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Book reviews, *The Making of Modern Zionism*, by Shlomo Avineri; *Zionism: The Formative Years*, by David Vital; *Between Right and Right*, by A. B. Yehoshua, correspondence, manuscript, and reprint; *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, by John G. Gager, correspondence, 1972-1987.

JUDAISM

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

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DR. ROBERT GORDIS, Editor

DR. RUTH B. WAXMAN, Managing Editor

April 2, 1982

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver
The Temple
University Circle at Silver Park
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Dear Rabbi Silver:

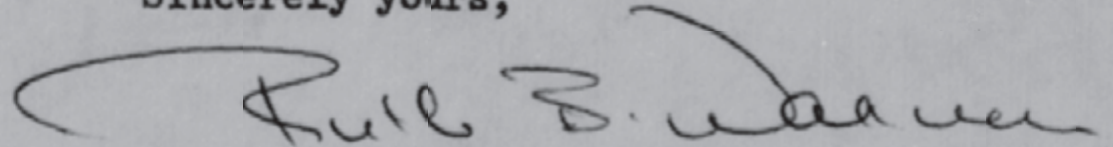
We have recently received two interesting looking books in the office:
David Vital, Zionism: The Formative Years
Shlomo Avineri, The Making of Modern Zionism

Would you be interested in writing a review-essay on them and include, perhaps, the book by Melvin Urofsky, We are One!? This latter is not quite new, but we never really got around to having it reviewed, even though we had wanted to.

A paper of about 2500 words, perhaps more if you like, would be fine, and there is no immediate stringent deadline. If we could have something from you by the summer, that would be fine. *also*

I trust that you will agree; in which case we will send you the books immediately and that, whatever your decision, you have a very pleasant Passover holiday.

Sincerely yours,



Ruth B. Waxman
Managing Editor

RBW:brs

The Temple

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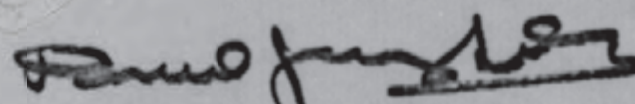
April 9, 1982

Dr. Ruth B. Waxman
Managing Editor
Judaism
15 East 84th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023

Dear Mrs. Waxman,

I will be happy to review the Vital, Avineri books provided you mean what you say about there not being any stringent deadline. I would not be able to work on this piece until sometime during the summer, and you would probably not have it until the fall. If this is unsatisfactory to you, I will understand. Thank you for thinking of me. With all good wishes,

I remain,



Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:br

August 16, 1982

Dr. Ruth B. Waxman
Managing Editor
Judaism
15 East 84th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023

Dear Mrs. Waxman:

The books you asked me to review - Zionism: The Formative Years, The Making of Modern Zionism, We Are One - have been sitting on my desk. It has not been the kind of summer when I have felt like getting down to theoretical studies of Zionism. Theory pales before issues of survival.

If you would like, I will mail the books back to you so you can assign them to another reviewer. If you want to leave them with me I will see if I can get up the koch during the Fall.

With all good wishes I remain

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp

November 11, 1982

Mr. Ruth B. Waxman
Managing Editor, Judaism
15 East 84th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023

Dear Mrs. Waxman:

Forgive the long delay. I hope you don't find
this review too much off the wall. With all good
wishes I remain

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp

Encl.

[Silver, Nov 1982]

Many moons ago the editors of Judaism sent me three books on Zionism: Shlomo Avineri's The Making of Modern Zionism, David Vital's Zionism, The Formative Years and A. B. Yehoshua's Between Right and Right, and asked for a joint review. I put off the task until the summer and when summer came I found I lacked the koach to meet my obligation. This piece is an explanation of my unaccustomed lethargy as much as the requested thematic review.

The books I was sent deserve review. Avineri, as was to be expected, has produced a well-written intellectual history of Zionist thought from Hess to Ben Gurion which will be particularly appreciated by those who share his Labor Zionism's philosophy and values. Avineri describes Zionism as a broad gauge liberation movement whose major purpose was/is to effect the cultural and spiritual transformation of the Jewish people. Statehood is a means, not an end. While I was not particularly convinced by his inclusion of Krochmal and Graetz as precursors of Zionist theory - their ideas are analyzed in the opening two chapters - his book will serve many as a useful introduction to this ideological world and will be enjoyed by all who are predisposed to see Zionism as a wholly positive and distinctively humane movement.

David Vital's Zionism, The Formative Years is an academic book, a well-documented, carefully researched history of the movement during the Herzl years. It is the sequel to his earlier Origin of Zionism and, like it, a meticulous text, particularly illuminating on the conflicts between ideology and practical politics which fueled the major debates of the early Congresses.

Yehoshua's Between Right and Right is the most original of the three works. A fine novelist has let loose his powerful imagination on Zionism's basic themes and the result is an intriguing and idiosyncratic repositioning of familiar ideas. Contrary to the accepted analysis, Yehoshua argues that the golah was voluntarily begun and has been voluntarily maintained. Why? Because it spares Jews the necessity of resolving the halacha's inherently undemocratic assumption of the propriety of a synagogue-state. In a Jewish state those who

define orthodoxy must insist on having their way; while in the golah, pluralistic tendencies can be accepted because of the state's force majeure. The golah also conveniently provides the Jew the proof he seeks that he is, indeed, different, chosen. The diaspora Jew is visibly different from his host community and acknowledged to be so by everyone. Jewish differences are less striking in a Jewish state since every national culture is distinct. Zionism, to Yehoshua, is a movement which proposes to end the false and superficial distinctions which the golah perpetuates and to substitute, instead, the natural distinctions of an authentic and healthy society.

Several years ago I spent a wonderful afternoon on the patio of the Dan Carmel Hotel arguing with this master mythmaker about his special way of defending Ben Gurion's familiar insistence on shelilut ha-golah. Yehoshua's intensity is compelling; and, fortunately, his nationalism is humane rather than chauvinist: "We want to improve the substance and quality of our life just as any other people does, not because we have to prove our moral superiority to anyone or to justify our existence to anyone, but simply because we want to live better" (p. 63).

When I sat down to them I found each of these volumes worth the reading, so I had to ask myself why I put off the assignment. Was it Lebanon and some unconscious need to distance myself from a tarnished dream? I don't think so. I wrote the editors of Judaism that they might want to get someone else to take on the assignment some weeks before the invasion. Besides, though I question the appropriateness of some of Israel's strategic decisions and am unsympathetic to all the attitudes which underlie Greater Israel rhetoric, I did not react in horror to the invasion and its aftermath. Given the persistence of Arab terrorism and their unremitting policy of permanent seige I accept, albeit unhappily, the propriety of military response; and I reject, albeit uneasily, the thesis that Israel must act in all situations by what Ameri-

[Silver, Nov 1982]

cans consider "reasonable" standards. Israel does not have America's power or prosperity. As one who has accepted the lesson of Auschwitz, man's infinite capacity for inhuman behavior, reasonableness is not for me an unquestioned moral yardstick. In the unreasonable world of Near Eastern politics, policies based on the assumption the other side will accept a "reasonable" compromise are suicidally romantic. In that world most will simply take all they can today so they can take more tomorrow.

My paralysis, I have come to understand, derived from other sources. In part, I've become bored by books on Zionism, Zionist theory and Zionist history. The same ground is being plowed over and over again. Too little remains to be said and too few new issues are being raised. It is not that the last word has been written on the early Zionist thinkers or history, but that most of what our generation will find there has been found.

But boredom isn't the whole of it. My feeling fell into focus several weeks ago as I read an interview conducted by an editor of Prooftexts with Amos Oz (September '82). Asked about Mrs. Kipnes, the immature mother in The Hill of Evil Counsel, Oz explains her unworldly personality by saying, "I think one of the ironies of the period, and this I try to express in The Hill of Evil Counsel, is that everyone, by having a too literal concept of what Zionism should be - a paradise on earth, place of the Messiah, redemption, universal redemption - was doomed to become a traitor, a life-denier. It's not only Mrs. Kipnes but each and everyone of the characters, including the heated crazy fanatics, each of those is a potential traitor and a self-denier. None of those would accept anything but the coming of the Messiah."

That's it. To survive Mrs. Kipnes must face the practical everyday problems of a life which does not match the daydreams of her childhood. She must cope. She must compromise, and since she lacks the will to do so, she runs away with an English womanizer. The old standards were too pure, too demanding for her - and

[Silver, Nov 1982]

us. Most people, Oz insists, lack the mental toughness to compromise their dreams or to adjust their ideologies to practical realities so that they can be satisfied with the few pleasures and limited accomplishment life allows us.

Ideologies are necessary tools during the state-making process, but once independence has been achieved, once we must take responsibility for the thousand details of administering a society, an ideological perspective tends to demean practical administrative decisions, the inevitable half a loaf programs. They make us dissatisfied with anything less than the realization of all our dreams. People simply have too many contradictory sides and needs to be satisfied with the best-intended pragmatic decisions of even the best-intentioned government.

Since 1948 Israel's citizens have had to face a wide range of new issues: how to maintain a sense of their humanity under seige; how to remain an open, pluralistic society, yet be a Jewish state; how to adjust individual and class needs to those of the whole community in a way which seems just and, at the same time, promotes economic progress; how to educate children of various backgrounds, emotional needs and talents without losing a sense of common purpose. Ideological Zionism never addressed these issues; it's a vision, not a detailed social program. The same is true of pre-state Zionist ideology insofar as it dealt with relations between Israel and the diaspora. Ben Gurion had a simple solution: no diaspora; but the diaspora has not disappeared and will not; and the complex reality of our relationships is far more tangled and inconclusive than Ahad Ha-Am or anyone else imagined. We may be one - Israelis and American Jews share many traditions - but we're not the same inside. Prosperity has gentled and softened most American Jews. Austerity has toughened most Israelis. Israelis cannot escape the responsibilities and consequences of power, but in the diaspora we can still enjoy holding forth prophetically on social issues with the abandon permitted only to a powerless community. Israelis know peace must be won at gun point as well as through negotiations. The diaspora prefers to think only of Camp David and the Reagan Plan.

[Silver, Nov 1982]

A city which has to collect its garbage and a country which has to manage a formidable foreign debt can live for a dream but not in a dream. There are yoredim because there are always among us Mrs. Kipnes,' who run away from reality. The kibbutz could not remain the simple Tolstoyan society Gordon espoused and a developing and defense-burdened society cannot supply its citizens the luxuries diaspora Jews enjoy.

I respond to Yehoshua's call for an ideological freeze in Israel, but I'd enlarge his plea to cover all of world Jewry. Yehoshua says that our people are straight-jacketed by the traditional mission of Israel theology. I disagree. Our religious tradition is blessedly vague when it comes to defining God's purposes or our mission. Judaism is, after all, remarkably reticent about publishing political and economic manifestos. Those are the kind of programs we leave to God. For the most part, the rabbis eschewed ethical manifestos and concentrated, instead, on preparing responsa dealing with individual cases even as the Biblical editors canonized the book of Proverbs side by side with the Prophets.

Ideology, not theology, is the culprit. In the early part of this century the sacralization of Emancipation ideology misled thousands. The state said: "to the Jew as Frenchman everything, to the Jew as Jew nothing," and many became Frenchman of Mosaic persuasion, the non-Jewish Jew. More recently, Zionist ideology is the culprit. The Zionist said: 'Israel must be and it must be Zion,' and many found they could not live in an Israel which was not yet Zion.

Why make such a fuss about a few more books on Zionism? The books were never the issue. They're good books. It's simply that feelings towards this assignment forced me to confront some feelings that have long troubled me. In recent months I've noticed that in my community it's the Zionist ideologues who are having the most trouble accepting Israel as she is. I have a friend who shares Avineri's vision. He grew up in Habonim and has spent as much time in Jerusalem as in his university town. Today he is angry, bitter and intemperate. He calls Begin all kinds

[Silver, Nov 1982]

6

of names. When we talk I find I share many of his criticisms of this government's high-handedness on the West Bank, but that I do not share the anger which brings intemperate labels to his lips. Prime Minister Begin has used force, and he has given back the Sinai. He has dismissed Arab mayors on the West Bank and ordered the removal of Gush squatters in Yamit. He has used power - sometimes crudely; but if Israel were to renounce power she would be courting suicide, and suicide offends every stricture of our law.

There is a time to be an ideologue and a time to put ideology aside. That time has come. Zionist ideology created a state and is, in many ways, now tearing it apart. Much of the bitterness of Israel politics is due to the ideological basis of local politics. Ideologues consider opposition to be heresy rather than simply bad judgment and do not easily compromise, yet, compromise is essential to political life in a free society. The time has come to let the spirit of the Jewish people freely express itself. Like Yehoshua, I believe in the power of the human spirit, and I particularly trust the decent instincts of the Jewish people, conditioned by the ingrained ethical messianism of the tradition, to find its way through the tangle of problems which confront us.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

The Time for Ideology is Over

Review-Essay by DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

The Making of Modern Zionism. By SHLOMO AVINERI. New York. Basic Books, 1981. \$14.95.

Zionism, The Formative Years. By DAVID VITAL. Oxford. Oxford University Press, 1982. 450 pp. \$29.95.

Between Right and Right. By A. B. YEHOOSHUA. New York. Doubleday, 1981. 224 pp. \$11.95.

MANY MOONS AGO THE EDITORS OF JUDAISM sent me three books on Zionism: Shlomo Avineri's *The Making of Modern Zionism*, David Vital's *Zionism, The Formative Years* and A. B. Yehoshua's *Between Right and Right*, and asked for a joint review. This piece is an explanation of my delay as much as the requested thematic review.

All three of the books deserve consideration. Avineri, as was to be expected, has produced a well-written intellectual history of Zionist thought, from Hess to Ben Gurion, which will be particularly appreciated by those who share his Labor Zionism's philosophy and values. He describes Zionism as a broad gauge liberation movement whose major purpose was/is to effect the cultural and spiritual transformation of the Jewish people. Statehood is a means, not an end. While I was not particularly convinced by his inclusion of Krochmal and Graetz as precursors of Zionist theory — their ideas are analyzed in the opening two chapters — his book will serve many as a useful introduction to this ideological world and will be enjoyed by all who are predisposed to see Zionism as a wholly positive and distinctively humane movement.

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DANIEL JEREMY SILVER is adjunct professor of religion at Case Western Reserve and Cleveland State University, and rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland.

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Why make such a fuss about a few more books on Zionism? The books were never the issue. They are good books. It's simply that feelings towards this assignment forced me to confront other feelings that have long troubled me. In recent months I have noticed that in my community it is the Zionist ideologues who are having the most trouble accepting Israel as she is. I have a friend who shares Avineri's vision. He grew up in Habonim and has spent as much time in Jerusalem as in his university town. Today he is angry, bitter and intemperate. He calls Begin all kinds of names. When we talk, I find that I share many of his criticisms of this government's high-handedness on the West Bank, but that I do not share the anger which brings intemperate labels to his lips. Prime Minister Begin has used force and he has given back the Sinai. He has dismissed Arab mayors on the West Bank and ordered the removal of Gush squatters in Yamit. He has used power — sometimes crudely; but if Israel were to renounce power she would be courting suicide, and suicide offends every stricture of our law.

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now tearing it apart. Much of the bitterness of Israel politics is due to the ideological basis of local politics. Ideologues consider opposition to be heresy rather than simply bad judgment and do not easily compromise; yet, compromise is essential to political life in a free society. The time has come to let the spirit of the Jewish people freely express itself. Like Yehoshua, I believe in the power of the human spirit, and I particularly trust the decent instincts of the Jewish people, conditioned by the ingrained ethical messianism of the tradition, to find its way through the tangle of problems which confront us.



March 31, 1972

Dr. Elton Epp
Department of Religion
Case Western Reserve University
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Dear Elton:

I trust that the enclosed review meets with your
standard.

I enjoyed doing it.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp

Encl.

Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism, by John G. Gager. SBLMS, 16.

Nashville/New York: Abingdon, 1972. Pp. 173. \$3.75

Reviewed by Daniel Jeremy Silver

This careful and precise analysis of the score or so references to Moses in non-Jewish and non-Christian writings from Hecateus of Abdera to the Emperor Julian provides a thorough and accurate handbook for anyone interested in the larger world's awareness of Judaism's foremost personality and not, incidentally, some indication of its awareness of Judaism. Their treatment of Moses is particularly interesting because of the cultural pressures which developed on and within the Jewish community to redo his biography so that it conformed with the pattern of idealized character (Arete) which was generally prized. In the midrash and the Diaspora chronicles, particularly those from Alexandria, the thrust was to idealize Moses with few limits to such characterization. The Palestinean midrash, on the other hand, indicates a felt need to keep Moses within human bounds. When the fragments of Artapanus' biography of Josephus' writings on Moses are placed side by side with the emerging Haggadah wherein the Exodus was rehearsed without a single mention of Moses, something of the theological concern of the age with the questions of incarnation and deification can be understood.

The figure of Moses is also interesting because as Goodenough, Jules Simon and others have shown Moses came to occupy in Hellenistic magic the role of an effective wizard and in gnostic writings the role of psychopomp.

The how and the why of this development which spread among non-Jews as well as Jews is not yet clear and deserves ~~the~~ further study.

Gager has retranslated each reference, painstakingly discussed its provenance and patiently related it to its sources. But this reader, at least, is troubled by Gager's announced rationale for this book: "I have regarded this project from the beginning as a case study in the origins of western anti-semitism" (p. 18). In point of fact, this study is not such a case history. To have written that book Gager would have had to begin with an overview of the literary evidence of Hellenistic and Roman anti-semitism; and then have shown what, if any, particular role Moses played in such propaganda. Such is not the book's structure. Gager simply groups the writers under four generalized rubrics, two of which, at least, are not at all polemical.

A goodly portion of the meager material which Gager has to work with is in no way anti-semitic in content or intent. Gager recognizes this and places a set of writings under the general heading "Moses As A Wise Law Giver. ^{Further}" In the amulets and magical texts Moses is treated with dispassion, even with respect, as appropriate to a wizard and wise man, as Gager makes clear in his chapter on "Moses and Magic."

We are left then with a group of Alexandrian priests, Manetho, Lysimachus, Chaeremon, Apion, who did deal with Moses as the evil genius of an anti-Egyptian conspiracy. This material is well known and has been carefully and far more broadly treated by Tcherikover and others. For Gager to

have added ~~at all~~ to our knowledge about the priest led Alexandrian anti-semitic polemic he would have had parse down some of the midrashic elements in the Egyptian and the Jewish biographies of Moses. Why, for instance, did various midrashim make Moses commander of an Egyptian force against Ethiopia? Why did Manetho write that Pharoah had fled Moses and sought help of his Ethiopian ally? How much has the Ethiopian episode to do with Moses' Cushite wife and Egyptian racial prejudice? Why did Moses take with him on that campaign, according to both Josephus and Artapanus, an ibis bird, Thoth's bird which, according to Aelian's Natural History, never leaves Egypt and was a symbol of true Egyptian loyalty?

The final group of writers, Quintilian, Tacitus, Juvenal, Galen, Celsus and Julian the Emperor describe Moses in terms which Gager categorizes under the rubric "Moses As Deficient Law Giver." None of these writings is ^{pre-Christian} ~~Christian~~ and only the first three predate Christian concerns. These references are lean and offer little more than a generalized criticism of the segregationist tendencies of Torah law and, consequently, reflect somewhat negatively on the spirit of the law giver. One is struck by the relative paucity of the material, its lack of emotional intensity and its general lack of concern with ^a real assessment of Moses. Again, Gager is well aware of this: "Our study of Moses clearly confirms the obvious, that anti-semitism was not a constant comp^{NON}act of the Jews in Antiquity ... and that there was even a greater range of views precisely among the intelligentsia ^{than} ~~we~~ would lead us to believe." (p. 18). Why, then, present this book as a case history of western anti-semitism?

Modern interest in Greek Roman anti-semitism has tended to tell more about the modern spirit than about Greco-Roman views. The Alexandrian materials were first mined by Voltaire and his colleagues of the Enlightenment who wanted to use pagan sources to substantiate inherited prejudices since for them Christian sources were no longer acceptable proof texts. Arthur Hertzberg's The French Enlightenment and The Jews (Columbia-1968) has carefully detailed this activity. Brought into the public domain these texts have provided convenient arguments for the pious who find in Manetho and his Alexandrian ^{colleagues} an escape from the logic of those who would lay much of the blame for western anti-semitism on the New Testament and early church polemics.

There was, of course, an Alexandrian anti-Jewish polemic. Judeans had been drafted to Alexandria by Ptolemy^I for the express purpose of excluding potentially unruly natives from a major role in the Greek capital city. The Judeans had prospered and prosperity had brought envy. Moses becomes in Manetho a defrocked priest, servant of the devil God Seth, but what has all this to do with Quintilian or Tacitus who allow Moses no more than a passing nod - and what do these passing references tell us about general Roman attitudes? It would appear that Gager has tried to tie his dissertation to a "relevant" theme, in this case anti-semitism, for no better reason than to give his study broader appeal. This would not be bothersome except that this concern has led him to overlook questions about the pagan world's treatment of Moses which might well have been raised. Why precisely in Manetho's Egypt does Moses become a

central figure in the common (Jew-Egyptian-Christian) magical tradition? How much of the treatment of Moses was conditioned by Greco-Roman condescension to the law and law givers of the Middle East? How much of what was known about Moses in Rome came through the activity of Jewish missionaries filtered through impressed wives and friends?

I have always been struck by the relative silence ^{of} ~~in~~ Greek and Roman literature about Moses rather than by its statement: ^{During} ~~in~~ the first and second centuries the Jews were a restless and rebellious nation, both in Judea and the Diaspora. Rome fought two bloody wars against Jerusalem and feared that the Jews might join with Parthia whose Jewish communities remained relatively settled during this period. Josephus and Philo give chapter and verse of how and when the Jewish question was placed before Caesar. Given all this it is surprising how little Roman writers concerned themselves with the uniqueness of the Jewish law and with the special character of the law giver.

Let there be no misunderstanding, Dr. Gager's book is open and free of any taint of anti-semitism, but his interest in anti-semitism has given this manual an inappropriate focus which has limited its value.

and descriptive talents at once to an examination of Koine syntax, rather than leaving the matter to someone else in the distant future.

E. V. N. GOETCHIUS

EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism, by John G. Gager. SBLMS 16. Nashville/New York: Abingdon, 1972. Pp. 173. \$3.75.

This careful and precise analysis of the score or so of references to Moses in non-Jewish and non-Christian writings from Hecataeus of Abdera to the Emperor Julian provides a thorough and accurate handbook for anyone interested in the larger world's awareness of Judaism's foremost personality and, not incidentally, some indication of its awareness of Judaism. Their treatment of Moses is particularly interesting because of the cultural pressures which developed on and within the Jewish community to redo his biography so that it conformed with the pattern of idealized character (*aretē*) which was generally prized. In the midrashim and the diaspora chronicles, particularly those from Alexandria, the thrust was to idealize Moses with few limits to such characterization. The Palestinian midrashim, on the other hand, indicate a felt need to keep Moses within human bounds. When the fragments of Artapanus' biography or Josephus' writings on Moses are placed side by side with the emerging haggadah wherein the Exodus was rehearsed without a single mention of Moses, something of the theological concern of the age with the questions of incarnation and deification can be understood.

The figure of Moses is also interesting because, as Goodenough, Jules Simon, and others have shown, Moses came to occupy in hellenistic magic the role of an effective wizard and in gnostic writings the role of psychopomp. The how and why of this development which spread among non-Jews as well as Jews is not yet clear and deserves further study.

Gager has retranslated each reference, painstakingly discussed its provenance, and patiently related it to its sources. But this reader, at least, is troubled by Gager's announced rationale for this book: "I have regarded this project from the beginning as a case study in the origins of western anti-Semitism" (p. 18). In point of fact, this study is not such a case history. To have written that book Gager would have had to begin with an overview of the literary evidence of hellenistic and Roman anti-semitism; and then have shown

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what, if any, particular role Moses played in such propaganda. Such is not the book's structure. Gager simply groups the writers under four generalized rubrics, two of which, at least, are not at all polemical.

A goodly portion of the meager material which Gager has to work with is in no way anti-semitic in content or intent. Gager recognizes this and places a set of writings under the general heading "Moses the Wise Lawgiver." Further, in amulets and magical texts Moses is treated with dispassion, even with respect, appropriate to a wizard and a wise man, as Gager makes clear in his chapter on "Moses and Magic."

We are left then with a group of Alexandrian priests, Manetho, Lysimachus, Chaeremon, Apion, who did deal with Moses as the evil genius of an anti-Egyptian conspiracy. This material is well known and has been carefully and far more broadly treated by Tcherikover and others. For Gager to have added to our knowledge about the priest-led Alexandrian anti-semitic polemic he would have had to explain some of the midrashic elements in the Egyptian and the Jewish biographies of Moses. Why, for instance, did various midrashim make Moses a commander of an Egyptian force against Ethiopia? Why did Manetho write that Pharaoh had fled Moses and sought help of his Ethiopian ally? How much has the Ethiopian episode to do with Moses' Cushite wife and Egyptian racial prejudice? Why did Moses take with him on that campaign, according to both Josephus and Artapanus, an ibis bird, Thoth's bird, which according to Aelian's *Natural History* never leaves Egypt and was a symbol of true Egyptian loyalty?

The final group of writers, Quintilian, Tacitus, Juvenal, Galen, Celsus, and Julian the Emperor, describe Moses in terms which Gager categorizes under the rubric, "Moses as a Deficient Lawgiver." None of these writings is pre-Christian and only the first three predate Christian concerns. These references are lean and offer little more than a generalized criticism of the segregationist tendencies of Torah law; consequently, they reflect somewhat negatively on the spirit of the lawgiver. One is struck by the relative paucity of the material, its lack of emotional intensity, and its general lack of concern with a real assessment of Moses. Again, Gager is well aware of this: "Our study of Moses clearly confirms the observation that anti-Semitism was not a constant companion of the Jews in antiquity . . . [and] that there was even a greater range of views precisely among the intelligentsia than [some] would lead us to believe" (p. 18). Why, then, present this book as a case history of western anti-semitism?

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DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, CLEVELAND, OHIO 44106

The Song at the Sea, by Judah Goldin. New Haven: Yale, 1971. Pp. xxii+290. \$10.00.

This volume consists of an introduction to, and a new annotated translation of, the Lauterbach text of the tractate *Shirah*, "The Song," the earliest rabbinic commentary on Exod 15:1-21, the third of the nine sections in the *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1933-35). Though different in organization and approach, this work is in a sense a continuation of M. Kadushin's recent commentary on the first two tractates of the *Mekilta*, *Pisha* and *Beshallah* (*A Conceptual Approach to the Mekilta* [New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1969]). Unlike Kadushin, Goldin does not include in his work the Hebrew text and critical apparatus or references to rabbinic parallels. The volume must, therefore, be used in conjunction with the Lauterbach and Horovitz-Rabin editions, with occasional reference to Friedmann, Weiss, and older traditional commentaries. Goldin does note in his detailed commentary all the variants, in English translation, from the practically identical text (in this section) of the *Mekilta de-Rabbi Simeon* (eds. Epstein and Melamed; Jerusalem, 1955). He also refers to the relevant sources and studies published since the appearance of the latest editions of the *Mekilta*. Of special interest to the student are the citations of parallels from the fourth century Samaritan classic, *Memar Marqah* (in the translation of J. Macdonald; BZAW 84, 1963), the often illuminating analyses of problematic proof-texts and the many helpful suggestions regarding the possible historic and ideational contexts of a number of passages.

Goldin repeatedly stresses the importance of what he discerns to be "the poetic elements" in this section of the *Mekilta*. Instead of using the extant Lauterbach translation and noting the occasional minor divergences in his commentary, as Kadushin does, Goldin undertakes a new translation primarily "to make visible the poetic elements" and thereby

"to suggest what Shirta is like" (p. xi). On the basis of some nine fragments interspersed in the Hebrew text which appear to have poetic cadence—a balance and meter which Goldin attempts to preserve in the translation—he concludes that "Shirta statements on a number of occasions get infected by the quality of the very source being interpreted" and rise "to joyous, lyrical and poetic exclamation" (p. 16). The rabbinic commentary, Goldin insists in the several chapters of the introduction which he devotes to this subject, "is responsive to the mood and melodiousness of the original text" (p. 23) and has a "noteworthy compatibility with the Song of Exodus 15" (p. 27).

Both in his identification and in his scanning of the poetic passages, Goldin bases himself on the work of A. Mirsky, who in a series of significant studies demonstrates that the forms of early liturgic poetry (of Yannai and Kalir) derive from and are developments of the forms of various types of exegetical syllogisms used by the rabbis in their exposition of Scriptures. A number of the midrashic passages which Mirsky analyzes as illustrative of the development from formulas of exegesis to synagogal poetry are from the tractate *Shirta* of the *Mekilta*.

The Tannaim were aware, as Mirsky's examples indicate, that there is a rhythmic flow, an incipient poetic quality in some of the formulas they used in their scriptural exegesis. A few of the syllogisms, like "measure for measure" and various other types of analogy and contrast (see *The Midrash of Thirty-two Hermeneutic Rules* [ed. H. G. Enelow; New York: Bloch, 1933]), the early haggadists expressed on occasion in a form distinguishable from that of the later liturgical poets (see Mishnah, *Sotah* 1:7; b. Talmud, *Sotah* 8a). The poetic elements, the meter and the balance, are, however, only incidental to the form and content of the hermeneutic syllogism. The focus and interest of the rabbis, even on the rare occasions when they resorted to poetic embellishment, was exegesis—not versification, whether the biblical text they were expounding was poetry or prose.

In making the reader aware of the presence of "poetic elements" in the midrash and especially in bringing to his attention the form of the exegesis, Goldin's work is a marked improvement over that of his predecessors. Precise analysis of the exegetical formula is an indispensable tool in the study of rabbinic texts, in noting lacunae, in correcting corrupt texts and in stratifying the various fragments an editor may have included in a pericope. Goldin's stress, however, on the centrality of poetry in *Shirta*, his emphasis on the poetic quality as its primary characteristic, his repeated insistence that this section of the *Mekilta* "is indebted to the nature of the text it is elucidating (Exod 15) for its own fairly frequent outbursts into song" (p. 21), misrepresent the literature and invite the student to apply criteria to the midrash which are essentially alien to it. The primarily exegetical nature of rabbinic commentary literature requires no apology. The attempt to justify it on the basis of its being inspired poetry must inevitably fail. The result is hyperbole, apologetics, and a distortion of the literary genre. The poetic elements are not confined to commentary on the poetic passages of the Bible; they appear throughout the literature whenever certain exegetical formulas are used. Moreover, in his effort to retain the meter of the Hebrew original in the translation, Goldin tends on occasion to paraphrase and at times to obscure the exegetical formula.

The same tendency to overemphasize and thus to give primacy to categories essentially extrinsic to the literature is apparent in Goldin's concern for defending the midrash against those who "regard its exegesis—taken as a whole—condescendingly" (p. 30). He devotes the major part of his introduction to an elaborate discussion of the authorship of Exodus 15 in order to demonstrate that just as "the biblical text makes the Midrash intelligible," the midrash in turn illuminates the biblical text (p. 34). His learned analysis

March 23, 1977

Mr. Alvin Beam
The Plain Dealer
1801 Superior
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Dear Al:

I am enclosing my review of the Heller book. Thank you
for sending it to me.



Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp

Encl.

ON THE EDGE OF DESTRUCTION - Jews of Poland Between the Two World Wars
Celia Heller
Columbia University Press - 1977
\$14.95

The letters and diaries of the condemned exert a compelling fascination. Celia Heller has written a report of the Jews of Poland during the twenty years before their extermination. Hundreds of thousands would be butchered in German death camps. Tens of thousands died fighting in ghetto uprisings. Tens of thousands were hunted down and shot by Polish nationalists. Tens of thousands died fighting with the partisans. Of the three and a half million Jews of Poland in 1939, less than 300,000 survived the war. Those who returned to Warsaw or Cracow found their apartments either rubble or expropriated. When they petitioned the authorities for their property, they were told: 'don't call us, we'll call you.' Within six months of the German surrender a bloody pogrom had broken out in Kielce. Today there is no Jewish community in a country where a generation ago Jews comprised ten per-cent of the population.

Dr. Heller's book shatters the conventional myth that murderous anti-semitism was a unique creation of the Nazis. At Versailles, Wilson and Lloyd George sensed the ugliness of Polish nativism and bound the new government by international treaty to respect the rights of its minorities. The treaty was never honored.

Jews had lived in Poland for a thousand years. Jews had fought for Polish independence with Marshal Pilsudski, but none of this counted for much against the violent passions of Polish nativism. Jews were eliminated from the civil service. Strict quotas were established in the universities. In the 1930's there were special ghettos in each classroom reserved for Jews. The government invented licensing procedures to bankrupt Jewish butchers, bakers and craftsmen. Police turned the other way when young toughs attacked Jews on the street. The

Church openly sided with those who would make Poland an all-Catholic nation. By 1930 the forced immigration of Poland's Jews had become a matter of public policy.

There was no place for the Jews to go. In 1924 the United States established strict immigration quotas for non-Wasps. By 1930 England was restricting immigration to Palestine. Poland's Jews were trapped and each year the level of violence against them increased.

The author is a descendant of Polish Jews and her book ~~etc~~ reflects a wistful feeling towards the Poland that might have been had Jews been allowed to integrate into the society and help transform that desperately backward state into a modern and prosperous society.

Dr. Heller is a sociologist, not an historian; and her book deals in social concepts rather than in concrete events. The mechanisms of Polish prejudice and of Jewish response are clearly exposed; but this reader, at least, found this work a strangely disembodied presentation. I wanted to get beyond theory and touch the hurt of the tortured and the anguish of the condemned. Understanding a tragedy of this magnitude is vitiated when it is fitted into the ^{all top} neat methodology of social theory.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

March 23, 1977

July 10, 1987

Mr. Steven Fraser
Basic Books, Inc.
10 E. 53d Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Steve:

I have skimmed Simon Glustrom's Popular Myths About Jews and Judaism. It is a collection of short essays on aspects of Jewish thought and practice which range from the Bar Mitzvah to theology and vegetarianism. I chose to name those topics because they suggest one of the most troubling aspects of this book - a lack of focus. The only thing that gives any sense of unity to these essays is that these are presumed questions asked of the author by the less informed members of his traditional congregation and that each deals with a narrow topic in the general area of Judaism. The essays are not exhaustive or systematic. I could think of a hundred other questions which might be asked.

When I first saw the title I thought the book might be intended for a general audience. It is not. The text defines Judaism in an Orthodox way and assumes that those who ask the questions and seek answers are Orthodox. No attempt is made to explain references to medieval texts or to provide background on customs and practices, some aspect of which is discussed.

The rabbi's style is prosaic but readable. The information contained is acceptable if one operates within the pieties of traditional Judaism. He is more an apologist than an historian. One example: it is simply not true, as he claims, that the reason Orthodox Judaism does not permit women to read from the Torah during public worship is that if they were able to do so they might embarrass a man who could not.

In short, the book seems to be more like a series of brief essays a rabbi might insert in his congregational bulletin than a fully conceived work.

The manuscript is being returned under separate cover.

My best,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp



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(212) 207-7057

July 16, 1987

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver
The Temple
University Circle at Silver Park
Cleveland, OH 44106

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Thanks very much for your useful comments on Simon
Glustrom's "Popular Myths About Jews and Judaism."
It sounds like we will not want to take on the book
here.

We will be sending you an honorarium of \$150. as soon
as it is processed, which should be in two weeks or so.

Regards,

Steven Fraser /ss

Steven Fraser

SF:ss

[July 16, 1987]

Mr. Steven Fraser
Basic Books, Inc.
10 East 53d Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Steve:

This will acknowledge receipt of the honorarium on Glustrom's book.

This is also to tell you that I may be a month or so late in getting my book to you. As I told you over the phone, I lost the sight in my left eye due to uveitis, an inflammation of the retina and the substance of the eye, which they really know very little about. I am under heavy medication. I have regained 30% to 35% use of that eye.

As you can imagine, this has cut into my worktime. Fortunately, I made good progress over the summer and am confident that the book will be ready by the end of the year. I am sorry for the delay, but this has been a rather frightening upset which I have tried to work through as best I can. I do want the book to be completely right before I send it in. I hope this is satisfactory.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:srb

December 1, 1980

Rabbi Samuel E. Karff
Temple Beth Israel
5600 N. Braeswood
Houston, Texas 77035

Dear Sam:

I can't be with you at the meeting in Cincinnati and the enclosed review is by way of my apology. I want to help in any way I can during your stint as editor.

A bit of unsolicited advice for what it is worth. The problem is not to get the readers for each manuscript but to get manuscripts worth reading. About eighty percent of the material that came in unsolicited was not fit for publication. I spent a good bit of time editing some of these pieces for political reasons - the Conference's concern that we publish as many members as possible, particularly younger ones. I tried to find material in several ways. I read regularly the list of papers being read at the Association of Jewish Studies, The American Academy of Religion etc. and solicited those which seemed interesting. The Journal Board organized several conferences around a single issue. We offered modest honorariums to Israelis. Ezra Spicehandler coordinated that program and I cannot say that it was terribly successful.

I would alert you to one other problem. There are several men, Jack Neusner is the major culprit, who send you articles which will then appear in an only slightly changed form elsewhere. He trades on his name and unless an article has particular merit I would suggest that his material be read with suspicion.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp

Encl.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH GANGSTER
Albert Fried
New York, Harper & Row, 1980

Normally a book on this theme would not merit review in our Journal, but the facts that Fried, Professor of History at SUNY (Purchase), provides are a useful and welcome antidote both to the proletarian romanticism with which Irving Howe and others have been coloring the world of our fathers, and to the determinedly defensive 'didn't we do exceptionally well' communal histories which have cast a halo of bourgeois accomplishment around most of our communities. Fried's book deals with the social pathology which existed in the areas of immigrant settlement and does so in a way which raises important questions about the acculturation process itself and the functional value of the Jewish identity which the immigrants brought with them.

One form of American Jewish social history combines public relations with nostalgia and is found most frequently in the many communal histories. It begins with an impression of East European Jewry as a world of gentle scholars married to women of valor whose children were forced by poverty and pogrom to emigrate to America. Here they became a community of desperately hard-working parents who sacrifice their lives to send their children to CCNY. Those who came were either fully and happily traditional or bright young intellectuals who were members of high-minded socialist cells in Warsaw or Vilna. The fact is that Jewish life in Eastern Europe was in an advanced stage of social and spiritual disintegration. Read Mahler or any of the Yiddish novelists from Peretz ^{AND} Scholem Aleichen to the Singer brothers and ^EGrado. Many who came had long since broken with their families and traditional Jewish identity. Most who came were young, many hardly literate, particularly the girls; and, therefore, unfit by skill as well as cultural conditioning to take advantage of the American opportunity. It still comes as a shock to most American Jews that prostitution was endemic in the American ghettos and that Jewish girls were involved in the trade in numbers disproportionate to other ethnic groups. Dislocation inevitably breeds disorientation. The crowded quarters of the East Side pushed young Jews out into the street where they received schooling in jungle values and attitudes. Since

families came over piecemeal there was often no home to be pushed out of. Yet, the social cost of the immigration process in disturbed lives is rarely examined in these "histories" whose purpose is to glorify accomplishment rather than to analyze social phenomena.

The history of my city is typical. Lloyd Gartner, its author, History of the Jews of Cleveland, makes no reference to adult crime or prostitution. You wouldn't know from this book that Cleveland incubated a group of syndicate leaders who came into notoriety as the Cleveland Four (Tucker, Dalitz, Kleinman and Rothkopf). There is a page on juvenile delinquency in the pre-World War I period which reports that "several hundred Jewish boys appeared before the juvenile court", but does not investigate the crimes with which they were charged nor even seem to recognize that such numbers represent a sizable proportion of youngsters between twelve and fifteen. Why were so many Jewish boys charged as delinquents?

The other form of American Jewish social history operates with a different set of preconceptions, largely anti-bourgeois and anti-institutional, but no less misleading. The Irving Howes are put off by the rather stolid quality of suburban life. They want the smell and taste of real people. It is true, of course, that there was an active and colorful theater and a number of Yiddish poetry circles and, of course, the active Yiddish language newspapers on the East Side; but there were at least as many pool halls and stuss parlors in the ghetto as literary societies. The East Side and the other immigrant centers were places to escape from. The one hope was to get out. There was no privacy. The street was the school and playground as well as living room. There were as many teen-age truants on the street as future CCNY registrants in school. It was an era of broken families and overworked families. The stereotypical Jewish mother emerges because mothers had to use every bit of guile they possessed to keep some of their children from running wild. At a distance the East Side seems colorful. Close up it was only a dismal neighborhood

This is not another sensational report designed to titillate the reader

with tales of Jews gone wrong, but a sober academic study of Jewish life on the wild side. Fried's book deals with Jewish crime within the context of Jewish social mobility. Prostitution, thuggery, thievery and worse, like sports and the performing arts, were ways of escaping from the drabness and impoverishment of ghetto life, an unfortunate but not totally dysfunctional response to reality.

There is no reason Jews need to be defensive about Jewish crime. Every immigrant group went through a similar adjustment period. What is important is that we do not deny the facts. Those who do so are those among us who pass harsh judgments on the present generation of ghetto dwellers. The truth is that "there but for the grace of two generations go we." We produced our share, and sometimes more, of prostitutes, pimps, thieves, acid throwers, labor racketeers and mobsters.

The thesis that delinquency and crime decrease with age is fairly well established. So is the thesis that an apartment in Brooklyn rather than Jewish values took many out of the East Side gangs, though in time Brooklyn's streets produced their own gangs. Mobility and age operated on Jewish delinquents, and most became members of the straight world at least until 1920 when Prohibition suddenly made crime the high road to great and instant wealth. The two decades from the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment to the second World War represent the heyday of the American gangster when petty thugs were transformed into syndicate leaders. The criminal suddenly became an accepted and necessary member of society and among its most affluent.

Fried makes it clear that during this period Jewish gangsters played a major role at all levels of the various syndicates; indeed, in numbers Jews seem to have matched those of their Italian counterparts. Nor did Jewish mobsters limit themselves to juggling figures and lawyering. We would like to think that no nice Jewish boy would beat up a union organizer or shopkeeper who would not pay for protection, but that's simply not the case. When soon-to-be governor, Thomas Dewey, was investigating the Lepke syndicate, that Jewish mobster set his hired hands the task of assassinating anyone who might testify against him. In the violence that ensued nearly a thousand were eliminated. Newspapers called the killers Murder Incorporated. Mur-

der Incorporated was an entirely Jewish enterprise.

Jewish gangsters, like gangsters everywhere, both prey on and are part of their communities. In the twenties whenever a mobster stood trial any number of little people from his turf would appear to testify of kindnesses and favors he had done for them. So it has ever been. A debate still rages among historians of the Judean Revolt whether the Sicarii were freedom fighters or extortionists; and the answer is that they were both. The human spirit is never of a piece. During World War II when it was necessary to speed arms to the Allies, the United States Government treated with Lucky Luciano though he was in prison to gain his support for a no-strike pledge from New York's longshoremen. The government went back to Luciano before the Allied invasion of Sicily to coordinate plans with that island's Mafia. An as yet unrecorded footnote to recent Jewish history would describe the support some Jewish gangsters gave to various groups, particularly the Irgun, during the 1947-48 struggle to establish the State of Israel.

The Jewish gangster was a predator, a jungle creature; but then the East Side and its counterparts across America were jungles. Fried does not excuse, but he does remind us that the East Side was hell and the immigrants who became its denizens often brought a Jewish identity which was severely frayed.

Fried deals more thoroughly with the rise of the Jewish gangster than with their disappearance from the mobs in the post-World War II period. In recent years the crime syndicate has become almost exclusively Italian. Why? Fried describes a process he calls congruence. A complex society requires that crime be equally sophisticated. Organization requires professionals: lawyers, C.P.A.'s, etc. But the articulation of criminal structures affected all syndicates equally. Unfortunately, he does not investigate the social and identity reasons which led to the Jewish mobster opting out in the post-war period.

This much is clear. Just as the mobs were eager to launder their monies so that they could invest in straight enterprises, so they were eager to launder their

lives so as to be accepted by the straight world. After all, the leaders were now people of wealth. Children of gangsters regularly went to private schools and to good universities. The Cleveland Four had to leave Cleveland but found acceptance in Las Vegas and La Costa. Their children remain and are accepted members of the community. Fried's book calls for a sequel which studies why the godfather forced his son into the business and the Cleveland Four forced their children out.

Italians and Irish had lived in the East Side before the Jews came. Jamaicans and Puerto Ricans followed the Jews. In midwestern cities like Cleveland immigration was domestic rather than foreign - first blacks from the south, and then country folk from the hills of Tennessee and the coal mines of West Virginia. As each group passed through these immigrant way stations, it endured a generation of delinquency, rebellion and crime until the adults developed marketable skills and pulled together enough money to get out. I wonder sometimes about the current emphasis on gentrification, the assumed value of reestablishing middle and upper middle-class life cheek by jowl with traditional immigrant and turbulent areas. To place a straight community next to a ghetto would seem to be an invitation to disaster for the house pets whose claws have been clipped by conditioning will be easily mauled by alley cats.

Whenever I visit in Manhattan and see three or four locks on an apartment door and a guard, often conspicuously armed, at the street entrance I wonder at the persistence of this attempt to renew the center cities at the same time that we continue to use the city as an immigrant reception center. Inner city living can be revived, I suspect, only by closing the doors to further immigration, and I am not sure we want to go that route.

In any case, Fried's book lifts up a reality which must give the Buckminster Fullers among us pause before we repeat the customary denunciations of suburbia and place exaggerated hopes in the revival of the slum areas of our urban centers.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

Book Reviews

The Rise and Fall of the American Jewish Gangster. By Albert Fried. New York: Harper & Row, 1980. 352 pp.

Normally a book on this theme would not merit review in this journal. However, Albert Fried (Professor of History at SUNY, Purchase) presents facts which are a welcome antidote both to the proletarian romanticism with which Irving Howe and others have been coloring the world of our fathers, and to the defensive "didn't-we-do-exceptionally-well" communal histories which have cast a halo of bourgeois accomplishment around most of our communities. Fried's book deals with the social pathology which existed in the areas of immigrant settlement, and does so in a way which raises important questions about the acculturation process itself and the functional value of the Jewish identity which the immigrants brought with them.

One form of American Jewish social history combines public relations with nostalgia, and is found most frequently in the many communal histories. It begins with an impression of East European Jewry as a world of gentle scholars married to women of valor whose children were forced by poverty and pogrom to emigrate to America. Here they became a community of desperately hard-working parents who sacrificed their lives to send their children to CCNY.

Those who came were either fully and happily traditional or bright young intellectuals who were members of socialist cells in Warsaw or Vilna.

However, the fact is that Jewish life in Eastern Europe was in an advanced stage of social and spiritual disintegration (read Raphael Mahler or any of the Yiddish novelists from Peretz and Scholem Aleichem to the Singer brothers and Grade). Many who came had long since broken with their families and traditional Jewish identity. Most who came were young, and many were hardly literate, particularly the girls. They were, therefore, unskilled and lacked the cultural conditioning necessary to take advantage of the American opportunity. It still comes as a shock to most American Jews that prostitution was endemic in the American ghettos and that Jewish girls were involved in the trade in numbers disproportionate to other ethnic groups. Dislocation inevitably breeds disorientation. The crowded quarters of the East Side pushed young Jews out into the streets where they received schooling in jungle values and attitudes. Since families came over piecemeal, there was often no home to be pushed out of. Yet, the social cost of the

Communication

The Editor
Journal of Reform Judaism

Edwin Friedman's article, "Bar Mitzva When the Parents Are No Longer Partners" (*Journal*, Spring, 1981), impels me to share our Temple's guidelines:

1. An officer is designated to meet with the parents at least three months prior to the Bar/Bat Mitzva to apprise the family of the Temple's guidelines and to discuss financial arrangements, personal problems and announcements in the Temple bulletin.
2. The congregation relates directly and exclusively with the family for making arrangements and decisions for *aliyot* and other honors.
3. The synagogue and reception hall are open to all who wish to attend the services or reception (and/or *Kidush*).
4. The synagogue helps facilitate arrangements for the family so that there is no embarrassment to the family or synagogue. In order to do so, the synagogue remains neutral in any differences which may occur between family members.
5. It is recommended that all optional practices which call attention to the parents, e.g. calling the parents to the *bima*, asking the parents to stand for blessing, etc., be dispensed with unless specifically requested by the parents.
6. At the conclusion of the service, rabbi and officer of the congregation greet the entire family of the Bar/Bat Mitzva without designating parents explicitly.

Murray Levine
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immigration process is rarely examined in these "histories," whose purpose is to glorify accomplishment rather than to analyze social phenomena.

The history of my city is typical. Lloyd Gartner, the author of *History of the Jews of Cleveland*, makes no reference to adult crime or prostitution. The book makes no mention of the fact that Cleveland incubated a group of syndicate leaders who came into notoriety as the "Cleveland Four" (Tucker, Dalitz, Kleinman and Rothkopf). There is a page in the book on juvenile delinquency in the pre-World War I period which reports that "several hundred Jewish boys appeared before the juvenile court," but the author fails to investigate the crimes with which they were charged and does not seem to recognize that such numbers represent a sizable proportion of youngsters between twelve and fifteen. Why were so many Jewish boys charged as delinquents?

The other form of American Jewish social history operates with a different set of preconceptions, largely anti-bourgeois and anti-institutional, but no less misleading. The Irving Howes are put off by the rather stolid quality of suburban life. They want the smell and taste of "real people." It is true, of course, that there existed an active and colorful theater, a number of Yiddish poetry circles and, of course, the active Yiddish language newspapers on the East Side; but there were at least as many pool halls in the ghetto as literary societies. The East Side

and the other immigrant centers were places from which to escape. The one hope was to get out. There was no privacy. The street was the school and playground, as well as living room. There were as many teen-age truants on the street as future CCNY registrants in school. It was an era of broken and overworked families. The stereotypical Jewish mother emerges because mothers had to use every bit of guile they possessed to keep their children from running wild. At a distance, the East Side seems colorful; at closer look, it was only a dismal neighborhood.

Fried's book is not another sensational report designed to titillate the reader with tales of Jews gone wrong, but a sober academic study of Jewish life on the wild side. It deals with Jewish crime within the context of Jewish social mobility. Prostitution, thuggery, thievery and worse were ways of escaping from the drabness and impoverishment of ghetto life.

There is no reason Jews need to be defensive about Jewish crime. Every immigrant group went through a similar adjustment period. What is important is that we do not deny the facts. Those who do so are prone to pass harsh judgments on the present generation of ghetto dwellers. The truth is that "there but for the grace of two generations go we."

The thesis that delinquency and crime decrease with age is fairly well established. So is the thesis that an apartment in Brooklyn (rather than Jewish values) took many out of the East Side

gangs; though, in time, Brooklyn's streets produced their own gangs. Mobility and age had their effect on Jewish delinquents, and most became members of the "straight" world, at least until 1920 when Prohibition suddenly made crime the high road to great and instant wealth. The two decades from the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment to the second World War represent the heyday of the American gangster when petty thugs were transformed into syndicate leaders. The criminal suddenly became an accepted and necessary member of society and among its most affluent.

Fried makes it clear that during this period Jewish gangsters played a major role at all levels of the various syndicates; indeed, in numbers Jews seem to have matched those of their Italian counterparts. Nor did Jewish mobsters limit themselves to juggling figures. We would like to think that no "nice Jewish boy" would beat up a union organizer or shopkeeper who would not pay for protection, but that is simply not the case. When soon-to-be governor, Thomas Dewey, was investigating the Lepke syndicate, that Jewish mobster directed his hired hands to assassinate anyone who might testify against him. In the violence that ensued, nearly a thousand people were eliminated. Newspapers called the killers "Murder Incorporated." "Murder Incorporated" was an *entirely* Jewish enterprise.

Jewish gangsters—like gangsters everywhere—both prey on

and are part of their communities. In the twenties, whenever a mobster stood trial, people from his turf would appear to testify about kindnesses and favors he had done for them. So it has ever been. A debate still rages among historians of the Judean Revolt whether the Sicarii were freedom fighters or extortionists; and the answer is that they were both. The human spirit is never of one color. During World War II, when it was necessary to speed arms to the Allies, the United States Government cooperated with Lucky Luciano (although he was in prison) to gain his support for a no-strike pledge from New York's longshoremen. The government went back to Luciano before the Allied invasion of Sicily to coordinate plans with that island's Mafia. An as yet unrecorded footnote to recent Jewish history would describe the support some Jewish gangsters gave to various groups, particularly the *Irgun*, during the 1947-48 struggle to establish the State of Israel.

The Jewish gangster was a predator, a wild creature; but the East Side and its counterparts across America were jungles. Fried does not make excuses, but he does remind us that the East Side was hell and that the immigrants who became its denizens often brought a Jewish identity which was severely frayed.

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come almost exclusively Italian. Why? Fried describes a process he calls "congruence." A complex society requires that crime be equally sophisticated. Organization requires professionals—lawyers, CPAs, etc. But the articulation of criminal structures affected all syndicates equally. Unfortunately, he does not investigate the social and ethnic reasons which led the Jewish mobster to withdraw in the post-war period. This much is clear: just as the mobs were eager to launder their monies so that they could invest in legal enterprises, so were they eager to launder their lives so as to be accepted by the "straight" world. After all, the leaders were now people of wealth. Children of gangsters regularly went to private schools and to good universities. The "Cleveland Four" had to leave Cleveland, but found acceptance in Las Vegas and La Costa. Their children remain and are accepted members of the community. Fried's book calls for a sequel which studies why the Godfather forced his son into the business and the "Cleveland Four" forced their children out.

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coal mines of West Virginia. As each group passed through these immigrant way stations, it endured a generation of delinquency, rebellion and crime until the adults developed marketable skills and pulled together enough money to get out. I wonder sometimes about the current emphasis on "gentrification," the assumed value of situating middle- and upper middle-class families side by side with traditionally immigrant and turbulent communities. To place a straight community next to a ghetto would seem to be an invitation to disaster.

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Daniel Jeremy Silver

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Yahweh Is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel. By Millard C. Lind, foreward by David Noel Freedman, introduction by John H. Yoder. Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1980. 248 pp.

Under the influence of Zionism and Modernism, we have all been taught to read the Bible as a document of Jewish nationalism. But our scholarly predecessors, who interpreted the words of Scripture to indicate pacifism and even passivity under God, may have been more right. That, at least, is the thesis of this learned and persuasive study of Holy War in ancient Israel.

The main point of *Yahweh Is a Warrior* seems indisputable: God, not the people, wins military victories. God, not Israel, decides who conquers—the many or the few, the strong or the weak. The model for biblical victory is the Exodus in which Israel defeated a powerful nation without, so to speak, firing a shot. From Moses until David, victories came miraculously, not through weaponry or military skill (even David beat Goliath only because God wanted him to). The early history narratives in Genesis were written during a period of maximum Jewish military aspiration, but they reflect a cosmopolitanism and trust in God that the kings did not always manifest. The patriarchal pacifists; the judges, who resolutely refused to be kings; Saul, who failed because he could not be militant enough precisely when God was the Warrior—all these indicate that Abraham Cronbach's reading of the Torah was

far less idiosyncratic than most of us once thought.

Professor Lind, a Mennonite scholar, documents the pacifist tradition in Israel meticulously. His learning is vast, and reflects German theological insight as well as a fine grasp of Near Eastern archeology.

Lind attempts to prove that the canonical text—which is undeniably pacifist in tone—reflects historical facts and is not mere theological reflection or secondary interpretation of Near Eastern militarism. But—as Lind must know—the ancient Near East reflected the belief that war was between the gods, and in this respect, the Israelites' true originality was that their God did not endorse warlike imperialism or idolatrous subjection of church to state. Furthermore, there is no way to ascertain historical truths through the canonical text. Not only is that impossible, it is also unnecessary. The only exodus we can speak of is the theologically sophisticated version related in the book of Exodus. The only judges we know are already part of the Deuteronomic history. Although we cannot separate "historical fact" from "theological reflection" in the way Lind thinks we should, nothing crucial is lost. Whatever the "real" Abraham thought (and Lind is much more sanguine about his existence and nature than much of

recent scholarship), it is the canonical Abraham—who only once lapsed from obedience into military action—which is the issue. The scripture “now in our hands” is our Bible, and that book is incredibly slanted toward pacifism and trust in God.

Despite our tendency to look for biblical justification for modern-day militarism (e.g., the Six Day War)—what we actually find is a people who believed that God, and God alone, would protect them against their enemies, and that their task was only to keep His commandments. Not only Cronbach but also Satmer and Buber and the Jewish Peace Fellowship are on the right track, although most of us cannot accept their views. We are deeply committed to the Zionist heresy of military

self-protection and trust in our Jewish power. Alas, we Jews turn out to be not very powerful as the world measures strength. The Bible is not only religiously subtle but also politically relevant.

Whether ancient Israel's unique solution to the political question of survival was a “late spiritualization” or, as Lind insists, “an event happening at the beginning of Israel's existence,” it was in any case “an event that transformed warfare itself from a manipulation of power to a prophetic act and a patient waiting upon Yahweh's deliverance.” The Bible, then, is a challenge to all our certainties about power and a powerful call to renewed trust in God.



Arnold Jacob Wolf

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God's People in Christ: New Testament Perspectives on the Church and Judaism. By Daniel J. Harrigan, S. J. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980. 144 pp.

Issues in the Jewish-Christian Dialogue: Jewish Perspectives on Covenant, Mission and Witness. Edited by Helga Croner and Leon Klenicki. Ramsey, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1980. 189 pp.

Jewish and Christian Self-Definition. Volume One: The Shaping of Christianity in the Second and Third Centuries. Edited by E. P. Sanders. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980. 336 pp.

What Are They Saying About Christian-Jewish Relations? By John T. Pawlikowski. Ramsey, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1980. 146 pp.

As an ordained liberal rabbi actively involved in ecumenical dialogue on the local level, I pray that of the four volumes reviewed, the one which will have the great-

est impact upon its readers—both Jewish and Christian alike—is that of John T. Pawlikowski, *What Are They Saying About Christian-Jewish Relations?* Partly because

of its brevity, partly because of the felicity of its writing style, but primarily because of the clarity with which Pawlikowski enumerates those fundamental core issues crucial to the dialogist, this work demands constant reading and re-reading by all concerned with improving the climate of Jewish-Christian relationships.

Pawlikowski emphasizes the five emerging directions necessary for any present and future Christian theology of Judaism (pp. 61ff)—not to mention the equally important need for a contemporary Jewish theology of Christianity, both of which have already been addressed by such eminent scholars as Hans Kung and Jakob J. Petuchowski, among others. The very issues with which Pawlikowski is concerned—New Testament anti-Semitism, Pharisaism, the Land of Israel, the Nazi Holocaust, the Jewish Covenant, the person of Jesus—are precisely those elements which must be addressed by both theologies.

From the Jewish point of view, and immeasurably helpful to the sensitive Christian theologian, is the important collection of essays edited by Helga Croner and Leon Klenicki under the title, *Issues in the Jewish-Christian Dialogue: Jewish Perspectives on Covenant, Mission and Witness*. (Significantly, both of the first two volumes have been published by the Roman Catholic Paulist Press.) Grouped under the twin headings of "I. Covenant" and "II. Witness and Mission," these seven essays—all by distinguished scholars with-

in the American Jewish Community, including the late Leon Stitskin, *zichrono livrachá*—further explore these vital topics in both their historical and present-day contexts. To read these essays and wrestle with their content, as the authors themselves have done, is to further appreciate the rich intellectual heritage of the Jewish religious tradition, a tradition bound not so much by the limitations of the human mind but by what Klenicki himself calls "... the sincere search for God ... an open-hearted, totally committed, dramatic thirst for God" (p. 9).

This intellectual component of religious tradition is further enhanced within the Christian community by the publication of the first of three volumes of a research project sponsored by McMaster University (Hamilton, Canada) under the overall rubric "Jewish and Christian Self-Definition." This first volume, entitled *The Shaping of Christianity in the Second and Third Centuries*, is to be followed by a second, to be called *Judaism from the Maccabees to the Mid-Third Centuries*, and a third to "concentrate on Greco-Roman philosophical schools, cults, and other institutions in relation to Jewish and Christian self-definition." The series itself is edited by E. P. Sanders, Professor of Religious Studies at McMaster.

The thirteen essays which comprise this volume all attempt, quite successfully, to delineate the philosophical, theological, histori-

cal, social, and cultural matrix which had an impact upon Christianity in the second and third centuries, as well as the influence and response of such luminaries as Ignatius of Antioch, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. Taken as an individual work with a single theme, one can almost feel the enormity of the weights of Platonism, Roman and Greek milieus, Gnosticism, and Judaism bearing down upon the young Christian sect struggling to emerge into a Church.

For Daniel J. Harrigan, in his book *God's People in Christ: New Testament Perspectives on the Church and Judaism*, the Church is

... the community of those who believe in Jesus and his preaching of the kingdom. It preserves and repeats Jesus' preaching and tries to be faithful to it. It lives its life against the background or horizon of the kingdom (p. 26).

His book, therefore, is a paen of praise in support of the unique nature of the Christian Church, solidly ensconced in the New Tes-

tament, yet cognizant of the Jewish world which preceded it and gave it birth. Sadly, however, Harrigan, in his concluding chapter, is bound by a false sense of the superiority of Christianity when he writes:

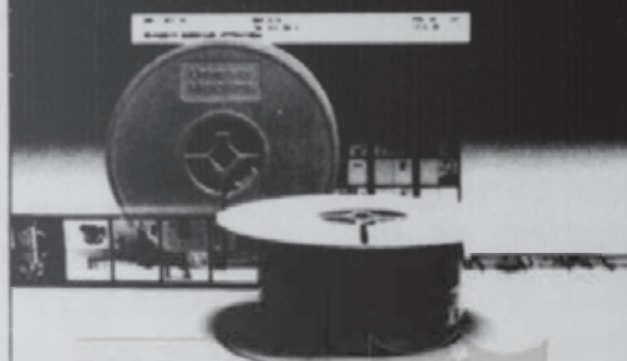
The *unbelief* (*sic*) of Israel remained a mystery to Paul, and it remains such to the church today. . . . To withhold from another [i.e., the Jewish People] what one perceives as a precious spiritual treasure [i.e., Christianity and Jesus as the Christ] is selfishness, and selfishness is never very admirable (p. 114).

Thus, he negates much of the positive value of his commentary—smacking as it does of condescension vis-à-vis the theological faithfulness of Israel in its continuous encounter with God and desiring, instead, a radical alteration of its understanding of that same God. Thus, the value of this work for enlarging the scope of the Jewish-Christian dialogue is severely limited.

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