appear in rabbinic sources and as we encounter them in Sefer hasidim. Ideas that surround the dead in that work are examined in the context of notions that were current in Germany at the time. Such a correlation reveals that notions of the nature of the dead, as well as of the type of interaction that took

place between the dead and the living, drew upon ancient Germanic ideas, which were first Christianized and then Judaized as they made their way onto the pages of Sefer hasidim.

Chapter 1 analyses the fear of the dead in Ashkenazi society as depicted in Sefer hasidim and other, non-Pietist, sources. Chapter 2 focuses on the way the sinful dead are punished in Pietist sources as opposed to talmudic ones. Chapter 3 identifies the heightened value assigned to martyrdom in the medieval period as an example of appropriation of Christian concepts involving the holy dead. Chapter 4 examines the role of the neutral dead in Sefer hasidim and shows how the concern for clothing the dead, in its various stages of existence, assumed specifically medieval forms. It concludes with an examination of the Pietist practice of burial in a tact with tsitsit, which highlights the singularity of the Pietists' unusually strong attachment to burial in such a garment and reveals an affinity with an ancient Germanic belief and custom regarding the afterlife.

Pan II, entitled 'The Afterlife in Sefer Hasidim', comprises Chapters 5 to 8. It deals with matters pertaining to the world of the dead, both in Paradise and in Gehenna, as well as with the relationship between the worlds of the dead and the living. It speaks of the way the afterlife is envisioned and presented in medieval sources—both Jewish and non-Jewish—in contrast to rabbinic ones, and highlights the uniqueness of R. Judah's position in relation to his peers—both Jewish and non-Jewish—and his predecessors. Finally, it seeks to locate the origin of the unique doctrines and practices documented in Sefer hasidim within the environment of medieval Germany, in which the work was produced.

Chapter 5, entitled 'Status in the Hereafter', analyses R. Judah's selection of ghost tales that pertain to the individual's status in the afterlife. I contrast elements of his tales with rabbinic notions of the afterlife and compare them with those found in tales that circulated in the Germano-Christian environment. In Chapter 6, 'On Sin, Penance, and Purgation', I examine R. Judah's position on posthumous punishment as compared with rabbinic tradition and tosafist commentary. I assess his views on the matter in light of the changes that occurred within the Christian doctrine of penance and the rise of Purgatory in the high medieval period. Chapters 7 and 8, 'Bonds Between the Living and the Dead', look at two aspects of a single subject and discuss the different ways in which the dead and the living aided each other in rabbinic times in contrast to medieval times. These chapters focus on R. Judah's position regarding prayer and alms for the dead and evaluate it against the geonic stance he inherited, contemporary Jewish sentiment and practice, and various streams of Christian positions. The chapters conclude with a study of R. Judah's theories of sin and accountability in Divine judgement relative to contemporary Jewish views, and with an exploration of his conception of God as depicted in Sefer hasidim

Chapter 9 concludes this 'double' book I summarize my findings and main points while attempting to deepen and sharpen them, and draw a sketch of the Pietist aspirations that emerge when one ties together the various strands of Pietist teaching on many of the subjects touched upon in earlier chapters. These aspirations lay at the very heart of the Pietist movement. <>

JEWISH BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; PERSONALITIES, PASSIONS, POLITICS, PROGRESS by Leonard Greenspoon [Jewish Publicaton Society, 9780827613126]

JEWISH BIBLE TRANSLATIONS is the first book-length history and analysis of Jewish Bible translations from the third century BCE to our day. As such, it is an overdue corrective of an important story that has been regularly omitted or downgraded in other histories of Bible translation.

Examining a wide range of translations over twenty-four centuries, Greenspoon delves into the historical, cultural, linguistic, and religious contexts of versions in eleven languages: Arabic, Aramaic, English, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Russian, Spanish, and Yiddish. He profiles many Jewish translators—among them Buber, Hirsch, Kaplan, Leeser, Luzzatto, Mendelssohn, Orlinsky, and Saadiah Gaon—framing their aspirations within the Jewish and larger milieus in which they worked. He differentiates their principles, styles, and techniques—for example, their choice to emphasize either literal reflections of the Hebrew or distinctive elements of the vernacular language—and their underlying rationales. As he highlights distinctive features of Jewish Bible translations, he offers new insights regarding their shared characteristics and their limits. Additionally, he shows how profoundly Jewish translators and interpreters influenced the style and diction of the King James Bible.

Accessible and authoritative for beginners to scholars, **JEWISH BIBLE TRANSLATIONS** will enable readers to make their own informed evaluations of individual translations and to holistically assess Bible translation within Judaism.

Reviews

"Translating their Bible has been a major cultural activity of Jewish communities for well over two thousand years and on several continents, and yet few Jews today know about this history or why it matters. This massively learned but accessible volume admirably fills that glaring gap. I highly recommend it to Jewish and Gentile readers alike!"**—Jon D. Levenson, author of *Inheriting Abraham: The Legacy of the Patriarch in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam***

"This is an irresistible book. Greenspoon distills a lifetime of learning into a lively account of famous and not-so famous versions of Hebrew scripture in diverse languages—even Chinese. Sages and eccentrics populate his pages."**—Ronald Hendel, Norma and Sam Dabby Professor of Hebrew Bible and Jewish Studies, University of California, Berkeley and author of *The Book of Genesis: A Biography***

"No one has more information at their fingertips than Greenspoon, and this book will inevitably become a resource for anyone working in translation. The book should also appear on course syllabi in Bible Studies as well as the history of Bible translation, and inform scholarship in Translation Studies as well."**—Naomi Seidman, University of Toronto Department for the Study of Religion**

"The only comprehensive guide on the subject, from earliest times to the present, *Jewish Bible Translations* is a masterful work from a master craftsman. By marrying profound erudition with lucid explanations, provocative questions and comments, and a light, sometimes whimsical touch, Greenspoon

is sure to engage both scholars and laity alike."**—Alan Levenson, Schusterman/Josey Chair, Jewish History, University of Oklahoma**

"Do all Jews understand the Bible in the same way? The answer can be found in this fascinating and comprehensive volume that explains how and why Jews translated the Bible—from the earliest translation, into Greek, to contemporary English translations, and along the way, Aramaic, Arabic, Yiddish, and European languages. We encounter the translators, their interpretive traditions, and the agendas that inform their decisions. This book is a wonderful entrée into the Jewish engagement with the Bible."**—Adele Berlin, Robert H. Smith Professor of Biblical Studies (Emerita), University of Maryland, and coeditor of *The Jewish Study Bible***

"A masterfully broad survey—both chronologically and geographically—in a wonderfully engaging work by the dean of Jewish Bible translation."**—Marc Zvi Brettler, Bernice and Morton Lerner Professor in Judaic Studies, Duke University, and author of *How to Read the Bible***

CONTENTS

Excerpt: Anyone going into a large bookstore these days is confronted with, and perhaps perplexed by, an array of Bible translations. Most of these are produced by and marketed to Christians, primarily Protestants, but also Roman Catholics and adherents of the Orthodox churches. Either in the Bible section, or more often among books classified as Judaica or Jewish studies, one or more Jewish versions may be found. The relative paucity of modern-language translations by and for Jews obscures two related points of preeminent importance: (1) Bible translating began among Jews; and (2) all subsequent translations, whether under Jewish, Christian, or "inter-denominational" sponsorship, are profoundly Jewish.

Sadly, both Jews' and Judaism's substantial contributions to scriptural translation have gone largely unrecognized or underacknowledged, even among specialists who really should know better. In this connection, I call attention to non-Jewish scholars who, discussing the subject of English-language Bible translation, completely ignore the very existence of Jewish translators and translations. Such is the case with the well-known biblical scholar and translator Jack P. Lewis, who claims, with the title of his book, comprehensive coverage of The English Bible from KJV to NIV (1981)— and yet he mentions not even one Jewish version. And then there are the authors of three popular books, Benson Bobrick, Alister

McGrath, and Adam Nicolson, who purport to provide full accounts of the King James Bible, but fail to make any reference to the profound influence Jewish exegetes and exegesis had on this translation' I should also call attention to a scholarly work by Mary Wilson Carpenter, who never mentions English-language Jewish versions in her survey of British Bibles? (See chapter 6 of this book for a corrective to such lapses.)

Even when Jewish versions are discussed, they are sometimes presented in what I would politely term an "odd" manner. Thus, the esteemed Bible scholar and translator Bruce M. Metzger devotes seven pages to modern "Jewish translations" in his wide-ranging study, The Bible in Translation: Ancient and English Versions (2001). But he gives considerably more space to two questionably Jewish versions — God's New Covenant: A New Testament Translation by the philosopher Heinz W. Cassirer, who was born Jewish but did not practice Judaism; and the Complete Jewish Bible by David H. Stern, who self-identifies as a Messianic Jew—than to the undeniably mainstream Jewish versions produced by The Jewish Publication Society. Many other examples could be cited as having failed to provide their readers with crucial information about these topics.

While I am far from the first researcher to consider significant aspects of this process (more on this to come), I am the first to do so in a full-length volume. It is my hope that this current volume—the first-ever book-length study solely devoted to Jewish Bible translators and translations—will help redress these and other imbalances.

Differing Jewish and Christian Understandings

Unlike the Jewish understanding of the Bible, translation of the sacred word is foundational to the Christian system of beliefs and practices. Jesus's very words, which he spoke for the most part in Aramaic, were presented in Greek in the New Testament—that is, in translation. Translation thus lies at the heart of Christianity. Whatever efforts, if any, Jesus's earliest followers made to preserve and transmit his words in Aramaic were quickly and completely overwhelmed by the urge to translate them.

Thus it is that for contemporary Christians, the Bible is a Bible in translation, not the Bible in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. For this reason, very few Christian denominations or groups (outside of some Orthodox Christian churches) make a concerted effort to teach or preach the biblical languages among the laity. Additionally, large numbers of Christian clergy are, or appear to be, at best only superficially acquainted with the original languages of the Bible.

Not so for Jews and Judaism. Even the most nontraditional movements of contemporary Judaism continue to make use of Torah scrolls written in Hebrew, and expect the children in their congregations to be able to read, if not fully comprehend, portions of the Bible as part of becoming a bar or bat mitzvah.

And so it is that no Jewish Bible translation is intended as a practical or implicit replacement of the original. Jewish Bibles point to the original rather than attempt to replace it; in other words, they supplement but never supplant the original Hebrew (for more on this, see the conclusion).

Predominant Themes in Bible Translations

Throughout this book, other larger themes also emerge. One such motif is the contention that it is most productive to view translators in terms of the many contexts — both within and beyond the

Jewish community—in which they worked. Appropriately generous room is given to the social, cultural, historical, political, and theological environments of these translators and to the influence of their often-groundbreaking translations and commentaries on their environs. In this way, the word— especially, the word in translation— may come alive for today's readers in much the same way it did for the original audiences of each version. This, I hope, should in turn go a long way toward validating the observation that translations of the Bible have the power to transform society in addition to reflecting it.

Along with the recognition of historical and cultural realities goes an attendant realization that complex phenomena—which is what major Bible translations are—cannot be subjected to simplistic "either/ or" analysis. Such an approach seeks to locate the development of a given project in a single origin, to the exclusion of any other causes. A prime example of this tendency relates to the origins of the Septuagint. According to one ancient narrative, Ptolemy II, the reigning monarch of Egypt, was the primary force initiating this monumental translation, motivated as he was by the desire to have a Greek copy of the Jewish Law in his prestigious library. These days, many Septuagint specialists reject this explanation in favor of the rationale that the Jewish community of Alexandria, Egypt, needed a Greek translation of the Bible, since Greek was then rapidly replacing Hebrew as the language of everyday life. Given what we know of that period, it seems more likely that both of these factors were at work, rather than one or the other. Life as actually lived is, I fear, messier and less susceptible to compartmentalization than many scholars would like to admit.

This is also true when scholars attempt to simplistically designate the overall relationship between a translation and the text it is rendering. Up until the middle of the twentieth century or so, the most frequently used descriptive terms were "literal" and "free," often presented as if they were polar opposites (that is, "either/or"). "Literal" meant word-for-word, and "free" referred to renderings that strayed from this approach. Most translations up until that time were perceived as literal, and they tended to be more highly valued than freer versions.

But when properly understood, neither "literal" nor "free" is absolute or monolithic. So, for example, most "literal" translators allow themselves to be flexible when handling metaphors and other figurative language, and almost all "free" translators strive for consistency when representing significant theological or historical terminology. So it is that any graphic representation of, say, twentieth-century English-language Bibles should be seen as a continuum from interlinear (hyper-literal) to paraphrase (showing little, if any, linguistic or stylistic connections with the source language). These then constitute further support for a nuanced approach to reading and evaluating Bible versions.

In the 196os the linguist and translator Eugene Nida, a Protestant, introduced such a perspective to help not only in characterizing the work of Bible translators but also in explicating their motives? For "literal," Nida substituted the term "formal equivalence"; "free" became "functional equivalence." Here, Nida intended more than a change in terminology. He correctly discerned that the more literal translator sought to maintain as much of the original's form (grammar, syntax, etc.) as possible, believing that the meaning of a text was inextricably linked to its form (hence, formal equivalence). Those who rendered more freely concentrated on what the text meant (or how it functioned) for its original audience and how we would say that in our language today.

Within this context, it might seem intuitive that authentic Jewish translations would/should exhibit features characteristic of formal rather than functional equivalence; in other words, they would fall on

the literal side of the continuum. Although a theoretical argument of this sort could plausibly be constructed, the evidence showcased in this book points to a far more varied conclusion. Once again, an "either/or" bifurcation is not fair either to the myriad translators we introduce or the multilayered translations we analyze.

Overview of This Volume

Each chapter of Jewish Bible Translations centers on Bible versions in a single language or related languages, and the chapters generally progress chronologically. Within each chapter, I place considerable emphasis on the target audience for each translation, to the extent that we can determine it. In my view, knowing whom a translator intended to reach with his or her work is essential to evaluating the translation's level of success within its original context.

Every chapter ends with a section I call "Concluding Thoughts." In part a summary, these remarks are also intended to bring together major themes within the chapter and to offer them as a stimulus for comparisons and contrasts with other Jewish versions. In this way I highlight both distinctive and shared features of Bible translations for Jews across many cultures extending over two thousand years.

Chapter 1 delves into the first translation of the Bible, initiated in the first quarter of the third century BCE (before the Common Era). Known as the Septuagint, this translation, from Hebrew into Greek, came to serve as something of a model for subsequent Jewish translations. It is my emphasis on the Septuagint as a Jewish document that distinguishes this discussion and analysis. So, in addition to a vast store of introductory material— for example, the legendary and historical origins of this version, starting with the rendering of the Torah; the techniques used by the earliest and subsequent translators; its reception by its first and later audiences; and the transmission of its Greek text—there are ample discussions of the ways in which the Septuagint might have functioned among Jews. What does it tell us about the interpretation and application of Sacred Writ in Hellenistic Jewish communities? How and why did Jews revise these Greek renderings? What did the talmudic Rabbis think about translation in general, and the Septuagint in particular?

Another perspective on the Septuagint is offered by the observation that some Greek translators followed the Hebrew wording of their source text literally, while others fashioned their renderings more freely. We explore possible reasons for these different approaches and identify the consequences for readers in the targeted audience for each translation. In the process we discover, among other things, how elusive the term "Septuagint" is; how varied its contents; and how much we (Jews, especially) owe to Christian scribes, without whom we would have at best a few scattered fragments rather than copious collections of this Greek Bible.

The Targums, translations from Hebrew into Aramaic, are the focus of chapter 2. According to Jewish tradition, Aramaic translation of biblical material can be traced back to the fifth century BCE, when the scribe Ezra read the Torah at Jerusalem's Water Gate, as narrated in chapter 8 of the book of Nehemiah. However, the term Targum is best reserved for specific Aramaic texts that date back to the first century CE (the Common Era). So, there are distinctive Targums to the Torah, the Prophets, and most of the books that make up the Writings. We carefully examine the various approaches taken in each Targum. All together, they consistently combined literal renderings of the Hebrew text with

avoidance of anthropomorphisms in relation to God, endeavored to simplify and update biblical language, and added all sorts of explanatory material that the translators presumably felt would not only be valuable to readers but, on occasion, be entertaining.

It is by no means easy to determine why the Targumists rendered their Hebrew texts in such a distinctive way. But we can fruitfully speculate on the effects such a text would likely have had on those who first heard or read it. Moreover, since portions of the Targums were used in synagogues in tandem with Torah and Prophetic readings in Hebrew, these Aramaic versions exerted considerable direct influence within Jewish communities for centuries, and have continued to guide biblical interpreters to this very day.

Chapter 3 introduces Jewish translation into Arabic. Special attention is paid to Saadiah Gaon, a towering intellectual figure of Judaism active in the Babylonian Jewish community of the tenth century who nonetheless remains largely unknown outside of a circle of academic specialists. He is the first Jewish translator we know a lot about. His high level of involvement within the Jewish community is something of a pattern for many who followed him. Our knowledge of Saadiah's life and activities forms the context for analyzing his translation. In an effort to engage a distinct readership (a common objective among Jewish translators), he elected to privilege the linguistic and cultural sensitivities of his Arabic-speaking audience. He also used his translation to combat those Jews (especially the Karaites) who opposed the Rabbinic interpretations and beliefs he championed.

We uncover yet another salient feature of his and many later Jewish translations: Their rendering of the Hebrew is matched, if not exceeded, by the extensive commentaries they constructed. On the basis of extant remains of Saadiah's translation-with-commentary (or perhaps more properly, commentary-with-translation), it is difficult to determine whether Saadiah produced one or more than one translation of portions of the Hebrew Bible, depending on whether a version was envisioned as a free-standing text or in tandem with commentary. Such analysis also plays a role in our discussion of German- and English-language Bibles for Jews.

There is a long and rich history of "Translation into Yiddish (Judeo-German) and German," the subject of chapter 4. From the1200s until late in the 1700s, Central European Jews had a choice of several different styles of Yiddish-language versions. Even after the Enlightenment leader Moses Mendelssohn and his collaborators created the first translations into "proper" German, Yiddish versions were still being prepared—up until World War II. But the i800s belonged to Jewish translators who aimed their German-language editions (texts, commentaries, introductions, sometimes illustrations) at specific segments of the population—from Reform to neo-Orthodox. These translators (including some working through the first decades of the twentieth century) varied considerably in their approach: Some allowed Semitic elements to show forth in German, while others produced a version that read smoothly in the target language; some gave pride of place (or exclusive placement) to traditional Jewish exegetes in their commentaries while others allotted space to Christian scholars at the forefront of distinctly nontraditional critical approaches; some used new technology to mass produce low-priced volumes and others enhanced their own work with illustrations, line drawings, maps, and other reader-friendly features. As we compare these German-language versions, it becomes clear that translators, along with their sponsors and publishers, were expanding the scope of what a Jewish version of the Bible could accomplish by taking into account all factors that readers would encounter, not just the translated text itself.

Chapter 5 covers Jewish translations into five European languages: Spanish, French, Italian, Hungarian, and Russian. As readers will see, there is a notably unique feature of Bible translations into Spanish: Two of the earliest Old Testament versions owe their existence to the efforts of individual Jews as translators or benefactors. Jewish Bibles in the other four languages span the nineteenth century. We are fairly well informed about the translators of all these versions. They were well-educated leaders of their respective Jewish communities who used their translations to benefit their contemporaries in what might appear to be contradictory ways: The versions they produced (text, commentary, etc.) were intended both to educate their fellow Jews on appropriate exegetical techniques and to ease their way into fuller participation in the largely Christian societies of which they were a part.

But, as we will see, they understood these internal and external concerns as complementary means to strengthen their Jewish communities and provide for growth in the future. This analysis highlights the many goals Jewish translators set for themselves in fashioning their modern-language versions. These efforts were also in keeping with the guiding principles of the Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment).

Chapter 6 introduces readers to Jewish translations into English. The Anglo-Jewish translations produced in Great Britain from the late eighteenth century through the end of the nineteenth century offer a fascinating window into how the Jewish community of those times adapted to an array of external and internal pressures. From there we turn to developments in the United States, beginning with Isaac Leeser in the mid-nineteenth century and ending with the latest early twenty-first century versions on the market. For much of this time Jewish translators on both sides of the Atlantic transmitted substantial portions of the Protestant King James Version (KJV), retaining its style while jettisoning its Christian interpretive framework.

Since World War II, Jews, working as individuals and on committees, have undertaken pioneering efforts to update their English-language versions to attract designated segments of the North American Jewish Bible-buying public. To an extent, these segments can be identified as traditional or nontraditional in religious belief and practice. But Jews also have a choice based on, for example, whether the Bible is for a special event or life-cycle observance, intended for use in the synagogue or home or school, and is envisioned as a Bible in and of itself or in tandem with Scripture in Hebrew. In this regard, Jewish translators and their sponsors have mirrored parallel developments in the larger Christian (mostly, Protestant) Bible industry.

Of the many options, the **JPS TANAKH**, or New Jewish Publication Society version ([NJPS](#)), published by The Jewish Publication Society, has come closest to establishing itself as the standard translation across North American Jewish denominations and movements. For those interested in purchasing a Jewish Bible or supplementing their current collection, the chapter concludes by acquainting readers with the various English-language Bibles currently on the market.

Chapter 7, "Non-Jewish Translations with Jewish Features," analyzes three other examples of translations. The first consists of Yiddish translations, especially of the New Testament, most of which were prepared by Jews who had converted to Christianity. These texts, from the second half of the nineteenth century through the first quarter of the twentieth, were sponsored by Protestant Bible societies and distributed by missionary societies that undertook evangelical activities within European and North American Jewish communities.

The second example is a twentieth-century "Jewish Bible" (according to its title) published by "Messianic Jews," in which their rendering of the New Testament seeks to restore Jesus to his original, Jewish context—more for evangelizing than historical reasons, The last example is the work of a Christian minister who converted from the traditional Judaism into which he was born and eventually moved to China, where he produced an influential Bible translation that exhibits a number of characteristically Jewish features.

The inclusion of this material provides readers with insights beyond what we typically consider a Jewish translation of the Bible. And it encourages readers to consider where the boundaries lie between Jewish and non-Jewish biblical versions.

Taking a broad view of Jewish Bible translations, the conclusion offers three separate but interrelated analyses. First, a comparison of how Jewish translators have portrayed God and humans demonstrates that the choice of a translation really does make a difference when readers seek understanding of what the Hebrew Bible says and means on central issues. Second, an identification of seven commonalities uniting almost all the Jewish translators and translations we have brought together from over two millennia offers insight into characteristics that have typically featured in versions aimed at a Jewish audience. Finally, we consider where Jewish Bible translators are likely heading and what Jewish translations might look like in the future.

In this process, readers will come to know Jewish scholars who have made significant contributions to the study of Jewish Bible translation. Two twentieth-century giants in the field of Jewish studies, Max L. Margolis and Harry M. Orlinsky—both of whom produced volumes on Bible translation in general, with generous coverage of Jewish versions — offer illuminating insights. Based on their respective experiences as editors of English-language Bibles for The Jewish Publication Society, Margolis and Orlinsky, whose paths crossed briefly in the early 1930s, had very different views on what constitutes the most effective Bible version for Jewish audiences. Their contributions have stood the test of time and constitute the foundational elements upon which (or whom) I build. Others whose work I cite are Frederick Greenspahn, Edward Greenstein, Joseph H. Hertz, David H. Katz, Raphael Loewe and Everett Fox, Nahum and Jonathan Sarna, and Naomi Seidman.

Using This Volume

This book has been designed to fully engage readers at all levels of Jewish knowledge, from scholars and clergy to lay leaders, participants in adult study groups, and general readers who may or may not be versed in Hebrew or other languages beyond English. Thus I have provided translations for all passages from the Hebrew Bible as well as those in languages other than English. I have also clearly explained all technical terminology. In addition, through The Jewish Publication Society (JPS), I am providing a complementary study guide that includes questions to stimulate further discussion and an extensively annotated bibliography. To use it, go to https://jps.org/books/jewish -bible-translations and click on Resources.

I hope this book (along with its guide) finds a place in adult education courses or the like. Within these settings, instructors might well consider following a different order than that presented within the volume itself, which is largely chronological within selected language groups. I recommend starting with chapter 6, "English-Language Versions," since of course these will be the most accessible for English speakers and readers. From there it might make most sense, in some contexts, to go back to chapter 4,

on Judeo-German (that is, Yiddish) and German translations, followed by chapter 5, on other selected modern European versions. Next on the syllabus might be chapter 2, the Aramaic text of the Targums, which is likely to be more familiar to the Jewish general public than either the Greek of the Septuagint (chapter 1) or the Arabic of Saadiah Gaon's Tafsir (chapter 3). In short, there is something to be said for moving from the more to the less familiar.

Also, be assured that proceeding out of order will not be problematic for students. Realizing that readers might well wish to approach the material in a different order than the one fashioned for the volume, I have ensured that successive chapters, which do build on what precedes them in some ways, can also be fully comprehended and appreciated in whatever order they are read.

In other more or less informal educational contexts, leaders or teachers may wish to use select material. So, the sections on French, Italian, and Russian translations, for example, would be useful for courses that survey, or center on, developments in Jewish life throughout those cultures. Or the analysis of the Septuagint as a Jewish document or the KJV as a repository for substantial Jewish interpretation would enhance learning of Bible translations beyond the usual academic contours.

As a university professor for more than forty years (and still counting!), I can also envision this book for use in any number of courses in biblical studies, Jewish studies, and translation studies. Courses in all three of these areas are inherently interdisciplinary and largely fashioned on the basis of what professors judge to be most pedagogically relevant. Chapters 1 and 2, on the Septuagint and Targums, respectively, would be particularly useful for biblical studies. For classes in Jewish studies, I would recommend the chapters on Arabic translation (chapter 3) and translation into Yiddish and German (chapter 4). Those teaching courses in translation studies should find the remaining chapters—"Translations into Other Selected Languages" (chapter 5), "English-Language Versions" (chapter 6), and "Non-Jewish Translations with Jewish Features" (chapter 7) —especially beneficial.

In this connection, I would add one more point for consideration. The study guide for each chapter (again, visit https://jps.org/books /jewish-bible-translations and click on Resources) contains (1) supplementary material, including accessible books and articles, as well as reliable websites, for further study and research; (2) a listing of key terms; and (3) a variety of questions geared toward stimulating further creative thought among students.

I also encourage clergy to consider using this work as they compose sermons or otherwise address their communities more broadly. Still today, many Jews do not realize that reading an English-language Bible they have at home is not the same as reading that text in its original language. A modern-language — or even medieval-language —version of the Bible cannot supplant the text in its original language. As a supplement, however, such translations have long given value and strength to their communities. Versions in English or other languages can continue to provide this support, so long as their readers know how these texts can function.

As a practical matter, this book should help rabbis (as well as cantors, educational directors, and others) achieve their principal goals. Frequently, after reading a passage from the Hebrew Bible to the congregation, rabbis draw from different renderings of the same Hebrew text in order to provide multiple interpretations of what is often elusive language. Similarly, rabbis basing sermons on the Torah portion of the week will usually bring together a number of passages on the same theme from several

biblical books. And, as I demonstrate, even on such central concerns as the nature of God and the make-up of humanity, markedly different perspectives emerge when one version is read against another. Knowing the context in which the given translator worked enables the English wording of, say, NJPS or The Living Torah or Everett Fox or Robert Alter to take on its full and appropriate meaning. Simply put, this book provides the big picture. And with it, rabbis and others can more confidently and knowledgeably cite translations from other languages, going back as far as the Septuagint and the Targums.

Unlike many other topics within the field of Jewish studies, there is not much of a history of sustained study of Jewish Bible translations as a centuries-long, widespread phenomenon. As an unabashed advocate for the value —maybe even the necessity— of knowing about Jewish Bible versions for a full appreciation of what it has meant and continues to mean to be Jewish, I have felt obliged to plant the seeds as much as harvest the crop (if I may use agricultural metaphors). Many treasures are to be unearthed in the pages to follow. I hope that when readers encounter, and consider, Jewish Bible Translations, they share in the excitement I have had in researching and writing it. <>

The **JPS TORAH** at Fifty (2012): A Celebration of a Translation and a Translator by Leonard Greenspoon, *Klutznick Chair in Jewish Civilization, Professor of Classical & Near Eastern Studies and of Theology, Creighton University*, Omaha, Nebraska

> As we celebrated the 50th anniversary of the first publication of the JPS Torah and the 20th yahrzeit of its editor-in-chief Harry M. Orlinsky, it is appropriate to take the time to consider how this translation and its lead translator fit into the long history (over 2,300 years) of Jewish Bible translations and translators. We observe characteristics shared by Jewish versions, as well as distinctive features of the JPS translation. This allows us to acknowledge the role played by tradition and innovation. In the process, specific examples from the text of the JPS translation and from the life of Harry Orlinsky are highlighted.

In early May 1953, Harry M. Orlinsky delivered an address at the annual meeting of The Jewish Publication Society (JPS). At the age of 45, Orlinsky was a professor at the recently merged Hebrew Union College and Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR). Handpicked by JIR founder and president Stephen S. Wise, Orlinsky had already established a formidable reputation as a Jewish Bible scholar in what was still a predominantly Protestant field.

The title of Orlinsky's presentation on this occasion—"Wanted: A New Translation of the Bible for the Jewish People"—aptly summarized his goal that day, which in fact had by then been his goal for some years. He ardently argued for a new English-language edition of the Hebrew Bible, prepared by Jews for Jews (as well as others) that would take the place of the 1917 JPS translation.

No one was better prepared than Orlinsky to make this case and to play a pivotal role in carrying out the project. When Orlinsky, Canadian-born, completed his undergraduate education at the University of Toronto, he was determined to continue his studies at Philadelphia's Dropsie College, in particular to work with Professor Max L. Margolis. As it happened—and as Orlinsky knew well—Margolis had been the editor-in-chief of JPS's earlier Bible translation. A young Orlinsky arrived in Philadelphia in the fall of 1931 and immediately began his studies with Margolis and other Dropsie faculty. Alas, after a short

period of time, Margolis fell ill and had to leave the classroom, never to return. He died some months later.

Although their time together was very brief, Margolis' influence on Orlinsky was profound. Like his revered teacher, Orlinsky took a keen interest and active role in Bible translation, particularly in the Septuagint, the Greek text that was the earliest translation of the Hebrew Bible.

In Orlinsky's case, his participation in Bible translation can justly be termed groundbreaking. During the 1940's, he was a member of the committee that produced the Revised Standard Version Old Testament, published in 1952, with the distinction of being the first Jewish scholar to participate in a Bible version otherwise prepared by, and primarily for, Christians. Later, Orlinsky was instrumental in the New Revised Standard Version, first published in 1990. Again, he was the only Jewish scholar to participate in that translation. (It is well worth noting, as Orlinsky convincingly argued, that the absence of Jewish scholars on translation committees was decidedly not the same as the absence of Jewish scholarship, which decisively influenced translations from the Vulgate to the King James Version and beyond.)

Orlinsky had once judged the shelf life of a Bible translation as about 50 years. So, in one sense, his pleas in the 1950's to replace the 1917 JPS version might have seemed a bit premature. But it was not simply the passage of years that motivated Orlinsky's call for a new Jewish translation. He was as aware as anyone that during the intervening years scholarship had made substantial advances toward a better understanding of the biblical text. This was true in terms of linguistics, grammar, and stylistic interpretation, as well as archaeology, paleography (the analysis of ancient forms of writing), and comparative religion.

But there was more. A conscientious reader of the JPS translation of 1917 could not fail to observe that it looked and sounded very much like the classic King James Version. This similarity was not by chance. Margolis, who was himself an immigrant from Lithuania, felt that the diction of the King James Version would serve as an appropriate model for teaching English to immigrant Jews. He saw his work in terms of instruction in language as well as in theology. In this regard, Margolis consciously modeled himself on the example of Moses Mendelssohn, the Jewish Enlightenment leader who in the late 1700's produced a Bible version in High German to replace earlier Yiddish (Judaeo-German) renderings for a community that was now able to join polite society—but only if they abandoned the "uncouthness" of Yiddish for the elevation of proper German.

There are many positive features that speak in favor of making use of King James-type language and diction in a Bible translation. It is for this reason that the King James Version and its descendants continue to be best sellers in the huge market that includes Bible translations and commentaries. At the same time, it must be admitted that it is not an easy task for a modern reader to get through a chapter or more of the King James Version, given that its style, diction, and vocabulary reflect the 16th rather than the 21st century. (Although the King James Version appeared in 1611, its language was already a bit outdated.)

For Orlinsky, the antiquated nature of the King James Version was not at all charming or suitable. Quite the contrary: it contradicted what was for Orlinsky the primary function of a translator of the Hebrew Bible: to make the text intelligible for those who are not able to read the Hebrew in its original. A translator needed to carefully gauge the style of English with which members of his audience were

comfortable. The translation that resulted from this approach would look and read like most any other piece of literature contemporary with the translator's audience.

And that indeed is how the JPS translation that first appeared in 1962 was intended to function.

Formal vs. Functional Translations

For many years, the overall differences between a version like JPS 1917 and the JPS 1962 were subsumed under the broad categories "literal" and "free," respectively. While there is some truth to these designations, they are not necessarily the best way to characterize them. Today, it is more usual to use the terms "formal" and "functional." A "formal" translation is more literal because every effort is made to retain the form of the original in the new rendering. A "functional" translation tends to be freer because the basic questions asked—What meaning were the original authors trying to convey to their audience? How do we say that today?—naturally lead toward renderings that are natural-sounding to the new audience. Because biblical Hebrew and American English are such different languages, a "formal" English translation will often sound foreign; a "functional" rendering will sound much more like natural English (but much less like the original Hebrew).

Harry Orlinsky was the primary proponent of "functional equivalence" translation within the Jewish world during the second half of the 20th century. Within the larger community of Bible translators, he was joined by a number of Protestants associated with the American Bible Society, who produced the **GOOD NEWS BIBLE** and later the **CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH VERSION**.

Average readers of a Bible translation, who are not scholars, will nonetheless quickly discern whether they are looking at a "formal" or a "functional" version. With respect to the Hebrew Bible, phrases such as "And it came to pass" or "Behold" and constructions such as "and. . . . and. . . . and" are clear markers that this is "formal equivalence" translation. Subordinate sentence structures (for example, "When . . . ," "After . . . ," and "Although . . .") and easily recognizable vocabulary alert readers to the "functional" nature of the translation.

There is yet another way to differentiate between "literal" and "free" translations, which can be expressed spatially. With a "formal" translation, the reader must move toward the text. This movement is necessary to bridge the gap between the modern reader and the ancient text. With a "functional" translation, we can say that the text moves toward the reader. This is the result of the translators' decision to minimize "foreign" elements in the text as a means of making it more immediately intelligible to the reader.

At first thought, it seems that a "formal" translation, with its literal approach, will always be more accurate than a "functional" version. But Harry Orlinsky argued against this view. He pointed to a number of biblical passages where the "functional" rendering conveyed what was to his mind the actual meaning of the Hebrew original, while the "formal" representation in fact misrepresented what the Hebrew meant.

In order to better explain such a comparison, here are a few examples from the JPS 1917 more "formal" version and the "functional equivalence" of the new JPS translation. (In each example, the 1917 rendering precedes the newer one; bolded words and phrases are key elements for comparison):

> Deuteronomy 24:16

> The **fathers** shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the **fathers; every man** shall be put to death for **his** own sin.
> **Parents** should not be put to death for children, nor children be put to death for **parents: a person** shall be put to death only for **his** own crime.

> Judges 12:9
> And he had thirty sons, and thirty daughters he sent **abroad,** and thirty daughters he brought in from **abroad** for his sons.
> He had thirty sons, and he married off thirty daughters **outside the clan** and brought in thirty girls from **outside the clan** for his sons.

> Jeremiah 31:29–30 (similar expression found in Ezekiel 18:14)
> In those days they shall say no more: The **fathers** have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. But every one shall die for **his** own iniquity; **every man** that eateth the sour grapes, **his** teeth shall be set on edge.
> In those days they shall no longer say: The **parents** have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. But **all** shall die for **their** own sins; the teeth of **everyone** who eats sour grapes shall be set on edge.

In other instances, as Orlinsky also insisted, the new translation revised and corrected older English renderings by mining the riches of the Jewish exegetical traditions:

> Genesis 1:1–2
> **In the beginning God created** the heaven and the earth . . . And **the spirit of God hovered** over the face of the waters
> **When God began to create** heaven and earth. . . . And **a wind from God sweeping** over the water
> Isaiah 7:14
> **Behold, the young woman shall conceive, and bear** a son.
> **Look, the young woman is with child and about to give birth to** a son.

Nonetheless, I would not see all changes as positive:

> Ezekiel 2:1 (and frequently elsewhere in Ezekiel)
> **Son of man**
> **O mortal**
> Proverbs 31:10
> **A woman of valour** who can find? For her price is far above rubies.
> What a rare find is **a capable wife!** Her worth is far beyond that of rubies.

The **JPS Torah** and **JPS Tanakh**'s Contributions to the Jewish Community

The Jewish Publication Society has had a distinguished publication record since the first appearance of its new Torah translation 50 years ago and the entire Tanakh in 1985. The English-language text has appeared, in its entirety or in parts, in a number of different formats, acknowledging the fact that Jews use the Bible somewhat differently for worship, study, and presentation at celebrations and holidays. My favorite format is the one that first appeared in 1999, with the Hebrew original and the JPS English translation on facing pages. I especially like this side-by-side format because it serves as a constant reminder that for Jews the modern-language rendering should always point to the Hebrew original.

The **JPS TANAKH** has had an ever-wider and deeper influence within the Jewish community and the larger community of scholars and worshippers for whom the Hebrew Bible is sacred writ. It appears in both editions of the influential Reform commentary edited by Rabbi Gunther Plaut (W. Gunther Plaut, ed., **THE TORAH: A MODERN COMMENTARY**. New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1981; and URJ Press, 2005) and the current Torah commentary used in Conservative synagogues (David Lieber, Jules Harlow, et al., eds., **ETZ HAYIM: TORAH AND COMMENTARY**. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2001). The scholars who wrote the widely praised **JPS TORAH COMMENTARY** (**GENESIS**, commentary by Nahum M. Sarna [1989]; **EXODUS**, commentary by Nahum M. Sarna [1991]; **LEVITICUS**, commentary by Baruch A. Levine [1989]; **NUMBERS**, commentary by Jacob Milgrom [1990]; and **DEUTERONOMY**, commentary by Jeffrey H. Tigay [1996]) used the JPS translation, as did the editors of the extraordinarily valuable **THE JEWISH STUDY BIBLE** (Adele Berlin and Marc Zvi Brettler, eds., New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). The **JPS TANAKH** in a somewhat revised form can also be found in the thought-provoking **CONTEMPORARY TORAH** (David E. S. Stein, ed., **THE CONTEMPORARY TORAH: A GENDER-SENSITIVE ADAPTATION OF THE JPS TRANSLATION** [Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2006]).

To conclude, the Bible, in its original and in translation, should function as the springboard for our interaction with the text, for it is not lifeless nor is it static. In the case of the **JPS TANAKH**, this interaction is enriched, for at least some of us, by our personal knowledge of and experience with one or more of its translators.

Orlinsky's Genius

As editor-in-chief of the **JPS TORAH**, Orlinsky exerted a decisive and, I would say, positive influence on the JPS rendering of the entire Hebrew Bible. It is very difficult for me to believe that his death took place 20 years ago. For, like all the texts he worked on, Harry M. Orlinsky is someone who invited us—one and all—to interact with him. When I read the JPS translation, especially those sections that he and I had discussed at length, I hear his voice and I experience again the pleasure of being in the company of one of the greats.

I remember, for example, asking Orlinsky how he felt about proposing a rendering for the first verses of Genesis that differed so markedly from the traditional wording of the King James Version. He told me that, prior to working with JPS, he had never heard or read other English translations of Genesis 1. Although I found this a bit difficult to believe, I knew better than to challenge him on a point such as this. Or in fact to challenge him on his memory of any of the hundreds of scholars and others with whom he had come into contact. He was, after, all almost always correct and always affable, at least with me.

His erudition, his sense of humor, his spot-on memory of just about everyone he ever met—the unique mixture of these and so many other traits—made Harry M. Orlinsky the unforgettable person he was. Moreover, it is in part these traits of his that make the **JPS TANAKH** the very fine translation that it is.

We will never again see another Harry Orlinsky, or Max Margolis, or Moses Mendelssohn. But hopefully, we will be fortunate enough someday to come upon another Bible translation that bears its creator's genius in the way these three Jewish translators put their mark on their respective versions. We are, if I may put it this way, blessed and enriched by such individuals within our community. <>

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF THE SEPTUAGINT edited by Alison G. Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law [Oxford Handbooks, 9780199665716]

The Septuagint is the term commonly used to refer to the corpus of early Greek versions of Hebrew Scriptures. The collection is of immense importance in the history of both Judaism and Christianity. The renderings of individual books attest to the religious interests of the substantial Jewish population of Egypt during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and to the development of the Greek language in its Koine phase. The narrative ascribing the Septuagint's origins to the work of seventy translators in Alexandria attained legendary status among both Jews and Christians. The Septuagint was the version of Scripture most familiar to the writers of the New Testament, and became the authoritative Old Testament of the Greek and Latin Churches. In the early centuries of Christianity it was itself translated into several other languages, and it has had a continuing influence on the style and content of biblical translations.

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF THE SEPTUAGINT features contributions from leading experts in the field considering the history and manuscript transmission of the version, and the study of translation technique and textual criticism. The collection provides surveys of previous and current research on individual books of the Septuagint corpus, on alternative Jewish Greek versions, the Christian 'daughter' translations, and reception in early Jewish and Christian writers. The *Handbook* also includes several conversations with related fields of interest such as New Testament studies, liturgy, and art history.

CONTENTS

This volume is a response to the growing recognition of the phenomenon of the Septuagint, whose significance is much wider than is often perceived among biblical scholars. The term 'Septuagint' is not limited either to the first Greek translation of the Torah or to the interface between the Hebrew texts and their Greek renderings, as demonstrated by Cameron Boyd-Taylor's overview essay 'What Is the Septuagint?' at the start of this volume (Chapter 1). The Septuagint is a complex entity, which developed over a long period. Moreover, the study of the Septuagint relates in important ways to many other fields, including Hellenistic and Byzantine Judaism; New Testament and early Christianity; patristic biblical exegesis; Greek lexicography; 'daughter' versions; liturgy; papyrology and manuscript studies; translation studies; modern theology. We have endeavoured to cover as many of these areas as possible.

The two other essays in Part I set out the development of Septuagint studies in Western European scholarship, following the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the consequent flow of Greek scholars and manuscripts to the West. Scott Mandelbrote (Chapter 2) notes the way in which the rediscovery of the Septuagint and the Greek language influenced and was itself influenced by the movements of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Such study was therefore not merely an academic pursuit but until well into the nineteenth century was regarded as of great significance for the 'recovery' of authentic biblical tradition: the Oxford scholar Edward Grinfield even set up an annual lectureship to promote the Septuagint's 'value as an evidence of the authenticity of the Old and New Testaments'. Over the course of five hundred years, printed Septuagint books have moved from diplomatic editions of single manuscripts (some-times in polyglot volumes) to full eclectic critical editions that aim to recover the oldest possible form of the Septuagint (usually termed 'Old Greek' in the case of translations), based on a very large number of manuscripts and with one or more detailed apparatus. The most important of these are the editions of single books of the Septuagint corpus produced by the Göttingen Unternehmen and still to be completed, as detailed in Chapter 3 by Felix Albrecht. However, Albrecht also notes that the concept of editing the Septuagint ultimately goes back to both early Jewish Hebraizing revisions and to the Classical Alexandrian tradition of text-editing, both reflected in the work of Origen on the Hexapla.

Part II reviews the socio-historical setting of the Septuagint translations and related Jewish religious literature in Greek. Although it is usually assumed that all originated in the substantial Jewish communities in Egypt, especially in Alexandria, this may not be so for every book. In Chapter 4 James Aitken looks at the political situation and the extent of Greek knowledge in Palestine and the Diaspora outside Egypt, concluding that although there can be no certainty, a non-Egyptian origin is possible in the case of some compositions in Greek such as Sibylline Oracle 3 and 4 Maccabees. Livia Capponi (Chapter 5) assesses the evidence for the civic status and social circumstances of the very large Jewish community in Egypt, especially in Alexandria, during the Hellenistic and Roman periods until the virtual destruction of Egyptian Jewish life in the suppression of the revolt in 117 ce. She reflects on issues of Jewish identity for Jews living in the land of Egypt, speaking Greek. The Septuagint was translated into the Greek of the Hellenistic period, yet demonstrates some features alien to both literary and Koine Greek of the period, most often due to the nature of translation from Hebrew. For instance, the verbal system and basic syntactical constructions are very different in the two languages. In his chapter on language and lexicography (Chapter 6), Trevor Evans describes the development of the study of the syntax and

vocabulary of the Septuagint, from the notion that the language of the LXX was a kind of Jewish Greek dialect, to a more informed appreciation of the points of contact between the usages of the LXX corpus, contemporary documentary papyri, and literary Greek. He also compares the methodologies employed by modern lexicons of the Septuagint. A controversial area is the degree to which LXX

translators introduced religious ideas of their own period into their renderings. Mogens Müller (Chapter 7) argues for the importance of distinguishing between what translators may have intended and how later readers understood the resulting texts. He examines terms used for God, the rendering of the Hebrew word Torah by the Greek nomos, and possible messianic and eschatological references, all of which in due course influenced the New Testament and later Christianity as well as being an integral part of Judaism expressed in Greek. The origins of the Septuagint translation, which it is generally agreed began with the renderings of the books of the Pentateuch (Torah), are shrouded in mystery. However, a pseudonymous work known as the Letter of Aristeas composed by a well-educated Greek Jew in the second century bce tells of the rationale and circumstances behind the Pentateuch's translation in such a compelling manner that it was not until the seventeenth century that its historicity was challenged. It is due to this work that we use the term 'Septuagint', derived from Pseudo-Aristeas's account of seventy-two translators who came down from Jerusalem to Alexandria at the invitation of King Ptolemy to translate the books of the Torah for his library. Dries De Crom in Chapter 8 notes how much of a sway 'Aristeas' still has on the scholarly imagination. He provides a critique of recent attempts to rehabilitate aspects of the narrative, concluding that it should be seen as 'performative rather than objective history'. More reliable indicators of the early history of the Septuagint can be obtained from the papyrus fragments and inscriptions that attest it. In Chapter 9 Michael Theophilos explains the meth od ology of papyrological study and epigraphy, and their significance for Septuagint studies, as well as the difficulties in distinguishing Jewish and Christian provenance of manuscript fragments. In the next phase of transmission of Septuagint texts, as Luciano Bossina writes (Chapter 10), the codex began to replace the roll: traditionally regarded as indicating a distinction between Jewish and Christian practice, along with the use of the nomina sacra, in recent times this dichotomy has been questioned. In the ninth century the use of Greek uncials in manuscripts was superseded by minuscules. The dates of surviving manuscripts can give an indication of fluctuations in book production, usually related to economic and social stability of a particular period. Prior to the adoption of printing books were very expensive to produce in terms of materials and scribal labour, with 'complete' Bibles, pandects, being particularly rare. In Chapter 11 Hans Ausloos explains the methods and purpose of translation technique as seen in the Septuagint translations. The Hebrew and Greek languages are very different in structure as well as script. Literary translation between the two was virtually unknown in the period in which the first LXX books came into being. Moreover, there was no scientific understanding of Hebrew grammar, and little in the way of lexical aids until the early Islamic period. The translators employed various ways of dealing with idioms in Hebrew, and in the Pentateuch they established certain patterns in syntax and lexi cography that would prove influential for the rendering of later books. The study of such practices by modern scholars is now well-established and has great importance for textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible in that it plays a vital role in establishing the details of the original Hebrew text that the translators worked from.

In Part III, the focus shifts to the corpus of the Septuagint itself, with an emphasis on the translated books, but also including those often found in Christian collections from early times. As mentioned above, the Pentateuch covering the five books from Genesis to Deuteronomy was almost certainly the

foundation for the other translations, both because the books of the Torah were at the heart of Jewish life everywhere, and also because the influence of the Pentateuch translation can be seen in other books. Dirk Büchner (Chapter 12) notes the presence of adaptations to the new Hellenistic environment, as in the example of the legal issue of a householder's killing of a burglar, as well as the possibility of exegetical interpretation of passages concerning sacrifice, and what this might imply about the audience's expectations of a rendering of the Hebrew Torah. The books known as the Former Prophets within the Jewish canon, and the Historical Books from a Christian point of view, have a complex textual history in both Hebrew and Greek. Natalio Fernández Marcos (Chapter 13) believes that Joshua was translated early, after the Pentateuch, noting that the book is a little shorter than in its Hebrew Masoretic version. However, although LXX Judges appears in two different forms in the oldest manuscript tradition, a single translation seems to underlie both, and goes back to a form of Hebrew close to the Masoretic Text (MT). The Books of Samuel, examined by Anneli Aejmelaeus in Chapter 14, are treated by LXX tradition as part of a four-book group covering 1 Samuel to 2 Kings known as 1–4 Kingdoms or Reigns. The challenge in the LXX manuscripts of Samuel, as also in Kings, is to find the original Greek rendering (Old Greek, OG) of the translator behind the layers of revision and recension in the manuscript tradition, especially the Hebraizing activity termed Kaige and the stylistic changes found in manuscripts and quotations associated with the region of Antioch and sometimes attributed to Lucian. However, there are clear differences in the lexical equiva lents used by the original translator compared with the vocabulary used not only by the Kaige revisers but also with that of books apparently translated later than Samuel. Recovering the OG enables us to perceive developments in the older Hebrew textual tradition as well. Similar issues affect the study of LXX 1–2 Kings (3–4 Kingdoms): in Chapter 15, Andrés Piquer Otero, Pablo Torijano, Timo Tekoniemi, and Tuukka Kauhanen discuss evidence for the probable history of the literary development of those books in Hebrew and Greek. The books of Chronicles in Hebrew have a complicated relationship with Samuel and Kings, and their LXX version, Paralipomena or 'things omitted', only serves to increase the difficulty. Laurence Vianès sets out the main issues (Chapter 16), and highlights that not only does the end of 2 Paralipomena also coincide to a large extent with chapters 1–2 of Greek 1 Esdras, because at that point they each translate very similar Hebrew texts, but those same chapters also show influence from 4 Kgdms 23–4. The pattern of divergences and parallels between LXX Kingdoms and Paralipomena is not easy to unravel. Unusually among the LXX translations, Paralipomena may have originated in Palestine.

Among the Prophetic books, the Septuagint version of Isaiah has provoked the most scholarly discussion in recent decades. Highly influential among New Testament and appreciated by patristic authors, the Greek rendering is often attractive yet may diverge considerably from what we would consider to be the meaning of the Masoretic Hebrew text. Rodrigo de Sousa (Chapter 17) sets out the debates over whether the translator was 'actualizing' the message of Isaiah for his contemporary community in Alexandria, or grappling with a Hebrew text beyond his capabilities. De Sousa argues for caution in detecting consistent theological exegesis in the translation, but stresses that the translator was intent on communicating meaning to his community in his translation. The issues in Jeremiah are quite different (Chapter 18): as recognized even in antiquity, the book exists in a long Hebrew form (MT) and a short LXX form, with differences in the order of chapters. Furthermore, the book of Baruch is appended to Jeremiah in the manu script tradition. Matthieu Richelle agrees with a number of other scholars that the two forms of Jeremiah must reflect two literary editions, with the Greek text reflecting an earlier Hebrew version, but he disputes the notion that differences between the first and second halves of LXX

Jeremiah are due to two different translators or revisers. As for Baruch, it is unclear whether the whole or a part of it is a translation of a lost Hebrew original, as opposed to a composition in 'Septuagintal' style. In Chapter 19 Katrin Hauspie surveys the development of scholarship on LXX Ezekiel over the course of the past hundred years, noting how the publication of the pre-hexaplaric Papyrus 967 has revolutionized perception of the book's origins, even though critical editions still give it only a 'marginal' place. Like Jeremiah, Ezekiel probably existed in variant literary edi-tions. The newest line of approach has been the application of Skopostheorie to the difficult issues in the last nine chapters. This method, along with further investigation into the vexed question of divine names, may be usefully directed towards the rest of the book in future. Daniel is not considered among the Prophetic books in the Hebrew canon of Scripture. However, the book and the associated tales of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon, along with extra material within Daniel itself, are part of the Greek tradition, but represented by two different translations. These are referred to 'Septuagint Daniel' (Dan-o') and 'Theodotion Daniel' (Dan-B'). Olivier Munnich (Chapter 20) demonstrates the importance of Papyrus 967 for the study of Daniel also. He also considers the problem of the differences between MT and Theodotion Daniel, and the question of the order of the deuterocanonical additions. He concludes that along with the Qumran fragments of Danielic material, both Greek forms provide information about the literary evolution of the Hebrew and Aramaic text of the book. In Chapter 21 Cécile Dogniez describes the nature of the Old Greek translation of the Twelve Minor Prophets, which was probably carried out by a single translator in Alexandria sometime after that of Isaiah. The style of the rendering varies between literalism and freedom, perhaps because of the difficulty of the underlying Hebrew coupled with the desire to offer readers a degree of eloquence in translation. The discovery at Nah^al H^ever in 1952 of a scroll of the Twelve Minor Prophets containing a Hebraizing version of the LXX Minor Prophets led to Dominique Barthélemy's groundbreaking theory that a revision of this nature preceded the work of the second-century ce translator Aquila. Features of this isomorphic 'Kaige' recension may be seen not only in this Dead Sea text but also in the manuscript tradition of some other books.

Chapter 22 focuses on the corpus of short books known in Judaism as the five Megillot, or Scrolls, and associated with festivals in the Jewish calendar: Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes (Qoheleth), Lamentations, and Esther. As Robert Hiebert points out, in their Septuagint Greek form the first four often have features in common with the Kaige recension. However, OG Esther incorporates sections not found in MT Esther, and there is a further Greek Esther text known as the Alpha-Text: the precise relationship of OG Esther and this Alpha-Text remains obscure. The Septuagint Psalter has been particularly influential in Christian liturgy and devotion, as attested by the huge number of manuscripts containing it. Staffan Olofsson (Chapter 23) notes the debates over an Egyptian versus a Palestinian provenance, over a liturgical versus educational origin for the translation, and over the possible presence of Kaige elements in the translation. Olofsson argues that in the last case, the influence goes the other way, with vocabulary from the LXX Psalm translation being adopted by later Hebraizing revisers of other books. Another issue is the position of those who believe that the LXX Psalter was designed from the outset to be treated in an 'interlinear' manner, effectively as a crib to the Hebrew and to be understood only in the light of the meaning of the original, never having been designed to be read independently of its source text. While agreeing that the general tendency in the LXX Psalter is towards literal renderings, Olofsson notes that it also has non-literal traits. The Septuagint of Proverbs is a very different prop osition as a translation. Lorenzo Cuppi (Chapter 24) lists the many features that conspire to make this a peculiarly difficult text to pin down. It has free renderings and additions, double

translations, and different ordering of sections and chapters, all of which render the editor's task particularly challenging. The Hebrew Vorlage may also have differed from MT Proverbs. However, there are also intriguing renderings suggestive of the translator's cultural ambience in second-century bce Alexandria. In the case of the book of Job (Maria Gorea in Chapter 25) we have two much clearer layers: there is the Old Greek rendering of its difficult Hebrew poetic text, which it has effectively abridged or summarized in many places, often ducking the more problematic theological ideas of the Hebrew book, plus the supplementation with wording supplied from 'Theodotion' by Origen, marked in the best witnesses by asterisks. The hybridity of the resulting text must have been puzzling for readers since it combined stylish and more literary Greek with Hebraizing renderings. In Chapter 26 Alison Salvesen surveys the miscellaneous books labelled 'deuterocanonical' or 'apocryphal'. These were Jewish in origin, and either compositions in Greek or translated from a lost Semitic Vorlage. They were adopted by Christians as further religious literature, even though their status was lower than that of the canonical works or even disputed as worthy of consideration.

Part IV examines the Septuagint in its Jewish context, starting with the two most important Jewish authors writing in Greek, Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus. Their use of forms of the Septuagint text indicates its acceptance as Jewish Scripture in both Egypt and Palestine. As is well known, Philo's primary interest was the Pentateuch, whereas Josephus's interest in historiography meant that he focused on narrative. Sarah Pearce (Chapter 27) reviews Philo's treatment of the LXX Pentateuch in his works, his citation practice, the account he gives of the origin of the Pentateuch translation, and his high view of the Torah in Greek. Finally she discusses the question of how much Hebrew he would have known. In Chapter 28 Tessa Rajak establishes the significance of the Greek Bible for Josephus, especially in view of his sound knowledge of both Hebrew and

Aramaic, and discusses recent scholarship on the type of Greek text that he knew. Taking examples from the Tabernacle account in Exodus, the stories of Samuel and Esther, she concludes that Josephus used the Greek Scriptures as 'a literary springboard' but that the Hebrew text remains 'a tantalizing presence' in his works. His largely faithful retelling of the Letter of Aristeas implies a precedent for his own reworking of biblical narrative. In Chapter 29 Eugene Ulrich notes how the discovery of the scrolls from the Dead Sea region in the mid-twentieth century revolutionized biblical studies. It has raised the possibility of variant Hebrew Vorlagen and alternative literary editions behind the Septuagint translations. In addition to the scriptural texts in Hebrew, a handful of small fragments of Greek versions of the Pentateuch were also found in Qumran Caves 4 and 7, along with the scroll of the Minor Prophets at Nah^al H^ever containing a revision of the Old Greek text. As the earliest, and non-Christian, witnesses to Greek renderings of Scripture, these have all been highly significant for our knowledge of the early history of the Septuagint. As the Nah^al H^ever text of the Twelve Minor Prophets reveals, dissatisfaction with the original form of the Septuagint translations set in early, with revisional activity taking place even before the Common Era. Such activity, which aimed to make the Greek translation of Scripture conform more closely still to the wording and current interpretation of the emerging Hebrew standard text, continued to at least the end of the second century ce. In Chapter 30, Siegfried Kreuzer discusses the nature of what has been termed the Kaige recension, how it may be identified in various texts by its more literal and Hebraizing renderings, and its likely relationship to the version known as Theodotion. Until the identification of the Kaige recension, Aquila's work was con-sidered to be the first radical attempt to modify the Greek text. Even though this has been disproved, Aquila's work is important in other ways, not least stylistically and lexicographically as well as for its

long-term influence on later Jewish Greek interpretation of Scripture. In Chapter 31 Giuseppe Veltri and Alison Salvesen review Christian patristic and rabbinic Jewish attitudes towards Aquila's version, and the surviving evidence for it. Another reviser, Symmachus, is often called the freest translator, yet his work is demonstrably close to the standardized Hebrew text. Thus, while he certainly issues a more stylistically impressive Greek text, he stands in the same stream of revision that sought conformity to the Hebrew. Michaël van der Meer (Chapter 32) explores the motivation behind his version, and what we may know of the translator's religious affiliation, identity, and political outlook. Further revisions were included in Origen's Hexapla, though the names of their revisers are unknown. Their versions, however, have been recognized for their importance in the text history of several books. In Chapter 33, Bradley Marsh, Jr. examines what is known about the versions known as Quinta, Sexta, and Septima ('Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh'), perhaps from their position in the columns of the Hexapla. Bradley Marsh also looks at the phenomenon of the Greek version of the Samaritan Pentateuch (Chapter 34), evidence for which is preserved almost exclusively by Christian sources. Finally, although the Septuagint's influence in Jewish circles faded over time, conceptually it enjoyed an afterlife, in the continuing need for Greek renderings and glosses for the Hebrew Bible, as evidenced by manuscripts and fragments discovered in the Cairo Geniza. In Chapter 35 Julia Krivoruchko surveys this afterlife of Greek biblical texts in Byzantine and medieval Jewish communities, into the Constantinople Pentateuch and beyond.

Part V moves on to the reception of the Septuagint as Christian Scripture. The obvious starting point is the use of citations from Greek Scripture by New Testament writers, surveyed by David Lincicum in Chapter 36. He points out that the New Testament 'supplies a unique window into the shifting state of the Greek text in the first century', and a 'key stage' in the process of appropriation of the Septuagint as the Christian Old Testament. As time went on, educated Christians found it more difficult to defend the Greek style of the Septuagint, and textual witnesses originating from the region of Antioch may display stylistic adjustments. The character of the Greek version apparently edited by Lucian in Antioch at the end of the third century ce is one of the most significant and contentious issues in current research. It has been argued that the oldest readings in the Greek tradition may be found in Antiochian witnesses to the Kaige sections of 1–4 Kingdoms; these would then predate the historical Lucian and approximate to the Old Greek. Untangling the layers of the Antiochian text has proven difficult, as Tuukka Kauhanen explains in Chapter 37. Another direction for revision among early Christian scholars was that of Origen of Caesarea, whose massive work of biblical scholarship known as the Hexapla is responsible for preserving much of what we know of the ancient Jewish revisions. However, little survives of the version, and there has been a great deal of debate about several aspects of Origen's textual work, including its precise format, as Peter Gentry details in Chapter 38. Gentry sets out the patristic testimonies about the Hexapla, and also provides translations of several colophons of manuscripts containing texts ultimately deriving from Origen and his successors in Caesarea. John Lee's contribution (Chapter 39) focuses on the liturgy of the Greek Orthodox Church. Being full of allusions to Scripture, the liturgy is steeped in the language of both the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament. Lee notes many instances of vocabulary derived from LXX sources, demonstrating the Septuagint's profound influence on early Christian spirituality as well as theology, from antiquity to the present. Questions remain, however, about how the liturgy relates to or derives from synagogue practice in the earliest period, and especially regarding the central role of the Psalms in Christian worship. Following on from this, Reinhart Ceulemans (Chapter 40) looks at the way in which the Septuagint profoundly shaped patristic and Byzantine Christianity, an influence seen not only through the vast literature of Greek

biblical exegesis, but in a wide variety of other texts, documents, amulets, buildings, and ceremonies. Ceulemans explains the nature of various forms of exegesis, including commentaries, homilies, synopses, and catenae, the last being one of the most understudied areas of research on the LXX. Catenae often contain fragments from earlier, lost commentaries, so work in this area is throwing fresh light on the entire tradition. The Septuagint was also enormously influential in Latin Christianity, being rendered into Latin very early, as described by Michael Graves (Chapter 41). Revisions took place in the third and fourth centuries, and were even undertaken by Jerome before dissatisfaction with translating a translation led him to return to the 'Hebrew Truth' for what became the Vulgate Old Testament. However, the Old Latin version remained very popular for a long time, and both Augustine and Jerome used it for their commentaries.

Part VI concerns the Septuagint in its many translated forms, starting with the ancient 'daughter' versions. The first of these was the Vetus Latina or Old Latin (VL), mentioned already above. Chapter 42, Pierre-Maurice Bogaert's detailed overview, explains the nature of this version and the challenges in using it. The early date of the Vetus Latina makes it highly significant for reconstructing a possibly older form of the Septuagint that predates much revisional activity, and it may even hint at the existence of variant literary editions in Hebrew. However, the origins of the VL are shrouded in mystery and due to the success of Jerome's iuxta Hebraeos version, it is poorly preserved. Bogaert notes its importance for the textual history of the books of Exodus, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Proverbs in particular. Pablo Torijano provides a survey of the Armenian, Georgian, and Church Slavonic translations (Chapter 43). These 'represent the first works of their national literatures and caused the invention of their respective scripts', allowing access to the Christian Bible for the Caucasus and the Slav peoples. However, it has proved difficult to create modern critical editions of each of them. In Chapter 44 Marketta Liljeström discusses the version known as the Syrohexapla, dating from the early seventh century. Although the Syriac churches already possessed the Old Testament books rendered directly from Hebrew since the beginning of the third century, the Syrohexapla represents part of a theological and translational movement that looked to Greek sources. Uniquely, it is largely but not entirely dependent upon the Hexaplaric manu scripts deriving from Origen's Hexapla, and preserves many of Origen's critical signs. Its marginal notes give many readings from Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. The 'mirror-translation' nature of the Syrohexapla makes it especially valuable for discovering the nature of Origen's textual work. Chapter 45 (Andrés Piquer Otero) sets out the main issues involving the study of three other daughter versions of the Septuagint: Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic. The situation with Coptic is complicated by the existence and influence of different dialects, principally but not exclusively Sahidic and Bohairic. Arabic renderings of the Septuagint were used by Christian communities whose vernacular was Arabic and who sometimes used Greek letters to write the language, but other Arabic versions of Old Testament Scripture based on Syriac or Hebrew also circu-lated. In the case of Ethiopic, the Septuagint was rendered only into Ge'ez, but the wit-nesses are hard to date and also tend to be comparatively late. Much more recently, different teams of scholars have translated the Septuagint into several major modern languages including English, German, French, and Italian. Eberhard Bons (Chapter 46) compares the various approaches taken by these large-scale projects, and notes the difficulties involved in translating a text that is itself a translation.

Part VII takes a wider look at the significance of the Septuagint, principally for biblical studies and theology, but also for art history. In Chapter 47 Bénédicte Lemmelijn reflects on the changing role of the Septuagint for biblical textual criticism: from a tool to help establish a single Urtext, with the LXX as

'handmaid' to the Hebrew, to become in the post-Qumran period a witness of scribal and editorial activity indicating textual plurality. In the case of the New Testament, Ross Wagner (Chapter 48) demonstrates that the Septuagint is vital for understanding both religious terminology and investigating the pluriformity of scriptural texts in the first century ce. In Chapter 49 John Barton discusses the implications of the Septuagint for Christian theology more broadly, singling out some areas for further reflection. These include the lack of a fixed and stable text of the Septuagint; the problem of what a canon of the LXX corpus would consist of, and how this could be seen as a single entity for the purposes of an overarching in terpret ation; whether it is desirable or possible to attempt a 'Theology of the LXX'; and the possibility of seeing both LXX and MT as canonical or at least authoritative. Finally, Maja Kominko (Chapter 50) shows how image and text work together in illustrated manuscripts of the Septuagint, sometimes drawing on extra-biblical or non-canonical elements, and providing visual exegesis of the Bible.

The present volume should be seen as complementary to other projects, especially to the series La Bible d'Alexandrie, the New English Translation of the Septuagint, the two-volume commentary Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare, the Septuagint Commentary Series, and most especially to the exceptional and ongoing text ual work of the Göttingen Septuaginta Unternehmen. The contributions in this Oxford Handbook owe a great deal to all of these, and they will be referred to many times in the following pages. Other important projects were published during the extended period this volume took to appear, among them the first volumes of the Handbuch zur Septuaginta series edited by Martin Karrer, Wolfgang, Kraus, Siegfried Kreuzer, and others; the T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint edited by James Aitken; Brill's Textual History of the Bible edited by Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov. It therefore proved difficult to incorporate many references to them throughout the volume without delaying its submission to the Press even further. The reader is strongly encouraged to consult these works alongside the present one. <>

Essay: PHILO AND THE SEPTUAGINT by Sarah J. K. Pearce

Philo of Alexandria (c.20 bce—c.50 ce) is the most prolific and influential commentator on the Greek Bible known to us from Jewish antiquity.1 A member of a powerful and wealthy Jewish family, Philo included in his family circle high-ranking members of the Roman administration in Egypt with close ties to Agrippa I, king of Judea. Of Philo's public life, the only recorded episode concerns his leadership of an embassy to Gaius Caligula (c.39/40 ce) to defend the rights of Jews to observe their ancestral customs in Alexandria, free from persecution. This was a dangerous time to be an Alexandrian Jew; Philo's own account of events, presented in two treatises (Against Flaccus and The Embassy to Gaius; van der Horst 2003; Smallwood 1961), makes clear the existential threat to the Jewish community and Philo's absolute commitment to its preservation (on Philo's Judaism, see Birnbaum 1996; 2006). Half a century on, the Jewish–Greek historian Josephus would recall, with great admiration, Philo's distinguished role in this context (Ant. 18. 259–60; on Philo's life and context, see Schwartz 2009). Otherwise, what Philo reveals of himself through his works is his passionate devotion to studying the books of Moses—in the form of the Greek Torah—and to understanding and revealing their hidden treasures (cf. Spec. 3.1–6). Educated to the highest level in the Hellenistic school subjects and immersed in the Greek philosophy of his day, Philo represents a dazzling display of Greek learning put to the service of promoting the 'philosophy' of

Moses as the highest expression of wisdom and virtue and the most perfect guide to the knowledge of God.

By the standards of his time, Philo was a very productive author. Around fifty of his treatises are extant, preserved in the original Greek or in late antique translations (Classical Armenian and Latin); as many as twenty-five additional works by Philo seem to have been lost in antiquity. All Philo's works were composed in Greek, which he describes as 'our language (8ta'AEKTov)' (Congr. 44; cf. Conf. 129). His own Greek style is faultless, 'a fluent Hellenistic Greek with slight atticizing tendencies' (Runia 1986: 35; cf. Siegert 1996: 164). In terms of vocabulary, Philo's range is very extensive. Like the LXX translators, Philo is the author of numerous neologisms ('verba Philonica'); his creative approach to language includes the updating of LXX terms to reflect the contemporary context, for example on idol language (cf. Pearce 2013).

In a number of treatises the focus is on philosophical topics or contemporary events; while these works present relatively few scriptural citations, they are not without inter-est for LXX studies, supplying rich resources for Philo's development of fundamental themes based on scriptural sources and for accounts of the central place of the Torah in the life of contemporary Jewish communities (Aet.; Anim.; Contempl.; Flacc.; Legat.; Prob.; Prov. 1–2). As for works dealing directly with the interpretation of Scripture, Philo treats a wide range of Torah traditions in his two-volume Life of Moses, including an account of the origins of the Greek Torah (McGing 2006), while the fragmentary Hypothetica offers an overtly apologetic presentation of topics including the Exodus, the conquest of the land, and the laws of Moses (Sterling 1990). Yet the greatest part of the Philonic corpus (more than 75 per cent) belongs to three commentary series on the Greek Torah: the Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus; the Allegorical Commentary; and the Exposition of the Law (for detailed summaries of Philo's works, see Morris 1987; Royse 2009).

Taken together, Philo's commentaries include thousands of scriptural citations and allusions and represent a fundamental witness to the text of the Greek Torah. Philo's interpretations depend exclusively on the LXX text, signalling his confidence in even the most peculiar elements of the translation as sources of profound truth for those who know how to look for them correctly (Arnaldez 1984; Siegert 1996: 182–7). On the basis of these works, it may properly be said that 'With Philo, we have for the first time a sus-tained interpretation of the LXX' (Dines 2004: 141). With Philo, furthermore, we have a remarkable range of approaches to Scripture, exemplified in particular by the different methods of interpretation employed in the three great commentary series (Borgen 1997).

Philo's Commentaries on the Greek Torah
Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus (QGE)
Philo's work Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus (QGE) is the earliest known example of a sustained sequence of commentaries in the form of questions and answers on books of the Torah. The formal approach of QGE continues a long-established Greek genre of commentaries in the form of 'Problems and Solutions', designed to explain Homeric poetry, particularly in the light of philosophical doctrines. In QGE, Philo begins each commentary with a quotation of the Greek Torah text, followed by a brief question about why the text is as it is or what it means. Philo's questions deal with a range of problems, including apparent inconsistencies in the Torah text, surprising omissions or sequences in the narrative, and unacceptable interpretations. In his solutions to ques-tions posed by the Torah, Philo

typically presents literal explanations of the text fol-lowed by symbolic or allegorical interpretations. While his answers imply the usefulness of the literal interpretation, Philo's treatment of the non-literal, 'deeper' meaning in QGE is relatively much fuller, often involving discussions of the ethical, psychological, and spiritual significance of a text, or extensive treatment of the symbolism of numbers in specific passages. Whatever the problems posed, Philo uses the answers to demonstrate the perfection of the words articulated in the (Greek) Torah text.

Philo's QGE seems originally to have comprised six books on Genesis and six books on Exodus (Royse 1976–7; 2001). The series survives primarily in a sixth-century Armenian translation, which transmits, incompletely, the six books on Genesis (numbered as four in the Armenian) and fragments of the six books on Exodus (in two books in the Armenian). There is no modern critical edition of the Armenian text. The standard text remains that of Aucher 1826. (Modern translations of QGE: Marcus 1953; Mercier 1979; Mercier and Petit 1984; Terian 1992.)

QGE is also partially attested by several hundred Greek fragments preserved in Christian sources. The principal sources for these Philonic fragments are the remains of compilations of commentaries on sacred texts included in the Catenae; the Epitome of Procopius of Gaza; and the Sacra Parallela. The fragments confirm the generally literal character of the Armenian version and its important role in reconstructing the under-lying Greek (Petit 1978; Paramelle 1984; Royse 1984; 1991). Also in Greek, MS Vaticanus gr. 379 preserves the continuous text of QE 2.62–8 (critical edition: Royse 2012; for translation and discussion: Runia 2004). A Latin version (late fourth-century) represents the final book of QG, including material absent from the Armenian, from which three Greek fragments are known (Petit 1973).

Overall, the extant evidence transmits questions and answers on Gen. 2:4b–28:9 and Exod. 6:2–17:16; 20:25b–30:10. The significance of this material for LXX studies is relatively neglected, perhaps not surprisingly in view of the challenges posed by a corpus that survives largely in translation (for a valuable collection of studies on QGE: Hay 1991). Regrettably, the Greek fragments often lack the scriptural citation to be interpreted. For the most part, our knowledge of the Torah text in QGE must be based on the Armenian version, including significant variations from the standard LXX text which, in view of the literalism of the Armenian, are likely to have stood in the translator's Greek original. Substantial agreements in structure between QGE and later divisions of the Torah text into portions for the service of the synagogue suggest that Philo's questions and answers may have been inspired by the communal reading practices of Alexandrian Jewry (Royse 1976–7; 2001).

The Allegorical Commentary

Philo's longest and most complex commentary series is known to modern scholars as the Allegorical Commentary, echoing the ancient title of The Allegories of the Laws, which Philo himself is said to have given to the first three books of the series (Eusebius, H.E. 2.18.1; cf. Morris 1987: 830n53). Both titles reflect the overwhelming orientation of this commentary series towards the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. While Philo aims to uphold the validity of both literal and allegorical readings (cf. Migr. 86–93), the Allegorical Commentary is fundamentally concerned with the use of allegorical techniques to unlock the truths within Scripture. Allegory, states Philo, is 'the method dear to men with their eyes opened' (Plant. 36); to read in this way is to look beneath the surface of the written words of Moses and to be able to see in the terms of 'outward nature' the deeper reality that these words represent (Leg. 2.5). In

this approach, the Greek Torah becomes a guide to the soul's migration, expressed primarily in Platonic categories, from the world of the body to the realm of the soul (Nikiprowetzky 1977: 239; Runia 1990: 1–18).

Nineteen books of the Allegorical Commentary are extant (counting books by their original extent), including one book represented only by the Armenian fragment of De Deo (Leg. 1–2; Leg. 3; Cher., Sacr., Det., Post., Gig–Deus, Agr., Plant., Ebr., Sobr.– Conf. [cf. Royse 2009: 42], Migr., Her., Congr., Fug., Mut., De Deo, Somn. 1, Somn. 2). Internal and external evidence points to the existence within the original commentary series of at least twelve more books, now lost, perhaps beginning with a commentary on Gen. 1:1 (Tobin 2000). What remains provides an extensive sequence of books giving running commentaries on verses from Greek Gen. 2:1–18:2 and other texts on the subject of dreams from the Jacob and Joseph cycles (Genesis chs. 28, 31, 37, 40–1).

In most treatises of the Allegorical Commentary, Philo's interpretation proceeds on a verse-by-verse basis (e.g. Leg. 1–3 on Gen. 2:1–3:19); in a few others, Philo takes a more thematic approach, based on a single verse (e.g. Agr. and Plant. on Gen. 9:20) (Runia 2013: 6–7). The basic structure of the Allegorical Commentary, like that of QGE, consists of citations of scriptural verses, followed by reflections on specific words or phrases in the text, in which the interpretation is based on questions and problems (explicit or implicit) arising from details of the primary text. In the Allegorical Commentary, however, Philo typically constructs the interpretation of the primary text by introducing other scriptural texts which he links verbally or thematically to the primary text; these other, secondary texts are also cited and interpreted, leading to the creation of a complex exegetical chain that takes the reader back to the primary lemma. As a result, the Allegorical Commentary represents a rich resource of scriptural citations and is a key witness, in particular, to the Greek text of Genesis and other books of Jewish Scripture.

The complex character of the Allegorical Commentary suggests to many an intended readership of advanced scholars, familiar with Scripture and educated in advanced techniques of allegorical exegesis (Runia 2013: 7). A glimpse of this kind of activity is conveyed in Philo's description of the ascetic Therapeutae of the Alexandrian countryside (Contempl. 29, 78) (combining a communal setting with the meditative practice of the individual).

The Exposition of the Law

The Exposition of the Law (the title of the series as a whole derives from modern scholarship) is the most fully preserved of all Philo's exegetical works, with ten books extant: Opif., Abr., Ios., Decal., Spec. 1–4, Virt., Praem. At least two further books appear to have been lost in antiquity, since Philo mentions lives of Isaac and Jacob in Ios.1.

In contrast to QGE and the Allegorical Commentary, which restrict the primary text for commentary to parts of Genesis and Exodus, the Exposition of the Law aims to provide a systematic account of the Torah as a whole, from Genesis to the end of Deuteronomy. Philo's own descriptions of the structure of this series explain its or ganiza tion into distinct types or parts. In the most complete version of such descriptions, which Philo gives in the final book of the Exposition (Praem. 1–3; cf. the similar account in Abr. 2–5), he explains that 'the oracles of Moses' (i.e. the content of the Torah) consist of the following kinds: the 'making of the cosmos' (Opif.); the 'historical', concerning the lives of the ancestors (Abr. and Ios.); and the 'legislative', dealing with the laws of the Torah (Decal.-Praem.). (In Mos. 2.45–51, Philo

divides the Torah into two parts: the historical (creation and the lives of the ancestors) and the commands and prohibitions; in that context, he is concerned primarily with explaining the reason behind Moses's arrangement of the Torah, in which he puts the historical material before the laws.)

The 'legislative' section includes the 'Ten Words', which, according to Philo, were given directly by God, and which function as comprehensive 'headings' for the 'specific laws' (Praem. 2),For that is, the laws of the Torah givenDistribution through Moses (Decal. -Spec. 1–4). The 'legislative' material continues with a discussion of Mosaic laws under the headings of particular virtues (Virt.) and concludes, following the model of the Torah, with an exposition of the punishments and rewards for transgression or observance of the laws (Praem.).

As Philo repeatedly emphasizes, a fundamental aim in the books of the Exposition is to provide the fullest possible investigation of the words of Scripture (on the importance of 'accuracy' (aKPt'PEta) see e.g. Abr. 2; Decal. 1, 52. This approach includes the use of symbolical or allegorical interpretation, though allegorical exegesis does not dom in ate the Exposition as it does QGE and the Allegorical Commentary (on the importance of using allegorical interpretation to reveal 'the hidden meaning' of the laws, see Decal.1. For examples of sustained allegorical interpretation in the Exposition, cf. Opif. 157–66, Abr. 60–106, Spec. 1.327–45).

The most fundamental difference between the Exposition and Philo's other commentary series concerns the presentation of the scriptural text. In contrast with the juxtaposing of scriptural quotation with interpretation in QGE and the Allegorical Commentary, Philo rarely cites from Scripture in the Exposition. Instead, the standard practice used in the Exposition is to summarize a narrative or law and to reflect on themes and questions arising from the summary. In this rewriting of Scripture, Philo takes over words and phrases from the LXX and makes them part of his own version of the Torah (Runia 2001a: 10–21).

On the Life of Moses (De Vita Mosis 1–2)

Philo's two-volume work on Moses is written with the explicit aim of promoting knowledge of Moses in a world in which the majority of people, as Philo insists, remain ig norant of the life and achievements of 'this greatest and most perfect of men' (Mos. 1.1), even if the laws of Moses are (allegedly) well known and admired. This overtly apologetic work assumes readers with little knowledge of Jewish tradition but who might be inspired by the example of Moses to look further into his philosophy.

The relationship of Philo's Moses to the Exposition remains a matter of debate. Philo refers in the Exposition to his two treatises on Moses, but he does not include these books within his plans for the content of the Exposition itself (Virt. 52; cf. Praem. 53. See further Morris 1987: 854–5; Sterling 2012: 422–3). The treatises perhaps functioned as a philosophical introduction to the Exposition as a whole. Book 1 develops the theme of Moses's sovereignty as a divine reward, reading the narratives of Exodus–Deuteronomy as the story of Moses's actions as king; Book 2 is a study of those powers possessed by Moses 'as the most fitting accompaniments of his kingship', which Philo treats systematically under the headings of lawgiving, high priesthood, and prophecy, drawing on a wide range of material in the Torah (Mos. 1.334).

As in the Exposition, citations of Scripture are relatively rare, but the influence of the LXX is strong. Philo appropriates or alludes to LXX words and phrases in his construction of the life and teachings of

Moses. Thus, for example, Philo expands Scripture's minimal account of Moses's youth by stating that 'the child from his birth had an appearance of more than ordinary goodliness Mos 1.9; cf. LXX Exod. 2:2,'; or he commends the accuracy of LXX language as applied to Pharaoh's overseers, 'men whose name of "task-pursuer" well described the facts' (Mos. 1.37; cf. LXX Exod. 3:7, etc.).

Philo's Bible

All of Philo's writings include references to the words and themes of Scripture. This is true even of the philosophical work De animalibus, a treatise with no citations from Scripture but in which 'the Mosaic treatment of animals must be considered as the determining factor in moulding [Philo's] thought' (Terian 1981: 46). The vast majority (c.95 per cent) of his scriptural citations or allusions are from the Torah, with the greatest concentration of these from Genesis chs. 1–25, reflecting the subject matter of Philo's commentaries. Philo also cites verses from the historical, prophetic, and poetic writings of the Greek Bible corpus; around half of Philo's citations from these books are from the Psalms (on which see Runia 2001b). There is no evidence in Philo's works of citations from the books of the Apocrypha (for possible allusions to Wisdom and Sirach in Philo's works see Allenbach et al. 1982: 90–1). His citation practice makes strikingly clear Philo's overwhelming focus on the books of Moses and his reverence for the superlative authority of their author. Nevertheless, he also praises other prophets as inspired (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Samuel, and the author of the Psalms), and refers to specific books outside the Torah as 'sacred' (Hypoth. 6.5 referring to Joshua; Ebr. 143 referring to 1 Kingdoms).

By Philo's time, a three-part division of Jewish sacred books is attested in the Egyptian-based author of the Prologue to Sirach (the Law, the Prophets, and other ancestral books). But Philo nowhere indicates that he thinks in exactly the same terms about Scripture. The closest he comes to a similar formulation is in his description of the practice of the ascetic Jewish community of Therapeutae, based outside Alexandria, who are said to devote themselves to contemplation of the 'laws and oracles delivered through the mouth of prophets, and psalms and the other [writings] (^^ ^^^^) which foster and perfect knowledge and piety' (Contempl. 25).

Philo uses no special terminology to distinguish the Greek translation of the books of Moses from the Hebrew original ('the laws in the Chaldean tongue') (Mos. 2.26). In contrast to the standard use of (= tõrâ) in LXX, Philo employs a variety of terms to designate Mosaic teaching: as sacred writing(s) ; sacred book(s) or records (^^^^^^ or ^^^^^^); law(s) (^^^^^) or legislation (^^^^^^^^^), word(s) (^^^^^), and oracle(s) (^^^^^^^/^^^^^^) (Burkhardt 1988: 73–125).

Philo represents our earliest witness to the LXX titles of Mosaic books, designating their subject matter: 'Genesis' (Post. 127; Abr. 1; Aet. 19; possibly, Sobr. 50); 'Levitikon' (Leg. 2.105; Plant. 26; Her. 251); 'Deuteronomion' (Leg. 3.174; Deus 50). His titles do not always agree with LXX tradition. Instead of LXX Exodos, transmitted in Christian sources, Philo uses the non-LXX term Exagõgë, a title already known to Aristoboulos and Ezekiel the Tragedian (Migr. 14; Her. 14, 251; Somn. 1.117: see also manuscripts of QE [Royse 2012: 4–5; Royse 2016: 54–5]). Deuteronomy is also known by other, non-LXX names in Philo: the Epinomis ('Appendix'), imitating Platonic tradition (Her. 162, 250; Spec. 4.160, 164), the Proptreptikoi ('Exhortations') (Agr. 78, 172; Fug. 142, 170; Mut. 42, 236; Virt. 47), and the Paraineseis ('Addresses') (Agr. 84; Spec. 4.131). Titles of other scriptural books cited by Philo are close if not always identical to their LXX equivalents: 'the book of Judgements (^^^^^^^^)' (LXX ^^^^^^, 'Judges') (Conf. 128); 'the books of Kingdoms (^^^^^^^^^)', as in the LXX, or 'royal books (^^

^^^^^^^^^^ ^^^^^^^)' (Deus 6, 136; Conf. 149); 'Hymns (^^^^^)' (LXX ^^^^^^) (Conf. 52 and many other examples including other terms derived from ^^^^^; see further Runia 2001b: 104–9); and 'Proverbs (^^^^^^^^^)', following the LXX (Ebr. 84).

Philo's Biblical Text and its Transmission

Philo's citations of Scripture mostly reflect the LXX as represented in Codex Vaticanus. But the question of exactly what was Philo's biblical text is difficult if not impossible to pin down, for several reasons:

1) Some minor differences between Philo's citations and the standard LXX reflect the variety of the LXX texts of his time; in cases where Philo's scriptural citations have no known parallel in later LXX tradition, the Philonic reading may some-times preserve the original LXX.

2) Philo's creative approach to his text often involves minor alterations in style, substance (omissions and additions), and grammatical construction to the words of LXX; this process generates variants that are usually without parallel in the LXX tradition. Such modifications are not difficult to find in the citations of QGE and the Allegorical Commentary. In the Exposition and the independent scriptural treatises, however, Philo's mode of recasting the words of Scripture, with relatively few substantial citations, means that it is often impossible to determine whether particular words and phrases reflect his LXX text or his own construction of what he reads or remembers of it (Borgen 1992: 336).

3) The transmission history of Philo's works creates a major challenge: to what extent do our Philo manuscripts reflect Philo's own words and how far, in particular, have his original scriptural citations been altered in the process of transmission? The Greek text of Philo's works is transmitted directly in more than 150 medieval MSS (ninth–fifteenth centuries), comprising a substantial number of distinct text families. Based on the findings of the team behind the editio princeps (Cohn et al. 1896–1930), the textual tradition may be traced back via Byzantine scribes to copies of Philo's works made in the fourth century for the episcopal library of Caesarea. According to the best hypothesis, those copies were based on scrolls from Origen's library, brought from Alexandria to Caesarea in the third century (Barthélemy 1967; Runia 1993: 16–31; 2009: 215–21). It is not unreasonable to think that Origen's collection included autograph copies of Philo's works. But the sheer distance in time between the earliest manuscripts and Philo's day, together with the diversity of the manuscript tradition, necessarily limits the extent to which we may reliably reconstruct Philo's original words. Our ability to check the medieval manuscripts against texts independent of the Caesarean collection is strengthened by two important papyrus codices from third-century Egypt (from Coptos and Oxyrhynchos respectively), supplying a valuable source of superior readings and of new evidence where gaps exist in the later manuscript tradition (Runia 2002). Crucially, the papyri often agree with the LXX version of Philo's scriptural citations where later Philonic manuscripts may differ from the LXX. It should be noted that only the evidence from the Coptos Papyrus was available for inclusion in the editio princeps (on various aspects of the Coptos Papyrus, see Royse 2016); a new critical edition of Philo's works will need to take account, among other things, of the Oxyrhynchos fragments (Royse 1980).

4) In some Philonic manuscripts (mainly UF), the text of the scriptural citations often differs substantially from the standard LXX and is closer to the Hebrew of MT. Based on the fundamental work of Peter Katz and Dominique Barthélemy, it is clear that these non-LXX readings are the work of a reviser and do not represent Philo's original biblical text. The characteristic readings of the non-LXX citations

mostly appear in the lemmata that introduce Philo's in ter pret-ations; this so-called 'aberrant text' of the lemmata often differs from the partial citations given within the accompanying interpretations. Following Katz's guid-ing principle, the type of text found within the interpretation can 'with a very high degree of certainty' be assumed to be the text used by Philo; lemmata that conflict with Philo's own type of text are 'therefore bound to be secondary' (Katz 1950: 4). Building on Katz's conclusions, Barthélemy (1967; 1978: 140–73, 390–1; contra Howard 1973) traced the likely origin of the Hebraizing lemmata to a rab-binic Jew, perhaps to be identified on the basis of ideological additions to the interpretations with Rabbi Hoshaya Rabba, working in Origen's circle at Caesarea. The rabbinic reviser altered some copies of Philonic works, replacing the lemma texts with Aquila-type readings (also Kraft 2005).

Philo on the Bible of Alexandria

Philo gives an account of the Alexandrian translation of the 'legislation' of the Jews as part of his biography of Moses (Mos. 2.25–44). Here, Philo's overall purpose is to present Moses as the best of all lawgivers among Greeks and barbarians and his laws as supremely excellent and truly divine (Mos. 2.12, cf. 2.20, 27). According to Philo, this thesis is proved, first, by the wholly unchanged character of the laws of Moses;

Moses is the only legislator whose laws have been transmitted, completely unaltered, from the beginning to the present day (Mos. 2.14). A second proof of the unrivalled status of Moses is that, alone of all the laws in the world, his legislation is admired by almost all the peoples of the world, honouring the laws of Moses for 'their venerable and godlike character' (Mos. 2.15–20). Both proofs of the unrivalled excellence of Moses—that his laws have never changed and that they are universally admired—are (so Philo) embodied in the story of their translation into Greek (Mos. 2.26–44). Philo's account of the translation under Ptolemy II Philadelphos suggests that he knows and uses the much more extensive narrative in the Letter of Aristeas, but that he adapts and develops the older Alexandrian tradition in new directions to fit his purpose (Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006: 37–45; Wright 2006). In particular, Philo offers a very different picture of the work of the translators. In contrast to Aristeas, where seventy-two translators work by comparing notes and agreeing on a final, authoritative translation (Ep. Arist. 302), Philo presents a much more extraordinary event: the translators (Philo does not number them) work in isolation, but are inspired to make exactly the same translation, as 'they prophesied the same word for word, as though dictated to each one individually by an invisible prompter' (Mos. 2.37; but cf. Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006: 44). What is most remarkable, Philo emphasizes, is the phenomenon reported by others: the exact agreement of the Greek words and the 'Chaldean' (Hebrew) original (Philo often uses 'Chaldean' as an alternative for 'Hebrew' in the Exposition and the Life of Moses, e.g. Mos. 2.32, 40). The 'clearest proof of this', so Philo argues,

is that, if Chaldeans have learned Greek, or Greeks Chaldean, and read both versions, the Chaldean and the translation, they regard them with awe and reverence as sisters, or rather one and the same, both in matter and words, and speak of the authors not as translators but as prophets and priests of the mysteries, whose sincerity and singleness of thought has enabled them to go hand in hand with the purest of spirits, the spirit of Moses. (Mos. 2.40)

In Philo's account, then, the Greek translation is the most perfect equivalent of the origin al words transmitted by Moses, mediated by wise translators who shared in the divinely inspired spirit of Moses and who were thus able to recognize the true force of the original Hebrew and to convert this with

unerring accuracy into Greek (see further Winston 1991). The laws of Moses remain unchanged. But the translation itself is a potentially world-changing event, making possible (if not yet) the fulfilment of the prayers of the translators and their patrons, that through the Greek version the whole of humanity might come to know the laws of Moses and be 'led to a better life' by observing them (Mos. 2.27, 36). Indeed, Philo implies, world-wide reverence for the laws of Moses is already anticipated in his own Alexandria, in an annual festival on the island of Pharos, the location of the translation (though not explicitly stated in Ep. Aristeas), where 'not only Jews but multitudes of others cross the water, both to do honour to the place in which the light of that version first shone out, and also to thank God for the good gift so old yet ever young' (Mos. 2.41). The story of the translation, and its commemoration in Alexandria, prove that the laws of Moses are 'desirable and precious in the eyes of all', from kings to the ordinary person, Jew and non-Jew (Mos. 2.42–3).

Philo's emphasis in Mos. 2.38–40 on the exact correspondence of the Greek translation with the Hebrew original is widely seen as proof that he did not know Hebrew, or at least not enough of it to be able to see the clear differences between the words of the Hebrew Torah (MT) and their LXX equivalents (Gooding and Nikiprowetzky 1983: 119; Amir 1988: 444). The long-standing question of whether or not Philo knew Hebrew remains unresolved, in the absence of clinching proof on either side of the argument. The weight of evidence suggests but does not prove his ignorance of Hebrew (Nikiprowetzky 1977: 50–96). It is not clear whether a gloss found only in the Old Latin of QG 4.232, expressing amazement at differences between the Greek and Hebrew of passages in Genesis and the Psalms, should be attributed to Philo himself or to his transmitters (Petit 1973: 92; Nikiprowetzky 1977: 80).

Whether Philo knew Hebrew or not, his works draw extensively on Hebrew etymolo-gies as a means to the 'deeper meaning' of Hebrew names and places mentioned in the Torah (Grabbe 1988). Most if not all of the 166 Hebrew etymologies used by Philo are likely to be drawn from onomastic collections, a product of bilingual Jews whose work survives in large part (together with manuscripts of these onomastica, which exhibit substantial overlap with Philo's etymologies) thanks to Philo's creative appropriation of it within his allegorical interpretation. The Hebrew Bible is by no means irrelevant to Philo's enterprise. On the contrary, the central place given by Philo to the Hebrew etymologies strongly indicates that the Hebrew original remained fundamentally authoritative for him (Rajak 2014).

Suggested Reading
The most complete guide to Philo's scriptural citations is the index of the Biblia Patristica Supplément (Allenbach et al. 1982); caution is required in assessing the relevance of all references listed, since the index does not distinguish in its listing between citations and possible allusions. Important studies of Philo's scriptural citations include Siegfried 1873; Ryle 1895; Burkhardt 1988; Cohen 2007; Royse 2017. For the most complete index of Greek words in Philo's works, including the main fragments, see Borgen et al. (2000); for an index to the fragment of QE 2.62–8, see Runia 2004.

On the question of text type, see Royse's invaluable studies on the text of Philo's scriptural treatises and biblical quotations within Philo's text, e.g. Royse 2000; 2006; 2008; 2010; 2017. <>

Hebrew Texts and Language of the Second Temple Period: Proceedings of an Eighth Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira edited by Steven Fassberg [Series: Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, Brill, 9789004447974]

The 21 essays in this volume deal with the language and text of Hebrew corpora from the Second Temple period. They were originally presented at the Eighth International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira, held in January 2016 in Jerusalem.

Most of the papers focus on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the light of First and Second Temple Hebrew. A few of the contributions are devoted primarily to the language of Ben Sira, Samaritan Hebrew, and Mishnaic Hebrew. You will find discussions of orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, language contact, and sociolinguistics.

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On Some Words in Two of the Dead Sea Scrolls by Moshe Bar-Asher

In memory of my teacher
Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher
The great scholar of the Hebrew in the Dead Sea Scrolls (June 1, 1909–December 12, 1971)
∵

Introductory Remarks

1. Research into the Dead Sea Scrolls has revolutionized many issues and fields in Judaic studies. As is well known, the Hebrew Language and its history have also benefited from the discovery and the publication of the scrolls. Indeed, there is hardly a single fragment of the scrolls that has not provided some new linguistic item or, at least, some clarification or illumination of a word, a phrase or a grammatical form that appears in one of the main literary corpora of the classical period—the Bible or rabbinic literature.

2. In this study, I deal with three words that appear in the scrolls. One appears in the Commentary (*Pesher*) on Genesis C (4Q254) and two in the Apocryphal Pentateuch B (4Q377). Important scholars have studied these scrolls and have made important comments regarding the words that I deal with here. Nonetheless, much can still be said and I deal with these matters in this study.

חגורו Ḥagoro in the Commentary on Genesis

3. Dr. Esther Haber and Dr. Alexey Yuditsky, two of the three[2] researchers of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Historical Dictionary Project of The Academy of the Hebrew Language, are excellent readers of the scrolls and understand the challenges of the field. In the course of their work, they combined fragments 3 and 8 of the Commentary on Genesis C (4Q254).[3] The combination of these fragments presents a reasonable text dealing with the narrative of Judah and Tamar as related in the book of Genesis. An important matter in the story is the deposit that Tamar asked of Judah and which is mentioned twice in the story: וַיֹּאמֶר מָה הָעֵרָבוֹן אֲשֶׁר אֶתֶּן־לָךְ וַתֹּאמֶר חֹתָמְךָ וּפְתִילֶךָ וּמַטְּךָ אֲשֶׁר בְּיָדֶךָ ("And he said, What pledge shall I give thee? And she said, Thy seal, and thy wick, and thy staff that is in thine hand" Gen 38:18), וַתֹּאמֶר הַכֶּר־נָא לְמִי הַחֹתֶמֶת וְהַפְּתִילִים וְהַמַּטֶּה הָאֵלֶּה ("and she said, Discern, I pray thee, whose are these, the seal, and wick, and staff" Gen 38:25). One of the items given as a deposit occurs in the combined text by Haber and Yuditsky: הפתיל (from section 8 line 3), ה[ו]אה חגורו (from section 3 line 4).

4. Here is the combined text:

5 *vacat* [הפלול ב°]
6 אשר לקח]ת[מר מיד יהודה לעד א]ת
7 והפתיל ה]ו[אה חגורו ב°]
8 הוצי]אוה ותשרף כיא ק]
9 [כיא חשבה לזונה]
10 [וגם °]
11 [° ו חולל מב °]
12 תה בו]

5. Two of the three pledged items do not require elucidation, the (חוֹתֶמֶת) חוֹתָם "seal" and the מַטֶּה "staff." However, פְּתִיל "wick" does. What was the nature of this item and what was it used for? פְּתִיל and פְּתִילִים in the Bible refer to entwined cords (or ropes) which had various uses. In eight of the ten occurrences of פְּתִיל in the Bible, the use is clear. This is not the case, however, with the פְּתִיל (and פְּתִילִים) that Judah gave to Tamar. The text indicates neither the nature nor the use of this item.

6. (a) In two occurrences of פְּתִיל in the Bible, it refers to the cord that attached the breastplate to the High Priest's vest. It is mentioned in the command: וְיִרְכְּסוּ אֶת־הַחֹשֶׁן מִטַּבְּעֹתָו אֶל־טַבְּעֹת הָאֵפֹד בִּפְתִיל תְּכֵלֶת ("And they shall bind the breastplate by the rings thereof unto the rings of the vest with a lace of blue" Exod 28:28). This is repeated when the verse describes the implementation of the command: וַיִּרְכְּסוּ אֶת־הַחֹשֶׁן מִטַּבְּעֹתָיו אֶל־טַבְּעֹת הָאֵפֹד בִּפְתִיל תְּכֵלֶת ("And they bound the breastplate by the rings unto the rings of the vest with a lace of blue" Exod 39:21). In this case, פְּתִיל refers to the cord tied to the High Priest's breastplate and vest and that attached them together. (b) In two other verses, פְּתִיל refers to the strap that tied the High Priest's golden head plate to his miter: וְעָשִׂיתָ צִּיץ זָהָב טָהוֹר [...] וְשַׂמְתָּ אֹתוֹ עַל־פְּתִיל תְּכֵלֶת וְהָיָה עַל־הַמִּצְנָפֶת [...] וְהָיָה עַל־מֵצַח אַהֲרֹן ("And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold […] And thou shalt put it on a blue lace that it may be upon the miter […] And it shall be upon Aaron's forehead" Exod 28:36–38). Similarly, in the verse that describes the head plate's making: וַיַּעֲשׂוּ אֶת־צִיץ נֵזֶר־הַקֹּדֶשׁ [...] וַיִּתְּנוּ עָלָיו פְּתִיל תְּכֵלֶת לָתֵת עַל־הַמִּצְנֶפֶת מִלְמָעְלָה ("And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold […] And they tied unto it a lace of blue, to fasten it high upon the miter" Exod 39:30–31). (c) The fifth occurrence of the word פְּתִיל refers to thin golden threads interwoven with blue, purple and other materials used in the preparation of the High Priest's vest: וַיְרַקְּעוּ אֶת־פַּחֵי הַזָּהָב וְקִצֵּץ פְּתִילִם לַעֲשׂוֹת בְּתוֹךְ הַתְּכֵלֶת ("And they beat the gold into thin plates, and cut it into wires to work it in the blue" Exod 39:3). (d) The sixth occurrence of the word פְּתִיל, also in the Pentateuch, is in the phrase פְּתִיל תְּכֵלֶת and refers to the blue thread attached to the four corners of a garment: וְנָתְנוּ עַל־צִיצִת הַכָּנָף פְּתִיל תְּכֵלֶת ("and they shall affix a thread of blue on the fringe of each corner" Num 15:38). Elsewhere in the Pentateuch, these threads are called גְּדִלִים: גְּדִלִים תַּעֲשֶׂה־לָּךְ עַל־אַרְבַּע כַּנְפוֹת כְּסוּתְךָ ("You shall make yourself twisted threads, on the four corners of your garment" Deut 22:12). (e) פְּתִיל twice refers to linen fibers or tow: וְהִנֵּה־אִישׁ מַרְאֵהוּ כְּמַרְאֵה נְחֹשֶׁת וּפְתִיל־פִּשְׁתִּים בְּיָדוֹ ("and behold a man whose appearance was like the appearance of copper, with a linen cord in his hand" Ezek 40:3); the second occurrence expresses something that burns easily: וַיְנַתֵּק אֶת־הַיְתָרִים כַּאֲשֶׁר יִנָּתֵק פְּתִיל־הַנְּעֹרֶת בַּהֲרִיחוֹ אֵשׁ ("and behold he tore the bowstrings as a string of tow is torn when it is touched by fire" Judg 16:9).

7. The meaning of פְּתִיל in the eight occurrences mentioned above is clear. These are threads of various materials. Each thread fulfills a different function as is evident from the context of the verses. The ancient biblical exegetes also took the word to mean this. Targum Onqelos translated the six occurrences of פְּתִיל in the Pentateuch as חוט ("thread") in the singular or as in the plural: חוּטָא/חוּטִין. Similarly, Targum Jonathan to the Prophets translates פְּתִיל as חוּטָא in Judges and as חוט in Ezekiel.

8. Even so, the פְּתִיל (פְּתִילִים) given by Judah to Tamar as part of the deposit is not clear from the context. What was the exact nature of the פְּתִיל? What did it serve? The ancient exegetes do not agree and have offered different explanations. I am referring to the Jewish Aramaic biblical translations, the Samaritan Targum, the Peshitta, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate. The deciphering of the fragment of the Commentary on Genesis C by researchers of the Historical Dictionary Project adds an important source to aid in interpreting this word. I will present the findings and then deal with the uniqueness of the commentary evident from this fragment of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

9. Onqelos translated this noun in the two verses identically: וּפְתִילֶךְ (Gen 38:18)—וְשׁוֹשִׁפָא. וְהַפְּתִילִים (Gen 38:25)—וְשׁוֹשִׁפָּךְ. This was apparently a garment that Judah wore or a kind of head covering that hid his face, like a veil. This meaning is evident from a number of verses in Targum Jonathan, where it translates אַדַּרְתּוֹ("his cloak" 2 Kgs 2:8) as שׁוֹשִׁפֵיה, בַּשִּׂמְלָה ("in the garment" 1 Sam 21:10) as בְּשׁוֹשִׁפָא and וְהַמַּעֲטָפוֹת ("and the wrapping mantles" Isa 3:22) as וְשׁוֹשִׁיפַיָּא. Marcus Jastrow has already shown that this noun is attested in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and more examples appear in Michael Sokoloff's dictionary. Aramaic borrowed this word from Akkadian.

10. The Peshitta translates the two occurrences of פְּתִיל with the same word as Onqelos, וּפְתִילֶךְ—וְשׁוּשְׁפָךְ, וְהַפְּתִילִים—וּשׁוּשְׁפָא. In Syriac the word שׁוּשְׁפָא means "a covering for the face," like a veil, and also "a cloak." This is evident from the Peshitta to the Pentateuch where שׁוּשְׁפָא is used to translate a number of nouns: מַסְוֶה("veil" Exod 34:13), שִׂמְלָה ("a cloak" Exod 12:34). According to LS³, the pledge given by Judah to Tamar was a veil.

11. The early and late Samarian Targums of the Pentateuch translate פְּתִילֶךְ and הַפְּתִילִים in Genesis 38, which refer to the pledge given by Judah to Tamar, by the same word used to translate פְּתִיל throughout the Pentateuch. All occurrences of פְּתִיל are translated literally: שׁזר (or שׁזיר), meaning "an entwined cord," "wick." These translations do not aid us in understanding the nature or the use of the item (פתילים) פתיל given in pledge by Judah. Even so, Zeʾev Ben-Ḥayyim noted that in addition to ושזרך, the Samaritan dictionary Hameliṣ gives an additional translation for פְּתִיל in the verse in Genesis—ומפאתך. He comments there that this could refer to "a handkerchief." That is, the orthography מפאתך represents the form מַפְתָּךְ ("your handkerchief"). This is also evident from the Arabic translation for פְּתִילmentioned by the author of Hameliṣ—מנדיל ("a handkerchief," "a towel," which is the meaning of מַפָּה in Mishnaic Hebrew). Thus, we have another source that does not take the פְּתִיל given by Judah to be a thread or a rope, but rather "a handkerchief."

12. The Septuagint and the Vulgate translate פְּתִיל in Genesis by nouns that refer to jewelry. The Septuagint translates the two occurrences of פְּתִיל in this narrative as ὁρμίσκος (the diminutive form of ὅρμος). The primary meaning of this noun is "a small necklace," "a beaded necklace." The Vulgate gives armilla—"a piece of jewelry for the hand," probably a bracelet.

13. The author of the text from the fragment of the Commentary on Genesis C (4Q254) understands the פְּתִיל that Tamar received in pledge differently. He writes והפתיל הוא חגורו "and the פְּתִיל is his belt." It is important to note that the commentary in this scroll relates a double message. (a) The author relates that the פְּתִיל is a belt. It is as if he said this פְּתִיל is like any cord or rope, but it was used as a belt. Indeed, in the past, a thick, entwined rope was used as a belt in the Middle East. This was like the Hassidic *gartel* made of entwined cords. (b) The author of the scroll does not state "the פְּתִיל is the belt." That is, he does not merely offer a general explanation of the noun in this context. He says "and the פְּתִיל is his belt." He does not explain what any פְּתִיל is but rather refers to the item that Judah gave to Tamar. His פְּתִיל is *his belt*. In other words, in this context, the פְּתִיל is like any פְּתִיל, but the scroll's author comes to define its function. In his opinion, this was the cord or rope used as Judah's belt. This item is not a head covering nor a cloak, not a handkerchief nor a necklace nor a bracelet.

14. An opinion similar to that of the author of scroll 4Q254 appears in the pseudepigraphal work *The Testament of Judah*, whose core dates from approximately the same time as this scroll. This opinion appears in two statements. In the first statement (12:4) the work lists the three items of the pledge in a different order from that in the biblical text καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῇ τὴν ῥάβδον μου καὶ τὴν ζώνην καὶ τὸ διάδημα τῆς βασιλείας (= "And I gave her my staff and my girdle and the diadem of kingship"). In the second statement (15:3), which includes a rebuke on account of the adultery, comments on and explains the nature of each item of the pledge: ἔδωκα γὰρ τὴν ῥάβδον μου, τουτέστι τὸ στήριγμα τῆς ἐμῆς φυλῆς· καὶ τὴν ζώνην μου, τουτέστι τὴν δύναμιν· καὶ τὸ διάδημα, τουτέστι τὴν δόξαν τῆς βασιλείας μου) = "For I gave my staff that is to say the stay of my tribe, and my girdle that is the power, and the diadem that is the glory of my kingship"). Special attention should be paid to Judah's words in 15:3 where he bears witness on himself and clearly states what the [פתילים] פתיל in the Bible are: נתתי לה … ואת חגורי [של] חגורו [ה]אה[ו]ה הפתיל. This is the same wording in 4Q254 but in the third person: [יהודה].

15. We see that the author of 4Q254 and the author of the Testament of Judah preceded Rabbi Samuel ben Meir by more than one thousand two hundred years when he explained פתילך "פתילך אזור—a belt" (Gen 38:18; perhaps his own opinion?). This is how commentators understood the translation of this word in Saʿadya Gaʾon's *Tafsir*, which preceded Rabbi Samuel ben Meir by more than two hundred years. Rabbi ʿAmram Qoraḥ, in his commentary to the *Tafsir*, explained על (חגור דק חבל—**ומפתולך** ("ומפתולך—is a thin rope girded on the waist"). The author of Neve Shalom may have drawn his comment from the commentary of Rabbi Abraham ben HaRambam: בה ישד מסתחסן מפתול ,ואלפתיל ("והפתיל—is a beautiful entwined cord girded on the waist or elsewhere," ibid. p. 144) ונחוה אלוסט.

16. Since the Bible did not explicitly state what was the פְּתִיל that Judah gave to Tamar, the way was paved for commentators to try to explain the item. The ancient commentators indeed differed as to the exact nature of the פְּתִיל that Judah gave to Tamar and what it was used for. The fragment of the Commentary on Genesis C that was edited as part of the Historical Dictionary Project offers a unique explanation that does not agree with most sources. It was not any kind of garment, such as a veil, a cloak or a handkerchief; nor was it or a piece of jewelry (a necklace or a bracelet). It was Judah's belt.

Meanings and Explanations of Words

17. A number of marginal comments are necessary to complete this study. There are quite a few examples in the Dead Sea Scrolls of comments that explain words or phrases based on the subject or

the language in the structure discussed above, that is A is/are B. I will bring one short example. Here is a well-known example of a chain of comments like these. The Bible states כִּי חֲמַס לְבָנוֹן יְכַסֶּךָ וְשֹׁד בְּהֵמוֹת יְחִיתַן מִדְּמֵי אָדָם וַחֲמַס־אֶרֶץ קִרְיָה וְכָל־יֹשְׁבֵי בָה ("For the violence of Lebanon shall cover thee, and the spoil of beasts, which made them afraid, because of men's blood and for the violence of the land, of the city, and of all that dwell therein" Hab 2:17). These comments appear in Pesher Habakkuk 12:3–9: הלבנון—הוא עצת היחד, והבהמות—המה פתאי יהודה עושה)עושי(? התורה [...] הקריה—היא ירושלם [...] וחמס הארץ—המה ערי יהודה ("Lebanon is the Council of the Community and the animals are the simple folk of Judah, those who observe the Law. […] the city is Jerusalem […] the violence (done to) the country are the cities of Judah").

18. At times, the word of explanation precedes the verse. Here is an example from the Damascus Document. The Bible states וּנְשָׂאתֶם אֵת סִכּוּת מַלְכְּכֶם וְאֵת כִּיּוּן צַלְמֵיכֶם [...] וְהִגְלֵיתִי אֶתְכֶם מֵהָלְאָה לְדַמָּשֶׂק ("And you shall carry *Sikkut* your king and *Kiyun* your images, […] And I will exile you beyond Damascus" Amos 5:26–27). The scroll gives a different version: והגליתי את סכות מלככם ואת כיון צלמיכם מאהלי דמשק ("And I will exile *Sikkut* your king and *Kiyun* your images from the tents of Damascus"). The comments follow the verse: ספרי התורה הם סוכת המלך [...] וכיניי הצלמים וכיון הצלמים הם ספרי הנביאים ("the scrolls of the Law are the Tabernacle of the King […] the scribe's rulers are the images and the scribes ruler are the books of the prophets" CD 7:14–20). Sometimes the comment does not occur in a chain but rather as a single comment. For example, the Melchizedek Document reads ויום הכפ[ורים ה]וא[ה ס]וף ה]יו[בל העשירי לכפר בו על כל בני אור ("and the [day of aton]ement is the e[nd of] the tenth [ju]bilee in which atonement shall be made for all the sons of light" 11Q13 1:7–8).

19. Our scroll (4Q254) provides an additional aspect of the structures in question. It contains metalinguistic statements. That is, not interpretations but simple actual explanations of the meanings of words. In sections 5–6 that were reedited by Yuditsky and Haber, the meaning of the word המשפתים (Gen 49:14) in the blessing of Jacob to Issachar becomes clear. Even though this portion of the scroll is fragmentary with many lacunae, the proposal of the two editors is reasonable in light of their excellent elucidation of the text. They reconstruct the following formula: [בין המשפתיים המה בין] הגבולים. The common noun גבולים clarifies the rare המשפתיים ("areas"). In our section, which is a combination of sections 3 and 8 of this scroll, the statement appears which explains the word: והפתיל הואה חגורו.

20. Metalinguistic statements are rare in the Bible and are uncommon in the Dead Sea Scrolls as well. However, statements of this kind do occur. One such well-known example is from the book of Samuel—לַנָּבִיא הַיּוֹם יִקָּרֵא לְפָנִים הָרֹאֶה ("he that is now called a prophet was beforetime called a Seer" 1 Sam 9:9). Another metalinguistic comment is פּוּר הוּא הַגּוֹרָל ("Pur—that is the lot" Esth 3:7). In this case, the clarified word precedes the definition. The work of the researchers of the Historical Dictionary Project on 4Q254 has revealed one certain metalinguistic statement, and an additional reasonable, reconstructed one.

Two Words in the Apocryphal Pentateuch B and Their Meaning: רעדודיה, בעורה

21. James C. VanderKam and Monica Brady published 4Q377. Other scholars have also worked on this scroll. Émile Puech has attempted to interpret the remains of the missing letters in Apocryphal Pentateuch B. However, scholars have shown that his proposals are baseless. Ariel Feldman has made a comprehensive study of this scroll, its contents, and language. He and Elisha Qimron have recently

reedited the text. Qimron made numerous comments on the reading and the language and designated it מגילת משה—Scroll of Moses.

The Section Dealt with in This Study

22. In this study I deal with one word and one phrase in section 2 column B. These two items have linguistic significance and they shed light on an important aspect of the author of the scroll's outlook. The word and the phrase occur in lines 7–10 of the text. Here is this section of the text, according to Qimron's edition:

> 7 ומראה [זיו] כבודו הראנו באש בעורה ממעלה [ב]שמים
> 8 ועל הארץ, עמד על הה]ר להודיע] כיא אין אלהים מבלעדיו ואין צור כמוהו] ,וכול]
> 9 הקהל נעו וחתו ורעדודיה אחזתם מלפני כבוד אלוהים ומקולות הפלא] ,וינועו]
> 10 ויעמודו מרוחק.

The Affinity of This Section to the Bible

23. This portion of the scroll belongs to the genre usually called a reworked biblical text. Scholars have stated that this section deals with the revelation at Mount Sinai, as described in a number of places in the Pentateuch and elsewhere in the Bible. The affinity to Exod 20:15–17 is clear. The statement הקהל נעו]...וינועו] ויעמודו מרוחק echoes the language of the verses וַיָּנֻעוּ וַיַּעַמְדוּ מֵרָחֹק ("they trembled and stood afar off" Exod 20:15), וַיַּעֲמֹד הָעָם מֵרָחֹק ("The people remained far off" Exod 20:17). The phrase ומראה הראנו זיו כבודו is based on a combination of a number of biblical phrases: וְכָל־הָעָם רֹאִים ("And all the people saw" Exod 20:15), וּמַרְאֵה כְּבוֹד ה׳ ("And the appearance of the glory of the Lord" Exod 24:17), and especially הֶרְאָנוּ ה׳ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת־כְּבֹדוֹ ("the Lord, our God, has shown us his glory" Deut 5:21). The phrase ומקולות הפלא is reminiscent of the biblical phrase רֹאִים אֶת־הַקּוֹלֹת ("saw the voices" Exod 20:15). The expression אש בעורה reflects a number of biblical verses, such as וְהַר סִינַי עָשַׁן כֻּלּוֹ מִפְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר יָרַד עָלָיו ה׳ בָּאֵשׁ ("And Mount Sinai was altogether on smoke, because the Lord had descended upon it in fire" Exod 19:18). The expression ומראה [זיו] כבודו הראנו באש בעורה ממעלה [ב]שמים ועל הארץ עמד על הה]ר] clearly echoes the verse וּמַרְאֵה כְּבוֹד ה׳ כְּאֵשׁ אֹכֶלֶת בְּרֹאשׁ הָהָר ("And the appearance of the glory of the Lord was like a consuming fire on the top of the mountain" Exod 24:17). It is possible to add many similar words and phrases, especially from the verses in Deuteronomy that relate to the revelation at Mount Sinai.

24. The scroll's author clearly drew expressions from other biblical verses, not related to the revelation. For example, the phrase ורעדודיה אחזתם is related to the expression יֹאחֲזֵמוֹ רָעַד ("trembling taketh hold upon them" Exod 15:15) in the Song of the Sea, the phrase אָחֲזָה רְעָדָה חֲנֵפִים ("trembling seized the sinners" Isa 33:14) and especially the statement רְעָדָה אֲחָזָתַם שָׁם ("Trembling took hold of them there" Ps 48: 7). The line כיא אין אלהים מבלעדיו ואין צור כאלהינו clearly echoes וּמִבַּלְעָדַי אֵין אֱלֹהִים ("and besides me there is no God" Isa 44:6), כִּי אֵין בִּלְתֶּךָ וְאֵין צוּר כֵּאלֹהֵינוּ ("for there is none beside thee; neither is there any rock like our God" 1 Sam 2:2) and similar verses.

The Additions to the Bible in This Section

25. Many scholars have shown that reworked biblical texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls tend to expand on the Bible in various ways. Devorah Dimant has recently dealt with this issue in her clear and well thought out introduction to Ariel Feldman and Liora Goldman's book. In addition to expansions on the content of biblical verses, these texts also expand on the Bible's language. Scholars have recognized some of these; others are concealed and await revelation.

26. Specifically, many of these expressions in this section of the scroll are somewhat like biblical quotations. They differ from the original verses in the addition of details knowingly added by the scroll's author. By adding details, the author endeavored to describe the event differently from the biblical narrative, thus aggrandizing it. I will present here some of the expressions with additional details, whether explicit or implicit: 1. 2. בא[שמים ועל הארץ עמד על .באש בעורה .3, ומראה [זיו] כבודו]מעלה]ב[שמים ועל הארץ עמד על .באש בעורה, 6. נעו וחתו ורעדודיה אחזתם...וינעו ויעמודו מרחוק, 5. הה[ר],4. ומקולות הפלא .רעדודיה.

27. The common ground to most of the expressions used by the author of the scroll is the addition of details not present in the biblical text. His intention being to glorify the event in the eyes of his readers. Here is an example. The author of the scroll exchanged וּמַרְאֵה כְּבוֹד ה׳ ("And the appearance of the glory of the Lord" Exod 24:17) with ומראה [זיו] כבודו ("and the appearance [of the radiance of] his glory" line 7). While we cannot be certain that the reconstructed word between brackets is indeed the noun זִיו, there surely was another word that was added to expand the narrative. The Bible mentions הַקּוֹלֹת ("the voices" Exod 20:15). The scroll's author speaks of קולות הפלא ("wondrous sounds") in order to glorify the sounds that the people heard. The biblical verses state that the people וַיָּנֻעוּ וַיַּעַמְדוּ מֵרָחֹק ("they trembled and stood afar off" Exod 20:15) while the scroll's author states הקהל נעו וחתו ורעדודיה אחזתם [...] וינעו ויעמודו מרוחק ("The assembly moved and were afraid. Trembling seized them … and they moved and stood at a distance"). The addition is clear—the movement of the people far from the mountain was accompanied by fear and trembling.

28. Understanding how the scroll's author employs additions to the text, clarifies two other expressions in this fragment—the word רעדודיה and the phrase באש בעורה. רעדודיה occurs only once in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and is not attested in any other Hebrew text. The phrase באש בעורה is also unique (although there is evidence for one more occurrence in Qumran). These two expressions provide additional insight to understanding the changes made by the scroll's author to increase the impression left by the revelation at Mount Sinai.

רעדודיה Raʿᵃdudiyya

29. I have already indicated that the phrase רעדודיה אחזתם is based on a number of biblical expressions, above all רְעָדָה אֲחָזָתַם ("trembling took hold of them" Ps 48:7). However, one small detail distinguishes the two expressions—the book of Psalms reads רְעָדָה while the scroll has רעדודיה. Feldman suggested that this is possibly a blend of רַעֲדוּד (in the nominal pattern קַטְלוּל) and the noun יָה. He believes, as others before him, that the addition of יָה to a noun acts as an intensifier to the extended noun. As we can see in Hebrew grammars that explain the word שַׁלְהֶבֶתְיָה ("a great flame" Song 8:6) in this way—יָה + שַׁלְהֶבֶת. In other words, רעדודיה is not merely "trembling" but "great trembling."

30. The word רעדודיה is a *hapax legomenon* in the Dead Sea Scrolls and is so far not attested in any other Hebrew text. I would like to offer a different explanation of this word. I do not believe that it is a blend. Biblical Hebrew tends to form blends in the case of proper nouns but not for common nouns. In addition, no such noun as רַעֲדוּד has ever been attested. The word should be vocalized רַעֲדוּדִיָה, like שַׁעֲרוּרִיָה in the nominal pattern פַּעֲלוּלִיָה. שַׁעֲרוּרִיָה occurs in the Bible as the *Qere* of the *Ketiv* שעריריה (Hos 6:10). This word also occurs in Qumran Hebrew, for example, נגועו במשפטי רשעה ושערוריות ("afflicting him with the punishments of sin and the horrors" Pesher Habakkuk 9:1). These two nouns are clearly expansions of nouns derived from tri-radical roots. רַעֲדוּדִיָה is derived from the root רעד״ד, a quadri-radical root. This root is an expansion of the tri-radical root רע״ד from

which are derived the nouns רַעַד and רְעָדָה. Similarly, the noun שַׁעֲרוּרִיָּה is derived from the root שער״ר, an expansion of שע״ר from which is derived the adjective שֹׁעֵר in the phrase כַּתְּאֵנִים הַשֹּׁעָרִים ("as the loathsome figs" Jer 29:17). The medieval commentators already noticed this, for example, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Qimḥi. Modern dictionaries such as BDB, Ben-Yehuda, and *HALOT* also list this. Modern biblical commentators also hold this view. Thus, the relation between שֹׁעָרים and שַׁעֲרוּרִיָּה, the former derived from the root שע״ר and the latter from the expanded root שער״ר is a widely held view. Much can still be added to all that has been said concerning this.

31. Expansions of words (nouns, adjectives, and verbs) by repetition of the third radical is well known in Biblical Hebrew. Examples of this phenomenon are וְנַאֲפוּפֶיהָ ("and her adulteries" Hos 2:4), פֹּרְחַח ("little sprouts" Job 30:12) and the verb אֻמְלָלָה ("has been bereaved" 1 Sam 2:5). Sometimes the second radical is repeated, for example in the word זְנוּנֶיהָ ("her harlotries" Hos 2:4). Biblical Hebrew even has examples of expansions by repetition of both the second and third radicals, for example the nouns and adjectives וְהָאסַפְסֻף ("but the multitude" Num 11:4), וּפְתַלְתֹּל ("and twisted" Deut 32:5), יְרַקְרַק אוֹ אֲדַמְדָּם ("deep green or deep red" Lev 13:49), פְּקַח־קוֹחַ ("free from captivity" Isa 61:1), יְפֵה־פִיָּה ("very beautiful" Jer 46:20); similarly the verb חֲמַרְמְרוּ ("burn" Lam 2:11).

32. Sometimes, the use of expanded forms in Biblical Hebrew can be easily understood. Indeed, in certain contexts the expanded form seems to express strengthening or intensification of the concept expressed by the original word (without repetition of radicals). This is clear in the roots נא״ף and זנ״י. The noun זְנוּנִים formed by the repetition of the second radical, indicates "additional harlotry" or "multiple harlotries"; נַאֲפוּפִים, wherein the final radical is repeated, indicates "additional adultery" or "multiple adulteries." This is evident from the prophet Hosea's remarks concerning the woman's harlotries and adulteries: רִיבוּ בְאִמְּכֶם רִיבוּ כִּי הִיא לֹא אִשְׁתִּי וְאָנֹכִי לֹא אִישָׁהּ וְתָסֵר זְנוּנֶיהָ מִפָּנֶיהָ וְנַאֲפוּפֶיהָ מִבֵּין שָׁדֶיהָ ("Strive with your mother, strive, for she is not my wife, and I am not her husband, and let her remove her harlotries from her face and her adulteries from between her breasts" Hos 2:4). In other words, the prophet states that she is exceedingly adulterous. If one were to say that multiple harlotries or adulteries are not expressed by the expanded forms (זנוניה, נאפופיה) but rather by the plural form (נַאֲפוּף or זְנוּן but not נַאֲפוּפִים and זְנוּנִים), I will point out a more obvious example of a form where intensification of meaning is clear from the context. When the prophet Jeremiah states עֶגְלָה יְפֵה־פִיָּה מִצְרָיִם ("Egypt is a beautiful heifer" Jer 46:20), he clearly means her great beauty. Qimḥi already understood this and commented, "the ʿayin and the *lamed* are repeated to express great beauty, comparing Egypt to a beautiful heifer, rich and fertile."

33. The Sages understood the expanded forms as expressing strengthening or intensification of the concept expressed by the original word, as is evident from the Sifra, the halakhic midrash to Leviticus: ("ירקרק—ירוק שבירוקים, ואדמדם—אדום שבאדומים") ירקרק—the darkest green, אדמדם—the darkest red" Sifra Neg. 1:2). Many medieval sages thought so as well, including Saʿadya Gaʾon, Rashi, Qimḥi, and Maimonides, as Ben-Yehuda indicated in his dictionary. We can add Ibn Janaḥ as well. When discussing the nominal pattern פְּעַלְעַל, he states that this pattern is a descriptive word, or even a word expressing intensified description. He lists the words ירקרק, אדמדמת, אדמדם, חלקלקות, עקלקלות and הפכפך. For the פְּעַלְעוּל pattern, he lists the words אספסוף, שחרחרת and פקח קוח. Even though his statement is not unequivocal, he refers to the word as an "adjective" (that is, the repeated consonant does not add meaning). However, he does describe the word as an "intense adjective," meaning an adjective expressing intensified meaning as opposed to the adjective without the repeated consonants.

34. However, others believed that the expansion of words expresses the diminutive. Thus, ירקרק means "greenish, light green" and אדמדם "reddish, light red." This is apparent from Rabbi Akiva's statement in the Mishnah: This is Ibn). like wine mingled with water" m. Neg. 1:2—אדמדם ("אדמדם—כיין המזוג במים); Ibn Ezra's opinion: ירקרק ("ירקרק וזה כפול לחסרון וכן שחרחרת)—[the letters] are doubled to express deficiency, like שחרחרת"); Rashbam also holds this view. Ben-Yehuda already wrote "the verse supports Rabbi Akiva's opinion that אדמדם is light red, because an appearance of לבן אדמדם ('reddish white') cannot be darkest red."

35. From the Aramaic Targums a third view is evident. Namely, there is no difference in meaning between the regular form and the expanded form. Onqelos, for example, translates אֲדַמְדֶּמֶת (Lev 13:19, 24) as סֻמְקָא, the same way he translates the second occurrence of אָדֹם ("red") in the phrase הָאָדֹם הָאָדֹם (Gen 25:30)—סֻמְקָא. סְמוֹקָא סְמָקָא in this verse is the masculine form of סָמֵק with the definite article. It is also the feminine form of סָמֵק in the verses quoted from Leviticus (13:19, 24). The Samaritan Targum translates this similarly: אֲדֻמָּה, סאמק/סמק—אדמדם (Num 19:2)—סמקא. This is also reflected in the Peshitta: הָאָדֹם הָאָדֹם is rendered סוּמְקָא סוּמְקָא. Similarly, the Peshitta translates the adjective אֲדַמְדָּם as סוּמְקָא.

36. Thus, we see from the literature of the Sages of the early generations, in the Tannaitic and Amoraic periods, and the Aramaic Targums, different opinions as to the meaning of the expanded forms in Biblical Hebrew. Hence, each form should be examined in its context to see whether the expanded form is merely an alternate morphological form that has no semantic distinction from the regular form; or whether the expanded form expresses strengthening or intensification or are in fact diminutives. I presented this kind of analysis in the discussion of the nouns זְנוּנֶיהָ and נַאֲפוּפֶיהָ, and the adjective יְפֵה-יְהֵפ.

37. It seems to me that the meaning of רעדודיה is clear from its context. The scroll's author could have used the biblical nouns mentioned above; רַעַד as in the phrase יֹאחֲזֵמוֹ רָעַד from the Song of the Sea, or רְעָדָה, as in רְעָדָה אֲחָזָתַם from Psalms. Had he done so, he would have used an expression known from the Bible. However, by using the form רעדודיה—whether this form existed in the language of the period or whether he coined the form—he conveyed that the trembling was not that implied in the words רַעַד or רְעָדָה, but rather an unusually powerful trembling. The expanded form רעדודיה conveys this message exactly like his other expressions related to the revelation at Mount Sinai that add details to the biblical account, especially stressing the intensity of the event.

38. The word רַעַד, composed of two syllables, and the word רְעָדָה, with three syllables, are not the same as רַעֲדוּדִיָה with its five syllables. I believe the repetition of the consonant *dalet*, by increasing the number of syllables and lengthening the word, conveys a message. The scroll's author believed that the people at Mount Sinai were seized by trembling, but not by an ordinary trembling. An extremely powerful trembling seized them. That is, the text itself informs us of the meaning of רַעֲדוּדִיָה, and the word itself teaches us about the text. This also seems to be the relationship between שֵׁעָרִים and שַׁעֲרוּרִיָה. Many are of the opinion that שֵׁעָרִים means "loathsome, repulsive." The noun שַׁעֲרוּרִיָה would then imply an especially loathsome deed. I suggest, further in this study, to understand, as did Solomon Mandelkern, that the adjective שֵׁעָרִים means "split, broken." I believe that the noun שַׁעֲרוּרִיָה would then mean "a great break."

באש בעורה

39. When referring to the revelation at Mount Sinai the Bible uses the word אֵשׁ ("fire") without any addition, for example וְהַר סִינַי עָשַׁן כֻּלּוֹ מִפְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר יָרַד עָלָיו ה׳ בָּאֵשׁ("And Mount Sinai was altogether on smoke, because the Lord descended upon it on fire" Exod 19:18), וְהָהָר בֹּעֵר בָּאֵשׁ ("and the mountain was burning with fire" Deut 5:20). However, the metaphor כְּאֵשׁ אֹכֶלֶת is also used—וּמַרְאֵה כְּבוֹד ה׳ כְּאֵשׁ אֹכֶלֶת בְּרֹאשׁ הָהָר ("And the appearance of the glory of the Lord was like a consuming fire on the top of the mountain" Exod 24:17). However, the scroll's author uses the phrase **באש בעורה** (line 7). It should be noted, that the scroll's author does not use one word (אֵשׁ) as in the first and second verses, nor a metaphor (כְּאֵשׁ אֹכֶלֶת). Instead, he uses a direct, explicit and concrete expression—באש בעורה ("a blazing fire").

40. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the spelling בעורה could indicate two different forms: (a) בעורה = בּוֹעֲרָה (or בּוֹעֵרָה), the active participle of the qal stem for the root בע״ר. In proximity to the pharyngeal consonant ʿayin, the waw is not written in its appropriate place—before ʿayin—but after it. This phenomenon occurs in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as documented by E. Y. Kutscher in the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaᵃ). Examples of this phenomenon are ונטוע instead of ונטעו in the Masoretic text (Isa 37:30) and ופועלתי instead of ופעלתי (or וּפְעֻלָּתִי to be exact, in the Masoretic text, Isa 49:4). (b) בעורה = בְּעוּרָה, the feminine form of בָּעוּר, the participle that expresses multiple actions. The difference between בָּעוּר/בָּעוּרָה and בּוֹעֵר/בּוֹעֲרָה is similar to the difference between בּוֹגֵד/בּוֹגְדָה and בָּגוּד/בָּגוּדָה. The active participle בּוֹגֵד /בּוֹגְדָה, in its verbal usage, indicates a one-time action while the form in the פָּעוּל pattern—בָּגוּד/בָּגוּדָה—is a nominal form indicating a quality involving multiple actions. This is in effect the difference between בְּעוּרָה and בּוֹעֲרָה. בְּעוּרָה indicates additional burning (בְּעִירָה) since it implies duration and a quality. In my opinion, it is not necessary to explain בעורה as an alternate spelling of בּוֹעֲרָה with the letters ʿayin and waw in the incorrect order. This is rather the form בְּעוּרָה. In other words, when it is possible to explain an orthographic regular form as it appears in the text, there is no need to introduce explanations based on metathesis of letters (בועָרה > בעורה).

41. If these words in the scroll are indeed the phrase אֵשׁ בְּעוּרָה as I believe, then this phrase does express strengthening or intensification, not only when compared with אֵשׁ ("fire") in Exod 19:18 or with בֹּעֵר בָּאֵשׁ ("burning with fire" Deut 5:20), but also as opposed to כְּאֵשׁ אֹכֶלֶת ("like a consuming fire" Exod 24:17). This is not only because כְּאֵשׁ אֹכֶלֶת uses imagery as opposed to אֵשׁ בְּעוּרָה that is a direct expression. It is because this phrase is composed of a noun and an adjective, with the adjective in the פָּעוּל pattern that expresses multiplicity or intensification to a greater degree than בּוֹעֲרָה, in the פּוֹעֵל pattern.

42. We can thus say that this scroll contains a number of expressions that expand on the biblical narrative of the revelation at Mount Sinai, such as קולות הפלא("wondrous sounds") as opposed to הקולות ("the sounds" Exod 20:15), and other expansions of the content. This phenomenon is evident in these two unique expressions: רַעֲדוּדִיָה—"an extremely powerful trembling"; בָּאֵשׁ בְּעוּרָה—"a long-burning, powerful blazing fire."

Conclusion

43. I stated at the outset of this paper that every one of the Dead Sea Scrolls enriches us with information about language. We have seen here that the Commentary on Genesis C (4Q254), edited by the researchers of the Academy of the Hebrew Language's Historical Dictionary Project, teaches us that

the word חגור occurs in the Hebrew lexicon of the Scrolls. Not only does it occur in the Scrolls, but it also occurs in an interpretive and metalinguistic statement. When the author of the scroll wrote הפתיל הואה חגורו, he expressed his opinion that פְּתִיל, one of the three items Judah gave as a pledge to Tamar as related in Genesis (ch 38:18, 25), was a belt, to be exact, Judah's own belt. Indeed, in the scrolls we encountered metalinguistic statements, the clearest one being הפתיל הואה חגורו. We saw that his explanation of the פְּתִיל in Judah's pledge also appears in another extra-biblical work from the same period as the scroll—*The Testament of Judah*.

44. Important scholars have studied scroll 4Q377 and its language. I believe that two expressions required further clarification: (a) the noun רעדודיה, (b) the phrase באש בעורה. The noun רעדודיה is a morphological expansion of one of the nouns רַעַד or רְעָדָה. I read the orthographic form בעורה as בָּעוֹרָה—the feminine form of בָּעוֹר in the פָּעוֹל pattern with retained *qamets*. That is, the participial form expressing multiplicity or intensification as opposed to the participial forms בּוֹעֲרָה or בּוֹעֶרֶת, expressing a single action.

45. The two expressions discussed occur in a fragment of a scroll that expands on the biblical narrative of the revelation at Mount Sinai. Thus, it is logical that the noun רעדודיה and the phrase באש בעורה should be considered as expressions that expand on the content of the Bible. An ordinary trembling did not seize the people at Mount Sinai. Rather, an extremely powerful trembling seized them. The scroll's author calls this extremely powerful trembling רַעֲדוּדִיָה the expanded form of the noun, which also implies greater semantic force. God was revealed in an extremely powerful blaze. Therefore, the fire is referred to as אֵשׁ בָּעוֹרָה, not אֵשׁ בּוֹעֶרֶת or אֵשׁ בּוֹעֲרָה. These two expressions are a fitting example of the intensified description of the revelation at Mount Sinai, reflected in the language and style of this scroll fragment.

46. I wish to add a comment in the margins of the discussion concerning the meaning of the root שע״ר, which is reflected in the phrase כַּתְּאֵנִים הַשֹּׁעָרִים (Jer 29:17) and the noun שַׁעֲרוּרִיָּה (Hos 6:10) and its alternate forms (שַׁעֲרוּרָה, שַׁעֲרוּרִית). Two great scholars studied the root שע״ר and explained its meaning—Henoch Yalon and Aron Dotan. I believe that Mandelkern's view is more correct and possible, namely that this Hebrew root is the parallel of the Aramaic תר״ע meaning "splitting" and "breaking." הַתְּאֵנִים הַשֹּׁעָרִים are split, smashed figs, deficient in taste. I am of the opinion that שֹׁעָרִים and שַׁעֲרוּרִיָּה are related. Hence, שַׁעֲרוּרִיָּה, derived from the expanded root שער״ר, adds the additional semantic features of "break" and "split" to the word שֹׁעָרִים, and thus means "a great break."

47. The intensified and expanded utterance of the noun שַׁעֲרוּרִיָּה and its alternate forms is also evident in the phrase שַׁמָּה וְשַׁעֲרוּרָה ("an appalling and horrible thing" Jer 5:30). שַׁמָּה means "waste, appalling thing, destruction" and is followed by the noun שַׁעֲרוּרָה. When a phrase consisting of two near synonyms, the shorter noun comes first according to the "Law of Increasing Members," the longer noun comes in second place in the phrase thus intensifying the meaning of the first noun. An example of this is the phrase in the Song of Moses that describes the generation by the statement דּוֹר עִקֵּשׁ וּפְתַלְתֹּל ("a generation crooked and perverse" Deut 32:5). The adjective עִקֵּשׁ, which is the shorter word, precedes פְּתַלְתֹּל; פְּתַלְתֹּל, the longer word, follows the adjective עִקֵּשׁ thus intensifying its meaning. <>

ON MY RIGHT MICHAEL, ON MY LEFT GABRIEL: ANGELS IN ANCIENT JEWISH CULTURE by Mika Ahuvia [S. Mark Taper Foundation Imprint in Jewish Studies, University of California Press, 9780520380110]

Angelic beings can be found throughout the Hebrew Bible, and by late antiquity the archangels Michael and Gabriel were as familiar as the patriarchs and matriarchs, guardian angels were as present as one's shadow, and praise of the seraphim was as sacred as the Shema prayer. Mika Ahuvia recovers once-commonplace beliefs about the divine realm and demonstrates that angels were foundational to ancient Judaism. Ancient Jewish practice centered on humans' relationships with invisible beings who acted as intermediaries, role models, and guardians. Drawing on non-canonical sources—incantation bowls, amulets, mystical texts, and liturgical poetry—Ahuvia shows that when ancient men and women sought access to divine aid, they turned not only to their rabbis or to God alone but often also to the angels. **ON MY RIGHT MICHAEL, ON MY LEFT GABRIEL** spotlights these overlooked stories, interactions, and rituals, offering a new entry point to the history of Judaism and the wider ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern world in which it flourished.

Review

"Moving deftly across the full gamut of Jewish sources from late antiquity—from rabbinic literature to synagogue liturgy to magical and mystical texts—Mika Ahuvia demonstrates that angels, as objects of speculation and veneration as well as agentive entities in their own right, stand at the very core of Judaism as a religious tradition. This magnificent study capitalizes on the diversity of approaches to angels within the textual and material record in order to map the dynamic interaction among the various types of Jewish religious knowledge and expertise in this formative period."—Raʻanan Boustan, Research Scholar, Program in Judaic Studies, Princeton University

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Excerpt: Angelic Greetings or Shalom Aleichem

Peace be upon you, ministering angels, angels of the Most High,
Of the King, the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.

> Come in peace, angels of peace, angels of the Most High
> Of the King, the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.
>
> Bless me in peace, angels of peace, angels of the Most High,
> Of the King, the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.
>
> Depart in peace, angels of peace, angels of the Most High,
> Of the Kings of Kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.
> —TRADITIONAL HEBREW SONG

Although many Jewish households begin the Sabbath by singing "Shalom Aleichem" (lit. "Peace be upon you") and welcoming the angels to their home, few people dwell on the literal meaning of this song's words. This popular seventeenth-century Hebrew song greets the angels of God beginning with "the ministering angels" and, alternating with calling them "the angels of peace," welcomes them to the home in peace, asks for their blessing, and wishes them a peaceful departure. The song's most common melody was composed in Brooklyn in 1918, but it is sung by Jews around the world.3 Despite the ubiquity of this song in Jewish domestic life, Christian conceptualizations of angels have become so powerful and pervasive that people often do not realize that angels have a firm biblical and Jewish pedigree. Twentieth- century scholarly accounts of Judaism's pure, monotheistic origins, taught in seminaries as well as the academy, have obscured the role of angels in the Bible, classical Jewish texts, and Jewish ritual practice. This book aims to reveal the significance of angels in the foundation of classical Judaism.

The book makes three interrelated arguments. First, it argues that conceptualizations of angels were an integral part of late ancient Judaism and Jewish society. Descriptions of angelic beings can be found in every layer of biblical text, and, in the Hellenistic period, Jewish myths enlarged the role of angelic beings so that, by late antiquity, the praise of the seraphim was as sacred as the biblically commanded Shema prayer, the angels Michael and Gabriel were as familiar as the patriarchs and matriarchs, and guardian angels were as surely present as shadows on a sunny day. Contrary to common understanding, angels were not coupled with demons in the late antique Jewish imagination; they were imagined on their own terms and as independent beings. Angels served as intermediaries, role models, and guardians, with descriptions and invocations of them appearing in a range of contexts, including in ritual- magical, exegetical, liturgical, and mystical sources.

This book's second argument—as well as its methodological contention—is that considering additional sources provides a fuller account of the role that angels played in ancient Jewish culture. An array of sources from antiquity attests that people took for granted that the invisible realm was crowded with mediating beings: angels could be found at home, on the streets, in the synagogues as well as in the multilayered heavens. Scholarship of ancient Judaism has focused primarily on rabbinic texts, and scholars of rabbinics have, for the most part, explored other dimensions of rabbinic textual production, deploying literary, legal, ritual, exegetical, and comparative methods. Recent scholarship has shown, however, that rabbinic texts do engage meaningfully with theological questions. This book argues that one neglected theological topic is angels in rabbinic literature. Moreover, and just as importantly, rabbinic texts only capture one dimension of late antique Judaism. Considering rabbinic and biblical

sources alongside material evidence and seemingly less authoritative sources such as magical spells and synagogue poetry produces a more accurate picture of ancient Jewish thought about angels, in part by capturing the output of more than just a small group of elite men, as has often been the case in previous scholarship. Indeed, angels appear frequently in incantation bowls, mystical sources, and liturgical poetry that existed alongside, in conversation with, and in tension with rabbinic sources.

Thirdly, examining references to angels in these diverse sources, in conversation with one another, demonstrates that rabbinic ideas about angels developed over time and in dialogue with other genres and materials. As time passed and angels became more prominent in other corpora, rabbinic writers began to accept that angels feature in other Jews' piety. Passages in the Babylonian Talmud suggest accommodation over time. This study of traditions about angels thus also reveals that the different registers of Jewish culture were, in fact, in contact in antiquity and that they evolved together: ideas about angels were exchanged and flowed between rabbis, ritual practitioners, synagogue poets, and mystics.

The fact that the function of angels was also debated by Christians and other adjacent communities in the late antique Mediterranean and Near East does not make angels any less significant for the study of Judaism. Abraham the patriarch is considered a foundational figure to Jews, Christians, Muslims, and others, and yet no one would question his significance for Jewish self- understanding. Likewise, angels were central to the religious communities of late antiquity, Jews among others. As I shall show, some conceptions of angels can be distinguished as specifically Jewish while others reflect the common beliefs of the inhabitants of the late antique Mediterranean. In the conclusion, I more broadly situate my findings about angels in Judaism in the religious landscape of late antiquity.

To return to the opening example: many of those Jews who sing "Shalom Aleichem" each Friday are unaware that it is believed to have been inspired by a tradition in the Talmud:

> Rabbi Yose the son of Yehuda said: two ministering angels accompany a man on the eve of the Sabbath from the synagogue to his home, one good and one evil. And when he arrives at his house, if a lamp is lit and a table is prepared and his bed covered, the good angel says, "may it be like this on another Sabbath too" and the evil angel answers "amen" against his will. And if it is not, the evil angel says, "May it be like this on another Sabbath too" and the good angel answers "amen" against his will.

In a few sentences, this passage manages to address many of the problems and questions associated with angels in antiquity: How do angels relate to their charges? What do they do? How do angels respond to human behavior? Equally important are the questions not asked by this rabbi: do angels exist? What do angels look like? Who oversees them? It was obvious to the ancients that angels were subordinate to God. The other two questions may seem natural to modern readers, perhaps, but were not to ancient people, who did not dwell on the appearance of angels and accepted the reality of divine beings crowding the invisible realm.

Though found only in the sixth century CE Talmud, this short story about angelic visitation is attributed to Rabbi Yose, one of the most quoted sages in rabbinic literature and a contemporary of Judah the Patriarch, the illustrious redactor of the Mishnah, the foundational document of the rabbinic movement (ca. third century CE). The story's attribution places it in chronological and geographical proximity to the beginning of normative Judaism. This tradition imagines that angels can be found wherever Jews

congregate on the eve of the Sabbath (the holy climax of the Jewish week), and that angels follow people home from these gathering places. Once at the individuals' homes, the angels observe whether ritual and domestic preparations were made for the Sabbath and recite a benediction to God that affirms human behavior—for better or worse. In doing so, the angels, both good and evil, also acknowledge their limited authority under God.

As is the rabbis' way, they do not provide straightforward theology in their foundational documents, but formulate stories, legal pronouncements, and teachings instead. These traditions may be suggestive of the attitudes, at least, of the final redactors of the Talmud. The editors of the Talmud seemed to have no problem attributing a story about the active presence of angels in Jews' life to the son of Judah the Patriarch. They transmitted a story that admitted the presence of "good" and "evil" angels, who nevertheless appear to operate within certain parameters under God's authority. I discuss this source at great length among other later rabbinic sources (see chapter 6), but for now we may note that this story answers some questions but leaves others unanswered: Why are angels at home with Jews? And what is an angel exactly?

Defining Angels

No single definition of angels holds true across all time periods or across all religions.7 The term angel in English derives from the ancient Greek aggelos, which can refer to a divine or human messenger. All the inhabitants of the Greco- Roman Mediterranean believed that the gods employed messengers that mediated between the divine and human realm (see aggeloi of the Iliad 2.26, 2.63, and 18.165). As in Greek, so in Hebrew, the term mal'akh can refer to a divine or human messenger. Mal'akh is related to the Hebrew word for divine work, melakha, a crucial term in Genesis's description of the origin of the Sabbath: "On the seventh day God finished the work that He had been doing, and He ceased on the seventh day from all the work that He had done" (Gen 2:2). Work here is melakha, from the triliteral root for L- A- KH, "to send" or "to work." Mal'akhim, or angels, are sent out to accomplish the work of God. The last prophetic book in the Hebrew canon is not named for a prophet but simply named Malachi: "my angel" or "my messenger." In Genesis the creation of the world and the Sabbath go hand in hand; so too do divine work and God's multitude of angels (Gen 2:1 states "Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all their multitude," with angelic beings implied). This is one clue as to the angels' function: look for them as agents in works of creation (broadly conceived), near the Sabbath (see the rabbinic tradition and song above), and as messengers from God. Less common terms in the Hebrew Bible for angelic beings include "sons of God," "holy ones," and "the heavenly host." In the rabbinic corpus, angels are referred to as mal'akhim or, just as commonly, as the ministering angels (mal'akhei ha-sharet), with the latter term emphasizing the role of angels as servants of God.

The stories of the Torah provided Jews with a great deal of material for conceptualizing angels, but the Psalms proved equally important. One influential verse averred that God "made his angels winds / his servants flaming fire," suggesting that angels were somehow insubstantial, fiery yet invisible (Ps 104:4). That angels were made of fire was one of the only angelic characteristics upon which all later Jewish sources agreed. Like the rest of the inhabitants of the ancient Near East, Jews believed that the stars, moon, and sun were distant fiery divine beings, and scattered references in the Bible ensured they were understood as God's angels, fixed in the heavens but also able to exercise influence on earth. And yet, this phrasing proved capacious enough for multiple interpretations of the changeable nature of the angels.

Alongside the view of angels as messengers of fire and wind, coexisted the imagining of angels as fantastic hybrid beings (so- called "Mischwesen") like the cherubim and seraphim. Among the cultures surrounding ancient Israel, the cherubim and seraphim had distinguished iconography; no Israelite would confuse the fierce winged- lion cherub in the temple with the snake- like seraph. These animalistic features of cherubim and seraphim connoted power and the ability to ward off evil in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt. Though references to these creatures is found throughout the Hebrew Bible, it is the visions of Isaiah and Ezekiel, especially the verses that became part of the liturgy, that left a lasting impression in Jewish conceptualization of these divine beings who surrounded God's throne. In time, the differences between these divine beings seem to have become blurred and forgotten in the minds of Jewish interpreters, who understood all of these different hybrid creatures as angelic beings worthy of imitation in liturgical practice and prayer.

By late antiquity, the rabbis commented that cherubim referred to beings with youthful faces, much like the cupids popular in Greco- Roman art. Where the prophet Isaiah saw only the six- winged seraphim reciting "Holy, Holy, Holy" in the ancient Jerusalem temple, the late antique liturgical poet Yannai would imagine the cherubim, ophanim, holy creatures as well as "angels" in general reciting this praise of God, equating the various categories of these divine beings. Similarly, in incantation texts ritual practitioners did not dwell on the appearance of invisible beings but tended to be explicit about their invocation of God's subordinates, calling them mal'akhim before listing their names and describing what they hoped the angels would do for their clients.

Psalms and other biblical stories attest to the ancient Israelite belief that angels served ordinary persons, pious households, and the people of Israel on behalf of God. Psalm 91:11 assured hearers that God "will command his angels concerning you / to guard you in all your ways. On their hands they will bear you up / so that you will not dash your foot against a stone." This verse suggested angelic intervention on behalf of the individual with God's approval. Biblical stories demonstrated that angels had appeared to the meritorious patriarchs and matriarchs, but also to disconsolate figures like Hagar, the mother of Ishmael, comforting her when she was expelled and abandoned with her son in the wilderness. The book of Tobit illustrated how an angel might intervene to protect a pious household with Raphael in disguise as a helpful relative. The Exodus story affirmed that God sent an angel to guard the nation of Israel in the wilderness (23:20), and the book of Daniel reaffirmed angelic protection of the nation with Michael fighting on behalf of Israel in the heavens against the angelic representatives of Persia and Greece (10:13–21). Late antique Jews believed that angels were available to ordinary men and women and they were aware that angels were a cross- cultural phenomenon.

The Hellenistic Jewish philosopher Philo explained that those beings whom the philosophers called daemons Moses called angels (De Gigantibus 1:6). This description highlights the neutral disposition of angels, who could be sent on beneficent or maleficent missions by God. As I shall show in the following chapters, both early and late rabbinic traditions agree with Philo on this point: there were angels of good (or peace) and angels of evil and destruction. Philo and the rabbis insisted on a divinely guided universe, where no invisible being could be out of step from God's plans. The existence of demons was also taken for granted by the peoples of the Near East, including the ancient Israelites, who were castigated for turning to demons in the Torah and in prophetic texts. In my reading of the evidence, later Jews did not confuse angels of evil with demons; they had a different terminology and the rabbis even offered several etiologies for demons, which are not discussed in relationship to angels. Demons were distinct and

diverse beings, also at home in the ancient Near East, and later linked to the Hellenistic Jewish myth of fallen angels on the one hand and in conversation with local traditions about demons in Persian Babylonia on the other hand. Though people today may think of angels and demons as inseparable, angels had an independent existence in ancient Judaism. Indeed, though some of the sources analyzed in this book involve demons, most do not.

In the Jewish texts of the Hellenistic period, we find reference to angels by the names of Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. In the book of Daniel 10:20–21, Michael and Gabriel are called "princes" (sar), a title that will be used for top-ranking angels in the Hebrew mystical texts as well. In Greek texts, chief angels become known as archangels ("ruling angel"). In later Jewish interpretation, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael were identified with the three anonymous men who visited Abraham at Mamre and foretold that he and Sarah would have a son (Gen 18). This proved to be one of the most influential and popular stories about angels in antiquity, shared among Jews, Christians, polytheists, and later Muslims.26 The location became a pilgrimage site in late antiquity." Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael became part of the shared culture of the Mediterranean world: they can be found in the rabbinic, liturgical, ritual, and mystical texts of late antique Jews but also in the Christian and Hellenistic- Egyptian polytheistic texts more broadly. This trio of angels can be found in incantation texts of late antiquity alongside other angelic names that are unpronounceable, recognizable only by their location in lists of angelic names or their "- el" suffix. From extant sources, we can see that Gabriel and Michael proved to be the most commonly invoked angels among Jews.

Late antique Jews did not feel the need to define the category of angels, nor did they write an angelology or attempt to place divine beings in a hierarchy. And yet a modern reader may need a general definition of angels before proceeding any further into the findings of this book. From an etic perspective, for the Jews of late antiquity, angels were subordinate yet powerful divine beings, usually invisible to the human eye, who were ever present both in the heavenly and earthly realms and who could intervene for good or ill in human life in accordance with human behavior and God's will. Angels were an integral part of the religious landscape in antiquity, one deeply grounded in the biblical heritage, and yet, as I shall show, the significance of angels in people's lives varied greatly based on personal and familial preference, local custom, communal practice, religious ideology, and regional factors. My corpus- by- corpus approach will demonstrate this variation, even as I highlight what is particularly Jewish about angels, and the ways Jews argued and exchanged ideas about angels in late antiquity. Only much later Jewish and Christian medieval angelologies would seek to overcome these deeply local and diverse perspectives on the invisible realms.

This work makes no ontological claims as to the existence of angels but chronicles how ancient Jews believed in angels and made them into real presences in their everyday lives. These beliefs were anchored in biblical texts, in popular myths, and in dialogue with the other inhabitants of the ancient Near East. Angels were a particularly attractive mediating force because they could be used to circumvent established hierarchies even as they drew on the deep wells of inherited traditions. This book uncovers how angels made their way into the foundational practices and worldviews of ancient Jews and makes sense of why angels continue to play such a significant role within and without institutional Jewish settings.

Methodology And Scholarship

This book's interest in ancient Jewish "beliefs" about angels poses a tricky methodological challenge: How can modern historians know the intentions of ancient subjects? This study does not claim to uncover the thoughts of ancient Jews. Rather, each extant story, ritual incantation, liturgical piyyut, or mystical tradition about angels is treated as an example of one tradition once expounded in a rabbinic study house, one ritual object produced in a practitioner's workshop or performed in the home, one prayer recited in the synagogue, or one passage recited for mystical purposes. By placing each source in its historical and cultural context, insofar as is possible given our limited data from antiquity, I reconstruct the assumptions about angels that underpin rabbinic narratives, incantations, liturgical poems, and mystical texts about angels. Beliefs about and practices involving angels, just like any other Jewish beliefs or practices, were imparted and taught to ancient Jews in particular settings, and we can use these extant examples to think about how they were taught.

In each chapter, I describe the particular methods and problems pertinent to each genre of evidence under examination, but I begin here with a few general remarks about my approach overall. The sources cannot be treated as transcripts, of course, or fully representative of a conversation in the homes or streets of ancient Jewish towns. Rabbinic attributions to named figures cannot be taken at face value or dated with any certainty. And yet traditions associated with leading figures may reveal what disciples of the rabbis wished to associate with their predecessors and may be indicative of later rabbinic attitudes toward angels. As I shall show, rabbinic traditions critical and supportive of engagement with angels are associated with some of the most famous historical rabbis.

In the 1960s and '70s, scholars of classical Judaism took note of the number of traditions about angels in rabbinic texts, and they paid special attention to the theological implications of traditions about angels in rabbinic literature. However, lack of diachronically and synchronically precise studies elided tensions among various rabbinic corpora, which I hope to draw out over the course of three chapters on rabbinic texts. This book differs from previous surveys in that it tackles the biblical and rabbinic evidence in conversation with neglected sources, thus placing the "normative" sources and authorities in proper perspective. The emphasis on rabbinic religiosity in modernity has obscured the extent to which angels played an important role in the life of ancient Jews. By bringing other sources on angels into view, this book provides a very different description of Judaism than has been offered before, decentering the rabbis and showing their approach to the divine as one possibility among other equally Jewish options. I intentionally begin this book with ritual evidence from the sixth century CE, showing that angels feature prominently in Jewish ritual sources and not just in opposition to demons. After detailing the Babylonian and Palestinian ritual evidence, I turn back to the earliest rabbinic sources from the third century CE and then trace them diachronically forward. The rabbinic evidence may still occupy three chapters of this book, but in this arrangement, the rabbis are properly framed by other Jewish voices from ritual, liturgical, and mystical sources, who all had as much, if not more, to say about angels. This book shows the rabbis in conversation with ritual practitioners and synagogue leaders and argues that they accepted the influence of other Jews in shaping their own prayer and practices involving angels.

In recent decades, specialists in more neglected areas of Jewish studies such as magic, mysticism, and liturgy have demonstrated the contributions of their research to the reconstruction of late antique Jewish society. They have also noted the role that angels fill in these texts, but their findings remained limited to publications in their respective fields. Only scholars writing about Jews through a lens of

comparative religious studies have highlighted that the world of ancient Jews was filled with angels, but they do not elaborate on this assertion. The studies that have been devoted to angels on a corpus-by-corpus basis in recent decades, for example, in the Bible, in the literature of the Second Temple period, in rabbinic literature, and in patristic literature, now enable a more comprehensive study of angels in late antique Jewish sources.35 This book will show these different genres of material may be fruitfully engaged for the reconstruction of daily Jewish life and the role of the angels therein.

My approach to Jewish magic differs from others in that I treat incantation bowls and amulets as the ritual practice of a wide swath of the Jewish population rather than the domain of male specialists alone. In part, this is because I argue that the performative aspect of incantations was key to their efficacy. As I have contended elsewhere, incantations are best viewed as collaboration between practitioners and clients seeking to overcome a problem in the invisible realm. Incantation bowls or amulets are the artifacts of these relationships and these ritual performances. As such, they offer a window onto the diverse relationships that Jews had with entities in the invisible realm. I also treat Jewish magical objects as evidence of men's and women's concerns. Literacy in the ancient world may have been limited to a small segment of the population and slanted male, but a spectrum of literacy rather than a binary of literacy/illiteracy prevailed. Thinking about a spectrum of engagement with text provides a more accurate model of ancient people's engagement with reading and writing practices. Women's engagement with textual production should not be ruled out a priori; indeed, at least a few extant incantations proclaim a female identity and were written in the first-person feminine."

Although all the known synagogue poets were male, men and women were in attendance in the synagogue. Reading the liturgical and ritual-magical texts closely, one senses that synagogue poets and ritual practitioners interacted with women regularly. Overall, the topic of angels in late antique Judaism does allow access to more ordinary men's and women's concerns than other subjects might. Investigating Jewish attitudes to angels reveals Jewish men and women as dynamic participants in late antique trends, both in Palestine and Babylonia.

My decision to examine evidence from Jewish communities as far apart as Roman Palestine and Sasanian Iran is based on the fact that religious ideas and rituals were not limited by geographical boundaries in late antiquity. Like Paul's epistles, which offer evidence of widely scattered religious communities communicating with each other, Jewish sources also provide a window onto a time when religious ideas were shared over a vast geographical area, despite the boundaries of the Roman and Sasanian Empires. Most famously, rabbinic traditions traveled with learned disciples from Palestine to Babylonia and back again." Likewise, magical spells from Palestine influenced Babylonian incantation formulas and vice versa. Jewish Palestinian synagogal poetry was exceedingly popular in Babylonia despite Babylonian rabbinic disapproval of 141 While a few traditions in the Hekhalot literature point to a Babylonian context, its complex literary development suggests development "at different places and different times," potentially in Palestine and in Babylonia. Fully appreciating the complexity of Jewish sources on angels may require considering the possibility that ideas traveled from afar and were adapted by different sectors of society.

MEMORY AND IDENTITY IN THE SYRIAC CAVE OF TREASURES: REWRITING THE BIBLE IN SASANIAN IRAN
by Sergey Minov [Series: Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture, Brill, 9789004445505]

In **MEMORY AND IDENTITY IN THE SYRIAC CAVE OF TREASURES: REWRITING THE BIBLE IN SASANIAN IRAN**, Sergey Minov examines literary and socio-cultural aspects of the Syriac pseudepigraphic composition known as the *Cave of Treasures*, which offers a peculiar version of the Christian history of salvation. The book fills a lacuna in the history of Syriac Christian literary creativity by contextualising this unique work within the cultural and religious situation of Sasanian Mesopotamia towards the end of Late Antiquity. The author analyses the *Cave*'s content and message from the perspective of identity theory and memory studies, while discussing its author's emphatically polemical stand vis-à-vis Judaism, the ambivalent way in which he deals with Iranian culture, and the promotion in this work of a distinctively Syriac-oriented vision of the biblical past.

Chapter Outline

In seven chapters, I traverse conceptualizations of angels among ancient Jews and provide a revised portrait of late antique Judaism. Each chapter begins with an example of the genre of evidence under investigation and ends with a section describing the legacy of this material: how this ancient evidence impacted other sectors of Jewish society or Jewish practice more broadly. The first two chapters center on ritual-magical evidence from Babylonia and the Levant before turning to the earliest rabbinic evidence (third century CE). Because the Babylonian incantation texts are much longer than the Levantine amulets, they offer much more social information and, for this reason, they are discussed first (although they are arguably the latest ritual objects chronologically, dating from the sixth and seventh centuries CE). Even though this order does not follow a simple chronological progression through the sources, I have chosen this arrangement because the ritual-magical evidence is too often relegated to the periphery rather than treated as essential to the understanding of formative Judaism. Moreover, the vivid descriptions of religious experience in incantation bowls and amulets show what is at stake in rabbinic omission of angels in their foundational texts and what ideas the Babylonian rabbis were reacting to in later centuries. To be clear, I do not intend this arrangement to reflect an evolutionist outlook on the development of religion from magic to orthodoxy to mysticism. On the contrary, I hope this arrangement conveys how richly polyvocal and multicentered Jewish society was in late antiquity.

In chapter 1, "At Home with the Angels," I begin with the ritual-magical objects and texts that uncover an aspect of ancient life that is implicit but usually hidden from view in classical Jewish sources: one where relationships with beings in the invisible realm mattered within the framework of Jewish monotheism. Buried under the floors of homes in ancient Mesopotamia, simple ceramic bowls contained personalized incantations written in Aramaic and Hebrew. These incantation bowls reveal how Jewish men and women appealed to God, angels, biblical protagonists, rabbinic heroes, and others for aid. Incantation texts show the choices available to Jews and the many ways people could relate to angels in the invisible realm. The ritual evidence offers vivid testimony for how Jews imagined angels relating to them, healing their illnesses, restoring love in their marriages, increasing their business, or protecting their home from the harm of antagonists and demonic forces. I close this chapter with reflection on the

relationship of incantations and prayers, reading the formula that invokes the angels on all sides in many incantation bowls and much later in the Jewish liturgy as well.

In chapter 2, "Out and About with the Angels," I focus on Jewish texts from the Levant like amulets buried in ancient synagogues and the treatise Sefer haRazim ("Book of the Mysteries"). Necklace-amulets reveal how Jews visualized the angels among them in the Greco-Roman milieu of Palestine and how they participated in the religious-magical practices of the Late Antique Mediterranean world. Alongside these amulets, I also examine Sefer ha-Razim, a multilayered composition from Palestine, parts of which date to the same time period as the late antique amulets and rabbinic midrashim. The framework of Sefer ha-Razim describes how a learned ritual practitioner from Palestine understood the role of angels in relation to biblical traditions and God. Taken together, the ritual sources provide a fascinating window into Jewish beliefs in angels in the fourth and fifth centuries CE in Roman Palestine, and help place rabbinic, liturgical, and mystical texts in proper perspective. The evidence examined in this chapter contributes to my argument that relationships with the angels mattered to ancient Jews everywhere, not just to one diaspora community in Mesopotamia but to Jews in the ancient world more broadly. This chapter closes with a reflection on the relationship between angels in ritual-magic, Jewish attitudes toward gender, and the implications for ancient Jewish society.

In chapter 3, "No Angels," I delve into the earliest rabbinic material, fore-grounding the evidence in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and midrashei halakhah for Jewish engagement with angels as well as rabbinic ambivalence toward angels. This chapter focuses on how the rabbis of Roman Palestine downplayed interest in angels, even as their exegesis of Torah had to acknowledge (at times) that angels were integral to Israel's origin story. A few stray traditions betray that angels were integral to some sages' worldview, but, overall, angelic presence is repressed in earlier rabbinic sources. The earlier generations of Palestinian rabbis stand out for inveighing against angels and against Jewish preoccupation with angels. Recognizing this tendency reveals what the rabbis were worried about: loss of faith in a God committed to his people and still active on earth. Rabbinic attitudes to angels remained multifarious through the post-Talmudic midrashim, but they did perceptibly shift toward acceptance of engagement with angels over time. At the end of this survey of early rabbinic sources, I emphasize the relationship of ritual practices to rabbinic midrash, highlighting a possible origin for the invocation of angels on all sides in early rabbinic sources.

In chapters 4 and 5, I show how two competing frameworks were available to Jews in late antiquity, one associated with rabbinic settings and the other with worship settings: the former asserted that Jews should focus on relationship with God exclusively and imitation of God alone while the latter emphasized Jewish fellowship and imitation of the angels. In chapter 4, "In the Image of God, Not Angels," I trace the preoccupation with imitation of angels from the Second Temple period sources onward and the concomitant rabbinic reaction to it. One stream of the rabbinic movement distinguished itself by offering fellow Jews a way of relating to God that would arm them with confidence on the one hand and preclude other intermediaries, namely angels, on the other. Rabbinic disciples were encouraged to focus on God's love for them and the imitation of God alone. In effect, the rabbis who downplayed angels were drawing boundaries, distinguishing themselves from fellow Jews as well as other late antique religious communities. Ultimately, this rabbinic endeavor did not prove convincing to most Jews, who continued to seek fellowship with the angels, but it is worth examining to appreciate the

intellectual investment of the rabbis in conceptualizing their relationship with God and the invisible realm.

In chapter 5, "In the Image of the Angels," we will see how angels took center stage in ever more vivid terms in the communal institutions of worship in late antiquity. I focus on the space of the synagogue and the liturgical poetry of Yannai, who openly encouraged Jews to imitate the angels during their worship of God and to think of themselves in angelic terms. While conceptualizing angelic fellowship and imitation was common to Jews and Christians at this time, I show how Yannai gave a particularly Jewish lens to this imaginative framework. Yannai's work has the advantage of showing us how one individual Jew in late antique Palestine synthesized ideas about angels from the Bible, the popular imagination, rabbinic midrash, and even ritual practice. This liturgical evidence also opens a window into a time when Jewish men, women, priests, rabbis, and ritual practitioners mingled in the communal space of the synagogue, reciting God's praise in synchronicity with the angels.

In chapter 6, "Israel among the Angels," I examine the late Babylonian rabbinic perspective on the angels, showing how later rabbis came to embrace the angels in storytelling, prayer, and practice. Whereas earlier rabbis downplayed angels in foundational narratives, later rabbis inserted them into retellings of stories about their own legendary heroes. Where earlier sources criticized praying to Michael and Gabriel, later rabbinic sources taught Jews how to pray to their accompanying angels. Only later Babylonian rabbinic traditions are detailed enough to allow for a discussion of Jewish beliefs on the nature of good and evil angels, angelic freewill, and angelic emotions. By analyzing rabbinic traditions alongside ritual and liturgical evidence, we can see how the rabbis responded to Jewish attraction to angels. Seeing that the popularity of angels could not be overcome, the rabbis decided to harness it instead. This chapter closes with a rumination on the rabbis and their intermediaries of choice, angels among them.

Reciting prayer in the synagogue with the angels in mind sufficed for some Jews, but not for Jewish mystics, who took preoccupation with the angels to unprecedented levels. In chapter 7, "Jewish Mystics and the Angelic Realms," I investigate the earliest manifestation of Jewish mysticism found in the esoteric Hekhalot literature ("Books of Heavenly Palaces"). These texts illuminate the worldview of circles of Jewish mystics, who strove to pray in unceasing synchronicity with the angels, to achieve mastery of Torah through the angels, to imagine ascent to the heavens, and even to command the angels to do their bidding on earth. Some mystics positioned themselves as the ultimate heroes, angelic figures above both angels and other humans. Focusing on the earliest treatise, Hekhalot Rabbati, I examine its component texts, elucidating a variety of Jewish mystical views about angels, all revealing engagement with other segments of Jewish society, even as their radical stance clearly sets them apart. Though Hekhalot mysticism would give way to the mysticism of the Kabbalah, this "way not taken" in early medieval Jewish society demonstrates how some Jews took belief in angels to radical extremes and in the process, expanded the Jewish religious imagination.

In the Conclusion, "Angels in Judaism and the Religions of Late Antiquity," I summarize the results of my survey of ancient Jewish society. Acknowledging ancient views about angels may necessitate expanding our definition of Jewishness and Judaism as well as reevaluating the importance of relationship with others, invisible and visible, within the study of religion. I place my findings in the larger context of the religions of late antiquity, showing how developments in Jewish thought remain distinctive though in dialogue with conceptions of angels in other religious movements. Thereafter, I trace how

conceptualization of angels changed from antiquity through the medieval period to the present. In doing so, I account for the afterlife of angels in religious history, their popularity and eventual decline in significance among modern Jewish thinkers and Jews more broadly. This book establishes how writing angels into the history of Jewish religion offers both a more accurate view of the past and important insights into Jewish practice today. <>

CONTENTS

Excerpt: In the case of literate societies, it is the practice of history writing that constitutes one of the most powerful and sophisticated linguistic mnemotechnics in the service of cultural memory. Historical writing is here evoked not in the narrow sense of historiography as a specifically defined literary genre, but in the broad sense envisioned by the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga, who defines history as "the intellectual form in which a civilization renders account to itself of its past." The contribution of this type of intellectual creativity, which can express itself in a wide range of literary genres including but not limited to historiography, chronography, mythography, genealogy, biography, hagiography, and parabiblical writing, to the processes of developing and maintaining of collective identities, is attracting more and more attention among scholars of ancient Christianity.

My book contributes to this field of research by conceptualizing *Cave of Treasures* as an exercise in the construction of cultural memory. This methodological choice is justified by the fact that in his work, our Syriac Christian author deals with the foundational past of myth, in Assmann's sense of the word. Taking this into consideration, I intend to explore how *Cave of Treasures*'s author resorts to the textual strategy of Biblical rewriting and reshapes the master narrative of Christianity's foundational past, enshrined in the writings of the Old and New Testaments, in line with the perceptions and needs of his contemporary reality.

The central role played by historiographical literature and related strategies of appealing to the past in the development of collective identities among Syriac-speaking Christians of late antiquity and the Middle Ages has received increasing attention in the recent academic literature. In his discussion of the use of history by the famous seventh-century West Syrian theologian Jacob of Edessa, Jan van Ginkel singled out three main functions of historical writing in the context of Christian identity-building. First of all, the writing of history is meant to create a sense of continuity within a Christian community through forging a connection with the formative period of Church history, i.e. the days of Christ and his immediate disciples. In addition to this, the past was commonly evoked in order to affirm the antiquity of a group vis-à-vis its rivals, Christian and non-Christian alike, in accordance with the cultural conventions of the

ancient world, where the argument from antiquity, i.e. the belief that the most ancient traditions are the most authoritative, enjoyed great popularity. Finally, the third important aspect of historical writing in the service of collective identity finds its expression in the establishment of boundaries with other groups, whether within the fold of Christian coreligionists or outside of it. In the course of my investigation, I shall pay attention to each of these three aspects and to how they interplay with each other in the original narrative of the biblical past created by *Cave of Treasures*'s author.

In the search for an appropriate framework for discussing issues related to the development of a collective identity among the Christians of the Sasanian empire, including the author of *Cave of Treasures*' and his community, another important methodological point should be made. Throughout most of their history, Syriac-speaking Christians lived under the political domination of other ethnic or religious groups, regardless of how demographically significant they might have been in a given territory. This is true for both the late Roman empire and Sasanian Iran, as well as for various Islamic polities that came to rule over the Middle East in their stead. This situation of permanent political, religious, and often cultural subjugation inevitably exerted a profound impact on how Syriac Christians conceived of themselves and of their society in general. This impact can be assessed if we turn to the critical methods developed within the field of postcolonial studies, which enable us to recognize how cultural forms reflect the dynamics of power relationships between dominating and dominated groups in a given society. Engendered by the intellectual critique of imperialism in the aftermath of the anti-colonial struggles of the past century, the postcolonial turn in the humanities primarily focuses on the critique of hegemonic discourse. This critique operates by shedding light on "the power of hegemonic cultures to shape discourse while illuminating the increasingly autonomous self-representation of previously marginalized societies, ethnic groups and literatures."

Although the field of postcolonial studies developed from primarily focusing on the modern period, students of the ancient and medieval world are increasingly finding its insights useful for describing cultural dynamics in pre-modern societies. However, the spread of its methods in these academic circles shows an uneven pattern of distribution, so that when it comes to the world of late antiquity, the majority of the research is concentrated on the Roman empire, whereas the dynamics of imperial hegemony and its discontents within the Sasanian realm remain virtually unexplored. It could be particularly fruitful to examine the culture of Syriac Christians, a perennial subaltern group, from this theoretical angle. However, while postcolonial theory has already gained a certain currency among students of ancient and medieval Christendom, scholars of Syriac Christianity seem to be slow to recognize its explanatory potential.

I believe that turning to the instruments and insights of postcolonial studies may enrich our understanding of the processes of identity formation among Syriac Christians during late antiquity and later periods. In *Cave of Treasures*'s case, this approach seems to be particularly relevant for analyzing how its author makes use of Iranian themes and imagery. By evoking the postcolonial concept of cultural hybridity in connection with the representation of Iranian royal figures in *Cave of Treasures*, I hope to facilitate a new way of thinking about the culture of the Syriac-speaking Christians of the Sasanian empire.

The heart of this book, comprised by chapters 2 to 4, provides a close examination of the three most significant strategies of collective identification that *Cave of Treasures*'s author employs in his reworking of the biblical past. The first two are concerned with establishing difference, primarily conceived in

religious terms. One of them, analyzed in chapter 2, is directed against the Jewish "other" and manifests itself in a pronounced anti-Jewish stance that characterizes the work as a whole. The second strategy, discussed in chapter 3, is expressed in the author's close engagement with the Iranian "other," which is pursued on different levels, both as a polemic against Zoroastrianism and as a creative appropriation of ideas and images primarily related to the domain of Iranian kingship. The third major strategy of identification, analyzed in chapter 4, is internally oriented and involves argumentation based on ethnic reasoning, which our author used in order to promote a peculiar vision of Syrian uniqueness that elevates his community not only over the non-Christian "others," but also over the rest of the Christian world. In order to establish the extent of *Cave of Treasures*'s author's originality in his reliance on these strategies of identification, they are examined in the diachronic context of other writings produced by Christians during late antiquity.

My primary concern in focusing on these three aspects of collective identity in *Cave of Treasures* is to expose their role as main factors in its author's creation of an up-to-date version of Christian cultural memory that would meet the needs of his community. Each of these chapters ends with concluding observations in which its particular findings are put into the broader context of the cultural and socio-political dynamics of late antique Mesopotamia. By attempting to articulate the possible relationship between the cultural and the social in *Cave of Treasures*, I follow the lead of Alon Confino, who, in an insightful critique of memory studies, calls scholars to ground the notion of collective memory within a rigorous theoretical framework by using it "as an explanatory device that links representation and social experience."

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The mythological past was a hotly contested terrain in the clash of cultures that characterized the intellectual climate of Sasanian Mesopotamia in late antiquity. Narratives of origins served as the primary basis of self-legitimation for both the Jewish and Christian minorities in their confrontation with each other, as well as their engagement with the dominant Iranian culture. In the course of this book, *Cave of Treasures* has emerged as an original and imaginative contribution to the development of Christian cultural memory during late antiquity due to its author's deployment of the biblical past for the needs of communal identity building.

I have argued that *Cave of Treasures* was produced during the second half of the sixth century or the first decades of the seventh century by a West Syrian Christian author, perhaps of the Julianist persuasion, who was active in the part of Northern Mesopotamia that was controlled by the Sasanian empire. Attentiveness to the social and cultural context of late Sasanian Mesopotamia enables us to better appreciate the kind of cultural work that this composition performs.

At the center of this book is the combination of the three major strategies of identification, the use of which defines the unique character of this work as an indispensable witness to the process of collective identity formation among Syriac-speaking Christians in Sasanian Iran. As we have seen, *Cave of Treasures*'s author offers his community a discursive form of cultural difference based on a collective internal definition, which entails both the externally oriented strategy of categorizing others and the internally oriented strategy of self-identification. The former strategy results in our author's construction of two principal categories of otherness: one comprised of Jews, a competing minority, and

another of Persians, the politically dominant group. As for the latter strategy, it manifests itself in the rhetoric of "Syrianness."

As far as the strategies of identification involving *Cave of Treasures*'s author's paradigmatic "others," i.e. Jews and Persians, are concerned, we have seen that they primarily operate on the level of religious argumentation, i.e. they are aimed at the construction of otherness through the exclusion of those who are located outside the author's community of faith, understood here in the most general terms as the Christian religion. In both of these cases, *Cave of Treasures*'s author pursues the mutually related narrative policies of appropriation and subversion. In the case of the Jews, we see how he appropriates the canonical biblical narratives in order to create his own version of the foundational Christian past while simultaneously subverting it through careful ideological revision that includes anti-Jewish rhetoric, Christianization of the primeval history, and supersessionist theology. In the case of the Persians, he appropriates the symbols and images of Iranian kingship while confronting this social institution by dissociating it from Zoroastrianism and reimagining it within the Christian cultural framework.

We have seen that anti-Jewish polemic occupies an important place in *Cave of Treasures* as a whole. This evidence, as well as the author's explicit statement about the apologetic goal of his work, allows us to conceptualize *Cave of Treasures* as an exercise in apologetic historiography. By presenting Christianity as the original religion of the human race and rewriting biblical history along supersessionist lines, *Cave of Treasures*'s author participates in what Doron Mendels has described as the "long process of new hermeneutics," through which the Church "created a new collective memory out of the old Jewish heritage." *Cave of Treasures* thus emerges as an original contribution to the ongoing interpretation of communal tradition through which a Syriac Christian writer demonstrates his own community's continuity with the foundational past while excluding their Jewish rivals from it. In addition to this, by evoking the Christ-killing charge, our author sought to establish the ultimate boundary between Christianity and Judaism, making these two categories mutually exclusive. In light of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's observation on the role of difference in the construction of social identity that "difference is asserted against what is closest, which represents the greatest threat," there is good reason to suspect that the pervasiveness of anti-Jewish rhetoric in *Cave of Treasures* somehow reflects the real-life situation of intercommunal competition between the two closely related religious minorities of Sasanian Mesopotamia.

The battle for the past, which *Cave of Treasures*'s author waged on two fronts, against both Jews and Persians, aims at dispelling any uncertainty regarding his community's origins. This uncertainty may, perhaps, have some relation to the important rupture in the transmission of historical knowledge among the Aramaic population of the Near East. Prior to the dawning of the modern era, only faint echoes of the former glory and rich history of the Assyro-Babylonian empires and ancient Aramaean kingdoms had penetrated the historical consciousness of the Syriac-speaking Christians of the Middle East. Since they had no indigenous historiographical tradition to rely on, their knowledge about this aspect of the region's past was almost entirely derived from the Bible and, to a lesser degree, from Greco-Roman sources. This dependence on the Bible as the primary source of information on their own "national" past made Christians in late antique Mesopotamia particularly vulnerable in the context of rivalry for prestige with the Jews and thus required an original solution.

Cave of Treasures's author demonstrates a considerable degree of creativity in his apologetically driven rewriting of biblical history. Far from limiting himself to a passive retranslation of the canonical biblical

narratives, he exercises a remarkable degree of independence and resourcefulness in adapting them to fit his agenda. We have also observed his innovative approach regarding the inherited repertoire of anti-Jewish polemic. A comparable level of originality is evident in the way our author makes use of Iranian ideas and imagery, especially in his reinterpretation of the scriptural figures of Nimrod, Cyrus, and the Magi.

In the discussion of the representation of Persian religion and culture in *Cave of Treasures*, the insights of postcolonial studies, especially the notions of mimicry and hybridity, proved to be particularly useful. This approach to the study of cultural production in situations of competition and inequalities of power enables students of Syriac Christianity in Iran to be more attentive to how this subaltern group's self-representation was shaped by the hegemonic discourse of Sasanian imperial culture. The creative association of the biblical figures mentioned above (i.e. Nimrod, Cyrus, and the Magi) with the symbolic world of Iranian kingship undertaken by *Cave of Treasures*'s author reveals how the collective memory of a religious minority group could be turned into a space of negotiation with the dominant culture. Our analysis of the subaltern politics of memory and identity in *Cave of Treasures* thus throws additional light on the manifold nature of the "sociopolitical instrumentality of the past" in antiquity, to use the words of Bruce Lincoln.

Cave of Treasures's major contribution to the development of a new model of Syriac Christian collective memory manifests itself in the author's resort to an ethnic strategy of identification, integral elements of which are the work's ascription to Ephrem the Syrian, its evocation of the legendary Edessene king Abgar, and its advocacy of Syriac primacy. By attributing his text to Ephrem, who was revered by virtually every Syriac-speaking Christian in antiquity, *Cave of Treasures*'s author could claim this divinely inspired teacher's high spiritual authority on its behalf. Although he was not the first Syriac writer to resort to this pseudepigraphic strategy, *Cave of Treasures*'s author is innovative in that no one before him had used Ephrem's authority for a large-scale rewriting of biblical history. The most remarkable novelty in the author's advancement of an ethnic argument, however, is his original use of the notion of the primacy of the Syriac language. It should be stressed that this is the first known example of this idea being expressed by a Christian author writing in Syriac. What is perhaps even more significant is that he seems to be the first to resort to it for markedly apologetic purposes, using language as the most salient marker of collective identity.

Of course, as has been mentioned above, there are expressions of Syriac cultural pride or local patriotism that predate our composition, but none of them contains the element of confrontation with other non-Syriac Christian cultures. This aspect of *Cave of Treasures* makes it one of the earliest expressions of "ethnic argumentation" in Syriac; that is, "the concern to formulate ethnic identities strategically as the basis for an apologetic argument." Our author transcends the limits of the territorially based notion of "Syrianness" by ethnicizing it, as he chooses the Syriac language to serve as the primary marker of cultural difference and communal belonging. In using the Syriac language to inscribe its speakers into the two axial points of the history, i.e. the moments of the world's creation and its redemption at Jesus' crucifixion, *Cave of Treasures*'s author does not limit himself to celebrating the antiquity of his native tongue, but turns it into leverage to assert the superiority of his ethno-religious community of "Syrians" over other religious and ethnic groups such as Jews, but also over Greek- and Latin-speaking Christians.

As we have seen, for Christians living under Sasanian rule, the choice of language was not only a matter of cultural preference, since it could easily be reframed in terms of political loyalty. *Cave of Treasures* author's ethnicization of Syriac Christian identity can be regarded as a response to the challenges posed to his community by the particular socio-political situation. Thus, the creation of a new "Syriac" collective self-awareness, based not only on the religious principle, but also on the ethnic one, would provide the Christian community behind *Cave of Treasures* with a convenient way out of the disadvantageous and potentially dangerous situation of "divided loyalties" in which Syriac-speaking Christians of Sasanian Iran would often find themselves as a result of their adherence to the official religion of the Roman empire, the perpetual enemy of their Sasanian overlords. By assuming the ethnicized "Syriac" identity, which was not only distinctive from but also superior to that of the "Greeks" and "Romans," the Syriac-speaking Christians of Sasanian Mesopotamia could distance themselves from the world of Western Christendom and thus demonstrate their loyalty to their Persian sovereigns. The manifestation of a specifically Syriac identity in *Cave of Treasures* could thus be imagined as a wave interference effect that emerges in the liminal "third space" of postcolonial theory, the space of cultural negotiation and resistance in the situation of a minority group caught in the clash of the two competing imperial hegemonies, Roman and Sasanian.

It may not be by chance that this new model of collective identification based on ethnicity emerged among the West Syrian Christians and not among their East Syrian coreligionists. Geographically divided between the territories of the two rivaling empires, the West Syrians may have been feeling a more acute need for an ideology that would guarantee their unity. There was also an inner-Christian integrative potential in ethnicity as the basis of group identity. By employing the self-designation of "Syrians," evoking the authoritative figure of Ephrem, and stressing the superiority of the Syriac language, *Cave of Treasures*'s author offered a supra-confessional and trans-territorial vision of Syriac Christian identity that was able to bypass the deep denominational division of the Syriac-speaking world.

It is thus the dual ethno-religious character of Syriac Christian group identity promoted by *Cave of Treasures*'s author that represents the major innovation in the repertoire of identity formation among Syriac Christians of late antiquity. This interpretation of *Cave of Treasures* appears to be fully compatible with the general model of collective identity formation among West Syrians proposed by Bas ter Haar Romeny, who envisages it as a movement from a purely religious to an ethno-religious modus of identification. The Leiden group's model requires only one small adjustment, which is related to the question of when exactly the ethnicization of the West Syrian collective identity began. The results of my investigation suggest that its earliest manifestations are attested not in the aftermath of the Muslim conquest of the Near East, but somewhat earlier, already during the late sixth or early seventh century.

The prominence of ethnic self-identification in *Cave of Treasures* forces us to critically reassess the position on Syriac Christian identity in Sasanian Iran taken by Sebastian Brock, according to whom it was religion that comprised the primary and only basis of collective identification for the Christians of the Sasanian empire. *Cave of Treasures*'s case makes it apparent that for at least some Syriac-speaking Christians in Sasanian Iran, ethnicity was becoming an essential element in the construction of their self-representation. Nevertheless, I believe that the model Brock suggested could still be useful, if it is modified by limiting its applicability to the earlier, pre-sixth-century period of the Christian presence in Iran. As a matter of fact, there are reasons to assume that from the sixth century on, the ethnic factor had begun to take hold not only among the West Syrian Christians of the Sasanian empire, as

exemplified by *Cave of Treasures*, but also among their East Syrian coreligionists. It has recently been argued by Antonio Panaino that even within the mainstream East Syrian church of Sasanian Iran, there are indications of its gradual Iranization and transformation into a "national Church" of Persia. While Panaino's hypothesis certainly appears plausible to me, this aspect of the East Syrian identity formation is in need of further investigation.

The strategies of representing the biblical past in *Cave of Treasures* discussed in this book reveal the innovative character of this work as a vehicle of cultural memory and its significance as a site for the production of a Christian collective identity in the late antique Near East. By converting the canonical texts of the Old and New Testaments into a shared cultural knowledge through the two-sided process of appropriation and contestation, its author develops a unique version of the foundational past, specifically tailored to meet his community's needs.

Unfortunately, we do not know how *Cave of Treasures*'s author's vision of Syriac Christian collective memory was received by its intended audience. From the later history of the work's reception during the Islamic period, we can conclude that it was sufficiently appealing to cross the confessional borders, as it can be found being read and transmitted by both West and East Syrians. Some of its novel ideas gained considerable popularity. For example, the notion of Syriac as the primeval language would become a stock motif in the repertoire of Syriac pride for centuries to come. However, more systematic research remains to be carried out on *Cave of Treasures*'s impact on the medieval historiographical tradition among Syriac Christians, including works produced in Arabic.

As a concluding caveat on the role of cultural memory in the formation of Syriac Christian identity in late antique Mesopotamia, we ought to keep in mind that *Cave of Treasures* provides us with access to only one aspect of this process. This composition opens a window to the dynamics of an *internal* collective definition that took place within the Christian community behind it, while the necessary *external* counterpart of these dynamics, i.e. this social group's categorization by other groups, Christian and non-Christian alike, remains invisible. Regardless of whether or not these limitations imposed by the nature of our sources could be overcome, this avenue of research should receive its due attention in future research on the evolution of Syriac Christian identity. Such research would also have to account for how universalistic and integrative trends in the making of Christian cultural memory like the one manifested in *Cave of Treasures* interplayed with more particularistic and factional identity strategies; most importantly, those rooted in Christological controversies. This book should be regarded, then, as merely a first step towards producing a comprehensive history of Christian collective identity in the Sasanian empire, in which the particular perception of the past in *Cave of Treasures* would be placed within the wider context of the "shared symbolic universe" of Iranian society and its culture, constituted by "common practices and representations."   <>

LEO STRAUSS ON DEMOCRACY, TECHNOLOGY, AND LIBERAL EDUCATION by Timothy W. Burns [SUNY series in the Thought and Legacy of Leo Strauss, SUNY 9781438486130]

The first book-length study of Leo Strauss' understanding of the relation between modern democracy, technology, and liberal education.

Liberal democracy is today under unprecedented attack from both the left and the right. Offering a fresh and penetrating examination of how Leo Strauss understood the emergence of liberal democracy and what is necessary to sustain and elevate it, **LEO STRAUSS ON DEMOCRACY, TECHNOLOGY, AND LIBERAL EDUCATION** explores Strauss' view of the intimate (and troubling) relation between the philosophic promotion of liberal democracy and the turn to the modern scientific-technological project of the "conquest of nature." Timothy W. Burns explicates the political reasoning behind Strauss' recommendation of reminders of genuine political greatness *within* democracy over and against the failure of nihilistic youth to recognize it. Elucidating what Strauss envisaged by a liberally-educated subpolitical or cultural-level aristocracy—one that could elevate and sustain liberal democracy—and the roles that both philosophy and divine-law traditions should have in that education, Burns also lays out Strauss' frequent (though often tacit) engagement with the thought of Heidegger on these issues.

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Excerpt: Leo Strauss is famous for his recovery of classical political philosophy. This does not initially bespeak a friend of democracy. As he himself succinctly puts it, "To speak first of the classics' attitude toward democracy, the premises: 'the classics are good' and 'democracy is good' do not validate the conclusion 'hence the classics were good democrats.' It would be silly to deny that the classics rejected democracy as an inferior kind of regime. They were not blind to its advantages. . . . [But] the classics rejected democracy because they thought that the aim of human life, and hence of social life, is not freedom but virtue." There are to be sure, as he frequently noted, differences between classical democracy, which was, owing to economic scarcity, inevitably the rule of the poor and hence the uneducated, and modern democracy, which has far more abundance and which is structured toward greater abundance. Yet modern democracy, which Strauss considered the most decent of the available modern regimes, suffers from a new malady: it is "mass democracy," and as such stands in need of an education that "broadens and deepens" the soul—the very type of education that its dynamic economy of plenty threatens to destroy.

Strauss disagreed, moreover, with a number of his prominent contemporaries, some of them friends—Kruger, Löwith, Voegelin—on the secularization thesis, according to which modern democracy embodied the historically disclosed "truth" of Christianity, the secular manifestation of an advanced moral consciousness, first expressed within Christianity, of the equal dignity of each individual. He argued that modern democracy emerged, rather, through the modern philosophic-scientific project, and has therefore within it the very serious threat to humanity that is posed by technology. In fact, he goes on to argue, after the passage I have quoted, that "the difference between the classics and us with regard to democracy consists exclusively in a different estimate of the virtues of technology." The classics foresaw that "the emancipation of technology, of the arts, from moral and political control . . . would

lead to disaster or to the dehumanization of man." It is this concern that predominates in Strauss's analysis of modern democracy.

Modern Political Thought as Technological Thought

Yet students of Strauss may well be surprised by his claim that the fundamental difference between the ancients and the moderns on democracy rests on the difference in their respective assessments of technology. Given Strauss's attention to political philosophy, one may even be (fairly) inclined to consider that statement (or even to dismiss it) as an exaggeration. In fact, however, Strauss not only made similar and corroborative statements throughout his work—from his earliest to his latest—but understood technological thinking to be at the very core of modern political philosophy: in its stand toward nature as something to be "conquered" by the increase of human "power," and its shift in human attention away from the political-moral question of the right end or ends of human life to the means to any desired end; in its enlisting of modern science and its attention to efficient causality in the project of conquering nature, including human nature; in its consequent and important obfuscation of the radical difference between the theoretical and practical/political/moral life; and in its promulgation of democratic and liberal political teachings.

That Strauss understood modern science as technological science is clear. In the Hobbes chapter of his first book, Spinoza's Critique of Religion, he identifies the spirit of modern "physics" with "technology": the very title of the book's first subsection is "The Spirit of Physics (Technology) and Religion." And, as this section of the work makes clear, he identifies technology with the goal of the conquest of nature. It is a distinctively modern goal, not found in the classics. (Since recent scholarship has presented the recovery of Lucretian Epicurianism as playing a decisive role in the birth of modernity,' it is worth noting that, as Strauss later made clear, he included Lucretius among the classics and hence as quite distinct from the modern, technological thinkers: "For Lucretius, happiness can be achieved only through contentment with the satisfaction of the natural pleasures, no rushing out, no conquest of nature, glory, domination, power; or even charitable technology—technology inspired by the desire to improve the human lot. There is a very radical difference.")

That Strauss saw the moderns' disposition toward technology as decisive for at least one modern political regime is also clear. Readers of Strauss are bound to be familiar with his statements concerning technology's effect on the prospects, not indeed of democracy, but of modern tyranny. In his "Restatement on Xenophon's Hiero," for example, he states:

> Present-day tyranny, in contradistinction to classical tyranny, is based on the unlimited progress in the "conquest of nature" which is made possible by modern science, as well as on the popularization or diffusion of philosophic or scientific knowledge. Both possibilities—the possibility of a science that issues in the conquest of nature and the possibility of the popularization of philosophy or science—were known to the classics. (Compare Xenophon, Memorabilia 1.1.15 with Empedocles, fr. 111; Plato, Theaetetus 180c7—d5.) But the classics rejected them as "unnatural," i.e., as destructive of humanity.

Seven years later, in Natural Right and History, one finds the same focus, in the difference between the ancients and the moderns, on technology's effect on the prospects of universal tyranny:

> The world state presupposes such a development of technology as Aristotle could never have dreamed of. That technological development, in its turn, required that science be regarded as

essentially in the service of the "conquest of nature" and that technology be emancipated from any moral and political supervision. Aristotle did not conceive of a world state because he was absolutely certain that science is essentially theoretical and that the liberation of technology from moral and political control would lead to disastrous consequences: the fusion of science and the arts together with the unlimited or uncontrolled progress of technology has made universal and perpetual tyranny a serious possibility!

Both statements speak to the dark prospect of universal and perpetual tyranny, made possible by technology—a prospect that is, to say the least, as real as ever. What is less often observed are both Strauss's highlighting, in these statements, of the ancients' awareness of the possibility of technology, and their rejection of it on the ground that the use and dissemination of "essentially theoretical" science would be destructive of humanity. And the fundament, according to Strauss, of the ancients' humane stand against both technological science and its dissemination ("enlightenment") is the certainty that "science is essentially theoretical," and hence the gulf between the theoretical life and the life of praxis.

But this gulf obtains, necessarily, in considerations of the desirability of modern democracy no less than of modern tyranny. That this is so—and that the "destruction of humanity" is a term that encompasses not only our physical destruction—is perhaps no more clearly stated than in the original Walgreen lectures that became Thoughts on Machiavelli.' Here Strauss again makes explicit that a different disposition toward technology is the decisive difference between the ancients and us on the choice for or against democracy. He presents it as emerging from an "estrangement" or alienation from the fundamental "human situation" of "acting man," that is, of attempted discernment of our end or ends in the world of human action. And he distinguishes his attention to this estranging shift from the alternative tendency to attribute the rise of modernity to a newfound and better understanding of justice. In its stead, he proposes a different assessment of, or disposition toward, technology:

> The shift from the perspective of the founder to the intellectual situation of the founder, i.e. the shift from the direct apprehension of the end to the reflection on the efficient cause implies an estrangement from the primary issue, and therewith an estrangement from the human situation, from the situation of acting man. This estrangement is connected with the assumption that chance can be conquered and therefore that the founder of society has not merely to accept the materials of his art, just like the smith and the carpenter, but that his material is almost infinitely malleable. . . . We cannot leave it then at applauding Machiavelli as a fore-runner of modern democracy, but most consider the reason why the tradition which Machiavelli attacked was not democratic. Plato and Aristotle did not lack social justice or a sense .of it. They knew as well as we can know them the true principles of justice, the beautiful principles of justice. They saw therefore, as well as we do, that a society ruled by a privileged group is of questionable justice, since social superiority and natural superiority do not necessarily coincide. But it is not hard to see that only men who are truly educated, who are experienced in things noble and beautiful, ought to rule, that average men cannot fulfill this condition, if they are not well-bred from the moment they are born, that such good breeding requires leisure on the part of both the parents and the children, that such leisure requires a reasonable degree of wealth, and that having or lacking wealth is not necessarily proportionate to deserts. The classics accepted this element of arbitrariness, and therefore of injustice, because there was only one alternative to the social scheme they espoused, that alternative being perpetual revolution, which means perpetual chaos. They did not consider another alternative, namely, that all members of society should receive the same good breeding. They did not consider this alternative because they took for

granted an economy of scarcity. Not a different understanding of justice, but a different notion of whether an economy of scarcity could or should be replaced by an economy of plenty, separated modern man from the classical thinkers. The problem of scarcity or plenty is however connected with the problem of [whether] the mechanical and other arts should be emancipated from moral and political control, and whether or not theoretical science should lend its supports to the increase of productivity. But increase of productivity means necessarily also increase of destructivity. What separates modern man from the classics is not a different notion of justice, but a different attitude toward technology. We are no longer so certain as we were a short while ago that we have made a decisive progress beyond the classics by taking here a different stand, or that we have chosen wisely.

What here comes again into clear relief is Strauss's understanding of technology as entailing the introduction of theoretical science, and its attention to efficient causation, into the arts. The radical disjunct between theoretical and practical life—which, as we will see, is finally denied by Martin Heidegger—is a crucial part of Strauss's understanding of technology and hence of the difference between the ancients and the moderns, including their different assessments of democracy.

As Strauss next makes clear in the same talk, he did not consider the move to technology to have been necessary or impelled by a correction of an alleged weakness in philosophic thinking begun by the ancients that found its fuller elaboration or fate in the moderns: "But can we speak here of a choice? Must we not speak rather of a fateful dispensation?" (The implicit confrontation with Heidegger, who viewed technological thinking as the mysterious or fateful dispensation of Being in the West, continues here.) Strauss first, to. be sure, makes the case that there was indeed a weakness to classical political philosophy that moved Machiavelli to correct the ancients by introducing an embrace of technology, or conquest of nature:

> As I see it, there was only one fundamental difficulty in the political philosophy which Machiavelli attacked. The classics were what is now called conservative, which means fearful of change, distrustful of change. But they knew that one cannot oppose social change without also opposing what is now called technological change as well. Therefore, they did not favor the encouraging of invention, except half-ironically in tyranny. Still, they were forced to make one crucial exception: they had to admit the necessity of encouraging technological invention as regards the art of war. They bowed to the inescapable requirements of defense. By accepting this principle, they might seem to be driven eventually to the acceptance of the hydrogen bomb. This is the only difficulty which could be thought to be an entering wedge for the modern criticism of classical political philosophy, and therefore indirectly also for Machiavelli's criticism. This difficulty might be thought to imply the admission of the primacy of foreign policy.

But as he goes on to argue, it was the strictly speaking unnecessary, unfated enlistment of theoretical science in the artful conquest of nature that was decisive:

> It seems to me, however, that the real difficulty arises, not from the admission of the necessity of military invention, but from the use of science for this purpose. Therefore the fundamental issue concerns the character and the function of science. If we were to consider this fundamental issue, I believe we would realize that the classical position is not only thoroughly consistent, but as irrefutable as it has always been.

As this statement suggests, Strauss—again, contra Heidegger—understands technology not as originating with Plato but with Machiavelli; he sees it as born not of a "fateful disposition" of Da-Sein in the West but (as he goes on to argue) of anti-theological ire;" as something to be distinguished sharply from the techne of the smith or carpenter and his tools (to which Heidegger frequently appeals early in Being and Time to elucidate heedful being together with the "world," or our association in and with the surrounding world); as "an estrangement from the situation of acting man," and as consisting not of thinking essentially directed to a "standing reserve of energy," as does Heidegger, but most essentially as the deployment of theoretical science in the conquest of nature.

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Technology and Democracy

If the classics foresaw that "the emancipation of technology, of the arts, from moral and political control . . . would lead to disaster or to the dehumanization of man," and if it is this concern that predominates in Strauss's analysis of modern democracy, how, specifically, according to Strauss did the modern, essentially technological thought of modernity come to be democratic?

Strauss's account of how it did so begins to become clear in a sketch of the evolution of modern liberal democracy, in its resemblance to and its difference from the classical mixed regime, that Strauss draws in "Liberal Education and Responsibility." The sketch begins as follows:

> The modern doctrine starts from the natural equality of all men, and it leads therefore to the assertion that sovereignty belongs to the people; yet it understands that sovereignty in such a way as to guarantee the natural rights of each; it achieves this result by distinguishing between the sovereign and the government and by demanding that the fundamental governmental powers be separated from one another. The spring of this regime was held to be the desire of each to improve his material conditions. Accordingly the commercial and industrial elite, rather than the landed gentry, predominated.

The fully developed doctrine required that one man have one vote, that the voting be secret, and that the right to vote be not abridged on account of poverty, religion, or race.

Few would find fault with this brief description of the modern doctrine of (liberal or constitutional) democracy. But even as Strauss found "unhesitating loyalty to a decent constitution and even to the cause of constitutionalism," as he says later in the same essay, to be a requirement of political "wisdom," he found liberal democracy to be highly problematic. As he continues:

> Governmental actions, on the other hand, are to be open to public inspection to the highest degree possible, for government is only the representative of the people and responsible to the people. The responsibility of the people, of the electors, does not permit of legal definition and is therefore the most obvious crux of modern republicanism.

Especially in light of the fact that he begins the same essay by explaining that "responsibility" is the contemporary (and degraded) substitute for "virtue," the "crux" to which he refers here initially comes to sight as the problem of the maintenance, in modern liberal regimes, of public-spiritedness or sense of duty in the people, who exercise sovereignty in liberal democracy—under the dominant activities of its new "commercial and industrial elite." But Strauss does not simply or for long identify the maintenance

of public spiritedness among the people as the crux of the problem. Rather, he initially presents that as the crux of the problem as it was perceived at a certain period (the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century) by friends of the modern democracy that had come into being. The deeper (and earlier) problem, as he subsequently suggests, is tied up with the original, anti-biblical intention of the founders of the modern technological-scientific enterprise and its goal of "enlightenment" of the people. Owing to developments within the "stupendous enterprise" of modern philosophy-science, which, Strauss will argue, was from the start behind modern democratization, a "race" to "enlighten" the people before it came into its sovereignty replaced what had appeared, subsequently, to some to be the problem of educating the people in public-spirited virtue. The late, open admission of modern science that it is (and ever was) incapable of providing any moral guidance to anyone, but (however increasingly efficient and specialized) is in fact "value-free," has finally had the result that what most characterizes our present situation is "hardly more than the interplay of mass taste with high grade but strictly speaking unprincipled efficiency." Technology, in its anti-theological end, causes democracy to emerge out of modern philosophy, and has resulted in the highly problematic, deeply degraded contemporary situation in which we find ourselves.

We have alluded to Strauss's implicit disagreement with Heidegger on the source of technology and the best disposition towards it. The more we examine Strauss's presentation of liberal democracy and technology, the more Strauss's debt to Heidegger and break with Heidegger will come into focus. We note for now that, in a talk titled "Existentialism," Strauss indicates that his concern about the degradation of humanity posed by technology is one that he had in common with Heidegger. And in a letter to Heidegger student Hans-Georg Gadamer, Strauss goes so far as to express his agreement with Heidegger's characterization of our present situation as that of "the world night":

> It is strange that there should be a difference between us where you take a stand against Heidegger and I stand for him. I shall state this difference in a way which probably does not do full justice to you. I believe that you will have to admit that there is a fundamental difference between your post-historicist hermeneutics and pre-historicist (traditional) hermeneutics; it suffices to refer to your teaching regarding the work of art and language which at least as you present it is not in any way a traditional teaching; this being so, it is necessary to reflect on the situation which demands the new hermeneutics, i.e. on our situation; this reflection will necessarily bring to light a radical crisis, an unprecedented crisis and this is what Heidegger means by the approach of the world night. Or do you deny the necessity and the possibility of such a reflection?

That Strauss's work is everywhere a "stand toward" Heidegger, and therefore deeply informed by the work of Heidegger, is clear from the introductory remark that he makes prior to one of his rare published confrontations with that work (and even a possible invitation to dialogue with it): "As far as I can see," says Strauss, "[Heidegger] is of the opinion that none of his critics and none of his followers has understood him adequately. I believe that he is right, for is the same not also true, more or less, of all outstanding thinkers? This does not dispense us, however, from taking a stand toward him, for we do this at any rate implicitly; in doing it explicitly, we run no greater risk than exposing ourselves to ridicule and perhaps receiving some needed instruction."

But unlike Heidegger, who likewise identifies the problem of technology and utilitarian thinking as a great threat to humanity, Strauss does not call for a "new thinking," characterized above all by an authentic and resolute, angst-induced attunement to one's true, "thrown" situation as disclosed in full

awareness of death, to replace or directionally supplement the technological thinking that, Heidegger alleges, became more dominant in modern philosophy but has its roots in Plato's alleged failure to grasp the "ontological difference" and the need, in the light of it, to become attuned to an angst that makes possible an authentic life of being-toward-death. Strauss instead finds Plato and the other ancient political philosophers unflinchingly aware of their mortality and the passing away of all human things and of its significance, and for that very reason as drawing a sharp distinction between philosophy and political-moral thinking, with religion and ancestral tradition having an important and admirable role in the latter and serving as both a bulwark for human excellence and a crucial interlocutor with philosophy. And unlike the nihilists, both of Germany in the 1930s and of today, whose repulsion at what they saw as the immoral and amoral character of modern society led them to will the destruction of liberal democracy, he saw political-moral thinking and action, and even greatness, as manifestly still possible in modern democratic regimes—with the example of Winston Churchill being most important. The modest political recommendation that Strauss offers for our time, a time dominated by the technology of modern science, is faithful adherence to a liberal democratic constitutionalism whose tone and direction may be provided by a subpolitical "aristocracy within democracy," one whose thinking is informed by both serious religious education in one's ancestral traditions and study of the Great Books.

The four writings in which Strauss most directly addressed these matters are "What Is Liberal Education?," "German Nihilism," "Liberal Education and Responsibility," and "The Liberalism of Classical Political Philosophy." Looking first at the two works on liberal education and then at "German Nihilism" will enable us to understand the meaning of an "aristocracy within democracy" that Strass intended as the best means to sustaining and improving the regime of which he considered himself not a flatterer but a friend and ally, and the recovery of the non-historicist political reasoning that would make this possible. Having examined these works, we will turn to the fourth, Strauss's extended review of Eric Havelock's The Liberal Temper in Greek Politics. Havelock attempted in his work to find in the classics—in Plato's work and in the pre-Socratics—a buried ground for contemporary liberalism and technology, over and against the "moral absolutism," begun by Plato, that he saw as a threat to these. By examining the classical works on which Havelock's study relies, Strauss brings to light the reason for the ancients' stand against the autonomy of technology, for their support for healthy ancestral traditions, and for the art of writing that was required by their insight into the true character of moral-political life, in its opposition to the philosophic life. In the course of doing so, he extends his critique of Heidegger and his project, which he had begun in its explicit form in Natural Right and History, even as he indicates some limited agreement with him on the matter of "rootedness."

Before approaching these writings, I offer the following caveat. Among the thinkers whose words Strauss examines in these essays is John Stuart Mill, who likewise devoted attention to the problem of education within modern democracy, and who likewise suggested the reading of the classics as part of liberal education. Mill did so in part because the works of the classics, unlike most works written in modern democracy, were, in his words, "not written in haste," but rather with each word carefully chosen. The seventeen-page essay of Strauss in which this quotation from Mill is given was written in response to a request for an elaboration on two sentences from "What Is Liberal Education?" It thus permits us to see, among other things, how weighted is Strauss's own writing, and so to see the careful reading that is needed to understand such careful writing. While what follows can claim to be no more than a preliminary study of these four works, I invite readers—friends and foes alike of Strauss—to join me in this preliminary effort with this need in mind. <>

THE "GOD OF ISRAEL" IN HISTORY AND TRADITION by Michael J. Stahl [Series: Vetus Testamentum, Supplements, Brill, 9789004447714]

Author:

In **THE "GOD OF ISRAEL" IN HISTORY AND TRADITION**, Michael Stahl provides a foundational study of the formulaic title "god of Israel" ('elohe yisra'el) in the Hebrew Bible. Employing critical theory on social power and identity, and through close literary and historical analysis, Dr. Stahl shows how the epithet "god of Israel" evolved to serve different social and political agendas throughout the course of ancient Israel and Judah's histories. Reaching beyond the field of Biblical Studies, Dr. Stahl's treatment of the historical and ideological significances of the title "god of Israel" in the Hebrew Bible offers a fruitful case study into the larger issue of the ways in which religion may shape—and be shaped by—social and political structures.

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The cosmic, monotheistic God of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam has a history, one which reaches back to a particular ancient people—Israel. Although destroyed almost three millennia ago, Israel's name and the worship of its god continue to shape religious identity among, and interreligious dialogue between, contemporary Jewish, Christian, and Muslim communities. Yet, how did Israel's god first come to be worshiped beyond the people of Israel?

As known from historical sources, Israel was a relatively small kingdom in the southern Levant during the early first millennium, when it coexisted alongside the even smaller, independent kingdom of Judah to its immediate south.[1] Nevertheless, while Israel and Judah were two separate polities historically, the Judahite scribes who produced the Hebrew Bible ultimately claimed much of Israel's cultural and religious heritage—including the worship of deity under Israel's name—as their own.[2] As a subset of the larger historical problem of Judah's cross-cultural appropriation of Israel's identity, this study directly raises the specific religious-historical problem of Judah's worship of deity under Israel's name by critically examining the formulaic title "god of Israel" (אלהי ישראל) as it appears in the Hebrew Bible, setting it in the larger context of Israel and Judah's social and political histories down into the Persian and early Hellenistic periods. Nearly 200 times, Judahite biblical writing defines divinity by the epithet "god of Israel," even as the title's very formulation explicitly links deity and people using a named identity that,

from a historical perspective, was originally socially and politically distinct from Judah, namely Israel. In light of the epithet's ubiquitous yet anomalous presence in Judah's Bible, the title "god of Israel" thus warrants sustained critical attention, a desideratum in current scholarship.

In using the title "god of Israel" for the patron deity of Judah's most central political and religious institutions—the palace and temple at Jerusalem—the Hebrew Bible's Judahite authors engaged in an act of religious appropriation that asserts, at least in ideal terms, a fundamental social-political and religious unity between Israel and Judah. This ideological claim essentially represents the perspective and political interests of the Hebrew Bible's primary authors and editors, whose interests lay with Judah, not Israel. The pervasiveness of this biblical claim notwithstanding, Israel and Judah historically were two separate kingdoms/peoples, and the nature of the "relationship between these two kingdoms, along with their individual histories, must be considered matters for investigation." While Israel and Judah's populations undoubtedly shared much in terms of language and local culture—including the worship of the deity yhwh and other deities—Israel and Judah display important differences in terms of their large-scale social, economic, and political structures. At a basic level, Israel's political culture, even in the time of kings, appears to have been more decentralized than Judah's. Such differences in social structure and political economy underscore Israel and Judah's separateness and necessarily impact any reconstruction of their political-religious landscapes. In this broader context, the religious-historical problem of Judahite use of the title "god of Israel" looms large, even as it has largely escaped critical scholarly scrutiny.

Judah's claim on the title "god of Israel" in the Hebrew Bible has had a lasting impact on scholarly reconstructions of Israel and Judah's political and religious histories, including some of the basic categories that modern scholars use to classify their work in broad terms. For instance, the scholarly study of "Israelite religion" in fact often deals with matters of Judahite religious history and practice. With respect to the title "god of Israel" itself, scholars regularly employ the appellation "god of Israel" as a kind of transhistorical or universalizing identity to refer to the god of the Hebrew Bible, ancient Israel and Judah, and/or early Judaism. At times, scholars use the designation "god of Israel" when examining particular biblical texts, even when those texts do not actually use the epithet "god of Israel" to define the deity. Through such shorthand practices, modern scholarship reproduces the Hebrew Bible's ideological claim of one God, one people, thereby marginalizing the larger historical problem of when and how Judah—and later Judaism—came to see its own religious identity in terms of the worship of the "god of Israel." Moreover, when scholars reflexively use the appellation "god of Israel" as an almost automatic identity for the Hebrew Bible's deity, the historical significance of the epithet often remains untethered to ancient Israel's distinct social-political reality, particularly its robust political tradition of collective governance. At the same time, Judahite appropriation of the title "god of Israel" entails a shift in the social and religious politics of this divine identity on account of Judah's distinctive political history and religious culture, centralized around David's royal house and the temple at Jerusalem. In short, the title "god of Israel" in its ancient expressions embeds particular political, social, and religious meaning linked to the author's historical and social location. Unlike divine epithets that identify divinity by sacred locations, cities, or divine capacities, the epithet "god of Israel" brands the deity in relation to "Israel" as a social-political and/or literary-ideological community, without reference to a single fixed center. While a named deity, such as El, Asherah, yhwh or Baal, could be worshiped by more than one people, the title "god of Israel" is particularizing, characterizing the (unnamed) deity in terms of a specific community. For this reason, the title "god of Israel" carries social and political

significances, and its use by different communities across time and space demands the investigation of its social and religious politics at every turn.

Finally, the recognition that the title "god of Israel" refers back to the deity of a social-political community originally distinct from Judah brings to the fore the historical problem of Judah's appropriation of the worship of divinity under Israel's name as reflected in biblical writing. Scholarly reproduction of the Hebrew Bible's claim that the title "god of Israel" belongs to Judah has masked the need to analyze biblical usage of the title "god of Israel" and its relationship to Israelite and Judahite religious history. This observation may partially explain why, apart from one contribution in the early 1900s, there have been no systematic scholarly studies on the textual locations and literary usages of the epithet "god of Israel" in the biblical materials, nor any analyses of this important title's historical development and its evolving social, political, and religious significances. This study seeks to redress these scholarly desiderata by analyzing the Hebrew Bible's use of the title "god of Israel" and providing a critical history of its social and religious politics, both for Israel and Judah. ***

The Scope of This Study

Critical consideration of the title "god of Israel" in the Hebrew Bible raises important historical questions in the study of ancient Israelite and Judahite religion. What were the social and religious politics of the title "god of Israel" in ancient Israel? When did yhwh come to be known by the specific title "god of Israel"—and under what political circumstances? When and how did the epithet enter into Judah's internal political-religious discourse? In what ways did the title contribute to the religious construction of "Israelite" identity in postexilic Yehud?

This study addresses these and other important questions in five chapters. Together, these five chapters trace the Hebrew Bible's usage of the title "god of Israel" and the history of its politics in roughly chronological sequence, from the title's use in ancient Israel proper, to its appropriation in the kingdom of Judah, to its transformation as Judaism began to emerge in the course of the Persian and early Hellenistic periods. Because of the complexity and unevenness of the biblical evidence, the present study's historical reconstruction of the epithet "god of Israel" in Israel, Judah, and postexilic Yehud consists only of momentary glimpses into a long and complicated historical process, most of which can no longer be reconstructed with precision. If the history of the title "god of Israel" were a puzzle, the majority of the pieces have been lost, probably never to be recovered. For this reason, the present study cannot be considered definitive, the last word on the matter, even as it aims for rigor and comprehensiveness. Undoubtedly, other scholars will wish to rearrange some of the puzzle pieces, or clusters of puzzle pieces, into different arrangements, providing somewhat different images. Be this as it may, the foundational aims of this study remain unaltered, namely to explicitly raise the religious-historical problem of when and how the title "god of Israel" entered into Judah's internal political and religious discourse, to collect all the relevant data on the epithet "god of Israel," and to ask fresh historical questions of the data in the light of current issues in biblical studies and the history of ancient Israelite—and Judahite—religion.

Chapter 2 begins the study's historical investigation into the title "god of Israel." On the basis of Genesis 33:20 and other pertinent biblical texts, this chapter argues that the epithet "god of Israel" first belonged to the old Levantine god El in connection with the ancient cult center of Shechem in the Israelite central hill country, and that Shechemite El's cultic role as the "god of Israel" was traditionally embedded within

ancient Israel's decentralized political economy. The god yhwh, in turn, may only have come to be identified as the "god of Israel" in the service of a royal centralizing program during the ninth and eighth centuries. Specifically, I argue that the application of the title "god of Israel" to yhwh first blossomed in the ninth century, as Israel's Omride kings sought to consolidate their power at the new royal capital of Samaria and expand Israel's political control north of the Jezreel Valley and east of the Jordan River. In making this argument, I propose that Judges 5:2–11* + 12–23* reflects this important moment in Israel's political and religious history, and I situate the composition of this important biblical text in the broader historical context of the ninth century. As evidenced by the archaeological and epigraphic records, particularly the Mesha Stele and Tel Dan Inscription, the ninth century was a watershed in the political and religious history of the southern Levant. A number of new minor kingdoms, backed by royal ideologies interlocking god, king, and people, come into view for the first time, if only dimly. For Israel, with its traditionally decentralized political culture, the centralizing institution of kingship likewise emerges as a defining force in a new way during this period. I contend in Chapter 2 that the Song of Deborah was composed in the service of kingship as part of this ninth-century shift in Israel's political economy. Among other strategies for consolidating political power, the Omrides sought to disembed ("differentiate") the title "god of Israel" from Israel's collective cultic and political life and place it in the service of royal politics. If this reconstruction is correct, then the Omrides' political program in the ninth century offers one crucial context for the gradual equation of the gods yhwh and El in ancient Israel, connected in part to the epithet "god of Israel."

Chapter 3 then turns to the question of when and how the title "god of Israel" may have entered into Judah's own political and religious discourse. Among other biblical materials that may reflect this transition, Chapter 3 especially explores three groups of biblical texts from the books of Kings that use the designation "god of Israel" in politically significant ways: Solomon's dedication of the Jerusalem temple in 1 Kgs 8:14–21*, various royal evaluations that use the title "god of Israel," and the prophetess Huldah's two oracles to Josiah in 2 Kgs 22:15–20*. Based on the biblical evidence, it does not appear that the appellation "god of Israel" was a significant feature of Judah's political-religious landscape in the period of the two kingdoms—let alone in the time of a supposed "United Monarchy" under kings David and Solomon in the tenth century. Instead, the title "god of Israel" evidently first appeared in Judahite religious discourse in the seventh century, in connection with the (re)assertion of the political claim that Judah's kings once ruled Israel. The introduction of the appellation "god of Israel" into Judah's politics therefore appears to have occurred as part of a larger set of processes designed to further appropriate and transform Israel's identity in support of Judahite royal ideology following the kingdom of Israel's collapse in 722/720. As a rule, then, Judahite use of the title "god of Israel" begins no earlier than the late eighth century.

Furthermore, I argue that the programmatic identification of the Jerusalem temple as the site of yhwh's "name" in his identity as the "god of Israel" in 1 Kings 8:14–21* may reflect a novel palace perspective on the Jerusalem temple and its ideological significance that served certain royal political interests in the late monarchic period. As mentioned above, the title "god of Israel" does not appear in connection with the Jerusalem temple in early Isaiah materials, Jerusalemite royal psalms, the old building blocks of the David story, or early (albeit post-monarchic) Priestly materials in the Pentateuch. Rather, "yhwh of hosts" (יהוה צבאות) appears to have been the god of the Jerusalem temple and David's royal house during the period of the late Judahite monarchy. Moreover, the identity "yhwh of hosts" seems to have carried with it a highly distinctive political theology, one not clearly articulated in 1 Kgs 8:14–21*. The

identification of the title "god of Israel" with the god of the Jerusalem temple in 1 Kgs 8:14–21*, without reference to "yhwh of hosts," therefore looks to be a novel claim, at least in the way it is asserted programmatically, and it is not at all clear that the Jerusalem temple's priestly establishment during the late monarchic period promoted this identification. In its wholly positive portrayal of Solomon and unqualified celebration of David's royal house and the Jerusalem temple as ostensibly living realities, 1 Kgs 8:14–21* deliberately identifies the Jerusalem temple as the location of yhwh's "name" as the "god of Israel," without any sense that the text forms part of a larger narrative meant to explain Judah's loss of monarchy and the temple. As a potentially late monarchic composition, I argue that 1 Kgs 8:14–21* rhetorically reaches back to the time of King Solomon, the legendary ancestor of Judah's kings, to assert a new political and religious reality, one in which yhwh as the "god of Israel" dwells in Jerusalem alongside David's royal house. In attaching the epithet "god of Israel" to the origins of Judah's central political-religious institutions—even as the first Jerusalem temple's cult historically does not appear to have venerated yhwh using the title "god of Israel"—1 Kgs 8:14–21* potentially functions as Judahite royal propaganda, appealing to older Israelite religious tradition to assert the Davidic monarchy's claim to Israel's name. If this reconstruction is correct, the use of the title "god of Israel" in 1 Kgs 8:14–21* can perhaps be seen as one ideological strategy to consolidate royal control over disparate populations in Jerusalem, some of whose social backgrounds and political interests likely lay with the former kingdom of Israel. In this way, the text's association of the title "god of Israel" with Solomon and the Jerusalem temple may have offered one religious-ideological means for Judah's kings to (re)assert their claim to Israel's name and its people(s), thereby serving the political needs of Judah's kings in the wake of Israel's collapse.

Chapter 4, in turn, explores the title "god of Israel" in clearly post-monarchic biblical writing, focusing especially on the books of Ezra and Chronicles, which together account for almost a quarter of all the occurrences of the epithet "god of Israel" in the Hebrew Bible. While the appellation "god of Israel" proliferates in late biblical texts—in my estimation, at least 80–85% of the Hebrew Bible's references to the title "god of Israel" come from post-monarchic biblical writing—it does not do so uniformly. Many, if not most, late biblical texts and literary strata do not use the designation "god of Israel" at all or do so only sparsely. Rather, the sustained usage of the epithet "god of Israel" is limited to specific post-monarchic biblical books and literary strata, particularly late "deuteronomistic" and "post-deuteronomistic" writing in the Former Prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Psalms, Ezra (but not Nehemiah), and Chronicles. Of these texts, Ezra and Chronicles particularly stand out on account of these books' use of this divine identity in their efforts to (re)define Jewish identity following the loss of Judah's monarchy.

For nearly a century, scholars have interrogated the uses and meanings of Israel's name in Ezra–Nehemiah and the books of Chronicles, yet the appellation "god of Israel" has typically received short shrift in these discussions. Chapter 4 therefore highlights the importance of this divine identity in Ezra and Chronicles, as well as its contribution for (re)constructing Jewish identity in the late Persian and early Hellenistic periods. In this era, the title "god of Israel" comes to be associated with the emerging twin pillars of later Jewish identity, namely Torah and Temple. Perhaps for the first time in history, the title "god of Israel" comes to be applied to the cultic worship of the god of the (second) Jerusalem temple, whose priests now occupied a primary place in Yehud's local political economy. Nevertheless, there is some evidence to suggest that the title "god of Israel" only came to be attached to the second Jerusalem temple cult and adopted by some segment(s) of the temple's priestly leadership at a secondary

historical moment, which I connect with growing social-economic and political-religious competition between Yehud/the Jerusalem Temple and Samaria/the Mount Gerizim temple. In this way, collective "Israel's" worship of the "god of Israel," without reference to kings, reappears in the Second Temple period, even as its use still appears to have served centralizing political interests. Yet, because Chronicles and Ezra offer two different visions of what it means to be "Israel," these biblical books necessarily furnish two distinct conceptions of the "god of Israel" and what it means to be the "god of Israel's" people.

Finally, Chapter 5 considers how Jewish scribes in the late Persian and Hellenistic periods used the title "god of Israel" in the process of composing certain biblical books. In particular, later scribes responsible for the editing and transmission of certain books, such as Jeremiah and the Psalter, appear to have used this divine identity as part of their efforts to unify these biblical books as literary compositions. While this compositional activity likely served particular social and political agendas, which are briefly touched upon, Chapter 5 especially highlights the literary contribution of the title's use in these biblical compositions. In these biblical texts, the title "god of Israel" appears to function as a compositional link between disparate literary materials, a sort of *Leitwort* binding together large-scale biblical compositions into broader literary wholes. In this way, the title "god of Israel" comes to characterize the deity of particular biblical books and larger biblical corpora, an important step in the identification of the deity of the Hebrew Bible in its entirety as the "god of Israel."

The basic historical arguments of this study, then, are as follows: (1) the origins of the title "god of Israel" trace back to ancient Israel; (2) El was Israel's "original" or earliest god, and his role as the "god of Israel" was traditionally embedded in Israel's decentralized political economy as maintained at the venerable cultic site of Shechem in the Israelite central hill country; (3) yhwh especially came to be identified by the title "god of Israel" within Israel during the ninth and eighth centuries, in connection originally with the Omride dynasty's centralization of political authority at the new royal capital of Samaria; (4) the title "god of Israel" appears to have only entered into Judah's internal political and religious discourse following the kingdom of Israel's collapse in 722/720, as Judah's kings sought to consolidate political power and (re)assert their claim on Israel's name; (5) the appellation "god of Israel" was not used in the Jerusalem temple's cult during the late Judahite monarchy, even as it appears to have been appropriated in the service of royal politics by palace-affiliated scribes; (6) the epithet "god of Israel" proliferated in post-monarchic biblical writing; and (7) the title "god of Israel" first came to be used in the cult of the (second) Jerusalem temple during the postexilic period, although evidently only at a secondary historical moment, perhaps due to increasing social-economic and political-religious competition with the Samarian temple on Mount Gerizim. <>

LOST TRIBES FOUND: ISRAELITE INDIANS AND RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM IN EARLY AMERICA by Matthew W. Dougherty (University of Oklahoma Press)

The belief that Native Americans might belong to the fabled 'lost tribes of Israel' – Israelites driven from their homeland around 740 BCE – took hold among Anglo-Americans and Indigenous peoples in the United States during its first half century. In **LOST TRIBES FOUND**, Matthew W. Dougherty explores what this idea can tell readers about religious nationalism in early America.

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Some white Protestants, Mormons, American Jews, and Indigenous people constructed nationalist narratives around the then-popular idea of 'Israelite Indians.' Although these were minority viewpoints, they reveal that the story of religion and nationalism in the early United States was more complicated and wide-ranging than studies of American 'chosen-ness' or 'manifest destiny' suggest. Telling stories about Israelite Indians, Dougherty argues, allowed members of specific communities to understand the expanding United States, to envision its transformation, and to propose competing forms of sovereignty. In these stories both settler and Indigenous intellectuals found biblical explanations for the American empire and its stark racial hierarchy.

LOST TRIBES FOUND opens and closes with analyses of Israelite Indian stories in the context of national politics in the early United States. The first chapter analyzes how these stories emerged in and helped shape a national evangelical culture that supported missions to Indigenous peoples. The final chapter, similarly, discusses religious nationalism on a country-wide scale to explain the decline in use of Israelite Indian stories after 1830. In the intervening chapters, Dougherty explores more local and specific conversations that invoked Israelite Indian stories.

Chapter 1 discusses how the stories Levi introduced to Anglophone America went through a renaissance in the early United States. Working largely from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British sources, early American evangelicals from the 1790s through the 1820s transformed these stories and used them to support the idea that the United States must missionize Indigenous peoples in order to expand across the continent without losing the favor of God. With these stories, they sought to evoke sympathy for Indigenous people and anxiety lest God punish the nation for their persecution of his chosen people. At the same time, their versions of Israelite Indian stories depicted Indigenous people as inferiors to be pitied and suggested that, once Indigenous peoples converted to Christianity, they would joyfully leave the continent in White hands and 'return' to Palestine.

Early Mormons extended and elaborated these ideas. As Dougherty shows in chapter 2 of **LOST TRIBES FOUND**, between 1830 and 1847, Mormons understood themselves to be living in an age of millennial transformation, when God's purposes for the 'Lamanites,' or Israelite Indians, would be revealed. By encountering Lamanites in worship and recounting Lamanite histories, early Mormons cultivated the love for their new religion and wonder at living in an age of revelations that knit them together as a community. By discussing prophecies about an army of Israelite Indians or 'Lamanites' that would soon destroy the United States to make room for God's kingdom of Zion, they transferred their anger at the United States onto Lamanites and schooled themselves to patience. Because of this complex of feelings, the nationalism that bound Mormons together immediately before and after the death of Joseph Smith reached for both imagined Lamanites and actual Indigenous allies to help spark the creation of Zion.

Chapter 3 of **LOST TRIBES FOUND** analyzes two intellectuals who used Israelite Indian narratives to engage with the ascendant White supremacy and populist political rhetoric of the 1830s. One, the prominent Jewish newspaper editor Mordecai Noah, used these narratives to strengthen American Jews' claims to American citizenship and western territory. The other, the Pequot activist and preacher William Apess, used them to argue for the humanity of Indigenous people and to envision an 'Israel' of

independent Indigenous Christians. For both men, these narratives allowed them to enlist the sympathy of evangelical reformers on behalf of their communities. They also attempted to use them, however, to evoke the pride and hope that might nurture new Jewish or Indigenous nationalisms.

The focus in chapter 4 is on a small group of Christian Cherokees who drew on missionary stories of Israelite Indians to identify their ancestors with the people described in the Bible. Their narratives argued that the Christian God had given the Cherokees their land, in part because they wanted to enlist missionary sympathies against the state and federal governments then pressuring the Cherokee Nation to give up its territory. Although the Cherokees who told these stories had reason to hope that they would help start a broader reform in their society, the genocidal Trail of Tears and the disarray that followed prevented their narratives from being published and distributed in the new Cherokee Nation.

Finally, chapter 5 of **LOST TRIBES FOUND** returns to a national focus to analyze the eclipse of Israelite Indian stories in American life. Dougherty tracks the rise of American secularism, a then-new way of relating religion to the state, and its effects on the articulation of religious nationalisms, including the much-discussed concept of 'manifest destiny.' In the process, Dougherty shows how new versions of Israelite Indian stories arose in the 1830s and 1840s that muted their emotional appeals to blend more seamlessly with the practices of secularism. At the same time, a new literature arose that emphasized both the danger and the inevitability of frontier settlers' thirst for violence. Only the state and Christianity working in concord, they implied, could restrain this violence. By the beginning of the Civil War, these new ways of relating feelings about religion and about the American state had supplanted older Israelite Indian narratives.

> *Matthew W. Dougherty calls forth a range of voices and `Israelite Indian' stories and uses them to dethrone historians' previous assumptions about religious nationalism and challenge an overemphasis on `manifest destiny.' Compelling, well written, and well argued.* – Tisa Wenger, author of *Religious Freedom: The Contested History of an American Ideal*

LOST TRIBES FOUND goes beyond the legal and political structure of the nineteenth-century U.S. empire. In showing how the trope of the Israelite Indian appealed to the emotions that bound together both nations and religious groups, the book adds a new dimension and complexity to our understanding of the history and underlying narratives of early America. <>