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THE BLOOD GROUPS OF THE JEWS

A. E. Mourant

THERE IS NO DOUBT that the Jews of the Dispersion show differences, both cultural and physical, from the various populations among whom they live. Opinions vary, however, as to the relative importance of the two kinds of difference. There is, moreover, a divergence of opinion not only as to the extent to which even the physical differences are environmental rather than inherited, but also as to how far inherited differences are derived from an original Israelite ancestry, how far from intermarriage in lands of temporary sojourn, and how far from non-Jewish populations which have become converted to Judaism. It has also been suggested that there has been genetical self-selection of persons leaving the Jewish community through marriage or for other reasons. It is, however, unlikely that any such process has appreciably affected blood group frequencies.

Before we can make specific comparisons between the Jews and their neighbours we must consider in general terms the nature of the evidence available for comparing populations with one another. Some of this evidence is highly technical and it will be necessary to set out the theoretical considerations involved in some detail. Until a few years ago anthropologists, when comparing populations, depended almost entirely on observations and measurements of the external characters of the body. Differences in such characters are obvious to all observers but unless the observations are strictly controlled they are liable to be coloured by personal prejudices: we all have our own mental pictures of what a Frenchman or a Japanese should look like, and are liable to see our own picture in every Frenchman or every Japanese.

Objective differences between individuals and between populations can, however, readily be demonstrated if observations of the size, shape and colour of the body and its parts are made which are strictly quantitative, but even these will not tell us whether the differences are due to

environment or to heredity. The basic characteristics are certainly inherited, but the manifestation of the genes responsible may be considerably modified by the environmental history of the individual. Also, the genetics of the external characters have been very little studied, though it is certain that each of them, with one or two possible exceptions, is the joint result of a considerable number of genes.

The blood groups, on the other hand, are genetically very simple and well understood. The observed facts, that is to say the results of our tests on the red blood cells of the individual, constitute his or her blood group phenotype. The latter is very directly and simply related to the genotype, or genetical constitution, which is fixed for life at the moment of conception. As far as most tests are concerned the phenotype too is fixed by the time of birth, and for all tests by the age of about one year. Unlike the external characters, blood groups are therefore unaffected by the environment. They have the further practical advantage that their consideration is unaffected by such emotional accretions as have tended to attach themselves to discussion of the external features of the body.

There are ten genetically independent or almost independent systems of blood groups, but in the present state of our knowledge only three of these, the ABO, the MNSs and the Rh or Rhesus systems, contribute appreciably to the solution of the problems of Jewish ancestry.

The ABO blood groups constitute the best-known system and also the one which contributes most information about the Jews. It will therefore be convenient to use this system as the basis for a discussion of the general principles involved in the use of blood groups in population studies.

As all blood donors know, there are four blood groups called O, A, B, and AB; these are characterized by the presence or absence of either or both of the substances A and B on the red cells. These substances are polysaccharides, thus belonging, in a very broad sense, to the same class of compounds as starch and cellulose. They are present only in minute amounts and can be detected and distinguished from one another only by the use of serum reagents known as anti-A and anti-B.

If a suitable preparation of the red cells of a blood under test is treated with anti-A serum, cells containing the A substance (i.e. those of groups A and AB) will clump together or 'agglutinate'. Similarly those containing B (groups B and AB) will agglutinate in the presence of anti-B.

The inheritance of the blood groups depends upon the existence of three kinds of allelomorphic (alternative) genes O, A, and B, of which A and B give rise to the substances indicated by the same letters. Every human being has two of these genes, like or unlike, in his or her genetical constitution, one being inherited from the mother and one from the father. Thus people of group O have two O genes; group A people an

A and an O or two A's, group B people a B and an O or two B's, while group AB people have an A and a B.

In applying the results of blood group surveys to population problems it is convenient to use the genes rather than the blood groups themselves and to think in terms of the frequencies or percentages of the three genes, O, A, and B. When we speak of a person having an O and an A gene we mean in fact that every cell, or nearly every cell, of the body carries both of these genes. For statistical purposes, however, we attribute only a single pair of genes to each individual, namely, those present in the single fertilized cell from which the individual grew by repeated cell division. Thus the percentages of the genes in a given population may be regarded as the total numbers of each of the genes present in fifty people, who between them have one hundred genes. In the case of some of the blood group systems it is possible by direct serological tests to ascertain the precise genes carried by each individual. This as we have seen, is not in all cases possible for the ABO blood groups, but if we carry out tests on a sufficiently large number of people we can calculate without great difficulty the percentages of the genes present in the population. This may appear to be a roundabout procedure but it has several advantages. Firstly, we are dealing only with three quantities instead of four, and, since these three variables as a matter of simple arithmetic must add up to 100 per cent we can in fact specify any population in terms of the percentages of two only of these variables, the ones chosen being in practice the A and the B genes. Also, when we are considering the mixing of populations the percentages of the genes in the mixed population (as can simply be proved mathematically) are proportional to the contributions made by the respective ancestral populations. There is not such a simple proportion to be observed if we specify the populations in terms of the blood groups themselves. It should be added that, in the absence of selective survival or fertility, and of random fluctuations or drift such as may occur in very small populations, the frequencies of the three genes will tend to remain constant from generation to generation in a given population.

The problem of natural selection is one which faces us whenever we try to compare populations, whether on the basis of blood groups, of skin colour, or of any other set of characters. If we accept the common ancestry of the whole human race then the differences now observed must, apart from random drift, be due to some form of natural selection, and this process, however slow it may be, must be continuing at the present time. The best that we can do for purposes of characterizing and comparing populations is to try to choose characters for which selection is slow.

The broad indications (Mourant, 1954) are that selection with respect to the Rh and MNS groups is slow and has given rise to a fairly uniform distribution of the blood groups concerned over whole regions

of subcontinental size, while selection for the ABO groups has been more rapid, so that superimposed on the broad regional frequencies are minor variations characteristic of separate countries and parts of countries.

This hypothesis is supported by the recent discovery that certain diseases are more liable to affect people of certain ABO blood groups than of others, for such a differential incidence of disease must in the course of thousands of years modify the gene frequencies in a given population. Apart from the rather special case of haemolytic disease of the newborn, similar effects have not been discovered in relation to the blood groups of the systems other than ABO.

The ABO blood groups are thus particularly useful for tracing relatively local population movements which have taken place within the last thousand years or so, but it appears unlikely that natural selection has even in the last 2,000 or 2,500 years produced changes sufficient to give rise to serious confusion. Apart from systematic natural selection, another process may, as already mentioned, have produced changes in blood group frequencies: where the numbers of a given population have fallen very low and have then increased, without the introduction of any genes from outside, the relatively small number of individuals who gave rise to the subsequent population may not have been a random sample of the original larger population. This process may have operated in relation to any of the blood group systems, but only for a few small very local Jewish communities are its effects likely to have been important.

The Rhesus blood group system is highly complex since the genetical units which are passed on from parent to child, and of which every individual possesses a paternal one and a maternal one, appear to be complexes of at least four genes and possibly as many as six. For most purposes, however, we need only consider three of these. Each individual has two sets of three genes, each set consisting of either a D or a d, a C or a c, and an E or an e. The presence of any one of the genes D, C, c, E, and e is recognized by the fact that the red blood cells of the individual are agglutinated when treated with the appropriate serum reagent. The gene d, however, is only recognizable as the absence of D, just as in the ABO system O is recognizable as the absence of A and B. In all families which have so far been studied the triplets of genes have remained intact from one generation to the next, but there is a certain amount of anthropological and other evidence which suggests that in very rare cases a complex can become split in the process of formation of the reproductive cells, and part of it exchanged with the corresponding part of the individual's other complex, a process known as 'crossing-over'. A similar complexity affects the MNSs blood groups, since here each individual possesses a pair of combinations of genes each consisting of either M or N combined with S or s; here again, as with the Rh system, the full complexity is much greater than we have indicated.

Besides the blood groups, a number of other haematological characters, recognizable by simple tests, are controlled by simple genetical systems. The study of these characters, and especially their study on a population basis, is a very recent development but already several of them have proved of great value in anthropology. The only ones which have been applied to problems of Jewish anthropology are the haemoglobins and an enzyme deficiency related to favism (sensitiveness to the bean, *Vicia faba*).

About 20 distinct haemoglobins, all or nearly all shown to be genetically controlled, have now been recognized in man, but we are concerned here only with two of these, normal adult haemoglobin or haemoglobin A, and sickle-cell haemoglobin or haemoglobin S. The principal test for haemoglobins is that of paper electrophoresis, and consists in observing the rate at which a haemoglobin stain migrates along a strip of moistened filter paper when an electrical field is applied.

Haemoglobins A and S are controlled by a pair of allelomorphic genes. Most people throughout the world are homozygous (AA) for haemoglobin A but throughout tropical Africa, and to a lesser extent in parts of Greece, Arabia, and India, and elsewhere, numbers of people (from 1 to 45 per cent of the population) have another haemoglobin, S. Most of these people are heterozygous (AS) for the genes concerned and possess a mixture of the two haemoglobins but a few are homozygous (SS) for haemoglobin S. The latter all or nearly all die in infancy of haemolytic anaemia but despite this the gene is maintained, apparently owing to the fact that heterozygotes are more resistant to malignant tertian malaria than are normal AA homozygotes. This mechanism means that the equilibrium between the genes will be rather sensitive, through natural selection, to the degree of malarial infection to which a given population is exposed, but the achievement of equilibrium in a new environment will take many generations, and the percentage of haemoglobin S genes in a population is therefore at times a valuable index of origin or of mixing, especially in cases where a population with a high frequency of the abnormal gene has entered an area in which it was formerly absent.

Another genetically determined abnormality, thalassaemia, is present in many populations in the Mediterranean region and elsewhere, and has proved to be of anthropological interest. The gene for thalassaemia is an allelomorph of a gene present in most people and necessary for the production of normal adult haemoglobin (haemoglobin A). Homozygotes for the abnormal gene are severely anaemic and mostly die in childhood. Heteroxygotes may or may not be mildly anaemic, and there is some evidence suggesting that, as in the case of the gene for haemoglobin S, the thalassaemia gene is maintained owing to the resistance of these heterozygotes to malaria. In some parts of the

Mediterranean area as many as 20 per cent of the population carry the gene.

For at least a century it has been known that certain persons of the Mediterranean area are liable to become seriously ill with haemolytic anaemia if they eat the broad bean, *Vicia faba*. It has for many years been recognized that there is a constitutional liability to react to the bean in this way but that its manifestation depends upon sensitization resulting from previous ingestion. It has therefore been impossible to say what proportion of a given population have had this tendency, since the only test would have been the dangerous one of causing persons to take repeated meals of the bean and watching for the development of the severe (and in some cases fatal) reactions.

It has now, however, been shown that this tendency to sensitization, as well as a liability to suffer severe reactions on treatment with certain drugs, is related to a deficiency in the blood of the enzyme glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase. This deficiency is under direct genetical control and exists whether or not the subject has been exposed to *Vicia faba* or to the drugs which give rise to harmful reactions. The low enzyme level leads to a secondary increase of another enzyme and this can be demonstrated in a blood specimen by a relatively simple test. The character appears to be sex-linked, the gene being fully expressed in males and in female homozygotes, but showing variable expression (incomplete penetrance) in female heterozygotes. As described later, this character has proved to be of particular interest in distinguishing between different Jewish populations.

THE ABO BLOOD GROUPS

Original records of the ABO blood groups of Jewish populations are scattered through more than sixty papers in a great variety of journals, so that it would have been very difficult to make a complete list directly from the journals. Fortunately, however, a compilation of all available records of ABO blood group population surveys has recently been published (Mourant, Kopeć, and Domaniewska-Sobczak, 1958). In this data for the Jews are tabulated separately and classified according to their country of residence.

For the purposes of the present paper these data have been used to calculate the frequencies of the genes A, B, and O for the Jews of each country or well-defined region. Similarly, from the same source, data have been extracted and gene frequencies calculated for the autochthonous populations of each country or region. Since for any population the frequencies of the three genes add up to unity (or their percentages to 100) the composition of a given population can be expressed fully by stating the frequencies of the A and B genes only, and can therefore be represented by a single point on a graph with A gene frequencies as

ordinates and B gene frequencies as abscissae. For convenience and clarity separate graphs of this kind have been drawn for the three continents of the Old World (Figs. 1, 2, and 4). On each of these the point representing each Jewish population is expanded into a small solid circle. This is joined by a line to the point (without circle) representing the corresponding autochthonous population.

As a preliminary to the interpretation of these diagrams it is worth considering the diagrams that would be given by a number of different hypothetical situations. If all Jews were racially alike the circle representing Jewish blood groups would be the same for every country and from this circle lines would radiate in all directions to the points representing non-Jewish populations. If, on the other hand, Jews were in all cases racially identical with the peoples among whom they lived, the same point for a given country would represent Jews and non-Jews, and no lines would appear on the diagrams but simply a scatter of circles. If Jews were, say, half-and-half mixtures of 'original' Jews and autochthones, the circles representing actual Jewish populations would be distributed irregularly around the point representing 'original' Jews, and the lines would radiate outwards in many directions towards the points representing pure autochthones, but if the lines were all extended inwards they would meet at a point representing 'original' Jews.

In fact, none of the diagrams represents anything like any of these ideal conditions. In the case of Africa data are available only for the region north of the Sahara Desert. Because of paucity of data the diagram for this region (Fig. 1) is, superficially, the simplest and the easiest to interpret. The Jews show considerable uniformity, with percentages near 22 for the A gene and 16 for the B, while the Arabs of all four countries (Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco) have much lower B and somewhat lower A percentages. The figures for these Jews correspond well with those found for Sephardic Jews in Israel, and in Europe. They probably represent only the Jews of the large towns, but in Morocco many Jews live a rural and even an agricultural life. They are probably descended in part from Jewish proselytes of a period long before the great immigration of Sephardim from Spain. Their blood group frequencies if determined would perhaps be found nearer to those of the 'Arab' population than are those of the urban Jews.[1]

A particularly interesting sidelight on the problem is given by the study by Messerlin (1950) of a Moslem tribe, the Ait Slimane of the Haut Atlas Mountains. They have many Jewish customs, and a tradition that they were Jews who became converted to Islam. They are very largely of group O, having only 11 per cent of A genes and 3 per cent of B, figures very close to those of the local and probably exceptionally unmixed Berbers. It is therefore clear that they are essentially a tribe of

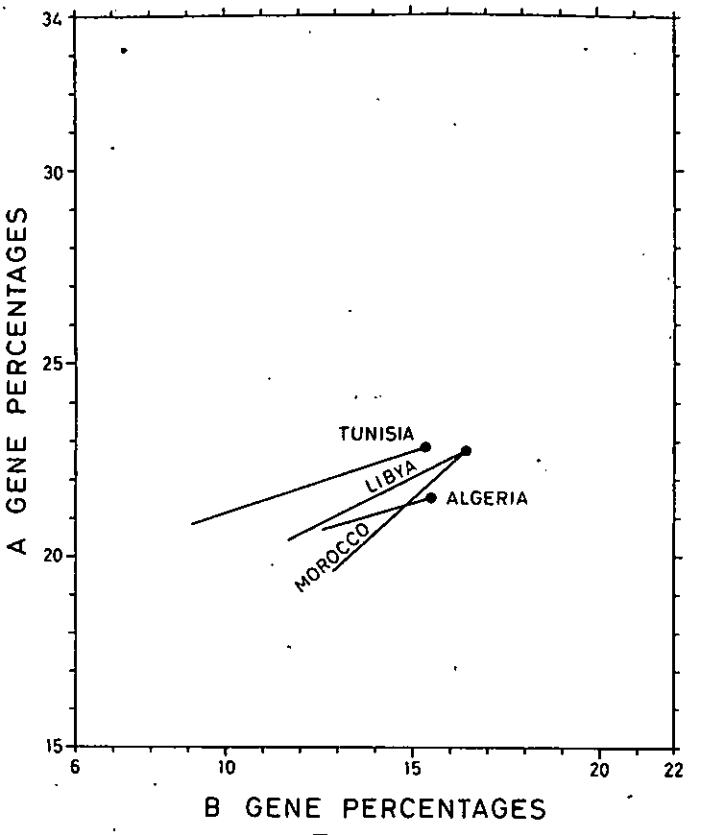

FIG. 1

The A and B gene percentages of Jews and non-Jews in north Africa. For the method of drawing Figs. 1, 2 and 4 see p. 161.

Berbers rather than Jewish immigrants, and they may have embraced Judaism before becoming converted to Islam.

The diagram yielded by the Jews of Europe (Fig. 2) is a much more untidy one, but certain regularities can be seen. The Jews of Hungary, Poland, Ukraine, and White Russia cluster around the percentages A, 28·5; B, 12·5. Not very different are those of Germany and Romania. Very similar figures are given by Ashkenazi Jews in Israel, and by Jews, presumably from eastern Europe, in Canada. The Jews of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, and Great Russia have rather less A genes —about 25 per cent, and about 13 per cent of B—tending towards the figures for the Sephardim which are typically shown by the 'Spanish Jews' of Jugoslavia.

Disregarding the last mentioned and a few other aberrant groups, we can say that the great majority of the Jewish populations of eastern Europe show a close approach to uniformity. The average blood group gene frequencies of all the Jews of the region as a whole are similar to

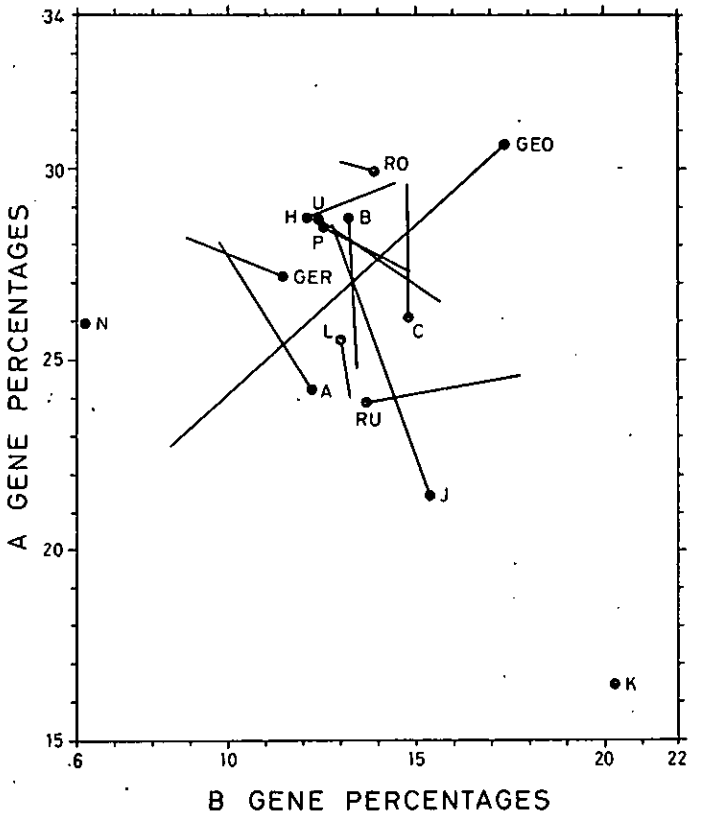

FIG. 2

The A and B gene percentages of Jews and non-Jews in Europe.

A	Austria	H	Hungary	P	Poland
B	Byelorussia	J	Jugoslavia	RO	Romania
C	Czechoslovakia	K	Karaites	RU	Russia
GEO	Georgia	L	Lithuania	U	Ukraine
GER	Germany	N	Netherlands		

the average frequencies of all the non-Jews of corresponding nationalities. This might lead to a superficial interpretation that the Jews are simply a cosmopolitan mixture of all the nationalities concerned. In fact, however, the resemblances between the ABO frequencies of Jews as a whole and non-Jews as a whole are deceptive and probably accidental, as will be seen when the Rh blood groups are considered. There is, nevertheless, a slight and by no means universal tendency for the blood group frequencies of the Jews in any one country to diverge from the average Jewish frequencies in the direction of the frequencies shown by non-Jews in that country, which probably is a genuine effect of the intermarriage of Jews with non-Jews, though it might be accidental, and could indeed, in theory, be the result of the parallel

operation of natural selection on Jews and non-Jews in a common environment.

The conclusions just set out are not entirely in accordance with those reached by Lundman (1958) who in his comprehensive survey of Jewish blood groups uses a somewhat different approach, and whose paper came into my hands only when my analysis of the data was already in progress. I considered that with the relatively large amount of data available regional averages of blood group frequencies would be more likely to reveal any general patterns than would the results of the individual surveys. Lundman on the other hand lists separately the results of these surveys, and in the particular case of the Ashkenazim he concludes that there are two main groups, an eastern with average gene frequencies A, 28·5 per cent, B, 15·0 per cent, and a western with A, 26·5 per cent and B, 12·5 per cent. He further concludes provisionally that the eastern group entered Europe via Asia Minor and Poland, and the western via Rome and south Germany. In view of this suggestion and of the undoubted importance of Rome as an early centre of dispersal of Jews it is unfortunate that the results of the very detailed blood group studies of its Jewish population undertaken by Drs. L. C. and S. P. Dunn and R. Ceppellini are not yet available and that only a preliminary report (Dunn and Dunn, 1957) has yet been published.

In order to test Lundman's analysis of the data I have plotted as separate points, on a gene frequency diagram (Fig. 3) of the kind already described, the results of all the separate surveys listed by Mourant *et al.* (1958) of Jewish populations living in or coming from specified parts of central and eastern Europe, including the European parts of the U.S.S.R. These sets of results are about twice as numerous as those listed by Lundman. They show a central cluster around the gene frequencies A, 28·5 per cent, B, 12·5 per cent, and a less well defined series with A gene frequencies around 25 per cent and a wide range of B. These, simply as a matter of classification, appear broadly to represent Lundman's two series: each is highly heterogeneous in country of residence but the lower A frequencies come, on the whole, from further west than the higher—a conclusion which might have been reached by considering the national averages used in my original analysis.

The heterogeneity of immediate origin of the group with 28·5 per cent of A and 12·5 per cent of B genes, and the fact that their A gene frequency is considerably lower than that found in most parts of Asia Minor, suggest that they did not by any means all come in through that territory. There is, however, a further, rather disperse, set of points on the diagram, corresponding to A gene frequencies above 30 per cent, and it seems probable that these at least represent populations which have come to Europe from Asia Minor with its very high A frequencies. This is particularly clear in the case of the Jews of Georgia, with 30·6 per

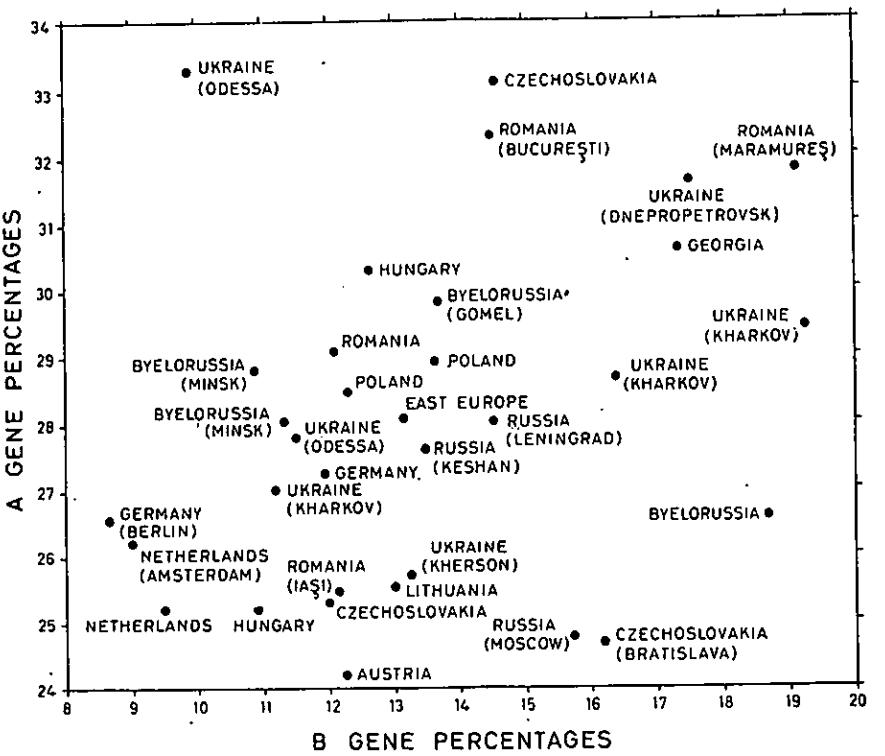

FIG. 3

The A and B gene percentages derived from separate surveys of European Jewish populations. A few points would fall outside the limits of this diagram.

cent of A genes, who live very near to Asia Minor but among an indigenous population with the lowest A frequencies in eastern Europe.

Three surveys, of Jews from Maramureş, Romania, from Kharkov, Ukraine, and from White Russia show B gene frequencies above 19 per cent. These suggest an origin even further east than Asia Minor, as do the still higher B frequencies found in the culturally distinct Karaite and Krimchak communities of the Soviet Union.

I should add that, in criticizing Dr. Lundman's conclusions based on blood groups, I am not questioning his historical statements, which are clearly based on a knowledge of Jewish history much more extensive than my own.

The only Jewish community in western Europe for which we have adequate data is that of the Netherlands, with the lowest known B frequency of any Jewish community and with both A and B frequencies almost identical with those of the local non-Jews—there can hardly be any doubt that the Jews here have acquired a large number of non-Jewish genes by intermarriage.

Data for the Sephardi Jews, apart from those tested in Israel, are very

scanty. We can be certain that the Jews of the Netherlands, just mentioned, though probably in part of Sephardi descent, differ very widely from their Spanish or Sephardi ancestors. The only known data for Sephardim tested in Europe are those from Jugoslavia, showing 21 per cent of A genes and 15 per cent of B genes. These figures agree well with the 23 per cent of A and 15 per cent of B genes of Sephardim tested in Israel. Rather similar figures are found, as we have seen, for the Jewish communities of north Africa. It is to be noted that, while the frequency of B in the Ashkenazim is comparable to that found in most central and eastern European peoples, the frequency in the Sephardim is higher than in any of the autochthonous peoples of western Europe, and that B frequencies are particularly low among Spaniards. Thus it appears likely that the B genes in the Sephardim are mainly derived from their east Mediterranean ancestors.

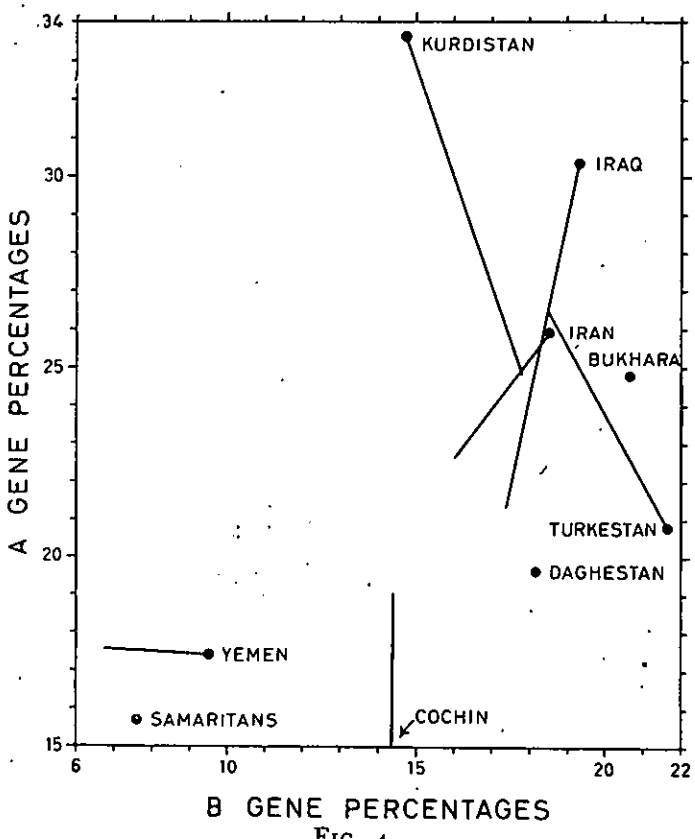

FIG. 4

The A and B gene percentages of Jews and non-Jews from Asia.

The diagram given by the Jews of Asia (Fig. 4) is even more confusing than that for Europe. Both A and B frequencies of the Jews are high, as are the corresponding frequencies of the peoples among whom

they live, or from whose native regions they take their name. But in Asia the Jews appear to have more diversity of frequencies than non-Jews. One is tempted to see in this an effect of inbreeding, each Jewish community tending to develop somewhat extreme gene frequencies as a result of genetic drift. The explanation, however, probably is that non-Jewish communities of south-western and central Asia differ more widely from one another in blood group frequencies than the data at present available indicate, and that the Jews reflect these differences.

Entirely distinct from other Jewish communities in Asia so far examined are the Yemenite Jews and the Samaritans, both communities having very low frequencies of both A and B, similar to those of the Arabs of Arabia. Of Samaritan blood groups we know nothing beyond the ABO frequencies of a relatively small number, but the Yemenites have been very fully studied and are further discussed below with regard to their Rh and MN blood groups.

The ancient community known as the 'Black Jews' of Cochin shows a higher frequency of B than of A. This is true both of those tested in India and of immigrants tested in Israel, though the absolute frequencies found differ considerably. The preponderance of B over A is typical of many Indian populations though not of most of those of the Cochin region itself. Blood groups may, however, be regarded as supporting skin colour in suggesting a considerable measure of indigenous Indian ancestry. The Bene-Israel Jews of Bombay have rather similar A and B frequencies. The 'White Jews' of Cochin on the other hand have an exceptionally high A frequency, but the community is very small and there are indications that the overall frequencies are unduly influenced by inbreeding.

THE MN BLOOD GROUPS

Records are available of the MN blood group frequencies of only nine Jewish communities, all outside Europe. In general they throw little light on Jewish origins and movements. In north Africa and in New York the frequency of the M gene is near 55 per cent, very little different from the values found in non-Jewish populations in western Europe and north Africa. In Jews coming from Asia the figure rises to about 60 per cent, a typical one also for non-Jewish populations in Asia. Only in the case of the Yemenite Jews do the observations throw any important light on the question of Jewish origins. There are two sets of observations, in close agreement, both showing a very high M gene frequency, just over 75 per cent. The Yemenite Arabs have an almost identical frequency and rather high values are found generally in Arabia and the adjacent parts of Africa. Moreover, both the Jews and the Arabs of the Yemen have been tested for the S antigen of the MN series with closely concordant results (very high frequencies of the MS and Ms chromosomes, moderate Ns and very low NS).

THE Rh BLOOD GROUPS

The observations on the Rh blood groups of Jews are rather more numerous than those on their MN groups but, like the latter, are confined to countries outside Europe—a large proportion having been carried out on recent immigrants to Israel by Dr. Gurevitch and his colleagues.

Where Rh tests have been done on Jewish populations a range of sera have in nearly all cases been used, so that it has been possible to calculate the frequencies of most or all of the gene complexes (such as CDe) present in the population.

The observations of Gurevitch, Hermoni, and Polishuk (1951) on Sephardi and Ashkenazi immigrants show that both these important groups of Jews have a blood group constitution which might be accounted for by the mixing of a Mediterranean population with one from central or northern Europe. As might be expected, the Sephardim are nearer to the Mediterranean type, having a higher frequency of CDe, and lower frequencies of cDE and cde, than the Ashkenazim. In addition both these populations have a frequency of cDe distinctly higher than is found in the peoples of northern and central Europe or in most Mediterranean peoples; this almost certainly originates in Africa south of the Sahara Desert where its frequency is from 45 to 90 per cent as compared with 2 to 3 per cent in Europe. Most Jewish populations have from 5 to 10 per cent of this gene combination while Moslem peoples of the Near East have from 10 to 20 per cent. In both cases it is almost certain that the excess over 3 per cent, if not the whole, came, directly or indirectly, from Africa and hence that the Jews in general, and especially the Sephardim, have several per cent of an African component in their ancestry.

Generally speaking the Jewish populations of north Africa have Rh frequencies in agreement with those of the typical Sephardim, but with the Mediterranean features, not surprisingly, more marked, and the African cDe component a little higher.

Because of the important conclusions which can be drawn from a consideration of the Rh groups of certain Canadian Jews, it is necessary to consider carefully how they were tested. The main series was tested by Chown, Peterson, Lewis, and Hall (1949) as part of a study of the blood groups of persons applying for permission to marry in Manitoba, Canada. By law it is necessary for blood specimens to be taken for syphilis tests, and these specimens have been used also for ABO and Rh testing. A statement must also be made of each person's 'race' which, in general, means the nationality of that person or of his or her last European ancestor in the male line, with a separate category for 'Hebrews'. It might be expected that those declaring themselves of Hebrew race would be mainly of Ashkenazi origin, with a possible

admixture of varied north European ancestry acquired since the Jewish ancestors entered Canada, if not before.

The ABO and Rh frequencies found in this study for non-Jews coming from the various countries agree well with observations made in Europe on the present inhabitants of those countries. The results of the observations on the 'Hebrews' can therefore be accepted as fully reliable. The total number tested, 140, is adequate for the present purpose.

Chown *et al.* tested for four antigens of the Rh system, C, D, E, and c. Lubinski, Benjamin, and Strean (1954) tested 967 Jews from Montreal (514 mothers and 453 infants) for D only, with results which agree very closely with those of Chown *et al.* and therefore need not be considered separately. The ABO frequencies found for the Manitoba Jews by Chown *et al.* agree well with those of Jews tested in eastern and central Europe.

The main features of the Rh picture are the high frequency of CDe and the low cde, both more extreme, and hence more like those of Mediterranean peoples, than those found for Ashkenazim or even Sephardim in Israel. It is impossible without further information as to the detailed origins of the Canadian and Israeli Jews to say why the former, against all expectations, appear more Mediterranean; but the main fact which emerges is that, to judge from this small sample, Jews from Europe, even if scarcely distinguishable from their former European non-Jewish neighbours by their ABO groups, show by their Rh groups that physically they are more nearly related to their Mediterranean ancestors than to these European neighbours.

The Canadian Jews have also, like nearly every Jewish population tested, a somewhat raised frequency of cDe, testifying to some degree of African ancestry.

The Jews of Kurdistan, Baghdad, and Persia show, broadly speaking, the same features as those already mentioned for Jews from Europe. They have a high frequency of CDe, but the value of 60 per cent reached by the Persian Jews is perhaps a mark of Asiatic as much as of Mediterranean origin. They have a rather high frequency of cDE, which is a feature of populations of the Near East generally as well as of northern and eastern Europe. Frequencies of cDe are variable but sufficiently high to indicate the presence of an African component. The frequency of cde is lower than in the Sephardim and Ashkenazim but not as low as the most extreme figures found in the Mediterranean Basin in non-Jews. The low figures may nevertheless be in part the result of the presence of Asiatic components in the population.

We have already seen that the ABO and MN blood group frequencies of the Yemenite Jews differentiate them from other Jewish populations so far examined and also, on the same basis, that there is little difference between Yemenite Jews and Yemenite Arabs. The Rh groups of both populations fit well into the Mediterranean picture and

also seem to support the hypothesis of a common origin for the two populations. The one point which remains doubtful is that of the amount of African admixture present in the Jews and in the Arabs in this region. Much depends upon how we interpret the presence of 20 per cent of the combination cD^{u}e in the Yemenite Jews. It is possible that this is a relatively local eastern Mediterranean character. On the other hand, there is a possibility that for technical reasons which have not yet been fully defined, the entity which is diagnosed in this survey as cD^{u}e may not differ from what is diagnosed in other surveys, including that of the Yemenite Arabs, as cDe, which is certainly mainly of African origin. The study of haemoglobins, described below, also throws some light on this problem.

HAEMOGLOBINS

Haemoglobin tests have so far given little help in Jewish studies. The only area where they have proved at all useful is south-west Arabia. Here the Arabs of Zabid, who may be related to the Veddoid peoples of India, have a high frequency of haemoglobin S—possibly an original Asiatic character, possibly derived from Africa. The Yemenite Arabs have only 2 per cent of carriers of this haemoglobin, or 1 per cent of the gene, while the Yemenite Jews appear to have none. The difference between Yemenite Jews and Arabs, on the numbers tested, is not statistically significant, but is consistent with the Yemenite Arabs having interbred with other Arab peoples or with Africans to a greater extent than have the Jews.

THALASSAEMIA

In view of the anthropological information yielded by thalassaemia surveys in a number of Mediterranean countries, especially Italy, such surveys of Jewish populations would be of considerable interest. No results of quantitative surveys appear to have been published, but it is known that thalassaemia has a fairly high frequency among Jews from Kurdistan (Matoth, Shamir, and Freundlich, 1955) and a condition which is probably thalassaemia has been found in Bukhara Jews (Schieber, 1945).

ENZYME DEFICIENCY

A deficiency of the enzyme glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase in the blood, leading to a secondary increase of another enzyme, glutathione reductase, and hence to a lowering of the glutathione content of the blood under certain test conditions, is found in numerous Mediter-

ranean peoples, and the frequency of this condition has proved of particular value in distinguishing between different groups of Jews (Szeinberg, Sheba, and Adam, 1958). The condition was not found in any of 288 Ashkenazim of both sexes examined. Among males (in whom the gene is apparently expressed whenever present) it was found in 21 per cent of Iraq ('Babylonian') Jews, 5 per cent of Yemenite Jews, and 4 per cent of North African Jews, thus emphasizing the 'Mediterranean' character of all these, and the uniqueness of the Iraq Jews. Unfortunately, few if any comparable surveys of non-Jews have been published.

DISCUSSION

In describing the blood group pictures of particular Jewish populations we have reached certain limited conclusions as to their origins. It is now necessary to see whether, and how far, the data can be made to yield more comprehensive conclusions.

Much has been written on the history of the Jews and of their migrations. I have read very little of this literature, some of which is speculative, but I realize that my interpretations of blood group evidence may nevertheless be unduly coloured by the opinions of others. I have tried to show what can be deduced directly from the evidence of the blood groups and other genetical factors, and to distinguish as clearly as possible any interpretations which make use of historical records or traditions. The distinction, however, is not easy, for even the use of a classificatory term such as Sephardim implies community of origin, quite apart from the fact that such terms may have different meanings to different writers.

The chief fact which emerges from the present study is the remarkable uniformity of the Ashkenazim as a whole, and similarly of the Sephardim as a whole. There is also a rather surprisingly close resemblance between these two major groups but, where there are systematic differences, the Sephardim not unexpectedly show more marked Mediterranean characters than the Ashkenazim. Thus, though the Jews of Europe and north Africa may have migrated widely and intermarried to some extent with various peoples, they have maintained their genetical identity more obviously than have the more heterogeneous Jews of Asia.

As regards the latter, no generalizations can be made. Before we can interpret the considerable but heterogeneous body of blood group data available we need much further information on the blood groups of the autochthonous populations of the southern part of the Soviet Union and of other parts of south-west Asia.

Two Asiatic Jewish populations show features of particular genetical interest: one of these is the Yemenites who, as we have seen, are almost

identical genetically with the Yemenite Arabs; the other is the Jews of Iraq, the so-called 'Babylonian Jews' who claim to have remained a closed population since the exile to Babylon in 586 B.C.E. The remarkable high frequency shown by Szeinberg *et al.* for the character of glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase deficiency in this population gives some genetical support to this claim: for the purpose of comparison it is important that studies of this biochemical character should be made on larger numbers of Jews of various origins and on other populations of the Mediterranean region.

In my opinion we cannot at present, except in a few cases, correlate the varying blood group frequencies shown by local surveys, with the detailed history of the communities concerned, but it would perhaps be possible to do this at least in part if the Blood Transfusion Services in Israel were to record the precise birthplace of every donor and the records could be analysed at a single co-ordinating centre similar to the Nuffield Blood Group Centre in Britain. This, however, is a task which must be begun at once if it is to be done at all. While elaborate blood grouping would be of value, it is out of the question on the scale required for such a survey; and, fortunately, it is the ABO groups, which are determined for every donor, which are of more value than all the others together in an investigation of the kind suggested.

While the study of the blood groups and other genetical characteristics of the Jews has so far solved comparatively few problems, it can nevertheless be said that the results obtained are sufficient to show that this approach to problems of Jewish classification and origins is of great value, and to make it desirable that the work should be continued and extended.

TABLE I

The Frequencies of the A and B Blood-group Genes in Jews and non-Jews in North Africa

Country	*Jews*			*Non-Jews (Arabs)*		
	Number	*Gene percentages*		*Number*	*Gene percentages*	
		A	*B*		*A*	*B*
Algeria (Oran)	205	21·47	15·50	1,829	20·65	12·60
Libya	?	22·67	16·42	982	20·44	11·65
Morocco	2,697	22·66	16·44	51,417	19·56	12·91
Tunisia (without Djerba)	400	22·79	15·43	1,586	20·81	9·13

TABLE 2

The Frequencies of the A and B Blood-group Genes in Jews and non-Jews in Europe

Country	Jews			Non-Jews		
	Number	Gene percentages		Number	Gene percentages	
		A	B		A	B
Austria	361	24·20	12·24	8,790	28·05	9·76
Byelorussia	764	28·75	13·21	1,994	24·77	13·42
Czecho-Slovakia	918	26·06	14·80	17,754	29·58	14·76
Georgia	1,983	30·58	17·36	20,425	22·71*	8·43*
Germany	1,617	27·14	11·46	179,244	28·24	8·93
Hungary	483	28·77	12·12	19,953	29·64	14·40
Jugoslavia ('Spanish Jews')	500	21·39	15·36	58,632	28·59	12·70
Lithuania	535	25·52	13·00	5,028	24·02	13·24
Netherlands	1,924	25·90	6·20	492,925	26·57	6·10
Poland	5,451	28·53	12·48	12,384	27·31	14·81
Romania	3,941	29·96	13·84	78,359	30·22	12·97
Russia (*sensu stricto*)	2,582	23·84	13·66	24,869	24·55	17·76
Ukraine	3,174	28·70	12·43	10,492	26·52	15·62
Karaites (Lithuania and Ukraine)	661	16·43	20·23			
Krimchaks (Ukraine)	500	27·16	25·93			

* Averages for all Caucasus populations.

TABLE 3

The Frequencies of the A and B Blood-group Genes in Jews and non-Jews in Asia (excluding Israel)

Country or Region	Jews			Non-Jews		
	Number	Gene percentages		Number	Gene percentages	
		A	B		A	B
Bukhara	1,274	24·74	20·62	—	—	—
Cochin (S. India)	441	11·57	14·32	493	19·00	14·39
Iran	768	25·87	18·50	14,285	22·65	16·03
Iraq	587	30·35	20·29	1,673	21·24	17·39
Kurdistan	526	33·60	14·70	1,904	24·81	17·80
Turkestan	616	20·82	21·65	2,192*	26·49	18·46
Yemen	1,902	17·37	9·51	269	17·53	6·73
Samaritans (Nablus and Beyrouth)	191	15·55	7·59			

* Turkomans.

TABLE 4

MN Gene percentages in Jewish Populations

Place of Residence or Origin	*Number Tested*	*Gene percentages*	
		M	*N*
Brooklyn (New York)[1]	262	55·53	44·47
Morocco[2]	220	55·91	44·09
Tripolitania[3]	200	50·50	49·50
Tunisia[2]	200	55·50	44·50
Baghdad[4]	162	60·49	39·51
Cochin, India[5]	275	60·09	40·00
Iran[6]	200	59·25	40·75
Kurdistan[7]	250	66·40	33·60
Kurdistan[8]	120	52·92	47·08
Yemen[9]	500	75·60	24·40
Yemen[10]	104	75·48	24·52

(1) Wiener and Vaisberg, 1931; (2) Margolis, Gurevitch and Hasson, 1957; (3) Gurevitch, Hasson, Margolis and Poliakoff, 1955; (4) Gurevitch and Margolis, 1955; (5) Gurevitch, Hasson, Margolis and Polishuk, 1955; (6) Gurevitch, Hasson and Margolis, 1956; (7)Gurevitch, Hermoni and Margolis, 1953; (8) Gurevitch and Margolis, 1954; (9) Brzezinski, Gurevitch, Hermoni and Mundel, 1952; (10) Dreyfuss, Ikin, Lehmann and Mourant, 1952.

TABLE 5

Rh Chromosome percentages in Jewish Populations*

Place of Residence or Origin	*Number tested*	*Rh Chromosomes (2 notations)*						
		R_z *CDE*	R_1 *CDe*	R_2 *cDE*	R_0 *cDe*	*R′ Cde*	*R″ cdE*	*r cde*
Morocco[1]	220	—	53·41	6·34	9·46	—	—	30·80
Tripolitania[2]	200	3·27	42·98	7·85	9·46	—	—	36·44
Tunisia[1]	200	0·41	56·09	6·58	8·47	—	—	28·45
Sephardim, Jerusalem[3]	252	—	49·00	6·53	8·87	1·13	—	34·47
Ashkenazim, Jerusalem[3]	946	—	45·10	12·68	4·63	1·58	—	36·01
Manitoba, Canada[4]	140	0·71	53·44	11·46	5·43	2·64	—	26·33
Baghdad[5]	162	4·30	53·54	15·81	4·09	1·11	1·32	19·83
Cochin, India[6]	275	—	41·50	5·04	6·18	2·87	—	44·42
Iran[7]	200	—	60·50	10·85	6·00	—	—	22·65
Kurdistan[8]	250	—	37·24	20·77	15·75	1·79	3·44	21·51
Kurdistan[9]	129	9·00	53·01	17·86	5·12	—	—	15·00
'Oriental Jews' Jerusalem[3]	137	—	46·75	9·26	5·76	0·97	—	37·25
Yemen[10]	500	0·49	56·06	7·86	6·45	0·95	—	28·19
Yemen[11]	104	—	49·51†	6·73	21·88‡	—	—	21·88

* The methods of testing were not the same in each case. In some instances R_z (CDE) could not have been detected and, if present, is distributed between CDe and cDE.

† Includes 3·40 R_1^u (CD^ue).

‡ Includes 20·49 R_0^u (cD^ue).

(1) Margolis, Gurevitch and Hasson, 1957; (2) Gurevitch, Hasson, Margolis and Poliakoff, 1955; (3) Gurevitch, Hermoni and Polishuk, 1951; (4) Chown, Peterson, Lewis and Hall, 1949; (5) Gurevitch and Margolis, 1955; (6) Gurevitch, Hasson, Margolis and Polishuk, 1955; (7) Gurevitch, Hasson and Margolis, 1956; (8) Gurevitch, Hermoni and Margolis, 1953; (9) Gurevitch and Margolis, 1954; (10) Brzezinski, Gurevitch, Hermoni and Mundel, 1952; (11) Dreyfuss, Ikin, Lehmann and Mourant, 1952.

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NOTE

[1] As this paper was going to press an important work 'Les groupes sanguins des populations marocaines' by J. Lévêque (*Bull. Inst. Hyg. Maroc*, Vol. 15, pp. 237–321) became available in London. It includes the results of ABO and Rh tests on numerous Jewish communities. The ABO frequencies of the Jews of the coastal plain agree well with the earlier results already quoted. The Rh frequencies, like those of other Sephardi communities, are typically Mediterranean.

The special interest of Lévêque's work derives, however, from his observations on three Jewish communities in the Tafilalet Oasis. The overall gene percentages are:

A	15·81
B	27·86
O	56·33

The B frequency is much higher than that found for any other Jewish community even in Asia, and higher than for any known non-Jewish community outside Asia other than Gipsies. The combined A, B, and O frequencies are typical of the peoples of northern India and of some other areas in Asia. The Rh frequencies could hardly be other than Mediterranean or Indian, and incidentally show a remarkably small amount of African admixture for communities living on the edge of the Sahara and among peoples having a much larger African element in their constitution.

These Jewish communities show ancient features in their customs and ritual, and are thought to have been uninfluenced by the Sephardi immigration from Spain. They may well have arrived soon after the original dispersion under Nebuchadnezzar. It is difficult, however, to imagine how any Palestinian community could have possessed or subsequently acquired the blood group frequencies found, and their explanation must await future research.

The author draws attention to the need to investigate the Jewish agricultural communities of Sous, Dra, and the region of the Haut Atlas south of Marrakech.

THE RESURGENCE OF HEBREW[1]

Leon Roth

I

A STUDENT casting about for some one simple indication of the extent of the resurgence of Hebrew, should consult the survey, by an industrious statistician, of the Jewish Press in the world today.[2] Turning to the section on the State of Israel he will find listed in the Hebrew language 12 daily newspapers; 3 evening newspapers; 36 weeklies; 10 fortnightlies; 82 monthlies; 26 quarterlies; and 61 periodicals appearing at irregular intervals—in all about 230 items.

The *dailies* require no comment, and for a population of a million and a half with varied and decided political enthusiasms a dozen daily papers is not excessive. But the three *evening* papers, each of which has a large sale, require comment. With the full news service provided by the Israeli Government broadcasting station, morning papers might be suspected to be ordered as a matter of habit, or as a badge of political affiliation, or as an anticipatory compliment to the wisdom of the editorial chair; but *evening* papers are surely bought only to be read. So far as the *weeklies* are concerned, among their 36 there are many children's newspapers (some of them issued in conjunction with the big dailies, some independently), and special publications for fashions, sport, cinema, business, educational methods and institutions, settlement-bulletins and records, and reports of judicial decisions. The subjects of the 82 *monthlies* range over various sectors and systems of agriculture, municipal government, building, diatetics, aviation, medicine, gardening, poultry farming, nature study, kindergartens, bibliography, art, textiles, statistics, Jewish-Arab relations, labour exchanges, Hebrew language, police (by the name of 999!), general literature, theatre, and taxes. The 26 *quarterlies*, mostly coming from the University and other learned societies or institutions, are devoted to scholarly enquiry and scientific research; among them are included journals for the veterinary services and stamp collecting. The '*irregulars*' cover accounting, psychology, medieval history, the local branch of the Society for the United Nations, and the occasional publications of the University Medical School.

It is obvious that of all this periodical proliferation much is ephemeral, much highly specialized, much technical and professional, much crank.

But even so, presumably there are people who read it (if only the printers), even somebody (if only the publisher) who bears the cost. We may suppose that societies and organizations, with or without government or party support, account for much of it—the viticulturalists, the bio-chemists, the poultry farmers, the co-operatives, the cinema owners, the business groups, the philologists, the archaeologists, even the philosophers. It is certainly true that many of the independent *literary* journals at least (as in most countries) have a hard struggle to survive. But all this does not affect the vital point: the language is palpitatingly alive; and it is used over the whole range of modern interest from Art and Aviation to Zoology and Zymotics. This seeming miracle requires accounting for.

II

Some conventional explanations must be corrected first.

As the eponymous hero of modern Hebrew, recent tradition has fixed on the figure of Eliezer ben Yehudah, the author of a vast dictionary of the Hebrew of all the ages, only recently completed from the notes he left at his death. The legend is that one morning he announced to his wife that he had decided to speak only Hebrew; and it was this piece of vivid obstinacy, to which he adhered for the rest of his life, which (we are told) proved the beginning of a general linguistic snowball.

The story is pleasing but it should be taken symbolically only, with the meaning that whereas *before* Ben Yehudah some Jews *could* speak Hebrew, *after* Ben Yehudah they *did*. For the truth is that Hebrew has a long and continuous history behind it; and a glance at the shelves of any standard library would show books written in Hebrew throughout all the many centuries (say, three millennia) of Jewish recorded history. Apart from the Hebrew Scriptures, the Lachish Letters are in Hebrew; the Elephantine papyri are in Hebrew. The Book of Ecclesiasticus was written in Hebrew; the newly found Dead Sea scrolls are in Hebrew; the sayings of the Rabbis are in Hebrew; tradition speaks of a Gospel in Hebrew; the Jewish Prayer Book is in Hebrew; the medieval hymn-writers, the moralists, the chroniclers, wrote in Hebrew; while at least till the time of the French Revolution both public and private correspondence was conducted in Hebrew, diaries were kept in Hebrew, wills were written, journals composed, in Hebrew.

It is thus clear that Hebrew was not a new discovery of Ben Yehudah and his generation. Nor was it confined to the world of professional scholarship. The plainest of plain men was linked to Hebrew. The prayers he learned at his father's knee and heard in Synagogue; the words he used for the recurrent religious occasions—feasts and fasts; birth, marriage, and death; the weekly Sabbaths and the yearly high holy days; the technical vocabulary of his community organization—

all with few, very few, exceptions, were in the authentic Hebrew either of the Bible itself or of the Biblical idiom.

The plain man would not necessarily be a Hebrew scholar, though it is surprising how many of them were; but Hebrew would not be strange to him. Up to the time of the French Revolution universally, and after the French Revolution for the most part, there was no divorce between the Hebrew language and the Jewish communities. And up to a certain degree Hebrew was also *spoken*. When Paul the Apostle said that he was a 'Hebrew of the Hebrews', the latest student (Professor Dodd in his recent study of the Mind of Paul) affirms that his meaning was that he spoke Hebrew and came from a Hebrew-speaking family. Rabbi Judah the Prince, the compiler of the Mishnah, pronounced himself to the effect that in Palestine one should speak not the vulgar Aramaic but Hebrew (or Greek). The medieval Jew, travelling (or driven) over Europe and the East before the prevalence of the German-Hebrew dialect of Yiddish or the Spanish-Hebrew dialect of Ladino, used the lingua franca of Hebrew. A visitor to the Amsterdam school in which Spinoza had once learned reported in 1680 that in the higher forms Hebrew only was spoken. The hints are various but wide-spread. The Hebrew spoken may have been like Church Latin, stilted, scholastic, strained, but it was still Hebrew; and it provided a common medium of intercourse when any other was lacking. When Sir Moses Montefiore visited the Jewries of the East a century or so ago, he took with him a special Hebrew secretary.

What then did Ben Yehudah and his circle do? They did for Hebrew exactly what Socrates is said to have done for philosophy. They brought it down from heaven to earth. They took it from the learned men and the sacred occasion and gave it to the ordinary man for the ordinary occasion. They made it the language of the plumber!

The real point of fact, and of interest, in their work was just that: a learned and a sacred language, used only on occasion for everyday purposes, was turned into the *current* language of every day. It is for this reason and in the light of this fact that the three evening papers of Tel Aviv are to the student of cultural history so significant. Here is no metaphysical treatise, or record of Rabbinical decisions, or handbook of moral maxims, or synagogue hymn, or grace after meals, or traditional greeting, or compliment on great occasions; but, in that very same language, and recognizably in that very same language; the very latest of the very latest news of the day, 'hot' from the hands of its fabricators.

III

Modern Hebrew is thus not the creation of Palestine or the State of Israel. (If anything, the State of Israel is, on the contrary, the creation of modern Hebrew.) And its birth *date* is as difficult to determine as its birth *place*. Ben Yehudah only took over what he found; and what he found was a succession of authors of varying gifts and quality who had abandoned learned or sacred topics and begun to use their Hebrew to describe, either factually or imaginatively, their own and their community's present state and condition and feelings and perplexities and satisfactions. Who was the first it is difficult to say. Steinschneider, the great bibliographer, describes somewhere a manuscript, containing a Hebrew version of the story of King Arthur and the Round Table, made by an unknown author of the thirteenth century during attacks of insomnia. Is this a stirring of modernism? The historians of modern Hebrew Literature do not help us. Some take their point of departure from Moses Hayyim Luzzato in seventeenth-century Italy; some, Moses Mendelssohn and his circle in eighteenth-century Germany; some, nineteenth-century Russia with its satirists and novelists and composers of historical romances; some, the later luminaries who were alive and active in our own day: the essayist Ahad HaAm, the poets Bialik and Tchernichovsky. But this very variety of opinion suggests that what constitutes modernity, not only in Hebrew but in general literature, and indeed in the world at large, is a matter of opinion. That things are not now as they once were, is obvious; and it may be, as Professor C. S. Lewis suggested in his inaugural lecture at Cambridge, we should put the break between the ancients and the moderns not at the so-called Renaissance or Reformation (both of them a deliberate returning to things *past*), but at the invention of the spinning-jenny and the Industrial Revolution, say (for literature), somewhere between Jane Austen and Dickens. So I shall take my courage in my hands and fix my own arbitrary date and say that the beginnings of modern as opposed to classical Hebrew are to be seen, not in the scholars and not in the mystics and not in the novelists and not in the poets and not in the satirists and not even in the dictionary makers, but in one determinate political fact. This fact was the official recognition of Hebrew in the Mandate for Palestine granted to Great Britain in 1922; and it is symbolized not by Eliezer ben Yehudah hectoring his unfortunate wife but by the no less obstinate figure of the late Menahem Mendel Ussichkin, stolid, bull-like, the very opposite of reasonable and all that reasonableness implies, standing up before the members of the Peace Conference at Versailles and addressing, or rather haranguing, them in Hebrew.

IV

We should remind ourselves of some almost contemporary facts.

The last year of the First World War, the year 1918, saw the establishment, through the victories of General Allenby over the Turks, of British control in Palestine; and this control, vested in the legal instrument of the Mandate for Palestine, lasted till the surrender of the Mandate in 1948. Article 22 of the Mandate reads as follows:

> English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew, and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

Thus in law Palestine became a tri-lingual country, each section of the population having the right to use its own language, or rather (what is not quite the same) to have its own language used.

To the mono-cultural and mono-lingual mind of today this may seem strange, but in those days it was quite understandable. The multilingual federation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was a familiar, although by then outgrown, fact. Two languages were spoken in Belgium. In Holland, schoolchildren were taught (as indeed they are still taught) in addition to Dutch, a choice of two out of three other modern languages (English, French, and German). The example of Switzerland showed that even official State-tri-lingualism, however awkward on occasion, was practicable.

The case of Palestine, however, presented a peculiar feature. English, the language of the Mandatory power and the gateway to the modern world, was in no sense a local language (if *any* European language was locally known, it was French); while at least one of the two other languages named together with English in the instrument of government had not been used for the requirements of a modern state. (I am referring of course to Hebrew. The difficulty with Arabic was different, but that is not our concern here at the moment. My remarks are directed to Hebrew only.) Small wonder that in some official quarters the whole conception was pooh-poohed and treated as not much more than a pleasant gesture of romantic peace-makers or a complimentary, but perfunctory, bow to history.

But the Jews thought otherwise. Hebrew had now its opportunity. It was to be used 'not as of sufferance but as of right'. And the leaders of Jewish Palestine took that right seriously. They were not to be put off with a Hebrew word on coins and stamps, a Hebrew name on railway stations, Hebrew lettering on official notepaper. They demanded the right in full, and they saw that they got it; and the right, as I have observed, was not only that *they* should use Hebrew (after all, who could prevent them? A British Mandate wasn't necessary for *that!*) but that Hebrew should be used; and used, I repeat, for public affairs, and not

as of sufferance but as of right. Thus the Mandate offered just that element of necessity (if you like, just that leverage) required to make the so-called miracle of the resurgence of Hebrew an urgent practical demand.

For whatever it may have been *thought* to mean (or even what it was *meant* to mean: the second sentence in the Article quoted might well have been intended as a *limitation*), it was *made* to mean—and made to mean not in a vague future (*bukhra; mañana!*: the tomorrow which never comes) but now, today, this very minute, at once—not only Hebrew in schools (that was, up to a point, understandable even to the official mind, though even now there are highly trained British political thinkers and University administrators who cannot conceive the possibility of any kind of education above the elementary in any other language but English), but Hebrew as a language of Government in the full sense; and that meant Hebrew in legislation, Hebrew for pleading in court, Hebrew for communication with authority with its corollary of Hebrew in all Government departments, Hebrew in all official communications and speeches (and of course the same for Arabic: how audiences used to sit and suffer as the dullest and longest of public addresses was given in English *and* Arabic *and* Hebrew!).

But there it was. The political opportunity begat the practical necessity; and modern Hebrew, that is, Hebrew adequate to all the facts and demands of a modern organized community, sprang into being.

V

We may pause for a moment and consider again what Hebrew as *a language of government* meant. It meant that the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary had to be made to function in Hebrew. Administrative activity of any kind, and at all stages, had to be conducted in Hebrew. Awkward? Difficult? Superfluous? Possibly; but there was no option! Such was the provision of the Mandate!

And so the great process of adaptation to the needs of modern government, which in practice meant *governmental translation*, began. It was clear that by the nature of the case all renderings had to be exact. There were in existence already heaps of ordinary translations: for the children, for example, there were whole series including Dickens and Fenimore Cooper, Jules Verne and Dumas. But these were rather re-writings in an easier and slightly condensed form. The letter of the law could *not* be paraphrased; nor could police notices or tax forms. And so the work had to be well and truly done, without loopholes or possibilities of evasion. And here we have the quiet but definite reminder of the present and practical value of erudition. The old words came alive and into their own. Talmudic law, as is well known, concerns itself not only with religion and ceremonial. It covers the whole gamut of civil and criminal

law; and now Hebrew or Hebraized Aramaic terms, used originally, perhaps, in the courts of Mesopotamian Jewry in the Parthian Empire of the early centuries of the Christian era, became again current coin. At times some coaxing was needed; but Rabbis and professors joined forces with practising lawyers, ancient learning with day-to-day experience of the advocate's office or the magistrate's court. And thus the improbable became possible, the possible actual. Lists of needs were circulated; questions asked; answers found.

And so the opportunity was used. It was used fully, used completely. It was used without compromise; I had almost said, without mercy. It was understood, and presented to Government, totally.

VI

But what happened when it could not be met? And in one crucial case it could not, in the opinion of Government, be met. This case was that of education.

The Mandatory power was convinced that it could not afford a full system even of primary education for the whole country. By its lights it was right. With its rigid financial ideas it really and truly and honestly could not afford it. It could not put up the buildings; it could not train the teachers; it had a costly obsession about the magical value of English and the necessity of following exclusively English precedent. But Palestinian Jewry wanted, and intended to have, a full system not only of primary but of secondary, and not only of secondary but of all sorts of varied types of, education—it probably didn't itself know exactly what: technical, musical, agricultural, and of course university. A constant bone of contention was the kindergarten. The Mandatory power, unaccustomed to the idea of public kindergartens—are there any in Great Britain yet?—and having no money even for primary schools, scoffed at the idea. Palestinian Jewry, polyglot and multilingual, saw its chance for future unity in the Hebraising of its children from their earliest years.

And so Palestinian Jewry parted company with the Mandatory and set up its own educational system. This was under the formal inspection of the Mandatory which gave it a block grant; but in despite of (almost to the despair of) the Mandatory, it comprised everything from teachers' training colleges to kindergartens. The expense was borne in part by internal taxation but mostly by external contributions. It would be false to say that everything in it was good. Much of the Mandatory Education Office's criticism was sound. But it is no use telling an avalanche that it is not behaving by approved standards. Willy nilly, by hook or by crook (and it must be conceded that there was quite a lot of the latter too) Hebrew was to be taught as of right to every boy and girl in the country who wanted it; and they all did.

And here it is necessary to explain something which is so obvious that it is often overlooked. It was not only that Hebrew itself was taught. Every subject was taught *in* Hebrew. Hebrew was made the general medium of teaching. Not only history and geography and literature but mathematics was taught in Hebrew. Botany was taught in Hebrew. Chemistry was taught in Hebrew. That is to say, mathematics, chemistry, and botany were themselves *taught Hebrew.*

It could not have been otherwise. The children not only worked in Hebrew. They played in Hebrew. They quarrelled in Hebrew, they swore in Hebrew. Quite a new crop of linguistic developments appeared. I offer one which has nothing to do with the teaching of the sciences or the playing of games or even with Lars Porsena but which is nonetheless of considerable linguistic interest. 'Ishmael' is an obvious name for a wild boy; and in Genesis xvi. 12 Ishmael is called *Pêrê Adam*, a phrase which the English versions translate prosily 'a wild-ass among men'. So your 'devil may care' boy became in popular parlance, long before the Palestinian school system came into being, a *Pêrê Adam*. But the Palestinian school system, when it came into being, was (except in the case of certain special schools) co-educational. What was a teacher to call a 'devil may care' *girl*? Obviously, some inglorious Milton must have thought (if indeed he *thought* it; it sounds rather, as Socrates used to say, a 'divine inspiration'): *Parah Adumah*—in form almost a perfect feminine of *Pêrê Adam*, only it happens to be the 'red heifer' of Numbers xix.!

VII

This is native growth, and it suggests the dispelling of another conventional illusion with regard to modern Hebrew. It is that of the Semitic philologist who when he hears of modern Hebrew lifts up his hands to Heaven and bemoans the degradation of classical Hebrew at the hands of barbarians. It would be a sufficient retort that it is literally the Latin of the Barbarians which emerged as the music of modern Italian. But in our case the facts are different. Modern Hebrew has as its invariable concomitant—I had almost said, its irremovable shadow —the medieval and ancient, and particularly the Biblical. You cannot get rid of it even if you want to.

Now that is a remarkable thing. It means continuity in elementary usage. The words in common use now, those appertaining to the ordinary affairs of life, are the words found in the Bible. It is true that in the various periods of history there were borrowings from other languages, notably from the Greek and the Arabic; but these borrowings were supplementary, and while enriching the language did not disturb or eject the native and primary. What has been called the 'vocabulary of the home' remains Biblical to this very day. The words in current use

for such elementary things as 'foundation, wall, doorpost, column, crossbeams; window, chair; oven, loaf; spring, well; knife, cheese, milk, wine; candle, flame; ladder; flail, mill; bridle, manger; doctor; inn, prison', are all to be found in common texts of the Bible.

(This list was drawn up by Professor Henry Lewis to illustrate the 'interpenetration of the *Welsh* vocabulary' by words of Latin origin.)

VIII

In the work of restitution and development an important part was taken by the Hebrew University. It so happens that the period of British control covers exactly the founding of the University on Mount Scopus (just outside Jerusalem) in the presence of General Allenby in July 1918, its inauguration by Lord Balfour in April 1925, and the abandonment of its buildings on Mount Scopus in February 1948. The point to be noted in its regard is much the same as that made earlier with regard to Government. Just as the Mandate presented a right which, rigidly interpreted, imposed, on all concerned, a duty, the duty of carrying out *Government* functions in Hebrew, so the existence of the University as a Hebrew University presented a right which imposed a duty, the duty of carrying out *University* functions in Hebrew.

I stress the word University. There were learned men in Jewish Palestine long before 1918; and learned men worked there outside the framework of the University during all the period we are considering. Learned societies flourished, and flourish; learned journals were, and are, issued; learned lectures given, courses of instruction held, congresses and seminars and summer schools, all the frills and flutters of scholarship, both authentic and supposititious, were, and are still, flourishing outside the University. But these were (and are) by their nature haphazard, sporadic, dependent on fashion, on individual whim and interest, on the accident of energetic secretaries. A University, on the contrary, is by its very nature systematic and continuous. It is an organization directed to the conservation and expansion of knowledge through the constant impress of the wisdom of the past and the strivings of the present on the young and growing mind. And as its aim is quality, so its method is thoroughness. Nothing but the best is its ideal; and even if that ideal is not attained, it is at least kept in sight and is therefore endowed with power. The Hebrew University, by virtue of its being a University, gave Jewish Palestine a constant stream of young men and women who had gone through the University mill in Hebrew; and it gave it, in Hebrew, a constant stream of books embodying both original work and summary accounts of the state of present knowledge. For the tentative gropings and personal ventures of the past it thus substituted a permanent institution functioning systematically and continuously.

IX

Thus the 'miracle' of the resurgence of Hebrew, like many another miracle, is explicable in simple terms of human will, human will *plus* adequate preparation. The requirement in its stringent and unescapable form stemmed from a political fact; the fulfilment, from the putting to use of an existing tradition. Under the pressure of need the pursuit of learning came into its own.

We hear a great deal these days, particularly but not only with the awakening of Asia, about the difficulty of giving higher education in a national language. But if the experience here described has anything of general interest to teach us, it is clearly this. If you *really know* a subject and want to expound it (not *say* you want to expound it but *really* want to expound it), or if you put, or find, yourself in a position in which you *have* to expound it: if only the subject is alive in you and you are alive to the subject, any linguistic medium with the seed of life in it will both itself live and bring life.

And this is true not only of Universities and University work. It is true of all manifestations of cultural life. If you have something to say and the will to say it, you can say it in any language you choose. But you have to want to say it in that language really and truly, truly and honestly and sincerely. And you have to have something to say. Perhaps in these days that *is* a miracle.

NOTES

[1] A Public Lecture given at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, in October 1955.

[2] Josef Fraenkel, *The Jewish Press of the World*, 3rd edition, Cultural Dept. of the World Jewish Congress, 1954.

TWO IRAQI JEWISH SHORT STORY WRITERS: A SUGGESTION FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Emile Marmorstein

RECENT STUDIES of the modern Arabic short story have been written with the past rather than the present in mind. Attempts have been made to trace its history and development from the popular narrative of earlier times; the influence of European literature on its writers and their techniques has been noted and analysed; points of style and vocabulary have been examined for evidence of changes in the structure of contemporary Arabic; but its contents have not as yet been investigated as a source of information regarding the attitudes of educated Arabs towards either their own world or the world beyond their frontiers. Reflections on the possibilities of such an investigation were stimulated as a result of reading a story of nearly 3,000 words by Meir Basri entitled 'A Young Man and Two Girls', which appeared in the November number, 1955, of *Al-Adib* of Beirut, the oldest surviving Arabic literary periodical. I have compiled the following summary of its contents:

The story begins with a chance encounter between the narrator and a young man called Anis who had been his best friend at school but whom he had not seen for some years. They have a meal together and discuss old times and future prospects. Anis, after telling his old friend that he is about to get married and receiving his congratulations, classifies the motives which lead young men to wed, under three main headings in the following order: love, tradition, and money.

The first makes him recall a friend whose love has withered as a result of poverty, the second reminds him of another friend who has contracted a traditional marriage with his cousin and ever since has lamented the handicap of a wife too ignorant to share his intellectual interests; while the third serves to conjure up the image of yet a third friend who has married an ugly girl for the sake of her wealth and has then been swindled out of the money and left with a repulsive wife.

He then proceeds from the general to the particular. He himself is employed in the office of a paper factory in which two young and attractive girls, Samira and Namira, are employed. Samira is clever, conscientious and

serious but poor and self-sacrificing; and her spare time is devoted to nursing a sick father and helping her mother. Namira, on the other hand, is selfish, frivolous, unpunctual and inefficient and is allowed to retain her position only because her father is a wealthy and influential shareholder. His friend appears a little surprised when Anis tells him that he is about to marry Samira but wishes him the best of fortune and a happy married life.

Some years later, the narrator is sent by his newspaper to the town where Anis works, and, to his delight—for he has had no further news of Anis—he is informed in the hotel that Anis is now the director of the paper factory. In the course of a telephone conversation, he is cordially invited to visit Anis and to meet his wife. On arriving at the house, the narrator makes a flattering little speech in which he points out that marriage with a poor but intelligent and industrious girl has brought its own reward and resulted in a very successful career for an idealistic young man. Anis's wife bursts out laughing and points out his mistake. She is not Samira but Namira, the frivolous rich girl. Anis then explains the situation. When he had arrived back at his work he found that his betrothed, Samira, had accepted a proposal of marriage from the director of the factory. Feeling that he could hardly stand in her way, he released her and proposed to and was accepted by Namira.

Subsequent conversation shows that all Anis's expectations had failed to materialize. His father-in-law lost all his money in a big slump and had to be supported by his son-in-law; the paper factory collapsed as a result of the same slump; its shares had been bought up for next to nothing by the workers who decided to run it on a co-operative basis and selected Anis to be the new director; as a result of prolonged hard work on his part, the factory revived and Anis was able to employ the former director and his wife, Samira, as his assistants; and finally, Namira turned out to be a model wife who made her husband's life very happy, for her previous frivolity had been due not to her real nature but to the corruption of a life of wealth, luxury and ease.

Finally, the author concludes with the observation that it was not the planning and philosophizing of Anis that had led to his success, but fate, which had made a mockery of all his prepared plans.

This story sounds like an edifying Victorian tale with a minimum of religion and ends like an early Hollywood film out of which the censor has cut all the close-ups. Its philosophy is a compound of Samuel Smiles, the co-operative movement and a secularist variety of predestination as well as of a number of traditional beliefs. On the one hand, we gather that work has an ennobling influence on character and leads to success and that the co-operative system is an effective form of enterprise and, on the other, that wealth corrupts and that material success finally depends not on planning but on destiny. More significant, however, is the passage on motives for marriage, which happens to bear a remarkable but perhaps entirely coincidental resemblance to a Talmudical passage with one very striking deviation (see *'Ain Ya'aqov* end of *Ta'anith*). The attributes of a potential bride are enumerated by Anis as love, tradition, and money; but the fourth, which by implication attracted him most, was education. The first three attributes given

in the Talmudical passage—beauty, genealogy, and wealth—are roughly the same as those outlined by Anis and in the very same order; but the fourth is very different indeed. For the Sages insist that marriage is a divine commandment and that a devout Jew should marry with only one motive in mind, that of fulfilling the wish of his Creator. Our author has, therefore, either consciously or unconsciously replaced the traditional ideal by education, the ideal of the Enlightenment.

Analysis of this story was followed by an attempt on two volumes of short stories published in Baghdad in 1955—one entitled *Men and Shadows* by Meir Basri, the author of the above story, and the other *In the Turmoil of the City* by Anwar Shaool. The only connexion between them lies in the fact that they are the only Jewish writers to remain in Iraq after the evacuation of over 90 per cent of the members of this historic Jewish community in 1950. They are members of the first generation of the Jewry of Iraq to address themselves to a wider public than their own community and to use literature for secular purposes. In this respect, they are perhaps one generation behind some of their non-Jewish contemporaries. Their literary forebears wrote Arabic in Hebrew script, and, like Muslim and Christian writers of their time, intended their homilies and moral tales to serve only one purpose, the instruction of their co-religionists in their faith and the improvement of the quality of their spiritual lives. Meir Basri and Anwar Shaool are therefore literary pioneers who stood on the threshold of emancipation with the highest hopes in their hearts, and their attitudes must be examined in the light of the generous prospects of the twenties rather than in the gloom of a decade in which their visions have been almost completely shattered. Their stories made good reading and prompted an effort to compile summaries of their contents; but the summaries should certainly be prefaced by a few words about the authors.

Meir Basri is in his late forties and is at present engaged—not unsuccessfully—in commerce. His career has been varied. In his early twenties, he held a highly responsible position in the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs which he later abandoned in favour of another in the Baghdad Chamber of Commerce. Throughout his career, his leisure has been devoted to literature. A prolific and versatile writer, he has contributed to newspapers and periodicals a considerable number of poems, short stories, essays on literary subjects and articles on the economic problems of Iraq which have been collected and published in a book. His essays and the pertinent quotations prefacing his short stories—from Keats, Alfred de Musset, Théodore de Banville, Mahmud Sami al-Barudi, Jibran Khalil Jibran, Abu Tammam, Sahib ibn 'Abbad, Alfred de Vigny, Shelley, al-Mutannabi, Thomas Gray, Charles Lamb, Shakespeare, and Ahmad ibn Khalkan—testify to the width of his acquaintance with French and English as well as with both classical and modern Arabic literature.

Anwar Shaool was born in 1904. He is a poet, lawyer, journalist, and business man. In the thirties, he founded and edited a weekly magazine called *Al-Hasid*. This is his second book of short stories. His first, which was called *My First Harvest*, was published in 1930. He has also published two volumes of translations of short stories from Western languages and a translation of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*. Like almost all, if not all, Middle Eastern literary men, literature is his love and not his livelihood.

Here are the summaries:

Men and Shadows

(1) 'The Chinese Sage': A Chinese official at the age of forty decides to abandon his position in order to devote himself to the pursuit of wisdom. At the end of a long life during which he comes to be recognized as the wisest man of his time, he informs his disciples gathered around him to seek his guidance that true wisdom is to be found not in intellectual speculation but in human emotions. (5.9.47.)

(2) 'The Man who did not Wait': An impecunious young man commits suicide just before the arrival of a letter containing a substantial cheque from a publisher eager to publish his work. An account of his posthumous popularity as a writer is followed by the text of a note written before his death in which he describes his despair: 'What have I to hope for from fortune and why should I wait? Were I a believer, I could have endured humiliation, accepted poverty and waited for divine compassion or eternal life. Why should I wait now? Have I not waited long enough until this hour?' (26.12.44.)

(3) 'The Story of a Modern Young Man': The hero is an ordinary young man with very ordinary tastes. On graduation from the Medical College, he is sent by the government to a remote village much to his distaste. A few years later, when encountered on a chance visit to the capital, he appears to the narrator to be completely changed into a contentedly dedicated personality, who has rejected the most tempting offers to leave his now beloved village. The narrator accepts an invitation to stay with him in the village, which, he finds, has been turned into a paradise with no resemblance to the wretched villages encountered on his journey. Apparently, the doctor under the inspiration of the local schoolmaster had combined with him to promote higher standards of hygiene and agriculture and, in successful service of their under-privileged fellow men and women, had found a purpose in life. (7.12.41.)

(4) 'Yasir': A poor and illiterate herbalist and his wife had an only son called Yasir, for whose schooling they made considerable material sacrifices. He did very well at school and was given a scholarship by the government to continue his studies at a Western university. Under the influence of wealthy friends, he acquired expensive tastes. Returning at the end of his studies, he offends his parents by preferring a hotel to the parental home. His estrangement from his parents is a source of grief to them and clouds their lives. The father refuses his son's offer of financial help and continues to earn a meagre living and to spend his leisure in prayer. Eventually, a reconciliation is effected when the parents are summoned to the hospital to find Yasir, who had been knocked down by a car when staggering across the road under the influence

of liquor, in a critical condition. On recovering consciousness, he confesses his guilt towards them and promises to be a good and affectionate son as well as a devoted servant of his country and of humanity. (7.4.42.)

(5) 'Return': At the end of thirty years' imprisonment on an island fortress, a revolutionary returns home. He finds his native land bewildering and unrecognizable as a result of material changes and development. Neither his parents nor his old comrades have survived. He can find no one to recall them or him. In despair and confusion, he returns voluntarily to the island. where he had been imprisoned. (15.3.43.)

(6) 'The Call of the Earth': Ahmad and all the members of his family, male and female, are out in the fields together harvesting. Ahmad remembers the many years which he and they had spent in a hovel in the large city. They had worked hard and earned enough to keep themselves when the war came. The cost of living rose and casual work became more difficult to find. He had turned to the steward of the estate where he and his forebears had worked and was told that he was always welcome there. Now he had returned and was content to continue in the way of his ancestors, thankful to have escaped from the mire of the big city into a spiritually purer and more satisfying atmosphere. (25.12.41.)

(7) 'The Call of Love': A young medical student of humble origin is in love with the daughter of a wealthy landowner of noble birth and, although his love is returned, it is impossible to obtain her father's permission for them to marry. In his bitterness, he volunteers to carry on research in the wilds of Africa and, after some years spent in an African village, his discoveries of a remedy for sleeping-sickness are recognized and he is given an international award. Among the messages of congratulation which reach him in his African home is a summons from his beloved to return and marry her; but his passion has long since been replaced by his interest in his work and the story ends inconclusively with the scientist debating to himself whether he should obey or resist the call of love. (8.3.43.)

(8) 'First Love': Nabil is a famous dramatist who has just received a Nobel Prize for literature. The letters of congratulation include one from Magda, a widow living in Belgium, who writes that although she has not seen him for twenty years, she had followed his career very closely and had noted that although his heroes were varied in character, his heroines all seemed to be replicas of one and the same original whom she appeared to recognize. Nabil then recalls in some detail the few days that he had spent in Brussels as a young man. Magda, the wife of his host, had shown him round the sights of the city and the beauties of the countryside and he had fallen passionately in love with her but circumstances had caused their ways to part. He then begins to speculate on whether the romance of one's youth could or should be renewed. Finally, he appears to come rather hesitantly to the conclusion that it would be a mistake and makes his decision clear in a courteous but formal acknowledgement of Magda's letter. (14.10.47.)

(9) 'The Telephone Girl': A young man as a result of an operator's error finds himself infatuated with a female voice on the telephone. He proposes marriage and is refused. In spite of all his efforts to trace the owner of the voice, he is unsuccessful. Soon afterwards, he goes to the seaside for a holiday and becomes interested in a girl staying with her father at the same hotel.

The mother, who had been a famous actress in her day, was now crippled and preferred to remain at home rather than endure the strain of travel. He is cordially invited to visit them and meet the mother on their return to the city. On his arrival at their house, he and the mother recognize each other's voices from the telephone conversation and a marriage between him and the daughter with the mother's encouragement is the result. (14.3.55.)

(10) 'Life Insurance': Wasim was a nice ordinary young man, who joined a commercial firm in his youth and was eventually promoted to a partnership in it. He was happily married and when his son was born, insured his life for a thousand pounds. Two years afterwards, the firm went into liquidation as a result of a slump and Wasim tramped the streets in order to look for work. He soon found himself in desperate straits and, finally, remembering that his insurance policy expressly states that the benefits will be paid to the next of kin in the event of suicide, throws himself into the river in order to provide for his wife and son. (16.9.47.)

(11) 'The Lost Documents': Nabih, a government official, describes his relief at hearing of the death of his old French teacher, Sayyid Auni. He had been his favourite pupil and had been visited by him in his office every Sunday. Sayyid Auni had become a little mad after his retirement and the deaths of his wife and only son and, when another favourite pupil had been elected a deputy, he had conceived hopes of a brilliant political future in his old age in which Nabih would share. He had, therefore, entrusted a brief-case containing all his old certificates to Nabih and asked him to guard them carefully, but Nabih, on his return from a three months' holiday in the Lebanon, had been unable to find the brief-case. He bought another similar in appearance and stuffed it with papers; but dreaded the approach of Sunday mornings lest he be asked to return the documents to his old teacher. He was finally released from this weekly ordeal by the news of Sayyid Auni's death. (27.4.48.)

(12) 'The Precious Shoe': Haqqi was telling his friends about his visit to the U.S.A. and was asked by them to describe his strangest adventure. He then related the story of the night flight across the Atlantic on his return journey. They had all been drinking whisky and listening to a Scottish doctor who was drunk and talking about his girl-friend, but fell asleep one by one in their seats. Haqqi, who had sent almost all his clothes, except for the few things he needed for the journey, in advance by sea to Baghdad, woke up in the morning to find himself minus one shoe. The whole aircraft was searched for the shoe without success. Haqqi's feet were very big and no other shoe could be found to fit him. As rationing was still in force in Britain, he feared that he would be unable to buy shoes on arriving in London and imagined himself travelling across the world with only one shoe. It was then noticed that the Scottish doctor was still asleep when the 'plane landed. He was woken up and found to have been pressing Haqqi's shoe to his heart as a substitute for his beloved. (27.9.47.)

(13) 'The Old Cab-Driver': Radhwan had an exemplary character. He had been employed as a watchman in a warehouse for forty years and left the premises only on Fridays for some unknown reason. He would entrust his duties to his wife and children and the porters on that day, but he would never miss his Friday outing and never tell anyone about it. His secret was

revealed when he was seen at the race-course. Apparently, he had inherited a cab and two horses from his father and been a proud cab-driver in his youth, devoted to his horses, until the advent of the motor car forced him to give up his occupation and become a watchman. His weekly visit to the race-course was his only link with the past. He did not gamble. It was enough for him to enjoy the sensation of being in the proximity of the horses that he loved. When he became too old to go to the race-course, he would sit on a box in the corner of the warehouse and crack his whip with the tears flowing from his eyes as he re-lived the days of his happiness. (20.3.55.)

(14) 'Revenge': An account of a bull-fight in which the life of a fighting bull is described until his death in the ring after killing a bull-fighter. (20.3.43.)

(15) 'A Wife's Revenge': A prose poem about a Bedu woman, who killed her cousins with an axe because in their resentment of her marriage they had killed her husband. (24.3.29.)

(16) 'The Schoolmaster': The story of a teacher, who had no formal training or education but had inherited his skill from his forebears, instructors in religious schools of the traditional type. He had educated himself by wide reading in a large variety of subjects and become recognized as an educationalist. Later, he was invited to become headmaster of a modern elementary school, to which he devoted his life, and even after retirement continued to occupy a room in the school and to interest himself in its affairs. (15.8.52.)

(17) 'The Aunt': A biographical memoir of an aunt, who used to tell the author and the other children of the family fascinating bed-time stories. In spite of the loss of her husband and only son, she had always appeared serene and happy. Her life was devoted to helping those in need of help through personal service and she spread comfort and happiness wherever she went. She bore her last illness with fortitude and died, as she had lived, with a smile on her calm, kind face. (18.2.55.)

(18) 'Encounter on the Way': A brief monologue inspired by meeting an old friend, who appeared to have aged so much that he was difficult to recognize. The narrator is at first doubtful whether he should speak to him but does so, feeling that it were better to make a mistake and address a perfect stranger than to ignore an old friend. They greet each other warmly, exchange a few enquiries as to one another's health, and assure one another that they are well. Then they part and go their separate ways. (25.10.52.)

(19) 'Between Death and Life': Two monologues, one consisting of reflections on the frailty of human life in general, the other a more personal account of the author's sensations on the death of a loved one. (1934.)

In the Turmoil of the City

(1) 'The Broken Doll': Said and Nahida are celebrating their silver wedding. They had been quarrelling about it up to the moment of the party they were giving, about whether they should give a party at all, the size of the party and other details. The party, however, was a very pleasant and happy affair and when the guests had left, Said and Nahida promised each other that in future they would no longer insist on having their own way but would submit to one another's wishes. They keep their promises and lead placid lives undisturbed by quarrels; but after a long period of calm

they begin to realize that their lives have become dull and empty. From time to time, they brood over their memories of the full life they had led in the past 'like a child looking at the remains of a broken doll'.

(2) 'The Little Porter': This is a story of a little boy of ten who earns a living by carrying shopping for purchasers from the market to their homes and is unjustly accused of stealing a small coin from the narrator. At the police station, he is exonerated as a result of the narrator's intervention, and, as a token of gratitude, explains to him why he ran away in panic after dropping and picking up the coin. He wanted to go to the cinema but his stepmother would take away all his earnings as soon as he came home. He would therefore conceal a coin now and then about his tattered person in the hope of satisfying his desire. His social conscience moved by the plight of this under-privileged little fellow as compared with the situation of his own children, the narrator gives him enough money to go to the cinema and advises him to continue to conceal part of his earnings for that purpose.

(3) 'The Language Teacher': Abdul Fattah was blind and earned his living by private teaching. One day, he was asked as a result of the intervention of a friend to give an Arabic lesson for one hour a day to a girl of sixteen, a daughter of a conservative notable, who did not think it suitable for a girl of that age to go to school any longer but wanted her to continue her education nevertheless. The teacher found her weak in Arabic but intelligent, and he tried his best to improve her knowledge. After a month or so, she asked him to his astonishment to write for her a few verses containing expressions of love. He did so and was then asked to compose a love letter and, later, to correct a love letter which she had composed. He began to fall in love with her and to wonder whether he was not the object of her love in spite of his handicap. After ten months of blissful hope, he decided to declare his love but, before he had an opportunity of doing so, he was informed that his services were no longer required by the family.

(4) 'Dr. Yasri': The news of the death of Dr. Yasri came as a blow to the whole city. He had been beloved for his kindness and especially for his tenderness towards the children of the poor. He had devoted a number of hours a day exclusively to them and had treated them free of charge. Why had he done all this during the last ten years? He had not always behaved in this way. Ten years ago, he had been a passionate card-player. One evening, the 'phone rang when he was on the point of leaving for a poker party. He answered the 'phone in a disguised voice to the effect that the doctor had left and was not expected to return for a long time. But the poker party was not a success. He was preoccupied the whole time and left after a few hours only to find that a child, who might have lived, was now dead. His subsequent change of heart and conduct was an attempt to atone for his guilt on that occasion.

(5) 'She Wants to Love': A young widow with a child felt the loss of her late husband's companionship very keenly. She sought comfort for her loneliness in reading but with little success until one day she read a story in a magazine which seemed to be addressed to her. She knew nothing about the author except his name but her thoughts about him and the eagerness with which she looked forward to reading his work, brought her happiness.

Finally, she summoned up enough courage to send him an invitation to tea, care of the magazine, which he accepted; but when the promised hour came and an elderly man leaning on a stick presented himself as the author, she rushed out of the room and flung herself in tears upon her bed.

(6) 'Ruby of the Euphrates': This story begins with a sensitive description of the atmosphere of the Baghdad race-course, where the narrator on a sudden impulse decided to venture five pounds on an outsider called 'Ruby of the Euphrates' which, after an objection had been lodged and sustained, was pronounced the winner; but he found that as he had lost the ticket, he could not claim the four hundred pounds due to him.

(7) 'The Eagerly Awaited Dance': Wadia and his wife had been married for some years and were comparatively happy. They quarrelled and became reconciled from time to time, but there was one problem which threatened to break up the happiness of the home. It was the question of dancing. He did not enjoy dancing and thought that he was too old for it while she liked dancing and felt young. One day, a dispute brought about by an invitation to a dance came to a head. She called him a reactionary because he would not dance and he defended his right not to dance if he did not like dancing, but eventually he agreed that she might dance with one of their friends—a concession which she gratefully accepted. But on the evening for which she had longed so eagerly, nobody asked her to dance and after hours of disappointment she commented to her husband on the bad manners of their acquaintances. He assured her that a dark young man sitting at the same table would dance the next dance with her and her sense of expectation was again aroused; but there was to be no next dance. The band packed up their instruments and went away.

(8) 'The Father of Fathi': He was a very insignificant person whose hopes rested upon Fathi, his only son. Fathi was to have a brilliant career and to marry young and present him with a grandson bearing the name of his late father, Abdul Muneim. Fathi did well at school and was sent at government expense to study in the West; but his father's hopes were shattered when a letter came from his son announcing his marriage to a fellow student. The father thereupon cursed his son for marrying a foreigner and swore that he would never set eyes on him again. One day, his wife announced that she was going to the airport to meet her son and daughter-in-law and, in spite of her furious husband's anger, insisted on doing so. He stayed behind fretting but after an hour or so jumped into a cab and drove to the airport where the sight of his wife fussing over a baby and calling him 'my little Abdul Muneim' effected a family reconciliation.

(9) 'When I was my Son's Age': A request from the narrator's little son to look at his essay on charity to the poor reminds him of an episode in his childhood when he had been asked to write an essay on the same subject. His teacher had impressed upon him that charitable thoughts were not sufficient in themselves but should lead to action. Under the influence of this advice, he had invited a poor boy whom he had encountered on his way from school to come and stay with him. His father strongly discouraged the project and he had, therefore, decided to take the waif to the home of the teacher who, he felt sure, would take him in and look after him; but the teacher, embarrassed by the literal interpretation of his exhortations, made some

excuse about having a very small house and advised them to return to their respective homes before dusk.

(10) 'The Lost Story-Writer': A young man used to bring his stories regularly to an editor, who considered them sympathetically but felt that the contents and treatment were very poor and advised the young man to take his material from life. A considerable period of time passed before his next visit. He had no story with him but merely wanted the editor to listen to his own story. On receiving the editor's advice, he had thought of a friend who had fallen in love with a Roumanian dancer in a cabaret and might provide material for a story. However, soon after his arrival in the cabaret to see his friend, he himself fell in love with another artiste and all thoughts of writing left him. He took dancing lessons, neglected his interests and spent all his time with the artiste; but only yesterday she had told him that her request for renewal of her residence permit had been refused. He felt that his life would come to an end with her departure and sought a reversal of the decision.

(11) 'Greetings Card': The narrator, who had always discouraged his friends from sending him greetings cards on the occasion of feasts, was surprised to receive one signed Salim and was at first unable to connect the name with anyone of his acquaintance. Then he remembered a young man whom he had defended in court many years ago at the request of a friend. Salim, a serious respectable young man, was accused of kissing a young girl living in a neighbouring house without her consent. He had been unwilling to say anything in his own defence but his lawyer, the narrator, pleaded that he had acted as he did in a trance under the influence of a film from which he was unconsciously re-enacting a scene at the time of the incident. The judge had been sufficiently impressed to pronounce a sentence of one month's imprisonment with stay of execution.

These stories will first strike one as rather old-fashioned, and one's first reaction to them is one of surprise that they were written in the middle of this century. Serious writers of our time tend to confine their efforts to interpretive descriptions of man's struggle in the face of conflicting emotions within him and of intimate relationships of individuals with one another. These Arabic stories, however, are concerned largely with the destinies of their characters. Their lives are traced on a chart with a note of judgement, usually charitable, attached as an expression of the author's assessment of their value. The authors have, therefore, more in common with their European tutors of the last half of the previous century—for many of them also sat on the judge's bench and conscientiously considered their verdicts on the activities and motives of the creatures summoned before them as if they were in possession of all the evidence—than with their contemporaries in the West in their attempts to provide verbatim reports of encounters between man and himself and between man and woman with a minimum of judicial intervention. Yet, on the other hand, their stories must seem strikingly modern and even revolutionary to Arab readers bred on the traditional Arabic story in which the main emphasis is usually placed on a sequence

of dramatic actions or on wise utterances capable of transforming perilous situations into triumphs.

Secondly, one cannot help noticing obvious traits of disillusionment. Seven out of eleven of Anwar Shaool's stories describe cherished hopes that either remained unfulfilled or were transformed in an unwelcome manner by their very fulfilment. Twelve out of Meir Basri's nineteen stories treat themes involving the attractions of the past. Yet only one of his characters, the peasant Ahmad, who returns from shanty-town to the land cultivated by his forefathers, finds satisfaction in recapturing the past. For the political prisoner the past had disappeared and salvation lay only in restoration to the island of his exile; the successful scientist doubts the wisdom of return to his first love and the famous dramatist decides against it; the young man at the telephone is led by his infatuation with the past in the form of the voice of a retired actress to embrace the present by marrying her daughter; Nabih, in 'The Lost Documents', is released from the burden of the past by the death of its representative, the crazy old teacher of French; the former cab-driver manages to perpetuate and re-live the past by artificial and illusory techniques; and the story of the old schoolmaster presents an idealized version of a past capable of surviving only in the minds of those who loved him. On the other hand, the ordinary young doctor who transforms a wretched, dreary village into a happy and useful community finds fulfilment in the present; the young writer, who commits suicide before his posthumous triumph, was too impatient to wait for his future glory and the other suicide had despaired of his own present but was determined to secure, through his sacrifice, the future of his little son.

The trends of many of these stories can be explained in the light of the effect of either the arrival of middle age on literary men humble and intelligent enough to realize their limitations or of the faded vision of a brave new world that inspired them at the beginning of their careers or, more probably, of both combined. The older writer is more placid, less attached to the past and less hopeful for the future. Things are going on as well as might be expected, he appears to be saying, and I must have been very young when I expected them to be different. Meir Basri would seem to cherish more vivid and fonder memories of the warmth of the traditional family life of his childhood and early youth; and it may well be that his pre-occupation with the past results from the conflict between his attachment to that pattern of life and his awareness of its disintegration. (The dates of his stories should dispose of the temptation to attribute his mood to the effect of the dispersion of the bulk of the ancient Jewish community of Iraq. His first stories in that mood—in *Men and Shadows*—were written in 1941.)

Both these writers would seem to have derived their social ideals and emotions from one and the same source. They show concern for the misery of the under-privileged and believe that it is the duty of those

who have had the benefit of a Western training to dedicate themselves to the service of their compatriots. The gulf between children educated in the modern sense and traditionalist parents is the subject of one story in each of the two collections, and, in both cases, is solved by reconciliation. The Jewish origins of these writers are apparent only from their names. Jews are not mentioned throughout their works. The neutral names bestowed on most of their characters are those popular among Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the more developed Arab lands between the wars. Religion of a similar undenominational variety is mentioned only in connexion with the capacity of the older generation to endure suffering in silence while, on the other hand, both the victims of the suicides in Basri's stories are young men unable to endure poverty. The young dramatist who commits suicide declares that education has deprived him of the comfort of his anonymous religion. In this respect and in many others, these two authors have remained loyal to an assumption—typical of a more liberal stage of nationalist thought—of the irrelevance of religious differences and origins in the face of the binding force of the ideal of national unity; and although the pretence of equality is wearing very thin at the moment in the Middle East, it is but natural that prosperous members of minorities should still cherish the theory that their preference for a Western type of living and their neglect of the beliefs and observances of their ancestors should wipe out distinctions between them and their educated contemporaries of the majorities with a similar outlook. (In this connexion, one should perhaps point out that in traditional Arabic stories, all plots—including those borrowed from foreign literature—were adapted with remarkable success into the framework of Islamic life.) Anwar Shaool throws light on the influence of such institutions of modern life as the cinema, the dance-floor, and the race-course. His story about the dance (No. 7) hints at the conflict between the theory and practice of the emancipation of women, but while the relationship between the sexes in both these volumes has deviated considerably from the traditional pattern, there is no clear example of sexual immorality. These authors have maintained the convention of propriety in love, typical of the traditional Arabic story. Apart from the suicides, the only incidents involving violence are contained in the story of the 'unenlightened' Bedu woman's revenge for the murder of her husband, and the account of the conduct of the no less 'unenlightened' bull in the bull-fight.

A striking feature of these stories is that they deal almost entirely with people with reasonably good characters and benevolent motives. Some of them may have been thoughtless at times, but sooner or later they realize their mistakes and change their ways. They have lofty principles and standards of conduct. Some might be regarded as too good to be true; but in those cases, their descriptions have almost certainly been compiled from memories of devoted and affectionate

friendships. No reader of their writings can doubt the innate decency of the two authors for a moment. Their books can be placed in the hands of adolescent boys and girls without fear of the consequence—a matter of some importance to conservative Arab parents in view of the normal avidity of impressionable schoolchildren for reading matter and the prevailing scarcity of literature originally composed in Arabic, related to their environment and suitable for their age. There are Arabic publications specially prepared for younger children, but as soon as they grow out of them they have to turn—in the absence of an alternative—to magazines and books for which they are insufficiently mature.

These stories do not, of course, provide a faithful picture of life in Baghdad or anywhere else; but they do probably reflect points of view commonly held by the kind of people who read *Al-Adib* and take an interest in the development of modern Arabic literature. For the Arabic short story has a special appeal for educated young men, for the student with literary aspirations, the junior official with ambition and the struggling business man whose hopes and fears keep him awake at night. Apart from its soporific quality, it can convey to them sympathy in their plight and a modicum of guidance. It can bolster up their failing self-esteem by convincing them that their Arabic literature is now interested in them and that their struggles, however meaningless they may seem *sub specie aeternitatis*, have an artistic significance. In fact, it has already helped to popularize more recent traditions of behaviour by encouraging attempts to mould domestic relationships on Western lines and by substituting the adventurous appeal of the bold, discontented, and romantic gesture for the contentment and submission promoted by the older and more decorous tradition of Oriental society. Moreover, the simple, direct message conveyed by the Arabic short story often appears to unacademic minds as the only solution of a vast problem; and it is that kind of message with that kind of easy attraction that infiltrates into minds closed to the hesitating propositions of profounder thinkers and, given favourable circumstances, can lead to drastic action.

Finally, this study has promoted a sobering reflection. A future Jewish historian compiling fifteen hundred years hence a chapter on the Jews of Iraq between the destruction of the Ottoman Empire and the mass emigration of almost the whole Jewish community on the sole basis of surviving works by Jewish writers of that period and of official archives might well conclude that activities of a distinctively Jewish nature had ceased. Iraqis, having apparently forgotten their original religious differences, were united by the bonds of a secular religion in dedication to the service of their country; and their young men, inspired and equipped by means of a new and superior form of education, were labouring selflessly, whole-heartedly and effectively to raise

the standards of living of the less fortunate of their countrymen. Meditating on this idyll, he might feel it somewhat ungracious to interpret any of these stories as indicating anything more than youthful impatience with the inevitable gulf between theory and practice. The evidence, he would probably presume, represents a healthy system of society in which honest endeavour was on the whole handsomely rewarded but for periodical disturbances of economic stability by unpredictable and ungovernable crises due to convulsions in the external world, which tossed human beings about as arbitrarily as a child playing with toys. He would certainly fail to realize that during this period there were fifty synagogues attended assiduously mornings and evenings and that some thousands of men and boys spent a considerable proportion of their waking hours in the study of the Torah. In fact, his conclusions might well resemble those of the historians of our time who insist that Mesopotamian Jewry prior to the period of the Babylonian Talmud was commercially active but spiritually and culturally dormant—surely a salutary warning of the perils of arguments *ex silentio*. Attention has, of course, often been drawn to such dangers by sociologists who have been taught by experience that the things that are too familiar to need saying, are at least as important as the things that are repeated *ad nauseam* by the subjects of their investigation.

However, the main purpose of this study was not to build up a comprehensive description of the intellectual and emotional climate inhabited by a section of Middle Eastern society but to point the way to an unexplored field of investigation. The organization, for instance, of a survey of the ideas contained in all the Arabic prose and poetry written by Jewish authors during the last fifty years would be simple to arrange and comparatively inexpensive; comparisons with the Arabic literature now being produced by Iraqi Jews in their new homes in the Holy Land might be rewarding; and the conclusions reached on the basis of such a substantial body of evidence may well be expected to furnish an illuminating record of the nature and extent of traditional and modern influences on the intellectual leaders of Jewish communities that are now almost extinct. The available evidence for a history of the brief period of emancipation of Arab Jewry is too scanty to allow a store of material of this kind to remain neglected.

ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL LIFE OF KURDISH JEWS

Dina Feitelson

FOR the past forty years a constant stream of immigrants from the Kurdish mountains of Iraq has been reaching what is now Israel. The mass exodus of 1951 finally transferred the whole group known as 'Kurdish Jews' to Israel.[1] This paper is a reconstruction of what once was and is no more.

The fieldwork which served as the main basis for this reconstruction was undertaken in Israel in 1953–4, only two to three years after the families observed moved to Israel. At that time the impact of new surroundings and institutions had as yet left intact many of the usages practised in Iraq. Furthermore the remembrance of the 'old' way of life was still very vivid and could be elicited in interviews. Naturally information obtained in this way had to be checked and rechecked, and needed to be compared with the scant literary sources available.

THE COMMUNITY

(1) *Physical Surroundings*

After the First World War the main area in which the Kurdish tribes lived was divided between Turkey, Iraq, and Iran, smaller parts falling to Syria and the U.S.S.R. The Jews of this region had been settled mainly in the area of Mosul, so that the majority of them found themselves in Iraq, while lesser groups were in Turkey and Iran. This paper deals only with those Kurdish Jews who came to Israel from Iraq.

The area in question was very diversified. Politically it belonged to the young nationalist Arab state of Iraq. The language of the Government and its officials was Arabic.

But in actual fact centralized forms of government had not caused basic changes in an area ruled for generations by Kurdish tribal chiefs. The main bulk of the population was made up of Kurds whose first loyalty was to their chiefs and local interests, a fact witnessed by the numerous uprisings by the Kurds of Iraq and the neighbouring states against their respective governments. The Kurdish area was not a

clearly defined unit and on its fringes Kurdish settlements were interspersed fairly closely with Arab villages.

The Jews in this region formed the second largest minority. The Nestorians outnumbered them by far and were a politically recognized group.

The Kurdish Jews lived in the north-eastern part of Iraq, not far from the Persian border. This mountainous and remote area, traversed by deep gorges and ravines, was until very recently largely cut off from outside influences. Very little change seems to have occurred throughout the generations. Travellers who reached the communities of Kurdish Jews in the thirteenth century mention by name many of the communities surviving until 1951, and describe a way of life reminiscent of the one which will be depicted in the following pages. Life in the Kurdish mountains was hard. The winter was very cold, the summer extremely hot. Travel, on foot or horseback, was difficult. Water was plentiful, the settlements being very often sited near a stream. Fields could be watered and the area was fertile.

The Kurdish Jews lived mainly in small towns in which they formed communities with institutions of their own. A smaller number lived in villages. There existed a few completely Jewish villages, one of which, Sandur, is mentioned repeatedly in travellers' reports of all ages; it had a Jewish headman of its own. In other villages the Jews were a minority, sometimes only a family or two to a village.

(2) *Occupation*

The Kurdish Jews differed from most other Jewish communities in the Diaspora in that many did hard manual labour, and in their close affinity to the soil and its products.

As already mentioned, some Jews lived in villages. But even the families who practised a non-agricultural way of life seem to have owned at least some livestock for their personal needs, and to have kept a sort of kitchen garden. Skilled artisans were rather rare, and most occupations were pursued in the household. People built their own houses, sewed their own clothing, preserved their own food for winter, spun their own wool. As far as it is possible to ascertain, typical Jewish occupations seem to have been dyeing, weaving, and goldsmithing. Jews were often peddlers travelling among the remote Kurdish villages. As non-participants in the recurrent hostilities between rival Kurdish tribes and villages, they seem to have been especially suited to this profession.

(3) *Jews and their neighbours*

It is rather difficult to establish exactly the relations between the Kurdish Jews and their neighbours. These relations must have been subject to change with political upheavals. It is clear that the Jews

were much closer to their Muslim neighbours than the other religious minority group, the Nestorians. The latter, more numerous than the Jews, formed a politically recognized minority living in isolation, while the Jews were bound by social and economic ties to the Kurdish lords of the land. Though as a matter of their own choice the Jews lived in separate quarters in the small towns, these quarters were adjacent to those of the Muslims. Quite often Muslims lived there too and even in Jewish households, either as lodgers or as workers who performed the necessary tasks on the Sabbath. Jews were employed by Muslims and vice versa. Nowadays the Jews like to exult in the memory of the social ties which existed between the two groups. It seems clear that mutual visiting took place, and, while the Muslims are said to have adored the *kasher* food, the Jews also ate in Muslim houses, abstaining on these occasions from meat and sometimes preparing part of their meal themselves.

On the other hand, an element of mutual distrust seems to have underlain many of these relationships. Though the Jews were usually under the protection of the Agha[2] and no pogroms occurred, the rise of Arab nationalism seems to have given scope to open hostility, and there were even instances of the murder of individual Jews. Even before that Jewish girls were sometimes kidnapped, and in general the Jews suffered the fate of the stranger 'not of the faith' in a predominantly Muslim society. Perhaps we could sum up the situation in the words of one of my informants: 'Heaven be praised there are only Jews in Israel. But some of the "Heaven be praised Jews" here are much worse than the "Heaven forbid Arabs" in Iraq.'

But more interesting than the problem of the relationship of the Jews to their neighbours is the extent to which the Jews were similar in their attitudes and way of life to the Kurds. At work they hummed Kurdish songs dealing with the themes of love, honour, and violence so dear to the Kurds. Even at weddings most of the songs chanted were Kurdish. These songs were only an external sign of the acceptance of Kurdish values. (It is not clear whether the Jews were in a position to live up to these values; probably not; but then neither did the Kurds.) The ideal of the manly male, quick to anger, jealously guarding his honour and that of his family, stubbornly standing by his word once it is uttered, became their ideal also.

The close cultural proximity between Jew and Muslim cannot be stressed enough. Jews consulted non-Jewish 'wise men', and Muslims and Christians asked the help of Jewish ones. Both Jews and Muslims revered the same holy graves and undertook pilgrimages to them on feast days or in fulfilment of vows.

CULTURE

(1) *Language*

The Kurdish Jews spoke an Aramaic dialect called Targum[3] which varied slightly from place to place. According to the location of the town, Arabic, Kurdish, Persian, or Turkish elements also penetrated ordinary speech. It is of interest that Targum is rather similar to the language used by the other ethnic minority group, the Nestorians. It might thus be said that the Jews lived in the orbit of the 'Modern Syriac' language circle.[4] Targum as well as the foreign words it contains were written in Rashi script.

Fischel ascribes special significance to the linguistic isolation of the Kurdish Jews from their Muslim neighbours. He maintains that, living in a tribal society, in which each tribe had a dialect of its own, the Jews scattered among the various tribes would have been hopelessly divided. Their Aramaic dialect served as a unifying bond, and was a most reliable and characteristic way of recognizing a 'Kurdish Jew'.[5]

It should be noted that most Kurdish Jews, and especially the men, were able to speak and understand the dialect of the Kurdish tribe among whom they lived as well as the other local language—Arabic in the case of the Kurdish Jews originating from Iraq.

(2) *Religion*

A. General.—Religion formed an integral and indivisible part of everyday life. Actually only the Bible was known. Knowledge of the Mishnah even among the 'wise men' was scarce, and the Talmud and most later religious writings were virtually unknown.

But the laws of the Sabbath, *Kashrut*, and Purity were observed most strictly by everyone. As among the Muslims, devoutness was revered,[6] and was generally one of the attributes of the respected members of the community. Learning or devoutness itself did not lead to the attainment of high status; it was rather that the wealthy member of the community, after having obtained his position, made a great show of his devoutness.

Daily life was hedged in by an endless variety of usages aimed at warding off the evil eye, spirits, etc. All these were as far as the individual was concerned part and parcel of the all-embracing concept 'religion'.

There was no clear understanding of the difference between the official Jewish doctrine and the customs developed locally. Such an understanding could hardly be expected when the *Chacham* was the foremost practitioner of the occult arts. He prescribed 'mystic' cures, performed spells, wrote amulets, and expounded dreams. He himself saw all these as part of his Jewish heritage and would explain blandly that thus it was written in the Bible. I myself sent one of them off on a

vain hunt through his scripture in search of the law which forbids one to set chickens to hatch.

It should be noted here that in general the beliefs held were common to Jews and their neighbours, and that the usages practised were similar.

B. Feasts.—The Kurdish Jews have a great zest for enjoying life. Festive occasions, religious as well as personal, were made much of and led to prolonged and joyful celebrations. The leisurely course of everyday activities was punctuated by the seasons and the great religious feasts. Weeks of preparation preceded each of them. Passover might be deemed the foremost; on this occasion houses were repaired and whitewashed and all the members of the household clothed anew. The same suits of clothes were worn throughout the following year.

No work was undertaken during all the days of Chol Hamoed, and one of the oft-repeated grievances of Kurdish immigrants is that the pace of life in Israel forces them to forgo this habit. In general, feast days were used in order to visit relatives and for pilgrimages to holy places. The Kurdish Jews had a great affinity for outdoor life and one of the accepted ways of celebrating religious festivals was to picnic in the countryside.

The feasts marking the *rites de passage* in the life cycle of individuals were not less drawn out. The wedding may serve as a good example; we shall touch on some of the others more briefly in the following paragraphs. Actually it might be said that all of the weeks which intervened between the engagement and the wedding itself were a time of joyful anticipation and heightened activities in the households concerned. The engagement, called more commonly the 'signing of conditions', was a grave affair in which the fathers of the young couple concerned reached an agreement going into minute details of the provision to be made by each side, after much initial bargaining and without any concern for the feelings of the young people themselves. However, once the agreement was signed the time for joyful celebrations had come. These culminated in two big parties on the eve of the wedding, one in the house of the groom and one in that of the bride. After prolonged dancing and singing, henna was put on the hair of the prospective bride and her mates as well as on the hands and feet of the groom.

The next day the wedding was celebrated in the house of the bride's family. A brand new praying shawl belonging to the groom served as *Chuppah*. After the ceremony the bride was conveyed in a procession, usually on horseback, accompanied by music and dancing to the house of the groom, where the wedding meal was held. At this meal the young couple broke their fast, and morsels of their food were snatched up wildly as tokens of good luck. Only on this one occasion, when she was a bride, was a girl allowed to sit down with the celebrating males. On all other occasions her place would be in another room or serving the

refreshments, as at this very moment were her mother-in-law and related womenfolk, none of whom took part in the meal.

During the following week the celebrations continued, constant visiting and entertaining taking place. The young couple were not supposed to leave the house unaccompanied or do any work, and every effort was made to divert them. One cannot end this description without noting that the nuptial chamber, its walls decorated with carpets and its bed covered with embroidered sheets and pillows, was well in evidence during the celebrations. The time of the consummation of the marriage was well known, and a throng of relatives from both sides used to wait for the sheet to be brought out immediately afterwards as evidence of the bride's chastity. Only thereafter were the couple considered properly married. A lapse discovered at such a time would have had the most serious consequences.

C. The Synagogue.—The synagogue was the chief formal institution of the Kurdish Jews. Here every male member of the community was to be found on the Sabbath and feast days. On work-days only the old men visited the synagogue which they regarded mainly as a place for social gathering. Women among Kurdish Jews did not go to the synagogue.

Usually the synagogues owned large sums of money, as the 'ascents to the Torah' used to be auctioned off, occasions used by the more affluent members of the community to increase their prestige by the offer of staggering sums. These funds were rarely used, the buildings themselves, according to Fischel, being neglected and in disrepair. There was no organized charity or other cultural or religious activity by the community as such.

Usually the wealthiest and most influential members of the community were elected as *Gabaim* and charged with the whole responsibility for the upkeep and functioning of the synagogue. No accounts whatsoever were kept, and it seems highly probable that the funds mentioned were often mismanaged though perhaps not always intentionally.

Furthermore it must be remembered that misappropriation of public funds as well as susceptibility to bribery were traditionally expected of all holders of public office.

D. The Chacham.—In the typical Jewish community one person carried out all the official religious functions. Usually the *Chacham* (wise man) served also as cantor, circumciser, teacher, and slaughterer, as well as scribe. This last 'person' was among the most important, as he wrote the charms which brought help in times of illness or preserved one from evil when all was well. The smaller villages had no *Chacham* of their own and were served by an itinerant who reached them about twice a year.

As the *Chacham* served also as the teacher it will be understood that in many cases the boys growing up in these villages remained un-

educated and even illiterate. A *Chacham* told me of an experience he had when as a young man he was sent to such a village to celebrate the *Seder*. Next morning a *minyan* was organized, but everybody kept looking at him and copying his actions, as most of those present did not know how to pray. Naturally this story may, to some extent, be exaggerated and tinged by the town dweller's contempt for villagers, but it is certainly true that in contrast to other Jewish ethnic groups there are illiterate adult males among the Kurdish Jews. As will be seen further on, even the town dwellers who did in fact study under a *Chacham* reached only a very low standard of learning as compared with other Jewish communities.

Thus religion is again a field in which the great similarity between the Kurdish Jews and their Muslim neighbours is apparent. The role allotted to religion in both groups is rather similar but its ways and means are different. While the content of the official doctrines differs, both are freely interspersed with local customs, labelled Jewish in one instance and Muslim in the other.

THE HOUSEHOLD

(1) *The Dwelling*

In the typical community building land was without commercial value and each family owned the dwelling in which it lived. As there were no rules concerning building, rooms could be added to each dwelling according to the needs of the household. The house could be extended to accommodate all—both people and livestock.

In its construction and equipment the Jewish house seems to have been rather similar to that of the non-Jews. Detailed descriptions can be found in Barth, Leach, and Brauer.[7]

Agricultural land had commercial value and it seems that the Jews in the villages were share-cropping tenants of the Agha (although when questioned they maintain stoutly that they themselves 'owned' the soil).

The Kurdish Jews liked the open-air life, and much of daily activity took place out of doors. Most of the women's tasks were performed in the yard attached to each house, and in summer the rooftops served for sleeping.

Each nuclear family of the household had a room to itself in which parents and children slept all together. Usually livestock and food stores were also kept in the house.

(2) *The Extended Family*

As amongst their Muslim neighbours, the extended family was a basic social unit. The principle of co-residence was patrilocal, married sons remaining in their father's household. Thus a typical household

consisted of the parents, their unmarried sons and daughters, as well as their married sons with their wives and children. In many cases this unit continued to exist after the death of the head of the household, becoming a fraternal joint household. This unit would later break up, each brother forming a household of his own.

The household was the economic and political unit of the community. Usually all the males worked together, in one occupation. The income was shared as were the expenses. No accounts as to the income and expenses of the various nuclear families of the household were kept. Meals were prepared in common, stocks laid in for the whole household, clothing prepared for all members of it, and so on.

In general the Kurdish Jews lived a frugal life. Food was cheap and, though eaten in huge quantities, not expensive. Clothing was simple. Furnishings barely existed. The main luxuries were tea, coffee, sugar, and tobacco. Surplus income was invested in 'gold', mainly in the form of ornaments for the womenfolk.

(3) *The Cohesion of the Extended Family*

But while the extended family functioned as a corporate group as far as economic activities were concerned, its social bonds were less tight. Although it was the household as a whole which was ranged with this or that faction in the constant overt and covert struggle for position and honour in the community, and though it was the household which either participated or withheld participation in this or that gathering, which travelled on a pilgrimage or stayed at home, yet in actual fact, even while acting as a corporate unit, it broke up into smaller groups. Thus at any *rite de passage*, be it joyful or sad, a wedding or a death, the household as one was triggered into action in accordance with its degree of involvement in the event. The household as a whole would act differently according to whether, for example, the deceased was the brother of its head, or only a second cousin. But in this general policy of 'participation to a certain degree' special members of the household would be activated in a special way according to long established and well known patterns. At the wedding of a young man it might be his mother and his aunt who for days had been preparing the feast, the preparation serving as a joyful occasion for all the related womenfolk. But at the wedding meal it would be the husbands of these women who, uninvolved till then, would sit down to the meal and who at its end would donate their share of the wedding presents.

At the time of the consummation, these divisions no longer existed, and men, women, and children would all be united in a joyful throng awaiting the event. This group would be made up mainly of the direct members of the households concerned, the other relatives, whatever their degree of involvement during the preparatory stages, having retired to their respective homes.

But aside from this patterned way of differentiated participation by the various sub-groups of the household in events affecting it, there were also possibilities of under-currents of feeling and even activity by sub-groups directed 'against' the official interests of the household—for instance, the surreptitious help rendered a pair of young lovers by the women of the households concerned, while they were being hunted hotly by the men; help that if discovered would have incurred hard retribution.

(4) *The Men*

Authority in the household of the Kurdish Jews was lodged absolutely in its male head. He was the one to decide on every issue and none dared question him. Actually he and the other adult males of the household lived a life of their own, remote and unapproachable by women and children. They generally spent much of their time outside their homes at work, prayer, or social gatherings. On their return home silence descended. None dared speak in their presence. Nor could the women-folk sit with them, but kept apart guessing at their wishes. The ideal was that of the strong silent man who will not change his mind once it is made up—a man to command respect from women and children. Such an ideal is well in keeping with a community in which every transaction depends on drawn-out bargaining. Only the individual known for his stubborn endurance was likely to succeed, while giving way in any instance was only the prelude to future compromises. In this connexion it is interesting to note that it was not necessarily the eldest son who succeeded his father as head of the family, but rather the one with the strongest personality. Naturally a man tried to live up to this image at least in his own family circle, and woe betide any of his immediate kin who dared contradict or was not circumspect enough in word or gesture.

The strongest motivating force of such a man was his personal honour. His concern for the welfare of his family stemmed not from his warm emotional ties with any of its members, but rather from a mechanism which we might call in William James's wake 'ego extension'. Thus all his household is felt to be part of himself and any affront is felt as a personal insult and acted upon immediately. An example of the functioning of this mechanism will suffice. When Mrs. Levi was married out into a family two houses down the path, the marriage contract stipulated that a special kitchen should be erected for her by her husband's family.[8] This part of the contract was never fulfilled, and her father severed relations with her husband's family, the reason being (as she herself pointed out) that a contract signed by him had not been honoured. As by this time she was of her husband's household, her father included her in his ostracism, and she dared slip home for a chat with her mother only when he was known to be out. We see that it is not concern for the welfare of his daughter which triggered off the

father's reactions, but a very strong sense of having been personally slighted by the offence done her.

(5) *Womanhood and its Tasks*

While men ranged afar, women were confined to the compound. Up to marriage her father's and from then on her husband's yard made up the woman's world. Only the fetching of water and family occasions were causes for going out. In the compound work proceeded unceasingly, directed by the mother-in-law and carried out willingly by her daughter-in-law. Since the women were generally of a very industrious disposition, no problems seem to have arisen in the allocation of work. On the contrary, the atmosphere of the women's work group was usually relaxed and carefree with incessant small talk accompanying the effort. As the young woman usually got her final training in the tasks of the household only after her marriage, her teacher being her mother-in-law, there were no divergences of opinion as to how a given task should be performed, and no frictions arose on that account. Work was never urgent, as food was always ready to be served to the home-coming males or any guest; work could proceed at a leisurely pace, performed by the group as a whole, without responsibility weighing heavily on anyone.

Might it not be that the great gulf between the men's world and that of the women, and a way of life which did not allow intimacy between spouses to evolve, made for a drawing together and warm relations in the women's group even though it was composed mainly of affines? Such a group would not normally show great intimacy in a Western society.

THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

(1) *Marriage*

Marriage is but another field in which it seems that the Jews accepted, at least nominally, the values dominant in the Muslim society in which they lived. The preferential marriage among the Muslim Kurds, namely with the father's brother's daughter, is attributed by Leach mainly to economic factors[9] and said to serve to perpetuate the extended family. Barth on the other hand emphasizes the 'political' significance of this type of marriage. By giving a daughter in this kind of marriage and forgoing the expected bride price a man gains the political support of his nephews. While he can usually depend on his own sons and brothers, the relationship with his brother's sons is more critical and, in order to maintain lineage solidarity, ties with them should be reinforced.[10]

Though political power in the Jewish community did not depend on the 'number of riflemen an individual could muster',[11] it is certainly

true that success in the more subtle struggle for power depended to a large extent on the size of the cohesive family group ranged behind one. Thus it was in the interest of any individual to head a family group as large and as stable as possible. Naturally more could be expected of a kinswoman in this respect than of a complete stranger. It should be noted that though in general marriage tended to take place within the kin group, and as a general rule the bride and groom were related even if only remotely, actual father's brother's daughter marriages were much less common than one would be led to assume by the generally expressed sentiment in their favour. This would be in keeping with the facts reported by Granqvist[12] and tends to support Barth's view that there is a smaller incidence of this type of marriage when the lineage group has less political significance.

In general it seems that the Jewish parents when seeking a suitable bride for their son considered among other things their own personal future. A girl from the family of one of them was sure to be more loving and willing in her attentions when they themselves would be old and in need of her services. Thus quite often the bride chosen was related to the mother of the groom, a type of marriage which, although it occurred, was less usual among the Muslim Kurds.

In the household of her husband's father the young bride was usually considered as a stranger 'not of our blood'. Should any issue arise her husband would always side with his family against her. The fact of her marriage also weakened her ties with her family of origin, and one might say that the fate of the young wife was not an especially happy one.

Among the Kurdish Jews single people were virtually unknown. Widowers and widows tended to remarry after a short time. Divorces were rare and caused mainly by barrenness; usually both parties would remarry at once. Polygamy occurred, and might even have been more widespread than is generally assumed.

(2) *The Baby*

Every new member of the household was eagerly awaited, and the unborn baby would soon be one of the main topics for talk among the circle of women. Naturally there were a great many beliefs and usages concerning the pregnant woman, the act of birth, and the care of both mother and infant. The joy of the household would be boundless if the new-born was a son, especially the first of his father. Not only was he an additional bearer of the family name, but also and mainly a potential contributor to the earning capacity of the family. He would stay with his family of origin and take an active part in its upkeep. The father of many sons had many pairs of hands for work, a fact which assured his prosperity. He might look forward to an old age when he would be well provided for, and revered as the head of a large and prosperous

household. Since in these communities wealth and not learning was the criterion for social status, such a man would play a leading role in the affairs of his community.

Furthermore, there were instances in which conflicts in the community were settled by a show of force, each side enlisting as much active support as it could muster. Naturally it was at such times that the actual strength of each household, i.e. the number of its adult males, counted most. Thus the more adult males a household included the more affluent it was and the more sought after would its head be as a potential wielder of influence. The wife of its head would be revered as the mother of many sons and could look forward to a time when she would rule a large household and direct many daughters-in-law in their daily tasks.

Not so happy by far was the lot of a father of daughters. After being fed and cared for during their early years they would marry out, just upon reaching the age when they were strong enough for work. Strangers would profit by their working power, and their sons would be born into other households. The father himself would be forsaken in his old age and his material fortune decline. Thus we may well understand the great disappointment felt when the child eagerly awaited was but a daughter. The disappointment was expressed quite openly. As the saying goes: 'A son builds up the house; a daughter destroys it.'

Generally a child was named after a relative, even if the latter was still living. Very often a firstborn son was called after his paternal grandfather. Usually the personal qualities of the person after whom he was named were attributed to the child, and the great resemblance in looks and deeds remarked on constantly. In the case where the relative after whom the child was named was especially loved or honoured the child was accorded special privileges. The children knew about this special attitude, which was expressed quite openly. A man might say: 'I do love this girl; she is my mother.'

Sometimes when the day of birth has any special significance a child will be named accordingly. Thus a boy born on Purim would be named Mordechai, a girl Esther, etc. The circumcision is performed at home by the *Mohel*. Every community has a special stool upon which the child is laid.

During his early months the baby is made much of. In the case of a son even the men of the household will stop to fondle it and play with it. As the women's work is done collectively there is always a pair of hands to spare to take him up, fondle him, nurse him, or rock him to sleep. It would be quite unthinkable to allow a baby to cry any length of time. He is nursed whenever he is restless. He is rocked to sleep, swaddled in a special small wooden cradle or in a hammock hung from the ceiling.

(3) *The Toddler*

The child suffers a great change in these loving and warm relations when, as it reaches the age of a year or two, a new baby is born. Now he watches as another baby is fondled, made much of and fed, while he is thrust aside quite harshly. Nobody takes much interest in him and he is left to his own devices. When he is hungry he has to be very persistent in his demands in order to arouse his mother from her conversation with the other women. He soon learns that the more insistent and aggressive his behaviour the quicker she will be in her response to his demands. All outward signs of effect such as throwing oneself to the floor, shrieking, crying and hitting one's head against something, prove useful in this respect.

The mother's attitude in these cases may perhaps be clarified by the following example. A 5 year-old boy snatched an old cigarette box from his 2 year-old brother who had been handling it contentedly for quite a while. Both burst into shrieks. Without much ado the mother (who already had a new baby) took the box and placed it firmly in the hands of the older boy. Called upon to explain she said simply that the smaller one would forget the matter soon, while if she had crossed the older one he would have continued to shriek 'for half an hour'.

Though it is of course not our intention to show a cause-effect relationship, it is worth while to remember at this point the educational ideal of the Kurdish Jews, which has been described above, namely that of an aggressive and stubborn man.

One will remember as part of this description that women and children fall silent upon the husband's approach. This silence typifies the behaviour of the toddler always and everywhere. He is a *silent* participant in everything that happens in the household. Never is he sent away as being too small. At birth, death, wedding, circumcision, slaughter, always he is there to observe, watch, and learn. But he must never disturb. Even the women chatting while they work will not stand for any noise or running about. Thus he lives on the fringes of adult society, always present, quietly observant, and completely passive.

(4) *Boy becomes Man*

At about the age of 5 a new phase was reached in the education of the boy. Except for the families who lived in small villages without a Jewish *Chacham* the boy now went daily to the *Knista* where he learned with the other boys of the community. Since among these practical people all the other roles of the *Chacham* were deemed more important than his educational one, he was frequently called away from supervising their studies. Furthermore the teaching methods were rather inefficient, so that the sum total of learning gained was meagre indeed. Usually a boy needed a long time in order to master the reading skill. He was set to read the whole Pentateuch as a reading exercise without any

understanding of what was read. Only after finishing this task which took several years, did he start to read the Pentateuch again aided by an older boy who translated to him. But many quit before ever reaching this stage. There were no holidays and, except for festivals, the boys spent each day and the greater part of the day in the *Knista*.

This was part and parcel of the attitude prevalent among the Kurdish Jews towards the *Knista* and education in general. There was very little belief in the possibilities of education as such. According to the Kurdish Jews there is no way of training a child to refrain from the forbidden. With opportunity the unwanted act is sure to occur. The *Knista* then is viewed not so much as an institution which imparts learning as a place where the boy is kept under supervision and thus out of mischief. The long hours are to be viewed as a safety measure rather than as an effort at imparting knowledge.

In most cases the teacher was not employed by the community but paid directly by the parents concerned according to an agreement reached individually in each case. As the teacher was the agent paid for educating the boy, he was considered the proper address for dealing with complaints about the boys' behaviour at all times. Thus even misdemeanours committed in the home circle were often reported to him in order that he might punish the offender. The father busy with gainful employment thought it only right that the educational authority should be wielded by the one paid to do so.

In the small communities where the ways of life were greatly similar and the value system was shared by all, the process of being educated was relatively simple. One had but to accept the prevalent normal values and behaviour which one well knew, since one had participated from early childhood in all that went on in the community.

At each stage of his development the young boy knew what would be expected of him. If he acted accordingly, approval was sure to follow. If he did not, any adult member of the community was sure to point his error out to him. Education was not patterned to form an individual able to reach autonomous decisions of his own, but one willing to accept the supremacy of public opinion.

The stage looked forward to most eagerly by everyone concerned was that when at long last the son would join his father in work and turn into an earner. For the father this was the attainment of his hopes, for now he had another pair of hands to work for his household and was one step nearer his ultimate goal of rising into the ranks of the secure and wealthy.

For the boy the start of gainful employment meant a change of status from that of a child to that of a man. From now on his place would be among the men of the household, and he would be revered and served as such by women and children, although among the men he would remain for years to come the last and the lowest.

Last but not least, even the *Chacham* saw in the early participation of the boy in the work of his father's household a practical solution to the dilemma which might arise if after protracted studies he were to become a contender for the position of his own sons as future *Chachamim*. Small wonder that *knista* leaving age was low, and especially so in the case of the first born.

Also the *Bar Mitzvah* did not furnish any added motive for the continuance of study. Usually it consisted only of a morning visit by the boy and the male members of his immediate family to the synagogue, where he put on the *Tefillim* for the first time. Occasionally a festive meal was held in the evening, at which time the boy was supposed to hold a *Derasha*. Generally each *Chacham* had a prepared one, which was declaimed by heart in turn by the various boys of the community. Furthermore, it was quite acceptable for the *Chacham* to take the place of his pupil should the latter have difficulties in mastering his task. Moreover it should be remembered that in these communities where learned men were scarce, gifted boys were called upon to read the *Torah* in synagogue, if they were able to do so, even before their *Bar Mitzvah*. Thus the *Bar Mitzvah* rite did not mark the attainment of any special skill or status, and did not furnish an incentive for special efforts.

(5) *Girl grows into Woman*.

With the boy's leaving the compound for the *Knista* starts the separation of the sexes so typical of Kurdish Jews. From now on his way of life will differ radically from that of his sisters, and the opportunities for contact between them will be limited. For the girl on the other hand the identification with the group of working women becomes more pronounced. No longer will she be a completely passive observer of the goings on, but she will herself become a part of these happenings, though at first in a limited way only.

A young girl hovering on the fringes of the women's group will be used as a messenger by all her elders, being sent to and fro incessantly at their bidding. Nobody will bother to fetch anything if such a girl is at hand. As a further step she will be asked to perform simple tasks by herself such as carrying, cleaning floors, and minding small children, but no intricate tasks will be demanded of her until she reaches marriageable age. Cooking and the simple embroidery practised are deemed complicated and difficult. Might it not be that such an attitude prepares the young bride to accept eagerly her mother-in-law's instructions and facilitates a respectful attention to the woman who is so well versed in these tasks? These are sentiments which surely make for the harmony of the women's group.

Actually such an aim was never expressed, and might even seem preposterous to the Kurdish Jews, as the overt aim of the girl's education is completely to break any signs of self-will. A Kurdish woman ought

not to have any will of her own but be only a tool of her husband. In the education of the girl and the attitude towards the young bride this point is stressed again and again. One of the mothers exemplified it best when she raised her foot as it were to crush her daughter's head beneath it. Thus should all will be crushed out of the young girl.

As the Kurdish Jews did not believe in the possibility of training children to refrain from the forbidden, the girl had to be confined most strictly to the compound as, given an opportunity, she was sure to err. Actually cases of misbehaviour did occur which ended mostly in the acceptance of Islam by the girl concerned.

In a society in which single people were virtually unknown, which allowed polygamy, in which widowers and widows remarried, and in which interest in sex was predominant, one must not wonder at the easy susceptibility of the young girl. After all, sex and love were the main themes of talk among the women, and to this talk she had been an avid listener for years.

NOTES

[1] Some Kurdish Jews still live in Iran.

[2] The landlord of the village. For a detailed discussion of his functions and scope of influence, see E. R. Leach, *Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds*, London, 1940.

[3] Targum forms the theme of prolonged and extended studies by Profs. Polotsky and Rivlin, to the former of whom I am indebted for the information contained in this paragraph.

[4] This language, also called Modern East Aramaic, has been studied repeatedly. The work of Lidzbarski and MacLean ought especially to be mentioned.

[5] W. Fischel, 'The Jews of Kurdistan', *Commentary*, 1949, p. 557.

[6] See Leach, op. cit.

[7] F. Barth, *Principles of Social Organisation in Southern Kurdistan*, Oslo, 1953, Universitetets Etnografiske Museum Bulletin No. 7. E. R. Leach, op. cit. E. Brauer, *The Jews of Kurdistan* (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1947. The Palestine Institute of Folklore and Ethnology.

[8] In this case the families concerned were 'old timers'.

[9] E. R. Leach, op. cit., p. 21.

[10] F. Barth, 'Father's Brother's Daughter Marriage in Kurdistan', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 1954, p. 168.

[11] Jews were forbidden to carry firearms.

[12] H. Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, Helsingfors, 1931.

THE DEMOGRAPHY OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN CANADA[1]

Louis Rosenberg

DURING the three-quarters of a century which have elapsed since 1882, a drastic and far-reaching change has taken place not only in the geographic distribution of the Jewish population of the world, but also in many other aspects of its demography, its social and economic structure, and cultural trends.

Approximately 87 per cent of the world's Jewish population in 1892 lived in continental Europe, only 4·7 per cent in the English-speaking countries of the United States and the British Empire, and less than a third of 1 per cent in Palestine. Twenty-five years later the percentage of the Jewish population living in continental Europe had decreased to 57·6; while the Jewish population in the English-speaking countries formed 31·5 per cent, and Palestine's Jewish population formed 2·5 per cent of the world's Jewish population. In 1957 approximately 51 per cent of the world's Jewish population lived in the United States and the English-speaking countries of the British Commonwealth and a little more than 14 per cent lived in the new State of Israel, while the percentage of the world's total Jewish population living in continental Europe had decreased to approximately 25 per cent.

Although Jewish settlement in North America and resettlement in England date back more than 300 years, and the bicentenary of Jewish settlement in Canada has been celebrated in 1959, the Jewish community in Canada, as in Great Britain, the United States, South Africa, and Australia is comparatively new and young, and is in its origin, structure, and cultural pattern largely the product of a series of waves of Jewish migration from Russia, Poland, Lithuania, and Roumania, commencing in 1882, which followed the pogroms and political and economic discrimination against Jews in those countries.

The decennial censuses conducted by the governments of the United States and Great Britain do not furnish any information concerning the ethnic origin or religion of the population enumerated, and there is therefore no official census information available on the number of Jews by ethnic origin or religion in these countries, or on their geographical, sex, or age distribution.

There is some census information available regarding the number of Jews in the Union of South Africa and in Australia, and their sex and age distribution, but such information covers a comparatively short period and is far from comprehensive.

Canada is the only country in the English-speaking world in which detailed and reliable statistical information on its Jewish population and its demographic characteristics based on an official government census is available, as distinct from haphazard estimates, inadequate surveys, or sampling procedures, the accuracy and representative character of which are open to question.

The Canadian census has included questions concerning the religion of residents in all urban and rural areas in Canada in every decennial period from 1851 to 1891 inclusive, and the religion and ethnic origin of all residents from 1901 to 1951 inclusive. To this information was added in 1921 the cross-classification of ethnic origin by mother tongue, broad age groups, and ability to speak one or both of the two official languages, English and French.

The Canadian Government, influenced by the fact that Canada is a new country, and intent on building a new nation out of men and women with different cultural and religious backgrounds, has always taken a broader view of the census as being much more than a counting of heads. To quote the words of the official report of the Dominion Statistician in 1931, the Canadian census is

> designed to show from the widest possible angle the stage that has been reached in the evolution of the national life. Fundamentally, the importance of the census hinges upon its enumeration and analysis of the human element—the people themselves—the primary asset of every state. Their numbers, local distribution, age, sex, conjugal condition, ethnic origin, nationality, language, religion, education, occupation, infirmities, housing conditions, etc., are each facts in themselves of the greatest moment, especially when analysed in conjunction with one another and against the background of history and natural environment.

Since 1931 the cross-classification of information compiled by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics has been expanded, so that sex, quinquennial age groups, conjugal condition, number of children attending school, religion, country of birth, period of arrival in Canada, official language spoken, mother tongue, occupation, blindness and deaf-mutism are cross-classified by ethnic origin, thus making possible detailed analysis and study of almost every aspect of the social and economic life of the various ethnic groups which make up Canada's population.

Official statistical information regarding origin and religion is not confined to the census. The annual reports on vital statistics, compiled by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics from 1921 onwards, give the ethnic origin and sex of all children born each year, and the ethnic origin and

age groups of the mothers. All deaths are also classified by ethnic origin, and all marriages are classified by religion of bride and groom.

The annual reports of the Canadian Immigration Department from 1901 onwards give the ethnic origin of all immigrants admitted to Canada, cross-classified by sex, broad age groups, citizenship, province of destination, intended occupation and country of birth or of last permanent residence. No passport, birth certificate, identity card, registration certificate, or immigrant landing card in Canada bears any information concerning the religion or origin of the individual.

The answers given by the individual to census questions in Canada are in every instance held absolutely confidential. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics is forbidden to issue any statement that would directly or indirectly reveal information regarding a particular person or concern.

According to Canadian law, the term nationality is equivalent to citizenship. All who are Canadian citizens by birth or naturalization are of Canadian nationality, so that a Jew born in Russia but naturalized and resident in Canada and professing the Jewish religion is of Canadian nationality, Jewish origin, Russian nativity, and Jewish religion. Similarly, a Jew born in Canada who has joined the Protestant Church would be recorded as of Canadian nationality, Jewish ethnic origin, Canadian nativity, and Protestant religion.

As has been stated by Dr. S. N. D. North, a former director of the United States Census, 'Our civilization has grown so complex, so sensitive in its manifestations and reactions that it would cease to operate effectively if it were deprived of accurate, systematic statistical information.' The need for accurate statistical information is just as great for the Jewish community as it is for society as a whole. While correct statistical techniques and interpretation are important, they are of little value if the source material which they use is not well founded and reasonably accurate.

Unlike the situation in the United States, where such organizations as the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress have objected to the inclusion of any questions concerning ethnic origin or religion in the decennial census conducted by the United States Bureau of the Census, the Canadian Jewish Congress has welcomed the basic information which is made available by the Canadian census on the demographic structure of the Jewish as well as on other ethnic groups forming an integral part of Canada's population.

Realizing the value of this source material, the Canadian Jewish Congress set up its Bureau of Social and Economic Research in 1934, for the purpose of analysing and interpreting all available information concerning the Jewish population of Canada, exploring the possibility of expanding and intensifying the scope of the information, and supplementing it wherever necessary with additional surveys, so as to assist

the various committees of the Canadian Jewish Congress and other Jewish organizations and communities in planning and developing the social services, religious and educational facilities, and other phases of Jewish community life in Canada. It has always received the fullest co-operation of the Canadian Government Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

In the United States and Great Britain, where decennial census schedules do not include any question regarding origin or religion of the population enumerated, the census contains no information on the population characteristics of the Jews, such as sex, age, and occupational distribution, etc., and attempts have been made to estimate the number and geographical distribution of the Jewish population by indirect means such as the 'Yom Kippur method', on the fallacious and unfounded assumption that the percentage of children of school age and attending school to the total population of all ages is the same among Jews as among the non-Jewish population, and that all children of Jewish ethnic origin absent themselves from school on Yom Kippur.

Others have made estimates based on the number of burials in Jewish cemeteries, on the assumption that the age distribution and death rate among the Jewish population is the same as among the total population of all origins, while some estimates have been based on the assumption that Jews form the same percentage of the total population of all origins in any city as the number of alleged 'Jewish sounding' names forms of all names listed in the city directory. In small communities an unofficial census is sometimes conducted by the local congregation or community council with the aid of voluntary enumerators, but such voluntary censuses are impractical in larger communities.

There is no official statistical information available in the United States and Great Britain concerning Jewish birth and death rates and marriage rates, nor of the number of Jewish immigrants admitted each year.

Information which we have been able to compile for a period of more than thirty years in Canada has proved conclusively that the proportion of schoolchildren among the Jewish population is not the same as among the total population of all origins, nor are the age distribution, birth and death rates, fertility rates and reproductivity rates of the Jewish population the same as among the non-Jewish population. Moreover, the percentage of children of school age, and birth and death rates in Canada are by no means uniform among the Jewish population in different provinces and cities. There is little if any reason to believe that the birth and death rates and age distribution of the Jewish population in the United States and Great Britain are identical with those of the total population in those countries.

This enhances the importance and value of the information available on the demography of the Canadian Jewish community, which is in

origin, period of development and in general cultural environment and way of living comparable to the larger Jewish communities in Great Britain and the United States, for which no such information is available; and is of particular value for comparison with the demographic characteristics of the Jewish population of Israel as revealed in the statistics compiled by the Central Bureau of Statistics of the State of Israel.

Population Growth: 1831–1958

Although Canada traces its history back to the early British and French settlements in North America, and the majority of its population was born in Canada and speaks English, no one ethnic group now forms the majority of its population, which includes people of more than 40 different ethnic origins.

Jews form the ninth largest ethnic group in Canada's population, being exceeded in number by those of French, English, Scottish, Irish, German, Ukrainian, Scandinavian, and Polish origin, in the order named.

Jews first settled permanently in Canada in 1759 when the British conquered Quebec, and the first mention of Jews in an official census in Canada is found in 1831, when 107 Jews were recorded as living in Lower Canada, the area now known as the Province of Quebec. The Jewish population of Canada increased from 354 in 1851 to 1,195 in 1861 and 2,443 in 1881. By 1901 the Jewish population of Canada had increased to 16,493, and from then onward it grew rapidly, except for a slackening during the period of restrictive immigration regulations from 1931 to 1941, until it numbered 204,836 in 1951, and will have exceeded 250,000 in 1959.

Although Jews were among the earliest of the ethnic groups to settle in Canada, they formed less than one out of every thousand of the total population prior to 1911, and reached a peak of 1·5 per cent of the total population in 1931. Since then the total population of Canada has increased to a greater extent than has the Jewish population, which formed only 1·4 per cent of the total population in 1951.

The largest percentage increase in the Jewish population took place in the period from 1901 to 1906, when unrestricted immigration regulations coincided with pogroms and antisemitic restrictions in Russia and Roumania. The Jewish population within that five-year period more than doubled. The smallest percentage and numerical increase in the twentieth century occurred in the period from 1936 to 1941, and was due to a combination of two factors: restrictive Canadian immigration regulations, and an abnormal drop in the excess of Jewish births over deaths due to the economic depression which prevailed in Canada at that time.

The greatest numerical increase occurred during the period from

1911 to 1916, immediately preceding World War I. Prior to 1916 and in the periods from 1926 to 1931 and in the post-war period from 1946 to 1959, the greater portion of the numerical increase was due to immigration, while the greater portion of the numerical and percentage increase has been due to the excess of births over deaths in the periods from 1916 to 1926 and 1931 to 1946 which included World War I and World War II.

Immigration

Before the tightening of United States immigration regulations in 1921, there was considerable fluidity of population movement between Canada and the United States. Many who subsequently settled permanently in Canada first came from Europe to the United States, and then emigrated to Canada, and similarly many who made their permanent homes in the United States first came from Europe to Canada and then moved to the United States.

In the period from 1901 to 1921 the number of Jews who came to Canada from the United States exceeded the number of Jews who left Canada for the United States by 10,057; while the number of Jews who left Canada for the United States in the period from 1931 to 1941 exceeded the number who came to Canada from the United States by 12,426.

Jewish immigration reached its peak in the fiscal year ending 31 March 1914 when 24,054 Jewish immigrants entered Canada, but only exceeded 10,000 in four years out of the entire period during which Jews have been resident in Canada. The peak year in Jewish immigration subsequent to 1914 was in the calendar year 1948 when 9,892 Jewish immigrants were admitted to Canada.

Canada ranks comparatively high among the countries of the Diaspora in the number of Jewish immigrants admitted during the post-war period from 1946 to 1958 inclusive. During that period 46,000 Jewish immigrants, largely refugees and 'displaced persons' from Europe, came to Canada, an addition of approximately 26 per cent of the total Jewish population in 1946.

Before 1914 the majority of all Jewish immigrants admitted to Canada came from Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine, and from 1918 to 1932 more than half of all Jewish immigrants came from Poland. Until the outbreak of World War II in 1939, although the percentage of Jewish immigrants admitted to Canada who came from Germany and Czechoslovakia increased, the largest percentage still came from Poland.

Because of the disruption of travel facilities during World War II the number of Jewish immigrants admitted to Canada averaged less than 500 each year during that period, the majority of whom came from the United States. In the five-year period immediately following World

War II the majority of the Jewish immigrants were Polish Jews who were 'displaced persons' released from Nazi concentration camps in Germany.

The number of Jewish immigrants who came to Canada from Palestine prior to 1947 was negligibly small. In 1948 the number of Jewish immigrants who reported Israel as the country of their last permanent residence was 98, and increased from 154 in 1951 to a peak of 2,486 in the fiscal year ending 31 March 1953, decreasing to 1,623 in the period of 21 months from 1 April 1953 to 31 December 1954, dropping sharply to 214 in the calendar year 1955, and increasing to 543 in 1958. Jewish immigrants from Israel who came to Canada in the period from 1 April 1946 to 31 March 1951 numbered 258, forming only 1·3 per cent of all Jewish immigrants during that period, while 6,859 Jewish immigrants from Israel came to Canada in the period from 1 April 1950 to 31 December 1958, forming 20·1 per cent of all Jewish immigrants during that period.

The total number of immigrants from Israel admitted to Canada in the period from 1 April 1946 to 31 December 1958 was 7,791, of whom 7,117 were Jews, 14 were Arabs, and 660 were of other ethnic origins. Most of these 'Yordim' claimed to have come to join relatives living in Canada or with the object of improving their personal fortunes, and approximately 75 per cent of them had come to Israel after World War II, 13 per cent had lived in Israel for periods ranging from twelve to twenty-four years, and 11 per cent were born in Israel.

Geographical Distribution

There were 56 Jewish communities in Canada in 1951 with a Jewish population exceeding 100, and 72 per cent of the total Jewish population of Canada lived in the two cities of Montreal and Toronto. The Jewish communities of Montreal and Toronto are the second and third largest Jewish communities in the British Commonwealth, being exceeded in size only by the Jewish population of London, England. Montreal had a Jewish population of 100,000, and Toronto a Jewish population of 80,000 in 1958, while Winnipeg's Jewish population numbered 20,000. Vancouver, on the Pacific coast with approximately 7,000 Jewish inhabitants, is the only other city in Canada with more than 5,000 Jews among its population. Besides Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver, there are 11 other cities in Canada with a Jewish population exceeding 1,000.

Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that Jews live in every one of the ten provinces of Canada from Newfoundland to Vancouver Island in British Columbia, and in the Northwest Territories within the Arctic Circle. There are Jews living in every one of the cities and towns with total population exceeding 30,000, and in 160 of the 172 towns and villages with total population ranging from 5,000 to 30,000. Among the

525 smaller towns with population ranging from 1,000 to 5,000, there are 256 with Jewish residents. In all there were 612 cities, towns, and villages in Canada with some Jewish residents in 1951, but in 556 of them the Jewish population is very small, ranging from one to ten Jewish families.

It is true that 84 per cent of all Jews in Canada live in Eastern Canada, but in this respect they do not differ very much from the total population of all origins, for 73 per cent of Canada's entire population lives in this area. Despite the common but fallacious belief that Jews voluntarily concentrate in certain districts, in no province of Canada does the Jewish population form as much as 3 per cent of the total population, and in seven of the provinces it forms less than one per cent of the total population, while in no village, town, or city, and in no municipal, provincial, or federal constituency does the Jewish population form the majority.

Length of Residence and Period of Immigration

The year 1941 was the first census year in which more than half of Canada's Jewish population was Canadian-born, and the percentage of Canadian-born increased to 57·3 in 1951. Because of the absorption of about 46,000 Jewish immigrants in the period from 1951 to 1958, the percentage has decreased slightly to 55 per cent in 1958.

Of the 43 per cent of the Jewish population of Canada in 1951 who were foreign-born, 9·9 per cent came to Canada before 1911; 8·3 per cent in the decade from 1911 to 1921; 11·6 per cent in the period from 1921 to 1931; 2·8 per cent between 1931 and 1941; a little less than 1 per cent between 1941 and 1945, and 9·6 per cent between 1945 and 1951. The largest percentage of foreign-born among the Jewish population in Canada is found in the larger cities with more than 1,000 Jewish residents.

Age and Sex Distribution

The age structure of the Jewish population of Canada has changed considerably in the two decades from 1931 to 1951. The proportion of the total Jewish population between the ages of 5 and 14, which includes most of the children attending school, has fallen from 19·7 per cent in 1931 to 14·3 per cent, as compared with 18·1 per cent among the total population of all origins. The proportion of the total Jewish population above the age of 60 has increased from 4·6 per cent in 1931 to 10·4 per cent in 1951, as compared with 11·4 per cent among the total population of all origins, but the proportion of the total Jewish population of pre-school age, i.e. below the age of 5, has increased from 7·6 per cent in 1931 to 10·6 per cent in 1951, and the twofold process of increase in the number and percentage of children of school age and of persons above the age of 60 is likely to continue.

An estimate of the Jewish population in Canada by the 'Yom Kippur' method, based on the assumption that children of school age form the same percentage of the population among Jews as among the total population would have resulted in an underestimate of the Jewish population of Canada by 8 per cent in 1931; 30·2 per cent in 1941; and 26·5 per cent in 1951.

The percentage of pre-school children among the Jewish population was only 10·6 per cent in 1951 as compared with 13·6 per cent in Israel; the percentage of children between the ages of 5 and 14 only 14·3 in Canada as compared with 17·4 in Israel; and the percentage of Jews 60 years and over was 10·3 in Canada as compared with 6·8 per cent in Israel.

The population in countries of immigration where settlement is in the pioneer stage is usually characterized by a high rate of masculinity or excess of males over females. In Canada the masculinity rate in 1911 was 1,129 per 1,000 females among the total population of all origins, and 1,097 per 1,000 females among the Jewish population. By 1941 the masculinity rate had decreased to 1,053 per 1,000 among the total population, and 1,017 per 1,000 among Canada's Jewish population; and although the masculinity rate among the total population continued to decrease to 1,024 per 1,000 in 1951, it increased to 1,028 per 1,000 among Canada's Jewish population. The masculinity rate of the Jewish population of Israel in 1951 was 1,038 per 1,000 females, as compared with 1,028 per 1,000 females among Canada's Jewish population.

Marital Status and Marriage Rate

The proportion of married people is higher among Jews than among the total population in Canada, being 71 per cent of the population 15 years of age and over among Jews in 1951 as compared with 64 per cent among the total population of all origins. The proportion widowed or divorced was 6·7 per cent among Jews as compared with 6·9 per cent among the total population of all origins.

The crude marriage rate of the Jewish population in Canada ranged from 15 to 30 per cent higher than among the total population of all origins in the period from 1926 to 1950, fluctuating from a bottom figure of 8·3 marriages per 1,000 in 1926 to a peak of 14·2 per 1,000 in 1942, but it decreased in the postwar period to 9·9 per 1,000 as compared with 9·1 per 1,000 among the total population in 1951, and fell still lower to 7·1 per 1,000 among Jews in Canada in 1955, as compared with 8·8 per 1,000 among Jews in Israel and 8·2 per 1,000 among the total population of all origins in Canada in that year.

Intermarriage

During the period from 1926 to 1930, the first period for which intermarriage statistics for Jews in the whole of Canada are available,

mixed marriages averaged 4·9 per cent of all marriages in which one or both partners to the marriage were Jews. Mixed marriages among Jews in Canada increased to 6·2 per cent in the period from 1936 to 1940 and 9·6 per cent in the period from 1941 to 1945, decreased slightly to 9·1 per cent in the period from 1946 to 1950, and increased again to 11·7 per cent in the period from 1951 to 1955.

The intermarriage rate among Jews in Canada throughout the period from 1926 to 1955 has been slightly more than twice as high among Jewish grooms as among Jewish brides. The trend to intermarriage among Jews is by no means uniform throughout Canada. It is lowest in the city of Montreal, with the largest Jewish population in Canada, where it is slightly more than half the intermarriage rate for Canada as a whole; and is highest in the smaller Jewish communities in the Prairie Provinces, British Columbia, and the Maritime provinces on the Atlantic coast.

Birth and Death Rates and Rate of Natural Increase

In Canada the Jewish birth rate, death rate, and rate of natural increase, or excess of births over deaths, has always been lower than among the non-Jewish population. The crude Jewish birth rate in Canada has increased from 15·5 per 1,000 in 1926 to a peak of 20·8 per 1,000 in 1951, except for a period of decrease during the years of economic crisis from 1930 to 1940, when the Jewish birth rate fell to a record low figure of 12·5 per 1,000 in 1937. The birth rate among the total population of all origins in Canada has shown a similar tendency, rising from 22·1 per 1,000 in 1926 to a peak of 28·9 per 1,000 in 1947, after falling to a record low figure of 20·0 per 1,000 in 1937. The birth rate among Jews in Canada was 20·8 per 1,000 in 1951 as compared with 33·8 per 1,000 in Israel, and 17·2 per 1,000 in 1955 as compared with 29·2 per 1,000 in Israel.

The Jewish death rate increased steadily from 4·4 per 1,000 in 1926 to a peak of 7·9 per 1,000 in 1949 and decreased to 6·9 in 1951 while the death rate of the total population of all origins has decreased gradually from 11·4 per 1,000 in 1926 to 8·2 per 1,000 in 1954. The death rate among Jews in Canada was 6·9 per 1,000 in 1951 as compared with 6·6 per 1,000 in Israel, and 7·4 per 1,000 in 1955 as compared with 6·1 per 1,000 in Israel.

The rate of natural increase of the Jewish population in Canada has fluctuated from 11·1 per 1,000 to a record low figure of 5·9 per 1,000 in 1937, and then rose again until it reached 13·9 per 1,000 in 1951, falling again to 9·8 per 1,000 in 1955, while the natural rate of increase among the total population of all origins rose during the same period from 10·7 per 1,000 in 1926 to 13·4 per 1,000 in 1928, fell to a record low figure of 9·5 per 1,000 in 1937, and rose again until it reached a peak of 20·5 per 1,000 in 1954.

Fertility and Reproduction Rates

There are fewer spinsters among Canadian and foreign-born Jewish women in Canada than among the non-Jewish population. There are also fewer late marriages above the age of 40, fewer marriages below the age of 20, and fewer childless women among the Jewish than among the non-Jewish population.

A standard pattern in this respect prevails among Jews in Canada to a greater extent than among other ethnic groups. The typical Jewish woman in Canada marries between 20 and 24 years of age and has from two to four children. The fertility rate is slightly higher among Jewish women in Canada than among women of Anglo-Celtic origin and lower than among women of French and Slavic origin.

The net reproduction rate among Jews in Canada in 1941 was only 0·65 as compared with 1·27 for all females in Canada, and 1·06 for Jews in Israel. The fertility rate per 1,000 women between the ages of 15 and 49 in 1951 was 83·8 among Jewish women in Canada as compared with 121·8 among Jewish women in Israel, and 102·3 among women of all ethnic origins in Canada, while the fertility rate among Jewish married women between the ages of 15 and 49 was 114·2 per 1,000 in Canada in 1951 as compared with 168·7 per 1,000 women of all origins in Canada. The specific fertility rate of married women between the ages of 20 and 24 in Canada in 1951 was 257·8 per 1,000 among Jews and 350·1 per 1,000 among women of all origins.

Size of Family

The average size of the Jewish family in Canada in 1951 was 3·2 persons as compared with 3·6 persons in 1941. Among the Canadian population as a whole the average family size was 3·7 in 1951 and 3·9 in 1941. Average Jewish family size is the smallest of any among the eight largest ethnic groups in Canada.

Longevity

The expectation of life at birth among Jews in Canada, according to a life table calculated in 1941,[2] was 67·53 years for males and 69·89 for females, 4·58 years longer for males and 3·60 years longer for females than among the total population of Canada. These rates do not differ much from the expectation of life among Jews in Israel.

Language and Mother Tongue

Canada is a bilingual country, with two official languages, English and French, but only 12·3 per cent of the total population in 1951 were able to speak both English and French. The French-speaking population is concentrated largely in the province of Quebec. The Canadian population of French origin had the largest percentage (31·0) who were

bilingual, while among the population of Anglo-Celtic origin who spoke English only 3·8 per cent were bilingual in 1951.

The percentage of all Jews in Canada able to speak English was 94·6 in 1931, when 95·4 per cent of the Jewish population reported Yiddish as mother tongue; and was 95·0 per cent in 1951, when the percentage reporting Yiddish as mother tongue had decreased to 50·6. The percentage reporting Yiddish as mother tongue in 1951 was 82·5 among foreign-born Jews, and 37·8 among Canadian-born Jews.

The percentage of Jews in Canada reporting English as mother tongue increased from 2·4 in 1931 to 42·8 in 1951. Jews in Canada were the second largest group numerically in 1951 able to speak both English and French, and were third in percentage of population able to speak both languages, exceeded only by the Canadian population of French and Italian origin.

Occupational Distribution

Jewish communities in Canada may be divided into two main groups: those with Jewish population exceeding 10,000 in which the majority are wage and salary workers; and those with Jewish population under 10,000 in which the majority are self-employed as merchants or in the professions. Within the first group are the Jewish communities in Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg in which 81 per cent of Canada's Jewish population lived in 1951. Within the second group are all the other Jewish communities, in which 19 per cent of Canada's Jewish population lived.

Of all Jewish heads of families in 1951, 46·3 per cent were wage and salaried workers, 42·1 per cent were self-employed or employers, and 11·6 per cent were not in the country's labour force. Among the heads of families of all origins in 1951 in Canada, 60·6 per cent were wage and salaried workers, 24·4 per cent were self-employed or employers, and 15·0 per cent were not in the country's labour force.

The seven largest occupational groups among the Jewish population in Canada in 1951 in order of size were trade, industry, clerical occupations, professions, personal service, transportation, and construction. The largest occupational groups among the total population of all origins in Canada in 1951 in order of size were manufacturing, agriculture, clerical, trade, personal service, transportation, professional services, and unskilled labour.

The proportion of all gainfully occupied Jews who were engaged in some branch of retail and wholesale trade fell from 38·2 per cent in 1921 to 32·5 per cent in 1951. The proportion of Jews engaged in clerical occupations, such as bookkeepers, stenographers, etc., has increased from 8·8 per cent in 1921 to 12·7 per cent of all gainfully occupied Jews in 1951. Jews engaged in the various professions have increased from 3·6 per cent of all Jews gainfully occupied in 1921 to

8·4 per cent in 1951, as compared with an increase from 5·4 per cent in 1921 to 7·1 per cent in 1951 among the total population. The proportion of all gainfully occupied Jews engaged in manufacturing industries decreased from 31·0 per cent in 1921 to 28·5 per cent in 1951. The proportion of all gainfully occupied Jews engaged in manufacturing industries was 50 per cent higher among Jews than among the gainfully occupied of all origins in 1951.

Although those engaged in retail trade form the largest occupational group among Jews in Canada, Jews form less than 9·4 per cent of all persons engaged in retail trade in Canada and only in the retail sale of men's and women's clothing, dry goods, and fur clothing do Jews form as much or more than 10 per cent of all persons gainfully occupied in these branches. Among retail stores owned and operated by Jews, women's clothing stores are the largest in number, followed by men's clothing stores, dry goods stores, grocery stores, furniture stores, and department stores.

Most Jewish stores in Canada are comparatively small, and are operated by the owner and the members of his family. None of the four largest department stores in Canada is owned by Jews, and large Jewish department stores and chain stores are comparatively rare in Canada.

Jews form more than the average proportion among the occupational groups engaged in manufacturing, trade, and clerical occupations; and the proportion of Jews among all persons in those occupational groups has increased among those engaged in trade, insurance, and the professions.

Among the industries in which Jews are concentrated are the manufacture of fur garments, men's and women's clothing, hats and caps and leather goods; and in none do the Jews employed in the industry exceed 38 per cent, and only in the manufacture of fur clothing and women's clothing do Jews form more than 20 per cent.

The number of Jews engaged in the professions in Canada has more than trebled in the thirty-year period from 1921 to 1951; and while in the earlier years of settlement the majority of Jews in the professions in Canada were rabbis, Hebrew teachers, and others who had received their professional training in Europe, the majority of Jews in the professions in Canada are now graduates of Canadian universities.

While the percentage of Jews gainfully occupied who are engaged in the 'free' professions in Canada is higher than among non-Jews, the percentage of gainfully occupied Jews engaged in the salaried professions is lower than among non-Jews. Nevertheless, although the majority of engineers are employed on a salaried basis by engineering, mining and transportation corporations, and government departments, the number of Jewish engineers in Canada has increased from 28 in 1921 to 439 in 1951 and has more than doubled in the decade from 1941 to 1951.

Prospective Increase or Decrease in Jewish Population

The Jewish population of Canada was 204,836 in June 1951 when the official decennial census was taken. In December 1958 the Jewish population was estimated to be approximately 250,000, an increase of about 45,000 in the intervening period of seven and a half years.

What are the prospects for the increase or decrease of the Jewish population of Canada in the years ahead? In each of the decades from 1871 to 1901 the Jewish population of Canada more than doubled. This high rate of increase was largely due to the fact that the Jewish population was small, and the percentage of Jewish immigrants absorbed in each period large in comparison with the size of the Jewish population in the previous census.

In the decade from 1901 to 1911, the Jewish population of Canada more than trebled, and more than 80 per cent of that increase was due to immigration; while it increased by 66 per cent in the period from 1901 to the outbreak of World War I in 1914, and in that period again more than one-half of the increase was due to immigration from Eastern Europe.

During the period from 1921 to 1931, the rate of increase fell to 24 per cent, of which half was due to immigration, and dropped to a low figure of 9 per cent in the decade from 1931 to 1941, when both immigration and excess of births over deaths showed a marked decrease.

The absorption of approximately 46,000 Jewish immigrants in Canada during the post-war period from 1946 to 1958 increased the Jewish population by 26 per cent, but even at its peak the increase by immigration has barely equalled the increase by excess of births over deaths.

If we exclude unforeseeable emergencies, Jewish immigration to Canada in the years to come appears to be unlikely to reach the post-war peak of 9,000 attained in 1948. The main source of Jewish immigration, Eastern Europe, has not merely dwindled. It has been almost annihilated as the result of the persecution and massacres of the Hitler period and World War II. There can be little doubt that in the future the growth of Canada's Jewish community will depend more upon its own rate of natural increase than upon immigration.

The natural rate of increase of the Jewish population in Canada has also decreased, and is now lower than among the non-Jewish population. The net reproduction rate of Jews during recent years has been approximately half of the net reproduction rate of the total population, and the total rate of increase, including immigration and natural increase, has barely equalled the rate of natural increase alone among the total population. We are led to the conclusion, therefore, that unless there is a substantial rise in the fertility of the Jewish population or a considerable immigration, the proportion of aged among the Jewish population will increase, and the percentage of Jews among the total

population of Canada, and eventually the number of Jews in Canada will decline.

TABLE I

Comparative Percentage Distribution of Total and Jewish Population of Canada, and Jewish Population of Israel, by Sex and Quinquennial Age Groups, 1951

Age Group	Canada: All Origins			Canada: Jews			Israel: Jews		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
0–4	12·3	12·4	12·2	10·6	10·8	10·4	13·6	13·8	13·4
5–9	10·0	10·1	9·9	8·5	8·9	8·0	9·7	9·7	9·5
10–14	8·1	8·1	8·0	5·8	5·9	5·8	7·7	7·8	7·6
15–19	7·6	7·5	7·6	5·7	5·7	5·7	8·4	8·6	8·3
20–24	7·8	7·6	8·0	6·6	6·6	6·6	8·2	8·1	8·3
25–29	8·1	7·8	8·4	8·2	7·6	8·7	8·6	8·4	8·9
30–34	7·5	7·2	7·7	8·5	8·1	8·9	7·1	7·2	7·1
35–39	7·1	7·1	7·2	9·8	9·7	9·9	7·7	7·3	8·2
40–44	6·2	6·3	6·1	9·1	9·4	8·7	7·9	8·0	7·7
45–49	5·3	5·5	5·2	6·7	6·9	6·5	6·1	6·5	5·7
50–54	4·7	4·8	4·7	6·0	6·1	5·7	4·9	5·0	4·8
55–59	4·1	4·1	4·0	4·2	3·8	4·5	3·3	3·4	3·2
60–64	3·6	3·7	3·5	3·8	3·9	3·7	2·6	2·5	2·8
65–69	3·1	3·2	3·0	3·0	3·0	3·1	1·8	1·7	2·0
70–74	2·3	2·3	2·2	2·1	2·1	2·2	1·3	1·1	1·4
75 plus	2·2	2·3	2·3	1·4	1·5	1·6	1·1	0·9	1·1
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

TABLE 2

Number of Jewish Mixed Marriages and Intermarriage Rate Among Jews in Canada by Quinquennial Periods, 1926–1955

Quinquennial Period	Total Weddings	Bride and Groom both Jewish	Mixed Marriages			Percentage Mixed Marriages of Total Marriages		
			Total	Groom Jewish	Bride Jewish	Both Sexes	Groom Jewish	Bride Jewish
1926–30	6,837	6,499	338	250	88	4·9	3·7	1·3
1931–35	7,674	7,284	390	237	153	5·1	3·2	2·1
1936–40	9,129	8,567	562	386	176	6·2	4·3	2·0
1941–45	9,795	8,855	940	624	316	9·6	6·6	3·4
1946–50	11,156	10,141	1,105	714	301	9·1	6·6	2·9
1951–55	9,514	8,402	1,112	783	329	11·7	8·5	3·8

TABLE 3

Number of Jewish Births and Deaths and Comparative Crude Birth and Death Rates of Jewish and Total Population of Canada, 1930, 1940, 1950 and 1955

Year	Jewish		Crude Birth Rate per 1,000		Crude Death Rate per 1,000		Crude Rate of Natural Increase per 1,000	
	Births	Deaths	Jews	All Origins	Jews	All Origins	Jews	All Origins
1930	2,194	873	14·7	23·9	5·9	10·7	8·8	13·2
1940	2,246	1,094	13·6	21·5	6·6	9·8	7·0	11·7
1950	3,976	1,427	19·9	26·4	7·5	8·9	12·4	17·5
1955	3,972	1,709	17·2	28·7	7·4	8·2	9·8	20·5

TABLE 4

Specific Fertility Rates of Jewish Women and all Women 15–49 Years Old in Canada in 1951

Age Group	Number of Jews		Births	Specific Fertility Rates			
				Jews per 1,000		All Women per 1,000	
	All Women	Married Women		Married Women	All Women	Married Women	All Women
15–19	5,145	291	68	233·7	13·2	498·0	47·6
20–24	5,951	3,413	880	257·8	147·1	350·1	188·2
25–34	15,553	13,333	2,527	192·4	162·5	208·5	165·4
35–44	16,456	14,234	644	45·2	38·1	71·3	58·5
45–49	6,105	5,070	10	2·0	1·6	3·6	2·9
	49,210	36,141	4,119	114·2	83·8	168·7	102·3

NOTES

[1] Paper read at the Second World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 1957, in the section 'Demography of the Jews'.

[2] Mortimer Spiegelman, 'The Longevity of Jews in Canada, 1940–2', *Population Studies*, vol. II, no. 3, 1948.

TABLE 5

Number and Per cent of Jews Among Total Population in Each Occupational Group in Canada in the Census Years 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951

Occupational Groups	1921		1931		1941		1951	
	Number	Per cent Jews to Total	Number	Per cent Jews to Total	Number	Per cent Jews to Total	Number	Per cent Jews to Total
		%		%		%		%
Commerce*	15,429	5·28	23,301	6·04	25,697	6·63	29,757	5·48
Manufacturing	12,248	3·01	19,777	4·16	22,264	3·17	23,485	2·42
Clerical	3,480	1·60	6,840	2·84	9,417	2·79	10,444	1·85
Professions	1,425	0·83	3,037	1·27	4,709	1·92	6,891	1·83
Personal Service	1,230	0·59	2,498	0·70	2,920	0·67	3,871	0·92
Other Services	239	0·55	339	0·86	591	1·05	1,041	0·61
Construction	1,185	0·73	1,819	0·90	1,603	0·79	1,917	0·59
Transportation	1,161	0·58	1,755	0·66	1,904	0·71	2,128	0·49
Labourers	2,063	0·67	1,666	0·38	1,035	0·39	1,318	0·38
Agriculture	926	0·09	778	0·07	848	0·08	406	0·05
Mining, Logging and Fishing	75	0·06	58	0·04	118	0·05	64	0·03
Others, N.E.S.	—	—	32	1·93	152	1·33	994	1·54
Total	39,461	1·24	61,900	1·57	71,258	1·70	82,316	1·56

TABLE 6

Comparative Percentage of Jewish and Total Population of all Origins Gainfully Occupied, in each Occupational Group in Canada, in 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951

Occupational Groups	1921		1931		1941		1951	
	All Origins	Jews	All Origins	Jews	All Origins	Jews	All Origins	Jews
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Commerce*	9·2	39·1	9·8	37·6	9·4	36·1	10·3	36·2
Manufacturing	12·9	31·0	12·1	32·0	16·8	31·2	18·5	28·5
Clerical	6·9	8·8	6·1	11·1	8·0	13·2	10·7	12·7
Professions	5·4	3·6	6·1	4·9	5·8	6·6	7·1	8·4
Personal Service	6·5	3·2	9·1	4·0	10·3	4·1	8·0	4·7
Other Services	1·5	0·6	1·0	0·5	1·3	0·8	3·3	1·2
Construction	5·1	3·0	5·2	2·9	4·8	2·2	6·1	2·3
Transportation	6·3	2·9	6·8	2·8	6·4	2·7	8·3	2·6
Labourers	9·6	5·2	11·1	2·7	6·3	1·5	6·6	1·6
Agriculture	32·9	2·4	28·8	1·3	25·8	1·2	15·7	0·5
Mining, Logging and Fishing	3·7	0·2	3·8	0·1	4·8	0·2	4·2	0·1
Others, N.E.S.	—	—	0·1	0·1	0·3	0·2	1·2	1·2
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

* Including Insurance and Finance.

CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF JEWISH MIGRATION IN THE POST-WAR WORLD[1]

Julius Isaac

AN APPRAISAL of the cultural and socio-economic problems of Jewish migration after the Second World War has to take into account two different sets of determining forces.

In the first place, we have to consider migratory movements of Jews in the setting of international migration in general, and we have to study the impact of the relevant post-war trends and conditions on them. In the second place, we have to view Jewish migration as an important element of Jewish history, and we are concerned with the effect of specific Jewish developments on Jewish migration in recent years, particularly those associated with the emergence of the State of Israel and the virtual disappearance of the Jewish centres in eastern and central Europe.

General conditions have been on balance favourable to international migration of people of European extraction since 1946 as compared with the inter-war period. Soon after the First World War the United States introduced the quota system which involved a drastic cut in the total intake with special discrimination against the so-called 'New Immigration', that is to say against immigrants from Mediterranean countries and from Eastern Europe, thus including the great majority of potential Jewish emigrants. The other traditional countries of immigration adopted similar restrictive measures, and the advent of the 'Great Depression' in 1929 brought emigration from Europe practically to a standstill. Indeed, for a number of years the flow was reversed, the return movement exceeding the outward movement.

The world economic situation had only slightly improved after 1932, when the Jews under Hitler's domination tried to escape from Nazi persecution. Although the attitude of the receiving countries towards immigration in general was still hostile, the appeal of the Jewish refugees did not remain without response—mainly, but not exclusively, for humanitarian reasons. During the six years before the outbreak of the Second World War the *share* of Jews in the total outward movement from

Europe was much larger than ever before, even larger than in the years of Jewish mass emigration between 1881 and 1914. In absolute numbers, however, the volume of Jewish migration in 1933–9 was only a fraction of that in the years preceding the 1914 war. A few figures will be given presently.

It was only after 1946 that the main receiving countries reverted to a positive migration policy, and the lull of the inter-war period was followed by a new wave of overseas migration. By the end of 1952, four and a half million European emigrants had found new homes overseas, and the flow has since been maintained with some fluctuations in total numbers and in the geographical distribution of the immigrants.

Among the variety of reasons for this change of attitude towards immigration it suffices in the present context to mention those of wider validity. The economic and demographic stagnation of the inter-war period was superseded by a period of rapid growth. But in the relatively sparsely populated countries of the 'new world' the rate of economic growth was much higher than that of natural increase. Moreover, the most important age groups of the working population were relatively little affected by this overall natural increase. Thus the phenomenon of over-full employment and serious bottlenecks in the supply of highly qualified labour tended to impair economic progress and created the pre-conditions for migratory movements on a fairly large scale. This applies particularly to the new countries with huge reserves of undeveloped or under-developed natural resources, such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and certain Latin-American countries. But despite the fact that most technical innovations have a substantial labour saving content, manpower shortages and hence the demand for selected immigration are also evident in certain densely populated and highly industrialized countries with little reserves of natural resources, e.g. Britain and Belgium. This is partly a consequence of monetary inflation.

A return, however, to unrestricted migration, to the laissez-faire, laissez-passer approach of the pre-1914 period was out of the question. Contemporary international migration is essentially planned migration. The planning of migration, that is to say, to relate national migration policy to national development plans, has become a new science which aims at wiping out many old haphazard notions about the desirability and possibility of mass-migration and appears to produce satisfactory results from the point of view of the receiving country as well as from the point of view of international welfare.

Estimates of migration needs have been derived lately from econometric models describing and projecting the time path of economic development under certain assumptions. The implied future manpower requirements are compared with the expected manpower supply as indicated in population forecasts. The difference between the two is the

basis for the estimate of the desirable volume of migration. It goes without saying that this approach unavoidably involves some oversimplifications and distortions of a very complex interplay of economic, social and political forces. These factors have to be taken into account and in their light the final migration estimate or possibly the original development plan has to be revised. More straightforward methods used by a number of immigration countries have essentially the same object: to determine the volume and composition of their immigration in accordance with the planned or expected growth of their economy.

A similar line of thought underlay the obligation of the mandatory power to regulate Jewish immigration into Palestine in accordance with the absorptive capacity of the country. In practice the quota was determined until the 1939 White Paper by political bargaining and had little relation to unbiased estimates of absorptive capacity. The approach of the State of Israel towards planned migration is of course entirely different.

Another important new feature of post-war migration is the activities of international agencies. The International Refugee Organization has been instrumental in the resettlement of over one million displaced persons—among them 232,000 Jewish refugees. Fifty-six per cent of them went to Israel. I.R.O.'s successor organization, the Intergovernmental Committee of European Migration, had up to the end of 1956 partly or wholly organized and financed the emigration of 536,000 people. 110,000 of them went to Israel. The number of Jews emigrating under the auspices of I.C.E.M. to other countries is not known.

In various countries political and strategic considerations are of profound importance in the shaping of migration policy. In Australia the shock of an imminent Japanese invasion during the war has left its mark. Her small numbers, it is felt, may invite new attempts at aggression from overpopulated Asiatic countries. Misgivings are expressed in Canada that the discrepancy in size between her population and that of the United States may endanger her economic and perhaps even political independence. In the U.S.A. it is a controversial issue whether additional immigration can be regarded as an economic asset. Nevertheless the United States has admitted since the war by far the largest number of refugees. Moreover they have to a large extent, directly or indirectly, financed the resettlement of migrants in other countries. The U.S. Escapee Programme and the swift action in the case of the Hungarian refugees clearly indicate that the settlement of refugees, irrespective of their ethnic origin is, in addition to the humanitarian object, regarded as a weapon in the cold war against communist countries.

This pro-immigration policy of governments is reflected in the welcome extended to the newcomers by the old residents. Other reasons for it are the speedy economic absorption of the immigrants owing to rapid economic growth and more efficient organization in the placement of

the new arrivals. Special efforts are being made, particularly in Australia, with a view to creating friendly social contacts between them and the old residents and to facilitating the naturalization of the former.

Jewish immigration benefited from these favourable post-war conditions in various ways. In the first place they greatly improved the economic position and social standing of the pre-war refugees from Nazi oppression in Greater Germany. Their total number amounted, according to the best available estimates, to about 420,000, but about 100,000 of them went to countries later occupied by the German Forces; relatively few have survived and live still or again in these countries. The same applies to Germany; although a number of Jewish communities in Germany have been re-established, they appear to consist mainly of residuals from the 'infiltrees' from Eastern Europe in 1946–7 who were given the status of displaced persons.

Considering the remaining 320,000 pre-war Jewish refugees, we find that in spite of all restrictions imposed by the British administration, Palestine with roughly 100,000 immigrants from Greater Germany between 1933 and 1939 has the leading place as receiving country, closely followed by the United States with 94,000. Next in rank are Britain with 40,000, Argentina with 21,000, and Brazil with 20,000. South Africa took 8,000, Canada 6,000; Australia, Switzerland, and Mexico each about 5,000; and some 15,000 escaped to China.

Generally speaking, in all these countries the great majority of the Jewish refugees experienced before and during the war considerable hardship and resistance in their attempts to become settled in their new countries. Even in Palestine the welcome extended to the German Jews was somewhat qualified.

During that period latent antisemitic tendencies in the receiving countries were successfully reinforced by German propaganda and diplomatic pressure, thus greatly adding to the difficulties of the newcomers. But at the same time, life in these more or less hostile environments helped to preserve Jewish consciousness among them, which many had acquired or rediscovered only after the collapse of the Weimar Republic.* These factors explain the remarkable cohesion within the newly formed communities of German-Jewish refugees.

This pattern has undergone profound changes since the defeat of the Third Reich. If we first consider Jewish immigration to other countries than Israel, we find that the 'newcomers' of 1933–9 have become 'old residents' and nationals of their countries of adoption. Greatly helped by favourable changes in the economic and political climate, they have been able practically everywhere—the main exception being China—to consolidate their economic position and to raise their social standing and standards of living.

This progress in economic and social integration experienced by the Jewish immigrant groups in the Diaspora was bound to have a

far-reaching impact on their attitudes to Judaism and life within their communities. It appears that we have to distinguish between trends in English-speaking countries and in Latin America.

There are, of course, various significant differences between developments in the U.S.A., Britain, Canada, and Australia. Generally speaking, however, cohesion tends to become much looser. Intermarriages with Gentiles are frequent. English has become the everyday language of the younger generation and tends therefore to be also more widely used in the homes of the older generation. While the number of practising Jews is limited and decreasing and contacts with Jewish communities of different origin remain few, many are members of a Jewish refugee organization. But even there activities are often focused on questions of restitution from Germany or Austria. The interest in Israel and her cultural institutions is considerable and the fund-raising organizations seem to be moderately successful. The approach to these matters is similar to that of official Anglo-American Zionism and is consistent with progressive cultural assimilation.

The Latin-American cultural pattern seems to have a lesser appeal to Jewish immigrants. Close social contacts and intermarriages with non-Jewish residents are rather exceptions, and life within the community is more active. Spanish and Portuguese is little used at home, even by the younger generation. The same applies to reading matter. In the internal political conflicts of their countries the Jewish immigrants are interested observers rather than participants. With no firm roots in their new country and slowly fading sentimental attachment to their way of life in the old country, the reality of Israel seems to be a more potent source of inspiration than in English-speaking countries. Nevertheless, in the absence of militant anti-semitism, the Jewish content in their way of life tends to lose vitality.

One reason for this gradual alienation from purely Jewish concern may be the lack of a sizable volume of new Jewish immigration during the last nine years or so. There can be little doubt that this movement has been small, in spite of the, on the whole, good opportunities offered by a number of countries to Jewish would-be immigrants in various occupations. Actual numbers can only be guessed, since to my knowledge the migration statistics of no country except Israel distinguish between Jewish and non-Jewish migration. Statistical returns broken down by nationality indicate the number of immigrants from Israel—presumably all Jews—and show that numerically this intake is in all cases almost negligible from the viewpoint of the receiving country.

It is not so much discrimination against Jewish applicants for entry visas or Government assistance which accounts—after the settlement of the displaced persons—for the low level of Jewish migration in recent years; it is rather the decline of the Jewish migration potential and the attraction of Israel for those in need of a new home and allowed to

emigrate. This statement needs qualification in so far as Jews of non-European origin stand little chance of being admitted in any major country of immigration except Israel.

Thus it appears that recent Jewish Diaspora migration has mainly consisted of a limited number of compassionate cases (family reunions), of marginal movements of people in search of better individual economic opportunities, etc. The number of Jewish refugees from Egypt and Hungary is relatively small and a large proportion of them will find a new home in Israel.

It must be admitted that the preceding analysis is to some extent based on impressions which cannot be substantiated by reference to statistics or precise demographic and social surveys. Some of the factual statements as well as their interpretation are therefore open to challenge. It is, however, easy to see that any trend analysis concerned with Diaspora-Jewry is bound to include a fair amount of conjecture because the available statistical evidence is scrappy and unreliable. Even regional or local surveys covering a *cross-section* of a Jewish immigrant population are for obvious reasons very difficult to carry out.

An analysis of the economic and cultural problems arising from immigration into Israel stands, of course, on much firmer ground. It can draw on a wealth of statistics, on demographic and social surveys. I venture to submit some observations which are based on Israeli sources and relevant to the subject matter of the present paper.

Since May 1948 Jewish migration has become predominantly 'aliya'. This has from the international viewpoint two major implications:

First, the decimation of Jewry in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as restrictions on emigration in countries under Soviet rule, has greatly reduced the Jewish migration potential. On the other hand, for many of the survivors life in their home countries had become unbearable; their emigration had become an urgent necessity. There can be little doubt that without the open doors of Israel their resettlement in the traditional countries of immigration would have been extremely difficult, notwithstanding the favourable world situation referred to above. The 'Ingathering of the Exiles' did not only greatly reduce the total number of Jews to be resettled in non-Jewish countries. Perhaps more important, Israel provided a home for the 'hard core', for those who would not have been eligible for one reason or another for admission to any other country. Thus, by welcoming the old-age dependants, the chronic invalids, the unemployables, the social misfits as well as the enthusiastic pioneers and other highly qualified people, Israel added to her own burdens and made a great contribution towards the solution of the international refugee problem; a contribution which is often overlooked in discussions concerning the return or resettlement elsewhere of Arab refugees.

The second major implication of the ingathering of the exiles is that

it included the Jewish communities in Asia and Africa, groups which had never participated in the great migratory movements beginning in the 1880s, groups with ethnic and cultural characteristics significantly different from those of any branch of European Jewry. Here again the only criterion for their admission was that they were Jews seeking a new home in Israel. They came by virtue of a fundamental right, later turned into a statutory right in the 'Law of Return'. Seen from this angle, the question whether they were likely to become an asset or a liability to Israel was merely an academic one.

In modern socio-economic demography the theory of 'optimum population' with its emphasis on 'other things being equal' is regarded as obsolete. This theoretical approach—in a more dynamic version—has, however, some merits, and the notion of an economic-demographic optimum position or optimum trend underlies the studies concerned with national estimates of migration needs to which I have referred earlier. No such estimates, to my knowledge, have been made for Israel, and in this particular case they would be of no practical value, though perhaps of some theoretical interest; the main reason being that economic and demographic considerations are of secondary importance in determining Israel's migration policy. Moreover, the behaviour of some important determinants, such as the balance of trade and capital movements, productivity trends in various sectors of the economy, etc., seems to be quite unpredictable in the case of Israel. While such studies for other countries have yielded fairly realistic results, it is safe to say that no estimate based on a similar line of thought could have suggested for Israel a volume of 'required immigration' anything near the actual intake—even if the exodus of the main body of the Arab population is taken into account.

What has been achieved during the last few years in the absorption of Israel's mass-immigration must appear as almost miraculous to the outside observer who thinks in terms of international migration in general. He would have predicted, on the basis of the experience of other countries and on theoretical grounds, a complete breakdown at an early stage of the inflow.

The ingathering of the exiles involved an unprecedented intensity of immigration. The two main components were uprooted displaced persons from Europe and unselected mass-immigration from Asia and Africa. The latter group was—measured by Western standards—by and large at a backward stage of economic and cultural development. The arrival of so many diverse groups, with little in common but their religion and their expectations for a better and safer life in Israel, has generated serious cultural and socio-economic problems for which, after some initial setbacks, a solution seems to be in sight.

The declared ultimate target is complete fusion of the heterogeneous elements—the old 'melting-pot' idea. As Mr. Ben-Gurion has put it,

> Within the State the differences between various kinds of Jews will be obliterated in the course of time; the communities will sooner or later fuse into one national and cultural unity. Common education, the Hebrew language, universal service in the Israeli defence forces, the establishment of a common minimum standard of living, the entry of workers from various countries into a single labour federation, mixed marriages between the various tribes, common political action in non-communal parties, and so on, will produce a new type of Jew with the favourable qualities and characteristics of all tribes in Israel.

Much will depend on the volume and composition of future immigration. The preservation of *some* characteristics of Western society and of Israel's pre-independence Yishuv seem to be of vital importance.

In any case, prospects of success may be best if complete fusion is conceived as a very slow process. Then the emergence of a pluralistic society—of the U.S.A. pattern—may be regarded as a transitory stage lasting perhaps for many generations. Such a pluralistic society in Israel would help her to keep alive close spiritual and material contacts with the Jews of the Diaspora and thus counteract among them during the first phase of a new epoch in Jewish history strong tendencies towards full assimilation.

NOTE

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TRENDS IN OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE AND DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AMONG THE JEWISH POPULATION IN ISRAEL[1]

A. Bonné

THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS deal with the impact of the Zionist movement on the occupational structure and the economic stratification of the population in Israel. Owing to the predominance of the political changes wrought by the Zionist movement, the powerful effect which Zionist thought and doctrines have exerted on the professional and economic stratification of Jewish society in Palestine and Israel has not always been fully appreciated.

Three major changes can be noted as fundamental deviations from traditional patterns of occupational and economic stratification of Jewish society as caused by the direct and indirect impact of the Zionist movement.

(1) The first is a new evaluation of the significance of the so-called physical occupations. The move towards this new appraisal dates back two generations; a variety of reasons were advanced in order to demand a drastic reversal of the traditional choice of occupations and of the prestige and importance attached to the main occupations in Jewish society. The hard core of the criticism of the occupational structure of Jewish society in the Diaspora was accepted by Zionist ideologists. This criticism maintained that the production of essential commodities for Jewish consumers and services remained largely in the hands of Gentiles, while Jews preferred the more rewarding and also easier service occupations. No nation is viable whose population is not deeply rooted in working the soil and not engaged in producing non-agricultural goods by themselves. From this point Zionist fundamentalism became nearly identical with a revolutionary approach to the issue of the desirable occupational structure of the new Jewish society. The origin

of these ideas was a mixture of physiocratic and early socialist concepts about the nature of value-creating occupations which lent an emotion- and value-loaded emphasis to the Zionist planning of the shares of the various occupations in the new homeland.

Social prestige and standing were now shifted to farming and other forms of physical work, skilled and unskilled. Yet by a strange historical coincidence these efforts were launched when new trends in the development of the occupational structure were displacing the farmer from his recognized position as the first estate of society, and industrialization and the expansion and refinement of service occupations were becoming instead the main marks of the progressive society.

These new international trends in the division of work had for a considerable period, however, no effect on the occupational ideals of the pioneering generation which flocked into Israel. The faith in the regenerative power of the return to the soil which drew its strength from deep-rooted national traditions, is expressed nowhere more strongly than in the sentence by Herzl, 'The ultimate solution of the Jewish problem will come on the day when the plough is again held in the firm hand of the Jewish farmer', which continued to move people into farming and related activities.

If expressed in the language of figures, the following data show the change in occupation which was either accompanying or following the settling down in Israel.

The important characteristics of this process are: the marked increase in agricultural earners, the increase in building workers, and the decrease in earners gaining their living from commerce and craft.[2]

(2) The second major change in occupational structure is the opening

TABLE 1. *Percentage of Immigrants working in Israel in an Occupational Class different from that in which they worked Abroad**

	Born in		*Total*
	Europe and America	*Asia and Africa*	
Males			
Old settlers	45·4	54·2	46·8
New immigrants	52·4	69·9	60·1
Total	49·6	67·7	56·0
Females			
Old settlers	40·8	—†	41·6
New immigrants	46·0	—†	46·8
Total	43·5	51·6	44·6

* Labour Force Survey 1954, people aged 14 or over. People included are subdivided into 10 occupational classes. 'Old settlers' indicates people who immigrated before 1948, 'New immigrants' from 1948 onwards.

† Number of cases too small to allow calculation in percentages.

TABLE 2. *Occupational Distribution of Adult Male Immigrants—Abroad and in Israel (1954)*
*(Sample including only people already gainfully occupied abroad)**

Occupation all Groups	*Born in Europe and America*				*Born in Asia and Africa*			
	Old settlers		*New immigrants*		*Old settlers*		*New immigrants*	
	Abroad	*Israel*	*Abroad*	*Israel*	*Abroad*	*Israel*	*Abroad*	*Israel*
Agriculture	3·4	7·0	2·1	10·3	1·5	10·0	2·0	30·8
Industry and Craft	31·1	29·8	31·8	29·1	34·0	24·2	39·0	17·8
Building	4·0	7·7	6·2	19·5	12·0	24·9	7·4	27·1
Transport	1·8	3·5	2·4	4·3	1·5	1·9	2·9	1·8
Trade	26·7	15·8	33·2	13·1	35·3	19·7	31·3	8·1
Services								
Professions, Liberal and Technical	1·5	4·8	2·5	6·5	0·7	8·5	3·1	5·7
	13·1	10·5	7·0	5·5	6·0	2·6	3·5	2·6
Managerial	3·5	5·0	3·2	1·8	0·7	1·4	1·9	0·3
Clerical	14·9	15·9	11·6	10·8	8·2	6·6	8·9	5·8
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

* Labour Force Survey 1954.

up of new fields of professional activity which were hitherto either completely or largely closed to Jews because of their being Jewish. Armed services and the civil service did occasionally employ Jews; yet even in countries where Jews were treated on an equal basis, their numbers in the services remained extremely small and neither the profession of soldier nor that of public administrator was a Jewish career. In Israel this situation has profoundly changed. An army has been established practically overnight and, in addition to its well-known role in times of crisis and warfare, fulfils a crucial function in the education of citizens in loyalty and identification with the cause of the new state. The professional standing of this young army has won the praise of competent observers. The novel character of this important element in Jewish occupational structure is not affected by the system of organizing the armed forces on the basis of a large cadre of reserves and a relatively small standing army.

In a similar sense the Jewish civil service is a drastic innovation in Jewish society. There were individual Jews of repute who gave signal service to their country as public servants. In Mandatory Palestine the number of Jewish officials was not negligible, although very few Jews reached higher positions. Yet the creation of a complete and numerically strong class of public servants, from floor cleaners to the heads of administration in the ministries, has added a significant note to the occupational distribution of the Jewish population in Israel. A comparison of the occupational stratification of Jewish society before and

after the foundation of the State would bring the drastic changes caused by the appearance of these two new fields of employment well into relief.

It may, perhaps, be maintained that the large number of earners employed in public and private service occupations is a recurrence of a traditional feature of Jewish occupational structure in the Diaspora. Yet the difference lies in the purpose of the service occupations which are in Israel largely public, the unavoidable concomitant of the formation of a welfare state. Obviously, the gravitation of numerous newcomers toward Government offices after the establishment of the State is also to be explained by the decline in the appeal of the former pioneering ideals and by the large absorptive capacity of the new Government apparatus.

The problems involved in the addition of such significant new classes can be only indicated here. They go much beyond those implied in the changing ratio of trade and service occupations to farming and industry. The maintenance of an efficient army under the political conditions of the State of Israel and the creation of a large civil service mean an immense financial burden; as mass immigration is still the practised policy of the Israeli Government and requires financial means of very considerable size which cannot be met from local sources, economic issues of far-reaching importance are raised by the simultaneous development of modern civil and armed services and the pursuance of a policy of the practically free immigration of people who come as a rule without means of their own. The discussion of these issues goes beyond the subject posed here, yet we should bear them in mind when considering the implications of the drastic changes in the occupational structure of the country.

(3) The third of the changes referred to above is the new income distribution which characterizes the growing Jewish society in Israel.

Owing to the occupational preferences in Jewish society in the countries of the Diaspora, the economic status of the Jewish community was largely determined by the average levels of income in those occupations in which Jews were prominently represented. There were, of course, exceptions, but if one could speak of Jewish social mentality as a typical middle class or low-income class mentality, it was largely because the majority of the members of the Jewish communities did belong to these two sectors. The Jewish factory worker in the countries of the Diaspora was a relatively late and peripheral phenomenon. In particular, it should be emphasized that the 'cultural' background of the various sections of such communities was, in spite of not negligible differences, by and large homogeneous; there was a similar level of literacy, a similar equipment of intellectual resources, or at least a similar potential for it: a capacity to adjust to conditions of rapidly growing and progressive economies and a sense of the opportunities offered by them. From all this came the remarkable stability of (and

often similarity in) the socio-economic position of the Jewish communities.

In the new State of Israel, as well as in the period of the Mandate, this stability and homogeneity did not exist. One reason on which we have dwelt before was the Zionist demand to reverse the traditional propensity for trade and service professions in favour of the 'physical' occupations. Another factor which has operated with particular force since the large influx of Jewish immigrants from Oriental countries started, is the different level of literacy and school education, and the different occupational structure of these newcomers. The majority of them were unskilled: they were small traders and semi-skilled artisans, and certainly much inferior in their flexibility and capacity of adjustment to the conditions of their new homeland than the old-timers and immigrants from countries with an advanced degree of industrialization, well developed public services, professional schools, and other marks of a progressive economy. Some of these facilities are offered in Israel, but the newcomers are not immediately aware of them or interested in making use of them.

The difference in educational attainment is to be seen in the following table. Here again, immigrants from Asia and Africa, especially females, fall considerably behind immigrants from Europe and America.

Under these circumstances the length of stay in Israel and to an extent the country of origin, have become also indications of income level. To be sure, the conclusion which follows holds good only for the

TABLE 3. *Educational Attainment of the Jewish Population aged 15 and over by Sex, Duration of Stay in the Country, and place of Birth (in percentages)**

	New Immigrants		*Immigrants before 1948 and Israel-born*		
	Europe and America	*Asia and Africa*	*Europe and America*	*Asia and Africa*	*Born in Israel*
Education—Males					
Did not attend school	2·6	22·5	1·0	21·8	2·0
Did not complete primary education	33·1	49·5	17·7	39·8	24·0
Completed primary education	41·2	19·5	37·7	28·7	49·8
Completed post-primary education	18·3	7·8	33·4	7·6	21·4
Completed higher education	4·8	0·7	10·2	2·1	2·8
Education—Females					
Did not attend school	6·3	57·8	4·8	53·2	7·3
Did not complete primary education	31·9	26·2	16·3	23·4	21·2
Completed primary education	40·6	13·0	40·4	18·5	48·7
Completed post-primary education	19·2	2·8	33·4	4·5	20·6
Completed higher education	2·0	0·2	5·1	0·4	2·2

* *Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1957–58*, No. 9, p. 365, Jerusalem, 1958.

short period since the establishment of the State and must certainly be regarded as a crude generalization. There are also considerable countervailing factors such as the effect of wage policies conducted by the General Federation of Labour in Israel, and the large network of social services which are available to newcomers. Yet even this remarkable potential for adjustment has not prevented the appearance of a gap in the economic status and income levels.

An investigation into the economic aspects of mass immigration into Israel sponsored by the Ford Foundation has led to the conclusion that there exist considerable differences between the occupational distribution, the average yearly income from main occupations, and housing conditions of the newcomers and those of the population which was in the country before 1948. (The calculations were made by Dr. M. Rosenberg as part of a joint research project under the supervision of the present author.)

The differences in annual wages per earner are perhaps not striking. Still, if the larger number of dependants in the case of newcomer families is taken into account, the per capita income of newcomers is considerably lower.

If calculated on a per capita basis, national income in the new immigrant sector amounts to 1£.635 per annum, against 1£.1,103 in the old sector. Similarly the per capita expenditure of the new immigrants

TABLE 4. *Occupational Distribution of Wage-earners and Self-employed by period of Migration (in percentages) 1954*

Occupation	*Wage-earners*		*Self-employed*	
	Old sector	*New immigrant sector*	*Old sector*	*New immigrant sector*
Free and technical	14·57	6·63	12·66	4·91
Managerial	3·37	0·64	6·07	2·28
Clerical	25·88	11·44	2·75	1·18
Selling and trade	3·36	2·27	21·69	31·32
Skilled agricultural	2·66	8·89	16·18	17·16
Unskilled agricultural	0·77	7·65	0·26	1·18
Transport	4·42	2·05	7·74	4·50
Skilled workers in production and building	24·35	22·93	25·98	28·63
Skilled in services	8·03	12·03	3·96	4·97
Unskilled workers	11·72	24·18	2·34	3·48
Occupation unknown	3·87	1·25	0·37	0·39
Unemployed, who never worked	—	0·04	—	—
Total	100	100	100	100

TABLE 5. *Wage-earners' average yearly income from Main Occupations in the Urban Sector (in Israeli pounds) 1954*

Occupation	*Settled population*	*New immigrants*
Free and technical	2,491	2,198
Managerial	3,303	2,822
Clerical	2,351	2,117
Selling and trade	2,277	2,056
Skilled agricultural	1,984	1,667
Unskilled agricultural	1,208	1,183
Transport	2,427	1,975
Skilled workers in production and building	2,285	2,114
Skilled in services	2,050	1,801
Unskilled workers	1,792	1,525

TABLE 6. *Housing Conditions of the Jewish Population in 1954 by Type of Building, Density, and Period of Migration*

	Old sector, per cent	*New immigrant sector, per cent*
(1) *Permanent type of building*		
Density up to 2·49 persons per room	61·17	34·12
Density above 2·49 persons per room	24·34	33·70
(2) *Semi-permanent type of building*		
Density up to 2·49 persons	3·11	5·33
Density above 2·49 persons	1·49	8·51
(3) *Temporary type of building*		
Density up to 2·49 persons	0·90	6·19
Density above 2·49 persons	0·99	12·15

lies far below the per capita expenditure of the settled sector. About 50 per cent of the new immigrants spend less than I£.2,000 per family per year, as against 26·5 per cent of the old sector families which are in this expenditure bracket.

The results just mentioned are borne out by more recent data obtained in a Government survey of family expenditure by urban wage and salary earners. This survey was based on a broad sample of 6,824 families. The families investigated were subdivided according to their length of stay in the country; the families of veterans are those whose heads came to the country before the end of 1947, and the families of new immigrants those whose heads arrived in 1948 and after. The following figures were computed from data on monthly family expenditure on commodities and services, according to the continent of birth and length of stay in the country of heads of families.

The differences in family expenditure between the two 'geographical' groups, not negligible in the case of the veteran settlers, become very striking when calculated in per capita expenditure, owing to the fact that the families from Asia and Africa are larger than those from Europe and America.

A similar generalization is borne out by another investigation conducted several years ago from a somewhat different angle: the use of

TABLE 7. *Average Monthly Expenditure per Family and Per Capita in Israeli Pounds**

	Europe and America			*Asia and Africa*		
	Per family	*Per capita*	*Average family size*	*Per family*	*Per capita*	*Average family size*
New immigrants	266·65	78·43	3·4	262·97	49·62	5·3
Veterans	330·20	97·11	3·4	288·37	54·50	5·1

* *Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1957–58*, No. 9, p. 117, Jerusalem, 1958. Expenditure on rent is not included.

capital funds imported. In that inquiry it was found, again by using crude data, that the old-timers had been successful in utilizing the opportunities for raising their living levels in the orbit of the large economic expansion which took place from 1948, while the newcomers, for evident reasons, were not able during the first phases of their stay in the country to obtain more than the bare necessities of life.[3] The problems involved in this gap between the various sections of the Yishuv form complicated issues which will face the authorities for a considerable time to come.

NOTES

[1] Revised version of a paper read at the Second World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 1957, in the Section 'Demography of the Jews'.

[2] The data for 'Industry and Craft' in the table appear in each column in a single figure and show a decline. If they could be broken down in figures for industry and craft separately, they would show a decline in the number of persons employed in handicraft, while the number of individual workers would almost certainly indicate a rise.

[3] See A. Bonné, 'Hon Pore Ve-Hon S'rak (Productive and Sterile Capital)', *Riv'on Le'Kalkala*, Tel Aviv, September 1953.

MAX WEBER ON THE SOCIOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE JEWISH RELIGION*

I. Schiper

AMONG the posthumous papers left by Max Weber, who died in 1920, there are some essays designed as part of a large-scale study devoted to sociological problems of the Jewish religion. Weber planned this study as an integral part of his system of the sociology of religions, on which he had been working throughout his fruitful life. After he had published (in 1904–5) *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* and two essays on the Chinese and Hindu religions, Weber turned his attention in 1917–19 to ancient Judaism. He did not complete the study, and all that remain are three large fragments published as the third volume of the *Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Religionssoziologie* (Tuebingen, Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1920–1).[1]

These fragments deal with the following three problems:

(1) The covenant between Israel and *Yahwe*.

(2) The establishment of the Jewish 'pariah' people.

(3) The ideology and the historical significance of the Pharisees.

These essays can be read with great profit—in fact with greater profit than can be derived from reading a whole library of books devoted to Judaism and Jewish religion. A vast knowledge is reflected in almost every sentence by Max Weber, and one is struck by the extraordinary boldness of his conceptions. It is, therefore, advisable to acquaint the reader with his main ideas on the sociology of the Jewish religion and to appraise them critically.

Max Weber was among those academics who were trying to find in the past an answer to present-day problems and who met 'the demands of the day'. He exemplified in his studies the principle enunciated by the great historian and philosopher, Benedetto Croce, who maintains that all historical writings are but mirrors of the living present. By this

* [This paper is a translation, made by P. Glikson, of an article in Polish which appeared in *Nowe Życie* (Warsaw), Vol. I, nos. 1 and 2, June and July 1924. It is republished here as the first item in what we hope will develop into a symposium on Max Weber's work on ancient Judaism. Schiper's paper has historical value and we have thought it worthwhile to rescue it from neglect. See 'Notes on Contributors' for Schiper's work in general.—EDITOR]

token the problems of the Jewish past were for Weber one of the most important problems of contemporary life. Ancient Judaism interested him only as a small part of the spiritual situation of his generation, a particle of the present time. This brings us to one of the most subjective facets of Weber's mentality. Before discussing the main theme of this paper we must explain his attitude towards the significant features of contemporary cultural life.

Weber thought that the supremacy of rationalism is the significant and the characteristic feature of contemporary history. The history of culture (in the widest meaning of the word) is seen by Weber as the victorious progress of rationalism and 'rational capitalism' as the last stage of this development, the point of departure for retrospective investigations of cultural problems.

It thus becomes clear that the cardinal question which Weber posed when analysing the Jewish problem was the share of the Jews in the victory of rationalism. The question was formulated approximately as follows: what is the relation between the ethos of Judaism and the prevailing ideological conditions expressed through an economic system based on rational capitalism?

In the well-known study *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* a similar question was answered by Werner Sombart, who asserted that rationalism, and generally speaking capitalism, were both creations of the Jewish spirit. Weber thought that this answer was both one-sided and incorrect. For him Jewish capitalism was far from being rational and could be described rather as 'pariah capitalism'. The great Jewish capitalist enterprises consisted, according to Weber, of tax-farming and similar financially quite 'irrational' operations. On the other hand, the share of Jews in the process of creating the modern type of entrepreneur and industrialist was rather insignificant.

The important part played by the Jews in the development of modern rationalism Weber saw in the fact that the Jewish ethos had helped to overcome the greatest obstacle to the growth of rationalism: magic.

The sway of magic retards advance in social and economic life. In China, when attempts were made to introduce railways and factories, the people opposed them fearing that they would disturb their spirits and gods. Countries swayed by magic are inaccessible or almost inaccessible to modern capitalism. Analysing the problem from this point of view, Weber reached the conclusion that the *historical significance of the Jews is based on the fact that they were the first among the Asian and European peoples to emancipate themselves from the chains of magic*; they were the first to overthrow idols from their pedestals of holiness, putting them amongst demons and devils, amongst unclean spirits deprived of holy character.

This significant feature of the Jewish ethos, its inimical attitude towards every kind of magic, found its clearest expression in the Jewish religion. This feature was planted in Europe by Christianity, which

grew from the Jewish religion, and served as a basis for rationalizing social life. This characteristic of the Jewish religion is for Weber the most important contribution to the history of modern rationalism, as it explains its birth and the very first signs of its life.

The seeds of rationalism were detected by Weber in ancient Jewish ethics. The rationalistic principles expressed in it were taken over by the prophets, and the spiritual heritage of the prophets was taken over and magnified by the Pharisees and the authors of the Talmud, who carried the rationalization of the Jewish religion to its completion.

A characteristic feature of the Jewish religion was its adaptation to the ideology of 'the man in the street', small agriculturist, half-nomadic cattle-breeder, artisan, small merchant, in other words to plebeian psychology, to the interest of the *popolo grosso*. Leaders of the plebeian masses (Levites and the prophets) belonged, it is true, to the class of the 'rich and satisfied' patricians, but having put themselves at the head of the 'poor' (the Biblical *evyonim*), they represented the interests not of their own class but of the plebeians, and it was they who were responsible for the formulation of the main postulates of ancient Jewish ethics.

These postulates were imbued with rationalism. The very first enunciations of the most ancient founders of the Jewish religion, Yahwist, Elohist, and the Levites, who formulated the principles of the Decalogue, were characterized by such a plebeian rationalistic outlook. This character is seen by Weber in the following features:

(*a*) the *theodicy* expounded by the first founders is entirely plebeian and rationalistic. The clearest expression of it is given by the Yahwist who represented God as a rational being who can speak personally to man. The acts of God are caused by rational motives which can be easily understood by man. The plebeian authors were fighting against the idea that the decisions of God are unchangeable, and they laid, therefore, the basis for

(*b*) *plebeian ethics*, which in its main postulates requires the observance of God's commands and full obedience to them. In this ethics one does not find pride, confidence in oneself, the realization of one's own strength and similar lordly gestures, in other words, expressions of the psychology of victorious knights and *grands seigneurs*. The plebeian God favours obedience, meekness, and confidence.

(*c*) the Yahwist, Elohist, and Levite precepts present themselves as a *system of practical ethics*, adapted to the everyday requirements of the masses and, further, they are characterized by a very significant

(*d*) *lack of any magical elements:* the man who does not obey God's commandments will be punished and no magic can deliver him from his punishment.

The characteristics described under (*c*) and (*d*) were, according to Weber, the *novum* which decided the all important role of the Jewish religion in human development.

The characteristics (*a*) and (*b*) were also found in the plebeian religion of Egypt, but they acquired a universal significance only in connexion with the characteristic (*d*), and this happened not in Egypt but in ancient Israel. The Egyptians also conceived of God as a rational being and they ascribed to Him rational motives in relation to the world at large, but it was enough for a dead man to obtain a magic scarab to be able to deceive God at the Day of Judgement. Features (*a*) and (*b*) were also developed in the old Babylonian religion, as witnessed by the psalms and penance songs discovered in the library of Assurbanipal, which closely relate to the ancient Israelite psalter. However, as in Egypt and India, all the characteristics of (*a*) to (*d*) were missing and we meet them only in the Jewish religion. For these reasons Weber laid the main emphasis on the examination of those factors which led to the developments (*c*) and (*d*); and came to the following conclusions.

Under the influence of Palestinian nature which is full of contrasts (naked hills and valleys 'flowing with milk and honey', severe climate and low rainfall in the south and luxuriant vegetation in the central and northern parts) we already find in the times from which the letters discovered at Tell-El-Amarna date (*c.* 1400 B.C.E.) a differentiated economic and social structure in the Land of Israel, both with regard to the native Canaanite population and 'the sons of Israel'. In particular, it can be said that in that ancient period the population of Palestine was economically divided into:

(1) An urban patriciate, among whom there were great landowners living from rents.

(2) Plebeians, the number of whom was swollen by half-nomadic cattle-breeders, so-called 'aliens' (*gerim*) and peasants who were at the beginning economically independent but who in the course of time descended to a status similar to that of the Greek *agroikoi*, *periokoi* or the Roman *plebei*; in the Diaspora the plebeian class was joined by artisans and small merchants, who could be compared to the Greek metics.

(3) Nomadic Beduins.

In close relation with the economic structure stood the social development of the Israelite population and this was described by Weber in the following terms.

In the most ancient times the 'sons of Israel' were organized into tribes, each of which was independent. In times of war several tribes banded together in order to fight a common enemy. Such unions were called together in a ceremonial manner and given a sacramental character by calling *Yahwe*, the God of War, to witness the agreement and to be its patron, watching over the treaty.

The concept of the covenant with the participation of *Yahwe* became central to the social and religious development of Israel. This concept is the most characteristic feature occurring in the history of Israel. Weber assumed that it was taken over from the Rechabites, who, as it is

known, formed a religious order. It is difficult to say what factors contributed to the creation of such an order; it is likely that some incidental factors were present of a personal rather than economic character. In any case, the relation which obtained between the concept of covenant (*brith*) in the name of *Yahwe* and the order of Rechabites would show that this concept emerged in plebeian strata. The Rechabites were typical representatives of the half-nomadic aliens. The idea of a covenant with *Yahwe* soon became the basis on which the whole military and political organization of the Israelite tribes rested. It proved to be the best possible bond uniting tribes which otherwise tended to fall apart into families. With the help of a covenant Israel emerged as a war confederacy, as 'people of the God of War' (which is probably the original meaning of the word *Israel*). This confederacy had, until the times of the monarchy, no permanent political organization. In times of war the unity of the tribes manifested itself in the person of the common hero-leader and a common war prophet, whose authority was recognized by all the confederated tribes. Within its framework all were equal; all had the same tasks, the same duties, and the same rights. This was made possible mainly by the fact that war technique was at that time very primitive (the fighting was done mainly on foot or on mules), and all were required to bear equal burdens and troubles.

A decisive change in these conditions occurred only with the emergence of the monarchy. The Israelite monarchy organized itself on the lines of eastern despotism. Instead of the people's army which had existed before in the form of the 'Yahwistic confederacy', the kings introduced cohorts and bodyguards.

At the same time, war technique changed: chariots and horses became paramount in fighting. The whole administrative structure was rebuilt: the kings introduced their own administration with the entire machinery of royal officials and court priests. The result of these innovations was the hegemony of the patriciate over the class of aliens and small peasants. It is clear that patricians were the first to be called into the court service; they were the richer element and stood closer to the court. The plebeians became in Weber's expression *entmilitarisiert*, demilitarized, excluded from the 'knightly' class. The same fate befell the old 'war prophets' who were replaced by the learned court priests.

With the emergence of the monarchy, the division between the patriciate and the plebeians grew deeper and as a consequence two separate ideologies were evolved, one inimical to the other. The nobility from whose ranks the royal officials and officers came, accepted the ideology of feudal lords, proud and haughty, confident in their own strength. They belonged largely to the class of landowners, living on rents, and the religion connected with the cult of Baal suited them eminently. The Canaanite population imagined Baal as god of fertility

of the soil, as an owner of the country who ruled over them in a manner not unlike that of a landowner.

The spiritual (and particularly the religious) situation existing among the aliens and small peasants, who under the pressure of the patriciate became more and more proletarized, was quite different. They longed for the ideals of their nomadic past, so colourfully described by the Yahwist and Elohist. Blaming the monarchy for their miseries, they longed for the good old times which preceded the establishment of the kingdom, and thus became even more attached to *Yahwe*, who lavished His graces and His miracles on the sons of Israel. The leadership over the plebeian masses was soon taken over by the declassed intelligentsia who did not care for or could not secure positions in the royal administration or in the army. They were largely responsible for deepening and perfecting the Yahwistic religion.

The material poverty and social pressure of the plebeian masses compelled their leaders to seek ways and means to alleviate their grave situation. On the one side, they had to clarify to themselves the reasons for the miseries that had befallen the people, and, on the other hand, they tried to connect both the misery and the expected assistance with the Yahwistic concept. In other words, there arose a need for theodicy. And if the theodicy expounded was given rationalistic and practical features—as explained above—it was only because, according to Weber, it had to be adapted to the psychology of the plebeians, to their religious moods, to their longing for a rational clarification of their fate, to their dreams for a brighter future.

According to this plebeian theodicy, *Yahwe* acts like a rational human being and, like a human being, He can change His decisions. This is the cardinal principle of the theodicy, and the appointed task of the plebeian leaders follows from it: to discover the will of *Yahwe*, to find out what His commandments are, to reveal them to the people in order that they may live according to them, and thus influence *Yahwe* to change His decisions and to deliver His faithful from political and social misery.

With such a plebeian approach to *Yahwe*, it becomes clear why the Yahwistic theodicy is deprived of magical elements. In addition to the arguments adduced above, there were two further considerations:

(1) Fighting against the patriciate, the plebeian leaders had also to oppose their God, Baal, who was worshipped as a god of fertility by means of magic. His cult consisted of alcoholic and sexual orgies. To oppose Baal and his magic cult, their own God, *Yahwe*, had to be purged of magical elements.

(2) The rationalization of the Yahwistic cult was finally influenced by the concept of the covenant.

With the emergence of the monarchy, this concept lost all its driving force among the patriciate. It was upheld, however, by the plebeians and,

in particular, by their leaders. From the concept of the covenant, it followed that Israel was once a union of free 'sons of Israel' and that all its members, each and every one, were directly responsible for a breach of the commandments of *Yahwe*, the God of the union. When one of its members sinned against *Yahwe*, it was feared that He would punish not only the one directly guilty, but all members of the union; the responsibility was common and collective. To avoid such a danger, it was enough to exclude the sinner from the union by way of excommunication (*cherem*) or by stoning.

This kind of reasoning made it superfluous to practise magic in order to avert the anger of *Yahwe* from the 'sons of the covenant' (*bnei brith*).

The spiritual heritage of the Levites and the declassed war oracles was taken over, according to Weber, by the prophets. They followed the same ideology and set before themselves the same aims. The prophets, like their predecessors, tried in a rational manner to discover the will and plans of *Yahwe* and avoided all magical means to do so. A prophet was 'a man of (a rational) spirit' (*ish haruach*) and this was the most characteristic facet of his personality. Although socially connected with the ruling class, the prophets represented the ideology of the 'small man' and appeared as political demagogues fighting by word of mouth and in writing against the patriciate.

Having made the ideology of the Levites their own, they stressed, as far as religion was concerned, the old Yahwistic postulates, such as obedience, meekness, and confidence in relation to God, and were vehemently opposed to the magical concepts of the patriciate. Their theodicy does not contain any new elements but it surpassed the teaching of the Levites by a greater vigour and pathos. Taking as the basis of their ideology the concept of the 'covenant in the name of *Yahwe*', inherited from the oracles and the Levites, they combined it with their own visions of the future and of their liberation: in future *Yahwe* would enter into a new covenant with Israel, and also with the enemies of Israel, and indeed with all the nations, even with the animal world. *Yahwe* would thus become a universal God (elements of this universalism are already to be found in the teachings of the Levites). But, the prophets emphasized, only Israel is *Yahwe's people* and all other nations are but means to the end. An extraordinary paradox emerged: *Yahwe* is at one and the same time a universal God and God of the Israelite confederacy. This paradox was explained by the prophets as follows: *Yahwe* is indeed the God of all nations but so far He has entered into covenant only with the people of Israel.

Israel became 'the chosen people', and this concept received a peculiar interpretation at the time when they found themselves in the situation of a pariah people, deprived of political independence; through suffering and faith in God the 'pariah people' would become

deliverers of humanity. The situation of the pariah people was described as the highest degree of religious glory.

Weber saw the universal significance of the prophets in the following:

(1) They gave to the rationalism of the Yahwistic intelligentsia an extraordinary vigour and pathos, and thus eased its way to the masses of the people and contributed to the final success of rationalism over the magical elements still alive in the popular faith.

(2) Developing the concept of the covenant with *Yahwe* and deducing from it the idea of the 'chosen people of Israel', the prophets sanctioned a 'dualist morality', which treated other nations differently.

(3) The prophets very strongly emphasized the importance of the Yahwistic religion in that they described the situation of the 'pariah people' as an expression of their mission to deliver the world. This concept explains to us why the Jews did not renounce their God although by His own will the 'chosen people' lived in misery and degradation.

Together with Ezra and Nehemiah the prophets tightened the bonds of ritual and fortified the inner walls of the ghetto by means of which the Jewish people voluntarily separated themselves from the rest of the world.

The rationalistic heritage of the prophets was inherited by the 'pious ones' (the ancient *chassidim*), and in particular by the Pharisees. Socially they represented the small bourgeois class, mainly artisan, and this explains the *petit bourgeois* character of their ideology.

They shifted the main emphasis on to practical ethics, disregarding philosophical speculations, and adapting their teachings to the ideology of an average representative of the middle classes. Their theology was characterized by a typical plebeian common-sense. They imagined God as a loving 'father' or the patriarch-king.

The authority of the Pharisees was based not on magical sanctions but on the *Torah*, i.e. teachings about God.

Their spirit ruled over Jewry throughout the Diaspora and under its influence the main duty of a Jew became to study *Torah*. In popular imagination even God is engaged in studying *Torah*.

According to materialistic conceptions of history, religion in its relation to the economic structure is but a 'function' or a superstructure. Weber, on the other hand, considered it to be an independent factor and saw the influence of the Yahwistic religion on the development of Jewish economic life in the following:

(*a*) Thanks to the supremacy of rationalism which established itself in the Yahwistic religion, the Jews paved the way for science and technology and, as a direct consequence, for capitalism.

(*b*) The voluntary ghettos in which the Jews separated themselves from the rest of the world by walls of ritual observances, had the greatest influence on the Jewish economy. These observances destroyed the development of Jewish agriculture, because a faithful adherence to

them was hardly possible for the agriculturalist (to mention only the prohibition to work on the Sabbath, the rules concerning *kashrut*, etc.). As a consequence, the Jews emerged as an exclusively urban element.

(*c*) The 'voluntary isolation' consisted also of severing all *commercium et connubium* with non-Jews, which led to the treatment of the Jews as 'aliens' who had to seek special protection and lacked rights of citizenship. Such a legal status brought it about that they were able to gain access only to such economic occupations as were allowed to them by their patron-defenders, by means of payment for expensive 'privileges'.

(*d*) The ritual separation of the Jews prevented them from joining the guilds. The very act of accession included certain religious ceremonies (communal meals, etc.) in which the Jews could not participate. Standing outside the guilds, they had no means of organizing production on a truly industrial basis. This explains why they did not develop industry in the proper sense of the word.

(*e*) The Jewish religious ideology contributed to a very large extent to the development of the credit operations among Jews. A pious Jew was mainly preoccupied with the study of *Torah* and, in consequence, wished to follow pursuits which did not require a very great effort or too great a loss of time. Credit operations were an activity which left him with enough time for learning and studying the *Torah*.

According to Weber, these were the reasons why rational capitalism, in the form we know it among the Western European nations, failed to develop among the Jews, who evolved only a specific kind of capitalism containing a number of irrational elements. Weber called it 'pariah capitalism' (*Paria-Kapitalismus*).

To appreciate the scientific value of Weber's arguments concerning the sociological basis of the Jewish religion and its relation to the Jewish economy, it is necessary to give an account of his methodology. Weber used the so-called 'typological methodology' which consists, in the first place, of bringing forth out of the multitude of historical particulars those elements which are considered 'typical' and putting into the background all those which have a-typical and individual features. The whole dynamics of historical development is derived from typical traits.

At first sight such a methodology appears to be an excellent means of discovering 'objective truth'. But it is only an illusion. As a matter of fact, the typological methodology has only a relative value, not greater than other methodologies which put individual and specific features in the forefront. One cannot deny that in the typological methodology the subjective approach of the investigator plays a prominent part and it is his own fancy which decides what factors are to be classified as 'typical' and what 'specific' or 'individual'. Only one truth remains: the subjective 'truth' of the author and his own standard of values.

Turning to Max Weber, one has to underline that his ideology can

be characterized—as we have already explained at the beginning of this paper—as being rationalistic and idealistic. This explains the reasons why all the elements of rationalism which he found in the Jewish religion assumed in his eyes the character of 'typical' phenomena having a universal significance. As a result, his analysis does not give an adequate picture of an 'objective truth', but a one-sided and highly stylized image in which many particulars of basic significance to historical dynamics are missing.

We believe that historical dynamics is the result of a compromise between typical ('regular') phenomena and specific and individual factors, rather than the result of a supremacy of the first over the second. Whenever such a compromise is not achieved, there is a convulsion which can at most speed up the tempo of history. It is wrong, however, to assume that such a convulsion may change the course of history or fill it with new content. So much for Weber's methodology.

Turning to the results of his investigations, one has to consider his conception of the Yahwistic religion as being of the 'plebeian rationalistic' type, in opposition to the 'magical' and 'patrician' type in which the Baal religion is included. It does not seem to us that the Jewish religion grew as an expression of the supremacy of the plebeian-rationalistic elements over the magical and patrician. One has rather to accept that it developed as a result of both the cult of *Yahwe* and the cult of Baal, although in this compromise we find more Yahwistic elements than elements taken from the religion of Baal.

Such an approach is supported by the fact that even in the strata of the 'intelligentsia' which Weber regarded as the typical representatives of a 'pure Yahwism', even among the Levites and the prophets, one finds quite a number of elements which can be described as irrational and magical, and which were taken over from the cult of Baal. It is enough to point to the anthropomorphic conception of *Yahwe* in the work of the Yahwist, or to the magical means which were quite frequently employed by the Prophets (miracles, magical healing, etc.). It is also worthwhile to mention the demonology developed by the Pharisees who were, according to Weber, the typical representatives of rationalism.

Further, one cannot agree with the way in which Weber considered the relation of the Jewish religion to Jewish economy. We believe that by ascribing to religion the predominant influence in the development of economic ethics, Weber introduced a doubtful hypothesis. It is true that both religion and economic ethics show a very significant parallelism in the life of a nation, but it does not follow that economic ethics is solely the consequence of religion.

Equally hazardous seems to us the assumption that religion has the predominant influence not only on economic ethics but also on economic activity. Weber made an equation not only between the plebeian religion and the 'pariah' (or the economic ethics of the pariah people)

but also a further equation between the plebeian religion, pariah nation, and pariah capitalism. These equations are meant as a link in the causal chain, but in reality they can illustrate only a parallel line of development. One has to stress that the 'facts' which Weber cites to explain the assumed causal links between the Jewish religion and the economic activity of the Jews are not always correct.

When one considers Jewish economic history on certain *a priori* assumptions, one can assert that the Jewish economy in the middle ages and in modern times differed from the non-Jewish economy in a quantitative manner and not in a qualitative one. No doubt the quantitative differences were influenced by religious elements, but these were not the only or even the predominant ones, because political, social, and economic elements were also at work: for example, the fiscal policy of the patrons of the Jews, who used Jews as means to exploit the plebeian masses; the influence of Jewish migration on the mobilization of Jewish capital; the development of the Jewish economy in Poland was undoubtedly influenced by the economic policy of the landed gentry against the German merchants and artisans; the great differentiation of the Jewish masses in Poland from the sixteenth century; and so on. Of course, it is possible that the quantitative differences grew to such an extent that they caused a qualitative re-grouping.

But to examine such developments in the Jewish economy, one has to analyse not only the history of the Jews in antiquity but also to investigate the political, social, and economic situations in which Jews found themselves in the middle ages and in modern times.

It is necessary to stress that Weber based his analysis of pariah capitalism only on investigations of ancient Judaism up to the time of the Pharisees. He disregarded the nearly two-thousand-year-old span of development of the Jewish people during the medieval Diaspora and during the wanderings in modern times. Did nothing happen during these centuries to change the spiritual and economic conditions of the people?

It would seem that, according to Weber, the Jews in the medieval and modern ages were burdened with some sort of a fatal strength, having its roots deep in antiquity—a fatal strength of an ideology, from the influence of which they could never free themselves, in spite of the fact that historical situations were changing and the old voluntary ghettos crumbling down.

To sum up: we have to come to the conclusion that the only truly valuable concept left to us by Weber was his analysis of the covenant and the Israel confederacy 'in the name of *Yahwe*'. It is a brilliant conception, and no doubt it will set the investigation of ancient Judaism on new paths.

NOTE

[1] The English reader can consult Max Weber, *Ancient Judaism*, trans. and ed. H. H. Gerth and D. Martindale, Glencoe, Illinois, 1952. The essays on ancient Judaism were originally published in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialforschung*) 1917–19.

BOOK REVIEWS

JACOB KATZ ON JEWISH SOCIAL HISTORY

Joseph Agassi

(*Review Article*)

THE PRESENT VOLUME* deals with Jewish society in Central and Eastern Europe between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. The crises referred to in the title are Hassidism and the Enlightenment movement, both of which caused schism in that society. The problem is to explain not only the schism but also the unity which preceded it. For, the unity of this semi-medieval society which was dispersed over a wide area was based neither on a central authority nor on an explicit code of law.

In his introductory chapter the author states forcefully the problem of how this unity was maintained. The solution he states in the introduction—though not in his subsequent discussions—is the hackneyed idea of the organic unity of the body social, the soul of which seems to be traditionalism. Both Hassidism and the Enlightenment movement debunked tradition, the author observes. Hassidism did so only partly, by laying greater emphasis on personal mystical experience than on tradition. The Enlightenment movement did so more radically by judging every tradition in the light of reason.

It seems to me that these very arguments which the author states in favour of his organic theory of society rather speak against it. As he seems to admit at the end of his introduction, this theory makes it impossible to say why some deviations from the tradition which preceded the two just mentioned did not cause the same schism. Yet, I think, the author goes further than he claims. By explaining the value of the unity for the individuals who preserved it and by explaining the institutional means by which they did this, he shows by implication under which conditions, and at what cost, this unity could or could not be preserved. Indeed, the explanation of the unity should be an explanation of the fact that some factors did and others did not break it; and, I believe, the author has succeeded in putting forth such an explanation.

* Jacob Katz, *Tradition and Crisis: Jewish Society at the End of the Middle Ages*, in Hebrew. Bialik Institute, Jerusalem, 1958, pp. 310.

His explanation is, in a nutshell, this. The unity of Jewish society was preserved because Jews saw in their practice of the Jewish religion within a unified Jewish society certain high moral and intellectual values. As long as these central traditional values were served, unity was preserved even at the expense of far-reaching compromises in the form of deviations from the tradition in technical details. Deviations from specific traditional customs did not lead to schism, while the merest alteration of the value-system with no deviation from the rituals and articles of faith did lead to schism.

This hypothesis seems to me to be more interesting than the organic theory of society: it explains more and is capable of detailed critical examination. I have to stress, however, that my discussion of it is rather interpretative. The first two parts of the present volume—the third and last deals with the schisms—are almost entirely descriptive. Yet, I think, the interest and unity of the details lie in their theoretical value. Anyhow, the theoretical outline of the work seems to me to be this. (1) The author stresses the inadequacy and indefiniteness of the means of coordination within the society in order to stress the problem of how its unity was maintained. (2) He stresses the dynamic aspects of the society in order to refute a possible static model by which one may try to explain the unity. (3) He offers a dynamic model in its stead. I shall sketch briefly these ideas.

Undoubtedly the chief means of coordination was traditionalism. The view shared by practically all members of the society was that there was never any need to alter the tradition, and that even mere custom was binding. Such traditionalism, however, can easily cause schisms. It can differentiate groups with different local customs, and it can lead to schism whenever reform is attempted. Admittedly, the new customs and institutions could be justified by older principles which might be viewed as higher-level means of coordination. Yet the question of how to justify a new institution—if at all—may lead to different answers and thus to deeper schisms. Moreover, the justifications could lead to most unpleasant consequences. Thus, for instance, the authority of lay institutions over individuals was justified by applying the Talmudic laws of business partnership, namely by viewing all members of the community as business partners. Yet since one business partner can never be authorized to judge another business partner, this justification entailed the illegality of instituting lay courts of law. In consequence even the problem of coordination between religious and lay authority in one and the same locality was often insoluble.

Other accepted techniques of coordination were clumsy too. There were extensive consultations between rabbis in the form of correspondence, much of which was published. The authority of some consultants was very high. Yet it was based on mere convention, and the existence of two such authorities could easily lead to conflict. To take another example, there was a threat of excommunication on any rabbi who refused to recognize another rabbi's divorce ruling. Yet wrong rulings are illegal and thus nonexistent; excommunications based on them could lead to perfectly legal counter-excommunications. Admittedly, these were not likely to happen very often, but only because some stability preexisted. For when *any* rabbi was *de facto* both a legislator and a judge, this could easily lead to explosion and the means of controlling such situations would worsen matters.

To conclude, not only the ideology but also various institutional means of control were highly unstable. All this instability is multiplied when one adds to this situation great variations caused by an uncontrollable external world, high social mobility, and fairly high democracy and laxity within the governmental framework, where lay authorities were elected rather frequently, and religious authority was in the hands of appointed officials of the local communities.

The simplest explanation of the unity of Jewish society in Central and Eastern Europe at the end of the Middle Ages would be this. This society was highly static because it was so unstable. The very inability of its institutions to cope with change, or the peril that any change might cause a total social collapse, was itself a highly stabilizing element. For, people had to weigh the benefit of any proposed reform against the danger that it might destroy the whole social situation; and such considerations would always rule out the proposal.

This model, however, is amply refuted by the author who discusses in detail hosts of alterations in circumstances, in ideology, and in institutional framework. I shall mention some of them further on.

One may try to modify the static model by the following assumption. Only minor alterations were allowed to be introduced, and then very sparingly. This rule operated as a means of coordination between reformers. Accepting this assumption, or some variant of it, one must conclude that the initial problem, the problem of the maintenance of unity and of social coordination, is no more soluble with the help of the modified model. For the question remains: when is a reform absolutely necessary, and what is the criterion by which to judge in such cases which possible alteration is the lesser evil? Inasmuch as the tradition gave an explicit answer to this question, that answer cannot be taken seriously. For, according to that answer, the older a tradition the more sacred it is, and the ones coming down from the Pentateuch are most sacred of all. And yet the law forbidding the loan of money to a Jew at interest, which is explicitly and clearly stated in the Pentateuch, was abolished, or circumvented, during this period. More surprising than this rather drastic reform, and the obvious fact that such a reform cannot be absolutely necessary, is the fact that the differences of opinion concerning it led to no danger of schism, while, by contrast, the Hassidic movement, which introduced no reform contrary to the Pentateuch or the Talmud, did cause schism.

It is clear, then, that one has to provide the answer in terms of the value of the unity to those who preserved it so as to show at what cost they were ready to preserve it and to compromise. In other words, what was the aim to be served by the unity and to be preferred to unity if the two clashed?

It should be stressed that there is no general answer to this question—there is no essence of Judaism. The fundamental reforms in Judaism pertain precisely to alteration of its central aims, or at least to shifts in emphasis among them. These alterations may have been caused by voluntary reforms or by mere changes in external circumstances; but they did take place. The martyrs who died rather than leave their faith did so in the Middle Ages proper as an act of demonstration of faith and sincerity, while in the later Middle Ages they died just because they refused to live an unholy life. This

new attitude is the clue to much of what went on in the community which produced these martyrs. I shall mention two or three examples.

A profound change took place concerning the attitude to the Gentile world, which no longer constituted a temptation. Relations with Gentiles eased and became more polite, and their religion was considered as hardly pagan. Yet there was no question of being intimately associated with Gentiles: they could not grasp the higher moral and intellectual values of the Jew. Indeed the religious authorities now ceased trying to force the Jew to remain within his own community, and instead tried to educate him to desire more of the moral and intellectual things in life which he could best find within his own community.

The question whether a Jew's business was conducted according to some specific taboo became much less significant than the question whether he was not too deeply involved in his business to the point of having not enough time for study, or of worrying about it on the holy Sabbath. Similarly, there was less concern with ways of social gatherings and merrymaking than with the demand that these should have some higher cause. They could be celebrations of high holidays, or of weddings, or of births, or simply of the group's having completed the study of a volume of the Talmud in their evening gatherings in the local synagogue. Quite generally, material success and enjoyment of life were not viewed unfavourably as long as they were taken to be merely instrumental for living a higher spiritual life: wealth was good as a means for charity and for maintaining students of the law, political power was good as means to protect the Jewish community from the Gentile ruler's whims, etc. Jewish thinkers aimed at an *integration* of the material aspect of life into a higher spiritual realm; the Jew felt that his religion *gave meaning* to his material life, and that this could be achieved better within a well organized community of people who studied and practised the law. Inasmuch as this could be achieved—by a traditional mutual understanding —it was possible, nay, necessary, to keep the gulf between the law and its practice as small as possible, even at the cost of a casuistic reinterpretation of the law, which was hopelessly inconsistent anyhow. Hence, those reforms which look as if they might have been threats to the unity were often no threats at all. In so far as they only raised technical problems of how to maintain the unity, the problems were coped with, and various attempts to solve them, even when they differed, constituted a further unifying element by stressing the responsibility of each individual towards the social whole. Only when the aims were rapidly altered did the split occur, as loyalties were thereby divided.

There existed two significant external circumstances whch contributed to the decline—general economic impoverishment in the East and the transition from Medievalism to Absolutism in the West. Yet these caused the decline only by causing unexpected changes in the value-systems. The general impoverishment led to a lowering of the standards of communal living, especially from the intellectual viewpoint, and the subsequent need to provide additional and newer spiritual values for the common people. This was done by adding to, or concentrating on, the meaning of the performance of the old rituals. This was done with no desire to meddle with the social system. Indeed, the early mystics, the remnants of the Shabbataic movement,

were largely isolated individuals, some sorts of hermits, people who were little integrated in the community, and who sought higher emotional gratification in religion than others. Their mere existence was of no danger to the community, until the spreading of the new ideas led to the masses flocking to these people—the Hassidic rabbis—and thus to profound changes in the social structure. Although the Hassidic movement took for granted practically all the tenets of faith, rituals, and social structure it inherited from the existing Jewish community, and only catered for individuals, it led to a reform in a way of life, and thus to a schism. Until the rise of Hassidism, there existed only one kind of élite, that of the students of the law. The Hassidic élite was that of mystical semi-hermits. And a new élite indicates new values.

The transition to Absolutism in the West brought Jews into contact with Gentiles who could by no means be considered as morally or intellectually inferior—the members of the Enlightenment movement or the rationalists. Rationalism, I think, beat Judaism on its own ground. It was at least as liberal and tolerant, and intellectually by far superior. The success of Jews in the world of Enlightenment shows how much they were at home with rationalist intellectualism. The success of rationalism among Jews shows that many recognized its intellectual superiority.

The Hassidic schism is a thing of the past—partly because the rationalist schism was more dangerous. The conflict between rationalism and the Jewish tradition is still a problem, though a less acute one. In the version of the Enlightenment rationalism was anti-traditionalist; in some of its more modern versions, and the better ones to my mind, rationalism has become less radical. Hence there is a possibility now to bridge the gulf. The Jerusalem school of critical study of Jewish history, to which Professor Katz belongs, contributes much towards a wider perspective and a greater understanding of the problem. At least one may learn from this work that there is more to the Jewish tradition than the adherence to rigid laws and taboos, although this is how the tradition is now viewed both by extremist adherents to it and by its extremist opponents. It is no small tribute to a historian to say that he throws much light on a topical issue.

There are many detailed studies in the present volume which are of interest in themselves, many gaps to be filled, and some criticism to offer. Writing for readers some of whom cannot study the present volume in the original, I have tried to concentrate on fundamentals only. To those who have the ability and interest to study the problems I should add that the author's wide erudition in the vast original literature as well as in later studies, makes his work most valuable for the student of Jewish history, of social history, and of sociology.

SHORTER NOTICES

VIVIAN LIPMAN, *A Century of Social Service 1859–1959*, 1959. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 30*s*.

For a hundred years, the Jewish population of London has received social services of an ever-changing character from its own Board of Guardians. Dr. Lipman shows, in this centenary history, how changes in migration, in economic conditions, in statutory services and in the social values of the Board itself have played their part in shaping policy.

The Board was set up to look after immigrants ('the strange poor') but gradually took over wider responsibilities among the Jewish Community. From time to time the Board thought of itself as meeting purely denominational needs. Thus outdoor relief was originally provided to keep Jews out of workhouses where their dietary requirements and religious observances would not be catered for. Similarly special apprenticeship schemes were arranged to help the younger generation to continue to observe religious festivals while training for a wider range of occupations than their parents. All this was in addition to assistance to immigrants which took the form of monetary aid, or passages paid to the United States, or return fares back to the countries they had just left.

This principle of meeting denominational needs, though occasionally invoked when money was scarce, has been honoured as much in the breach as the observance. Thus sanitary inspectors were employed at the end of the nineteenth century; a tuberculosis service was operated up to the end of the First World War, and general welfare services have been provided in recent years. In short, the Board has provided its Community with a higher standard of social care than the mass of people in London. And the needs which have been selected to be met at each period accurately portray the bias of opinion among the higher social classes.

The Board has never been a democratically controlled body. The bulk of its members and the bulk of its subscriptions have always come from the élite of the Jewish Community. This explains much of the work of the Board. When it began work, it was very advanced in both its methods and its attitudes. It used a primitive case assessment technique and it was prepared to believe that an applicant was genuinely seeking work, unless there was evidence to the contrary. There were, however, some distinctions between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving'. Thus assistance was denied to new immigrants for six months lest foreign Jews should be attracted to Britain to live on the charity of London Jews. It was also hesitant about helping children who had found their way to the workhouse because of the 'neglect or depravity of their parents'. Help in such circumstances would be a 'direct premium to desertion and to vice'.

When the National Assistance Board started, the Guardians handed over to it most of the long term assistance cases, but two groups which were not handed over were those with incomes of over £2 per week and those 'in reduced circumstances'. While the Board was prepared to make special provisions for these groups, it was not sympathetic to the luxuries of working class people. 'It is a source of grave concern to the Department to see how easily families can get into difficulties through the light-hearted use of finance for luxury articles.'

Dr. Lipman tells his tale in wordy official English in a book which is too rigidly divided into separate sections. But it is still a fascinating story which adds much to knowledge about how charities control their affairs. It is also a worthy tribute to those who have continued to help their own community after achieving wealth and even after abandoning orthodox Jewish practices. The Jewish Community has reason to be grateful for the benevolent voluntary work of its self-appointed Guardians.

BRIAN ABEL-SMITH

HOWARD M. SACHAR, *The Course of Modern Jewish History*, pp. 617. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1958, 63*s*.

Dr. Sachar has attempted an ambitious and monumental task. In this single lengthy volume he has attempted to write a history of the Jews since the French Revolution. The task was well worth undertaking, and it could have contributed greatly to our whole understanding, not merely of the development of world Jewry up to the tenth anniversary of the State of Israel, but to the general understanding of the development of modern society. Dr. Sachar is himself not unaware of this responsibility. In his Preface he claims that the main interpretative value of his book is the attempt he has made 'to demonstrate the interaction' of Jewish and non-Jewish factors. He remarks rightly that all the detailed research of the last decades have illuminated and emphasized this interaction. He has produced a book which summarizes this detailed research and should prove an invaluably handy chronicle or compendium of Jewish history in the modern era.

But for a historian this is not enough. Historians, acting as they do as custodians of the collective memory of the world, carry greater responsibilities than this. One of the strongest counts in the charge of *la trahison des clercs* brought, with justice, against the intellectuals of the nineteenth century is the role historians played in creating nationalist historiography, abandoning and destroying the universality of history to buttress nationalist self-images, and to create nationalist heroes. Since 1945 European historians have been engaged, nowhere more than in Germany and France, in repairing some of the grosser paradoxes of interpretation into which nationalism had led them. Nor have American scholars been backward in this task. But its whole course seems to have passed Dr. Sachar by. What he has produced, over and above the chronicle, is a major exercise in nationalist historiography, complete with heroes, martyrs, and villains, highly colourful, in which no man's motives are set in a favourable light unless he contributed to the onward development of Jewish national self-consciousness. The language and structure are often highly intellectualized and sophisticated; but the underlying historical attitude is that of the child's illustrated 'Story of the British Empire'.

This shows itself in three different ways. In the first place, Dr. Sachar's picture of the general course of European history is antique to the point of parody. In the second place he cannot always free himself from the value-judgements and unitary view of society of the nineteenth century liberal, and thus is forced into explaining the motives of those whose actions inhibited or destroyed aspects of Jewish developments in terms of their basic wickedness. In the third place, there is a continuing ambivalence as to whether he is writing a history of the Jewish communities and communal groups or a history of the Jewish 'race', including all those Jews who achieved distinction.

These may be thought rather sweeping statements. One of the difficulties in dealing with a synthetic work like Dr. Sachar's is that a proper examination of its themes may well require a work of equivalent length. Space must restrict the reviewer to a few illustrations of each of the three points of criticism.

In the first instance, two passages will perhaps suffice to show how closely Dr. Sachar is committed to the nineteenth-century liberal nationalist view of history as 'progress':

'Many a bloody battle of the early modern era was fought for remote and pestilent islands that were endowed with spices or mineral resources. This process of gouging out unshared empires of trade at the expense of one's neighbours was called mercantilism.'

'At Vienna, Germany, too, was dismembered with the same cynicism that had characterized the Italian partition.' These are not views of the nature of mercantilism, the reasons for the major wars of the eighteenth century, the motives of the signatories of the Treaty of Vienna or even the nature of the Vienna settlement in Germany that would find acceptance among historians today.

The second point which is perhaps linked to the first is a more difficult one to illustrate. It was one of the basic assumptions of nineteenth century radicalism that state and national group should be co-terminous. To the contradictions between this view and the egalitarianism which was equally part of the radical tradition can be

traced many of the minority problems of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But being convinced that the creation of unitary national states was the goal of historical progress, the liberal-radical-nationalist came very quickly to see in the minority leader, intent on protecting the position of his minority, a disruptive, subversive, evilly-motivated force; the same force they found in those who opposed the achievement of national unity from outside the State. This viewpoint Dr. Sachar has made his own where dealing both with rulers who rescinded or held up measures of Jewish emancipation, and those Jews who came to terms with the system that denied them full emancipation, or who opposed Zionism.

Thus he fails entirely to see why Catherine the Great of Russia was forced early in her reign to abandon most of her policies of enlightenment. To him she merely 'abandoned her facade of toleration'. He speaks with contempt of the *Hofjuden* and the wealthy Jewish capitalists who financed some of the earliest settlements in Palestine. He has little or no sympathy, indeed he hardly mentions the 'assimilationist' opposition to Zionism in Britain and elsewhere, and his account of British policy towards Palestine is singularly grudging at best. It is perhaps significant that neither Elie Kedourie's *Britain and the Middle East*, nor Christopher Sykes's *Two Studies in Virtue*, the two essential books for an understanding of British policy on Palestine in the 1914–1918 war, figure in his bibliography.

As to the third instance, the ambivalence on what constitutes the 'Jewishness' of the subject-matter of his history, perhaps the best example is the chapter on the 'Growth of Jewish Socialism'. There are probably two main specifically Jewish contributions to Socialism, the Bund party in Imperial Russia and the agrarian socialism of the *Kibbutz* movement. Over half the chapter however is devoted to listing the individual Jews who achieved prominence in the Socialist movement. Such an attitude is right-wing anti-semitism stood on its head. Bernstein and Preuss, Hugo Haase and Kurt Eisner did not achieve prominence in the German Socialist movement as Jews, nor did they make any contribution to the movement that can be called specifically Jewish. (Incidentally, Eisner was not killed by a Nazi gunman.) Hitler and the nationalist extremists of Munich always argued that they did. It is strange to find a Jewish historian supporting them.

What really underlies this ambivalence is the substitution of nationalism for a sense of society, a feeling for the sociological considerations involved in what is essentially a study of the role of one particular grouping of minority groups within the whole stream of development of a series of considerably dissimilar societies. As a result the author assumes that the Jewishness of all the groups he studies is in social terms the same, and he attempts to explain developments always by a Jewish frame of reference. For instance, in the same chapter on the development of Jewish socialism he argues that it was Jewish fears of middle class chauvinism, reacting into cosmopolitanism, fear of militarism reacting into pacificism, and socialist hostility to anti-Semitism which drove so many Jews into socialism, whereas a more thorough examination of the causes which drove intellectuals into organizations hostile to the socio-political *status quo*, would emphasize the roles of minorities in general, noting the Georgian and non-Russian contributions to Russian socialism, the Scottish contribution to the I.L.P., and the absence in Germany of any alternative radical movement to socialism as a refuge for those whom the *status quo* denied power, privilege, and status appropriate to their own picture of their contribution to society.

This review of Dr. Sachar's work has necessarily been hostile. The nationalist view of history is one increasingly adopted by the newer states in the world at a time when those who first betrayed their responsibilities are beginning to attempt to redress their errors. It cannot be too strongly criticized. It should and must be opposed. Yet tribute must also be paid to the mastery which Dr. Sachar displays over his material, to the fluency of his pen, and to his powers of analysis and insight where no nationalist issues are involved. It is only the thought of this book being placed in the hands of the young as a school or college textbook and perpetuating the nationalist *sacro egoismo* view of history in yet a further generation which prompts one to dismiss a book which sets out, and at least in part, fulfils, a long-felt need.

D. C. WATT

DAVID BAKAN, *Sigmund Freud and the Jewish Mystical Tradition*, 326 pp., 1958. Van Nostrand, Princeton, $5.50.

In this ingenious book Dr. Bakan has turned the tables on psycho-analysis: instead of using it to explain the origin of cultural practices and religious beliefs, he searches for the roots of Freud's theory in his Jewish background and the problems it set him. The points of similarity between psycho-analytic concepts and certain features of Kabbalistic tradition are stressed, mainly by collating passages from the Zohar with significant passages from Freud's writings, especially those about Moses. Dr. Bakan concludes that Freud secularized the essential psychological features of Kabbala and systematized them, thereby narrowing the gap between Jewish culture and Western enlightenment. The argument as a whole is unconvincing, but there is much force in the evidence here adduced that Freud's personal attitude to his Jewish origins and upbringing greatly influenced his thought and partly shaped his expression of it.

AUBREY LEWIS

H. R. HAYS, *From Ape to Angel, An Informal History of Social Anthropology*, 461 pp., 1959. Methuen, 36*s*.

WILLIAM C. BOYD and ISAAC ASIMOV, *Races and People*, 189 pp., 1958. Abelard-Schuman, 12*s*. 6*d*.

CYRIL BIBBY, *Race, Prejudice and Education*, 90 pp., 1959. Heinemann, 7*s*. 6*d*.

It falls mainly to the anthropologists to discuss Man in the round. If they have a duty to the world at large to summarize their conclusions and make them generally intelligible at each stage in the development of the subject, then the duty has not been very well discharged. Between the World Wars Malinowski kept his subject in the public eye. Since the Second World War a number of scholars have aimed at and captured general attention—Professor Claude Lévi-Strauss in France, Professor Clyde Kluckhohn and Dr. Margaret Mead in the United States, Professor Max Gluckman in Britain, for example. But even when the *vulgarization* has been less than vulgar it does not seem to have left ordinary educated people with a clear picture of what anthropology has to say. Yet public curiosity is keen. Bursting successfully upon the British market (I cannot speak for its impact in the United States) Mr. Hays's book promises to explain to the man in the street how one branch of the subject (social anthropology) has developed up to the present day. The most significant thing about the book is that it is not written by an anthropologist.

An anthropologist would certainly have written a different kind of book. Would it have been a better one? After thinking over this question for some time I have come to the conclusion that what Mr. Hays has in fact succeeded in doing is to produce a work from which only professional anthropologists can derive lasting benefit. Ordinary readers (and I wish Mr. Hays many of them) will be interested and amused, but I do not think that they can learn a great deal unless they follow up the clues, bibliographical and otherwise, which the book supplies. A professional anthropologist would have produced a better history of his subject for the general public. He would not have made Mr. Hays's kind of mistakes in fact, interpretation, and selection. He would have given a coherent account of how anthropologists have come to hold certain views of the nature of man in society.

From the professional reader's point of view, however, Mr. Hays's errors are unimportant. A few pencilled exclamation marks made in the margin and hostility can be quickly purged. The important thing is that Mr. Hays can teach the professionals things they don't know—not about the subject as such but about the men who have contributed to it. And Mr. Hays can do this simply because he has taken the trouble to do the kind of laborious historical reading which the professionals, trying to keep up with contemporary research, have long since abandoned. Examine any social anthropologist on, say, the details of the life of L. H. Morgan (than whom few men are more important in the development of the subject) and the chance is very high indeed that he will fall far short of a mark which Mr. Hays could easily attain. And I should stress that many of these personal details are by no means irrelevant to an

understanding of the anthropologist's scientific work; certainly, they do not 'explain' it, but they throw light on it.

What really needs to be explained in a history of social anthropology is not merely how the subject came into being, but also how it managed to survive as a distinct discipline of the social sciences. Briefly stated the problem is this. Social anthropologists say that they are students of human society; and they lay great stress on the fact that, although they take primitive society as their main field of interest, their propositions presuppose certain characteristics common to man everywhere and have a general reference to all forms of society. The late A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (a scholar whose powerful influence in the British Commonwealth and the United States is hardly realized outside professional circles) went so far as to call what he taught comparative sociology—as indeed it was, for his ideas were strictly sociological in their provenance (especially in so far as they derived from Spencer and Durkheim) and were used to illuminate not only the Andamanese and the Australian Aborigines but also aspects of several civilizations. Then why are social anthropologists not sociologists *tout court*? Why, 'professionally' and academically, do social anthropology and sociology exist as distinct disciplines and pursuits?

The answer is not so much complex as long. In the first place, social anthropology is after all fundamentally about what, in the less guarded language of pre-war days, was called savage society; and this specialization has moulded a kind of field work method which is less appropriate to and necessary in the study of more familiar societies. In the second place, to study primitive societies means, by and large, to study societies which are relatively small and relatively undifferentiated; from which it has followed that the social anthropologists have tended much more consistently than sociologists to try to seize the totality of institutional life in a given society rather than to concentrate on particular institutions in isolation from others. In the third place, primitive societies being by definition preliterate, social anthropologists have been debarred from historical sociology when they have stuck to their last, and, moreover, have been inclined to a theoretical framework of analysis which has either ignored the dimension of time or conceived of change in terms of short runs. In the fourth place, social anthropologists, however pure their sociological intentions, have usually not quite shaken off their association with the other branches of the general subject called Anthropology and, as a result, have taken a professional interest in such matters as primitive technology and physical anthropology. In the fifth place, when a social anthropologist is working in a remote and exotic society he usually feels compelled to place on record not only facts which are directly relevant to a sociological analysis, but also many aspects of cultural life (for example, techniques of scarification or medical practices) the details of which are of no interest from a sociological point of view.

This is to look at the difference between the two disciplines from the social anthropologist's angle; the sociologist would doubtless lay stress on the special character of his own work. But however big the differences may seem when they are looked at in a professional and schematic way they are negligible when social anthropology and sociology are together opposed to other studies and views of man. The difference is removed partly by the fact that social anthropologists do sometimes study complex societies, and often 'masquerade' as sociologists when they are frightened lest the objects of their study be offended at the thought of being anthropologists' fodder. But much more important is the fundamental theoretical unity which underlies work in the two disciplines.

It is this which, paradoxical though it may seem, a history of social anthropology should be concerned with. The most elementary point in the unity of theory is that social behaviour and its cultural products are to be analysed without recourse to racial explanations. A racial explanation is one in which the genetic peculiarities of the members of a group are held to account for their social and cultural characteristics. On the sociological view, society is autonomous and cannot therefore be made to depend directly upon physical heredity. Each in its own way, the second and third books under review takes up this point and elaborates it for lay audiences.

Professors Boyd and Asimov address themselves to young people. They write with calculated simplicity and have done their best to produce a book suitable for both the American and British markets. What they have done is to set out a kind of basic

course of physical anthropology with the accent very heavily thrown (as one might expect in a work bearing Professor Boyd's name) on genetics and blood grouping. (One grows weary of Mendel and his peas, but they can hardly be avoided.) Not every physical anthropologist would have cast the material in this fashion, but the structure of the argument is sound. The study of man as a physical being offers no evidence of the influence of race upon social behaviour. Indeed, the writers argue, the whole business of race is, except for scientists 'tracing human migrations and so forth', rather tiresome and unnecessary.

A book written by biological scientists could hardly go further and discuss how to convince people that 'race' is a bore and a nuisance. This in effect is the task which Dr. Bibby has taken on in his 'simple guide . . . for teachers, parents, social workers, and citizens in all walks of life', to quote the blurb. Dr. Bibby was commissioned by UNESCO in 1953 to produce a book designed to help school teachers to take part in the general campaign against racialism. He clearly worked hard; my heart goes out to any writer whose manuscript was submitted to an international committee of social scientists and educators. The effort to please everybody cannot make an author's task easy. (After properly pointing out that, although the Jews are not a race, antisemitism and racial prejudice may be justifiably treated together, Dr. Bibby adds: 'Nevertheless, it should be stated explicitly that the joint treatment here of anti-Semitism and colour prejudice must not be taken to imply that the distinction between Jew and Gentile is of the same nature as that between Negroid and Caucasoid and Mongoloid.' Has some professional Jew been at the manuscript? Ramming home the point that the Jews are not a race suggests in this context that after all racial distinctions *are* important.) But I think that Dr. Bibby has made an excellent job of it. If school teachers need a guide like this, then Dr. Bibby has given them one they can work with.

The horrifying thing about this book is that it is thought necessary. I suppose that most of us assume that the idiotic generalizations and wrong facts about mankind we were taught at school have gradually been weeded out of the educational process. Evidently we are wrong. Let us hope that Dr. Bibby's book has some success.

MAURICE FREEDMAN

PETER ELMAN, ed., *An Introduction to Jewish Law*, 103 pp., 1958. Popular Jewish Library, Lincolns-Prager, London, 4*s*. 6*d*.

This is a readable little book, the 9 chapters of which are contributed by different authors, some, like Rabbi Dr. Louis Jacobs, scholarly talmudists; others, like Dr. Aron Owen, able and experienced barristers. It is to be recommended to all beginners in Jewish law, and also those who aspire to see one day a consistent and orderly statement of the principles of law to be found in the Talmud. Alas! the task is probably beyond any man or men. Most of the obstacles to be overcome are too familiar to mention; but one—commonly ignored—is that Jewish law has not stood still, and what is true of its rules in one century is not necessarily true in another. Another is that there is not usually enough precision in the use of terms. For example, Rabbi Leperer (who writes the chapter on 'Courts and Procedure') says (giving no dates) that 'there was but one class of courts for trying civil cases, and only one for cases involving capital crimes'; and 'whilst the civil courts had no fixed locale but could be convened wherever the litigants considered it convenient, the criminal courts usually sat at the main gates of every city or town'. There was, however, he says, one exception to the general rule, namely the Court of the Great Sanhedrin, which had sole jurisdiction over certain crimes, and sat elsewhere. He also says he is using the word 'crime' in its English meaning of 'wrongs against natural personal rights of life and limb'. It is submitted that none of these statements is correct. Firstly, 'crime' in English law has a very different meaning from this. Secondly, there were various classes of courts for trying 'civil' cases in any sense of that term. Thirdly, courts trying civil cases usually sat at the town gate. But there is very little Jewish law of procedure, and what there is is a matter of dates.

A. S. DIAMOND

PHILIPPE JULLIAN, ed., *The Snob Spotter's Guide*, 204 pp., 1958. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 21*s*.

Essentially this is a pretty book with consciously 'amusing' illustrations, meant not to be read but to be left around in expensively reconstructed slum housing in Chelsea. It is an anthology, and a guide not merely to recognition of the varieties of snobbism, but to their practice. No rich young couple in London, S.W.3, should be without it —and it would be useful in N.W.3 and Canonbury as well.

This does not mean, however, that the book is not a document both of contemporary manners and a source of information about how to wage the class struggle in the higher reaches of the social system. Nor does it mean that it is not often genuinely funny. Some of the information, too, is both useful and recherché: for example, the article on *Jews in France*, which parallels but does not at all correspond to the even more fascinating, but neglected, subject of snobbery among Jews in England. Where I can judge, as perhaps in the articles on Scotland and Oxford, the information is, on the whole, accurate. I am therefore prepared to take on trust the much more interesting problem of snobbery in Bordeaux—where one can feel it in the street—which I have never before seen explained.

It would be nice, even if dull, to have a serious book on this subject. Until it arrives, M. Jullian will do very well.

D. G. MACRAE

BOOKS RECEIVED

(*Books listed here may be reviewed later*)

Bakan, David: *Sigmund Freud and the Jewish Mystical Tradition*, D. Van Nostrand Company, London, 1959, 41*s*. 6*d*.

Boyd, William C., and Asimov, Isaac: *Race and People*, Abelard-Schuman, London and New York, 1958, 12*s*. 6*d*.

Bedarida, Guido: *Ebrei d'Italia*, Societa Editrice Tirrena, Livorno, 1950, L. 1000.

Bibby, Cyril: *Race, Prejudice and Education*, William Heinemann, London, 1959, 7*s*. 6*d*.

Binder, A. W.: *Biblical Chant*, Philosophical Library, New York, 1959, $5.00.

Brown, Norman O.: *Life Against Death*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1959, 30*s*.

Cassin, Elena: *San Nicandro*, translated by Douglas West, Cohen & West, London, 1959, 21*s*.

Cohen, Bernard L.: *Introduction to the New Economics*, Philosophical Library, New York, $3.75.

Dayan, Yael: *New Face in the Mirror*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1959, 13*s*. 6*d*.

Dovring, Karing: *Road of Propaganda—The Semantics of Biased Communication*, Introduction by Harold D. Laswell, Philosophical Library, New York, 1959, $4.75.

Federbush, S., ed.: *World Jewry Today*, W. H. Allen, London, 1959, 75*s*.

Fraenkel, Josef: *Mathias Achers Kampf um die 'Zionskrone'*, Judische Rundschau-Maccabi, Basel, 1959.

Fraenkel, Josef, ed.: *Guide to the Jewish Libraries of the World*, Published by the Cultural Department of the World Jewish Congress, London, 1959, 5*s*.

George, F. H.: *Automation, Cybernetics and Society*, Philosophical Library, New York, 1959.

Hauser, Phillip M., ed.: *Urbanization in Asia and the Far East*, Proceedings of the joint UN/UNESCO seminar (in co-operation with the International Labour Office) on urbanization in the ECAFE Region, Bangkok, 8–18 August, 1956; UNESCO Research Centre on the Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia, Calcutta, 1957, 7*s*. 6*d*.

Hays, H. R.: *From Ape to Angel*, Methuen & Co., London, 1959, 36*s*.

Hoess, Rudolf: *Commandant of Auschwitz*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1959, 21*s*.

International Sociological Association: *The Nature of Conflict—Studies on the sociological aspects of international tensions*, UNESCO, Second impression 1958, 21*s*.

Jacobson, Dan: *No Further West*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1959, 16*s*.

Janowski, O. I.: *Foundations of Israel*, Anvil No. 41, D. Van Nostrand Company, London, 1959, 9*s*. 6*d*.

Jullian, Philippe: *The Snob Spotter's Guide*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1958, 21*s*.

Lipman, V. D.: *A Century of Social Service*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1959, 30*s*.

Mandelbaum, David G.: *Change and Continuity in Jewish Life*, Oscar Hillel Plotkin Library, North Shore Congregation Israel, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955.

Margolith, Israël: *Le Baron Edmond de Rothschild et la Colonisation Juive en Palestine 1882–1899*, Préface de David Ben-Gourion, Ouvrage publié avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Librairie Marcel Rivière et Cie, Paris, 1957, 750 fr.

Marx, Karl: *A World Without Jews*, explanatory notes by Dagobert D. Runes, Philosophical Library Inc., New York, 1959.

Rawidowicz, Simon: *Babylon and Jerusalem—Towards a Philosophy of Israel's Wholeness* (in Hebrew), 2 volumes, Ararat Publishing Society, London, 63*s*.

Research Committee, Canadian Jewish Congress, Central Region: *The Jewish Community of London, Ontario, A Self-Survey*, Toronto, Ont., April 1959.

Sachar, Howard M.: *The Course of Modern Jewish History*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1958, 63*s*.

Steinbach, Alexander Alan: *Faith and Love*, Philosophical Library, Inc., New York, 1959, $3.00.

Szajkowski, Zosa: *Autonomy and Communal Jewish Debts During the French Revolution of 1789*, Published with the help of The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, New York, 1959, $5.00.

Tartakower, Arieh: *Jewish Society*, vol. one—*Diaspora Jewry*, vol. two: *Israel Society* (in Hebrew), Massadah Publishing House, Tel-Aviv-Jerusalem, 1958–9.

Vetter, George B.: *Magic and Religion*, Philosophical Library, Inc., New York, 1958, $6.00.

Ward, Barbara: *Social Science and Social Pathology*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1959, 35*s*.

YIVO Institute for Jewish Research: *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*, Vol XI, New York, 1956–7.

Zimmels, H. J: *Ashkenazim and Sephardim*, Jews' College Publications, New Series, No. 2, Oxford University Press, London, 1958, 42*s*.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

AGASSI, Joseph, M.Sc., Ph.D. Lecturer in Logic and Scientific Method at the London School of Economics and Political Science. Publications mainly in *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*.

BONNÉ, Alfred, Dr. oec. publ. (Munich). Professor of Economics, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Chairman of the Economics Dept., The Eliezer Kaplan School, The Hebrew University. 1959: Visiting Scholar, Harvard University and M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass. Formerly Director of the Economic Research Institute, the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem; Visiting Professor, Columbia University, 1950–1 and 1954. Publications: *Palästina, Land und Wirtschaft* (last edn., 1935), *Der Neue Orient* (1936), *The Economic Development of the Middle East* (last edn., 1945), *State and Economics in the Middle East* (last edn., 1955), *Studies in Economic Development* (last edn., 1959), etc.

FEITELSON, Dina, M.A., Ph.D. Teaching Fellow, The School of Education, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Anthropological research worker, Hadassa Medical Organization. Formerly Educational research worker, Henrietta Szold Foundation. Publications (in Hebrew): *The Causes of Scholastic Failure in the First Grade* (1953); in *Megamot*—'Patterns of Early Education in the Kurdish Community (1954)', 'Some Changes in the Educational Pattern of the Kurdish Community in Israel' (1955); with H. Asseo, *We Read* (1959).

GLIKSON, Paul, B.Sc.(Econ.). Assistant, Cultural Dept., World Jewish Congress, London; Secretary, Editorial office, *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*.

ISAAC, Julius, Ph.D.(Econ.). *Died 1957*. Research Officer, P.E.P., London. Research Officer, National Institute of Economic and Social Research, London. Research associate, Research Group for European Migration Problems, The Hague. Joint editor, Studies in Social Life Series, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague. Publications: *Economics of Migration* (1947), *British Post-War Migration* (1954); contributor to O. Handlin and B. Thomas, eds., *The Positive Contribution by Immigrants* (UNESCO, 1955); author of many articles on international migration.

MARMORSTEIN, Emile, M.A. Headmaster, Shamash Secondary School, Baghdad, 1936–1940. Author of articles on a variety of themes in *Hibbert Journal*, *International Affairs*, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, *Journal of Jewish Studies*, and *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly*. In progress: a book on the impact of the West on the State of Israel.

MOURANT, Arthur Ernest, M.A., D.Phil., D.M. (Oxford), M.R.C.P. (London). Director, Blood Group Reference Laboratory, Medical Research Council, Lister Institute, London. Honorary Adviser, Nuffield Blood Group Centre, Royal Anthropological Institute, London. Medical Officer, Galton Laboratory Serum Unit, Cambridge, 1945–1946. Visiting Professor of Serology, Columbia University, 1953. Publications: *The Distribution of the Human Blood Groups* (1954), *The ABO Blood Groups; Comprehensive Tables and Maps of World Distribution* (jointly, 1958); papers in *Nature* and other scientific journals.

ROSENBERG, Louis, B.Sc. Research Director, Bureau of Social and Economic Research, Canadian Jewish Congress (since 1945). Member, Board of Directors, Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, New York. Formerly Executive Director, Western Division, Canadian Jewish Congress; Director of Jewish Farm Settlements of Jewish Colonization Association in Western Canada, 1919–1940. Publications: *Canada's Jews* (1939), *The Winnipeg Jewish Community; A Population Study* (1946), *Canadian Jewish Population Studies* (1954–1957), *Language and Mother Tongue of Jews in Canada* (1957); Editor, *Canadian Jewish Archives*; other works on Canadian Jewry. Work in progress includes a history of the Jews in Canada, 1891–1939.

ROTH, Leon, M.A., D.Phil. F.B.A. Officier d'Académie. Lecturer in Philosophy, University of Manchester, 1923–1928. Achad Ha'am Professor of Philosophy, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1928–1953, Rector, 1940–1943, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, 1949–1951. Author of many philosophical works, including monographs on Spinoza and Maimonides, and books and articles in other fields.

SCHIPER, Itzhak. *1884–1943*. Jewish-Polish historian, politician, and Zionist leader. Devoted himself to the history of Polish Jewry, particularly in the fields of law and economics, and to the study of the economic history of European Jewry. Wrote in Yiddish, Polish, and German. His works include: *Studia nad dziejami gospodarczymi Żydow w Polsce podczas sredniowiecza*, *Anfänge des Kapitalismus bei den abenländischen Juden*, *Di Geshichte fun Yiddishn Wirtshaftlechn Lebn* (4 vols.), *Dzieje Handlu Żydowskiego w Polsce*, *Di Geshichte fun Yiddishn Teater* (4 vols.). He took part in Polish political life, being a Deputy in the *Seym* 1919–1927. At the outbreak of the Second World War he found himself in the Warsaw ghetto. He played an active part in the social and cultural life of the ghetto. The Germans took him to one of the extermination camps in 1943, and he was there killed on November 5th of that year.

CHRONICLE

prepared by

P. Glikson

The education of Jewish children in Paris reached a new post-war level this year with attendances in full and part-time Jewish schools at 10–15 per cent higher than in 1958. The *Consistoire Israélite* in Paris reported that more than 5,000 children had attended religious education classes in 23 centres, while almost 2,000 more attended courses sponsored by the *Fonds Social Juif Unifié*. Attendance at the three Jewish day schools in Paris had trebled during the past four years.

*

A seminary for the training of Yiddish and Hebrew teachers was recently established in Mexico City through the joint efforts of the four local Jewish schools: the religious Yavne School, the Hebrew Tarbut School, the Yiddish I.L. Peretz School, and another Yiddish school. The curriculum of the new seminary comprises the following subjects: the Bible, Jewish ethics, Jewish history, Yiddish language and literature, Hebrew language and literature, psychology, and the philosophy of education. Rabbi Jacob Avigdor and the Bundist worker and writer, Mr. Tevye Maizel, are among the directors of the new seminary.

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According to the latest issue of the *American Jewish Year Book*, there are at present 41,000 Jews in Poland among the total population of 29 millions. In spite of this small number, Poland is almost the only country in Eastern Europe where Jewish cultural activities are still going on and where Yiddish has retained its position in Jewish life. But no stable cultural activity can be established even there; the Jewish community in Poland is numerically too small, and there is a general instability in Jewish life. Polish Jews leaving Soviet Russia are returning to Poland, but at the same time many Jews are leaving Poland for other countries, especially Israel. Since the end of World War II, hundreds of thousands of Jews have passed through the country. Nevertheless, Jewish cultural life still exists in Poland. A Yiddish newspaper, *Di Folks-Sztyme*, appears four times a week; there is the monthly literary journal, *Yiddishe Shriftn*, while the Jewish Historical Institute publishes the quarterly *Bletter far Geshichte*. There is also a Yiddish publishing house which has produced many valuable books. In addition, there is a Yiddish school system maintained by the Government and supervised by the *Social and Cultural Association of Polish Jews*, the officially recognized Jewish organization in Poland. There are Yiddish schools in ten Polish towns with an enrolment totalling three thousand, according to official data. The schools admit only Jewish children and Yiddish is the language of instruction for all the subjects in the normal school curriculum. Yiddish literature and Jewish history are taught as special subjects in these schools.

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The Government Publishing House in Rumania has issued sixteen Yiddish textbooks for Jewish schools in Rumania. The books deal with the study of history, biology, geography, geology, chemistry, algebra, geometry, music, and the Rumanian Constitution. There are some Jewish cultural activities. Yiddish books are being put out by the State Publishing House, although there is no Yiddish literary periodical where the local Yiddish writers could publish their works.

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In the ten years since the founding of the State of Israel 6,500 new titles have been published in Hebrew. About half of the books published are originals and the other half translations from foreign languages. In addition about 500 text-books have been published.

*

The Second Conference of the World Congress for Jewish Culture was held in New York at the end of March 1959. The conference was attended by delegates from the United States, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Australia, and Israel. There were special sessions at which various problems relating to Jewish culture were discussed. Among these were the problems of Yiddish literature, Yiddish press, Yiddish theatre, and Jewish education. A new trend in Jewish life, the rise of secular *kehillot* in South and Central America which are now dealing with secular, cultural, and social problems, was also discussed. The *kehillot* in Argentina and Mexico are very much preoccupied with both religious and secular Jewish education. It was also pointed out that in the United States Jewish communities are now devoting more time and attention to educational and cultural activities.

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The Israel Cabinet has approved a draft bill for a limited form of compulsory free secondary education for boys and girls aged 15–17. The present law covers education from the age of five to fourteen, and does not require that children continue their education after they have completed elementary school. Now about 80 per cent of elementary school-leavers are continuing their education in some day or evening high school. The new bill is designed to take care of the remaining 20 per cent, and will thus help to close a gap in the educational system. The bill aims at providing two years additional schooling for children at present unable to continue their studies beyond the elementary school level owing to financial circumstances. Over 600,000 pupils are attending various schools in Israel. This constitutes an increase of 17·5 per cent over last year.

*

The Education Committee of Santiago, Chile, has established a Teachers' Seminary and School for Higher Jewish Education. The object of the school is not only to train teachers but to enable Jewish youth to continue their Jewish education. The seminary is being subsidized by the local *kehilla*.

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The Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem, which was organized in 1947, devotes itself to studies of Jewish life in the Middle East. Lately, the Institute expanded its activities. It aims to cultivate the Jewish heritage of the Middle East and to train scholars for this work. The Ben-Zvi Institute has established a library. So far, more than 700 books in Ladino have been catalogued. Material available in American libraries has been photostated. A few volumes of studies have been published recently. At present the Institute is preparing a dictionary of the Ladino language.

*

Jewish libraries throughout the world are suffering from the lack of qualified librarians. The Association of Libraries of Judaica and Hebraica in Europe, under the Directorship of Dr. Raphael Edelmann, decided to take up the training of Jewish librarians as one of its main tasks. In co-operation with the Danish State Library School it has established a course for Jewish librarians which is being held in the Jewish Department of the Royal Library of Copenhagen and is free of charge. Candidates for admission as students must have passed a university matriculation examination and possess a standard of Jewish knowledge equal to that of a student at a rabbinical college or at a Jewish teachers' training college. In addition to ordinary topics of librarianship as taught to all students of the Library School, subjects of a special Jewish character, such as Jewish bibliography, cataloguing of Hebrew and other Jewish books, classification of Jewish literature, problems of the Jewish librarian as a communal worker, etc., are included in the curriculum. Owing to the fact that

most of the candidates are unlikely to know Danish, the training is based on practical work within the big collections of Judaica and Hebraica of the Royal Library of Copenhagen as well as on self-tuition under guidance. For candidates who have passed a school of general librarianship, supplementary courses are being arranged. The Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, New York, has agreed to the granting of scholarships to those students who, in addition to their training as Jewish librarians, are enrolled at the same time as *bona fide* students at Copenhagen University, their major subject being in the field of Jewish studies.

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Anti-Jewish attitudes are disappearing in Germany, according to studies made by the *Institut fuer Demoskopie* in Allensbach. The *Institut* has been conducting interviews at regular intervals. On each occasion 2,000 persons, representing a cross-section of the adult population in the Federal German Republic, were asked: 'Would you say that it would be better for Germany if no Jews remained here?' Whereas seven years ago 37 per cent answered in the affirmative, there were 29 per cent in 1956 and, according to the last survey, there are today 'only' 22 per cent who believe that Germany would be better off without Jews; 38 per cent answered 'no' and 40 per cent were 'undecided'. Another survey conducted by the *Institut* showed that for 44 per cent of the adult population in the Federal German Republic the word 'anti-Semitism' has no association. 53 per cent of the women and 50 per cent of persons under the age of 30 do not even know what the word meant.

*

The Institute of Race Relations, London, came into being on 1 April 1958, continuing work which had been begun under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Among the objects of the Institute laid down in the Articles of Association are:

(1) To promote, encourage, and support the study and understanding of, and the exchange of information about, relations between different races and peoples and the circumstances and conditions in which they live and work.

(2) To consider and advise upon any proposals or endeavours to improve such relations, circumstances and conditions.

The chairman of the council is Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders. The first number of the Institute's journal, *Race*, will appear shortly. The Institute is endeavouring to promote research and interest in race relations and has in hand among other things a survey of the position of immigrants from Africa, Asia, and the West Indies in Britain.

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The reading habits of young people in Israel are revealed by a recent study carried out at the request of Israel's Ministry of Education and Culture among 1,500 eleventh-grade pupils (aged 16–17) attending 66 educational institutions. Out of the 20 most widely read books, 16 were translations and four were original Hebrew works. More than a third of the young people questioned said that they preferred translated works to original Hebrew ones. Heading the list of favourite foreign authors was Tolstoy (32 per cent), who was followed by Cronin (22 per cent), Steinbeck (20 per cent), Pearl Buck (20 per cent) and Dostoyevsky (19 per cent). Among the favourite Hebrew authors were Moshe Shamir (65 per cent) and S. I. Agnon (26 per cent).

The survey showed that 80 per cent of the books read by adolescents were novels. Top place was held by Hugo's *Les Misérables*, followed in order of popularity by *The Diary of Anne Frank*, *War and Peace*, and *The Caine Mutiny*. The investigators noted that all of the 20 most popular books were prose, one quarter were war books, 12 had been published in recent years and 3 belonged to classical literature. 40 per cent of the students questioned were members of youth movements and had read an average of 56 books each, compared with 44 books read by non-members. Secondary schools in the large towns have the highest average of books read: 71. In teachers' training colleges the rate is 60, in provincial secondary schools, 50. Classification of readers according to parents' countries of origin showed that the children of parents from Russia, Poland, and Lithuania read far more than any other group. Following the survey, the Ministry of Education and Culture has decided to introduce compulsory home reading of books from a selected list in post-primary schools.

FRENCH SUMMARIES

LES GROUPES SANGUINS DES JUIFS

A. E. Mourant

Les différences entre populations, par exemple entre les Juifs et leurs voisins, peuvent être établies sur la base de la mensuration physique ou de caractéristiques biochimiques telles que les groupes sanguins; ces derniers sont plus simples du point de vue génétique et ont l'avantage supplémentaire d'être permanents pendant toute la vie de l'individu.

Quand il s'agit de groupes sanguins, où chaque individu appartient à un type clairement différencié, la population doit être considérée comme un tout et le pourcentage de chaque type doit être établi.

Il y a de nombreux systèmes de groupes sanguins, chacun génétiquement distinct des autres, de sorte que chaque système séparément peut servir à classifier les individus et les populations. Les caractéristiques génétiques des groupes sanguins ABO, Rh et MN sont décrites.

Les pourcentages des groupes ABO, établis pour environ 100 populations juives, ont été comparés à l'aide de diagrammes avec le pourcentage de populations non-juives vivant dans le même pays. Des comparaisons analogues, mais sur une échelle plus restreinte, ont été établies pour les groupes sanguins MN et Rh.

En Afrique du Nord le nombre de Juifs appartenant aux groupes A et B est plus important que celui appartenant au groupe O, par comparaison avec les Arabes. Dans l'ensemble ce groupe juif ressemble aux Juifs sépharad, qui ont été l'objet de tests en Europe et en Israël.

Les pourcentages ABO trouvés parmis les Juifs de l'Europe orientale ressemblent, d'une façon générale, à ceux des populations indigènes, mais cette ressemblance est probablement fortuite, car leurs groupes Rh révèlent que ces Juifs sont essentiellement d'origine méditérranéenne et sont sûrement quelque peu mélangés à des éléments indigènes. Les Juifs achkénaz, d'une façon générale, sont homogènes comme le sont les Juifs sépharad. Ces deux grands groupes, en outre, se ressemblent considérablement, mais les Juifs sépharad ont des caractéristiques méditérranéennes plus marques. On ne sait presque rien sur les groupes sanguins des Juifs de l'Ouest européen.

Les données concernant les Juifs orientaux sont difficiles à interpréter parce que l'on manque de renseignements suffisants sur les populations indigènes des régions où elles ont vécu dernièrement. Les groupes sanguins A et B sont très peu nombreux chez les Juifs du Yémen qui diffèrent en cela de toutes les autres populations juives connues. Ils ressemblent aux Arabes yéménites en ce qui concerne les pourcentages de ceux qui appartiennent aux groupes ABO et Rh.

Une caractéristique des Juifs «babyloniens» de l'Irak est le haut pourcentage de ceux qui manquent de l'enzyme qui mène au «favisme». Ceci renforce leur revendication d'être une des communautés juives les plus anciennes et les plus pures.

Nous avons beaucoup de renseignements pour certaines communautés juives, pour d'autres nous en manquons presque totalement. Le rassemblement de Juifs venant du monde entier pour s'établir en Israël offre une occasion unique pour l'étude systématique de leurs groupes sanguins.

LA RÉSURRECTION DE L'HÉBREU

Léon Roth

Cette étude, présentée lors d'une conférence publique à l'University College of Wales à Aberystwyth, en Octobre 1955, est consacrée à l'évolution de la langue hébraïque pendant les temps modernes. Eliezer Ben Yehuda et son cercle ont transformé l'hébreu, jusque-là langue érudite et sacrée, très rarement employée pour les usages communs, et en ont fait la langue courante d'aujourd'hui.

Il est difficile de préciser une date pour l'émergence de l'hébreu moderne, mais l'auteur nous suggère que cette émergence résulte d'un fait politique décisif: la reconnaissance officielle accordée à la langue hébraïque par le Mandat sur la Palestine, attribué à la Grande Bretagne en 1922. Cet événement politique amena donc l'élaboration de l'hébreu moderne. On créa une langue hébraïque qui suffirait aux exigences techniques d'une communauté moderne. Dès cette époque les Juifs palestiniens établissaient leur propre système d'éducation, où l'hébreu ne figurait pas simplement comme sujet au programme, mais comme la langue dans laquelle on enseignait toutes les autres matières. L'Université Hébraïque joua un rôle important dans ce travail de développement de l'hébreu.

DEUX ÉCRIVAINS JUIFS D'IRAK: UN THÈME DE RECHERCHE SOCIAL?

E. Marmorstein

Dans une première tentative d'employer le conte arabe comme matière à recherche sociologique, l'auteur commence par résumer et analyser le contenu de deux volumes de contes récemment publiés par des auteurs juifs d'Irak, restés à Bagdad après l'exode de la plus grande partie de la communauté juive. Il en vient à considérer que ces contes reflètent précisément l'effet produit par les idées éclairées sur l'esprit des Juifs irakiens qui ont bénéficié des avantages de l'éducation laïque que leur a assurés la vie émancipée. Ils conservent toujours avec ferveur les idéaux que leur a inspirés cette education, mais on peut démêler des symptômes de déception devant la distance qui sépare les préceptes de la pratique. A vrai dire, les idéaux éclairés constituent maintenant une tradition solide qui a remplacé les principes religieux suivant lesquels les générations précédentes avaient été élevées. Cependant, le tableau émanant de ces contes diffère profondément de celui de la communauté juive entière et s'accorde seulement avec la vie et la pensée de ses guides intellectuels les plus influents et de ceux qui voulaient être guidés par eux. Ce tableau représente un état qui aurait pu être atteint si la communauté juive avait été libre de se développer sans être troublée par des événements extérieurs; il ne représente pas la situation d'entre les guerres. L'auteur conclut par un plaidoyer en faveur d'études supplémentaires et de la littérature arabe créée par les Juifs d'Orient jusqu'au moment de leur dispersion, et de l'activité littéraire arabe des émigrant juifs d'Orient dans leurs nouveaux foyers. L'extension du champ des recherches sociologiques pour englober les contes arabes en général à travers les trente dernières années ne pourrait qu'éclairer davantage la rencontre idéologique des croyances traditionnelles avec le laïcisme moderne dans l'esprit des chefs de l'opinion qui ont subi à differentes périodes de leur vie cette double influence.

ASPECTS DE LA VIE SOCIALE DES JUIFS KURDES

Dina Feitelson

L'auteur dépeint le genre de vie des Juifs kurdes de l'Irak en se basant sur une étude faite en Israël parmi des membres de ce groupe deux ou trois ans après leur immigration.

Au cours des siècles peu de changements essentiels semblent être intervenus dans les petites communautés juives dispersées parmi les communautés voisines musulmanes dans les petites villes et les villages du nord de l'Irak. Les Juifs étaient liés aux Kurdes par des rapports sociaux et économiques, et les étroites relations culturelles entre les deux groupes doivent aussi être soulignées.

Les occupations principales étaient les durs travaux manuels et l'agriculture, aussi bien que le tissage et le petit commerce. La langue parlée par les Juifs était le targum, dialecte araméen, mais ils connaissaient généralement aussi les principales langues de la région. La religion faisait partie intégrante de la vie quotidienne; ses lois fondamentales étaient très strictement suivies. Néanmoins, de nombreuses mœurs locales s'insinuèrent dans la religion, et il n'y eut plus de nette distinction entre ces mœurs et les lois religieuses.

Toutes les fonctions religieuses officielles étaient assumées par une personne: le *haham*. Dans les plus importantes communautés celui-ci était chargé aussi de l'enseignement.

Comme parmi les Kurdes, l'unité sociale et économique de base était la famille au sens large. Les fils mariés et leurs propres descendants faisaient partie du foyer paternel. On préférait les mariages entre membres d'un même groupe familial.

D'habitude tous les hommes travaillaient ensemble et les revenus aussi bien que les dépenses étaient partagés sans qu'aucun compte séparé ne soit tenu. L'autorité suprême était rigoureusement entre les mains du maître de maison.

L'auteur décrit aussi le cours de la vie de l'individu.

LA DÉMOGRAPHIE DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ JUIVE AU CANADA

Louis Rosenberg

Bien que des Juifs aient vécu au Canada depuis 1759, la communauté juive est relativement nouvelle et jeune. Elle est dans son origine, sa structure et son aspect culturel le produit de vagues successives d'immigration juive de Russie, de Pologne, de Lithuanie et de Roumanie, commençant en 1882 et faisant suite aux pogromes et aux lois discriminatoires contre les Juifs dans ces pays.

Son développement et sa structure offrent un intérêt particulier puisque le Canada, en tant que nation, est encore à un stade de formation, et aucun des nombreux groupes ethniques variés qui ont contribué à le peupler et à le développer ne forme une majorité.

Bien que l'on estime que la moitié de l'actuelle population juive mondiale vive aux États-Unis et dans le Commonwealth britannique, le Canada est le seul pays de langue anglaise où l'on dispose d'une information statistique certaine sur la population juive et ses caractéristiques démographiques. Celle-ci est basée sur un recensement officiel et sûr, à la différence des jugements aléatoires ou enquêtes par sondages dont la précision et la qualité représentative peuvent être mises en doute.

Bien que la population juive du Canada ait augmenté de 170.241 en 1931, à 204.836 en 1951, et soit estimée être 250.000 en 1959, le taux de l'accroissement par immigration et par l'excès de la natalité sur la mortalité parmi les Juifs ne montre pas les mêmes progrès que celui de la population totale de toutes origines, et tandis que

les Juifs formèrent 1,5 p.c. de la population totale en 1931, ce pourcentage a décrû en 1941 et en 1951, et risque de continuer a décroître en 1961 et dans les futures années de recensement.

La présente étude traite de l'accroissement de la population juive du Canada entre 1851 et 1951 et de la distribution de cette population suivant la résidence urbaine et rurale, le pays de naissance, l'âge et le sexe, l'état civil relatif au mariage, le nombre d'enfants, les taux de natalité et de mortalité, l'intermariage, les professions, ainsi que la langue maternelle ou acquise. Il traite aussi de l'accroissement probable de la population juive par immigration et accroissement naturel.

LES PROBLÈMES CULTURELS ET ÉCONOMIQUES DE L'ÉMIGRATION DES JUIFS PENDANT L'ÉPOQUE D'APRÈS-GUERRE

J. Isaac

Dans cette appréciation feu J. Isaac a exposé les problèmes de l'émigration des Juifs dans le cadre général de l'émigration internationale, et l'effet produit par cette émigration sur les Juifs par une évolution spécifiquement juive.

Entre les deux guerres l'émigration aux Etats-Unis et aux autres pays d'émigration traditionnelle était limitée par des raisons économiques, bien que l'on fût obligé pendant l'ère nazie de l'augmenter pour des raisons humanitaires. Une situation différente se présente après la guerre due, en grande mesure, à la politique du plein emploi et au fait que l'expansion économique avait dépassé le taux de surcroît naturel des populations clairsemées du «nouveau monde». Actuellement l'émigration est toujours limitée, comme était le cas avant 1914; mais elle est basée sur l'évaluation statistique des besoins. Parmi les facteurs tendant à influencer l'émigration il faut inclure les agences internationales d'après-guerre et les considérations de la politique et de la stratégie. L'émigration juive d'après-guerre a bénéficié de ces conditions. Quelques groupements juifs ont maintenu une étroite cohésion à cause d'une ambiance hostile, mais actuellement ces groupements tendent plutôt à se dissocier. Ceci est particulièrement vrai en ce qui concerne ceux qui sont installés dans les pays de langue anglaise. En Amérique du Sud, qui vient au second rang des centres de réception mondiale, ils sont moins portés à l'assimilation. Néanmoins, étant donné l'absence d'anti-sémitisme, le mode de vie juif tend à se perdre.

L'émigration juive récente de la Dispersion a été limitée à des mouvements sans importance, le nombre total de réfugiés étant relativement petit. Quoique l'analyse précédente ait été basée, dans une certaine mesure, sur des impressions, l'analyse de l'émigration juive en Israël est fondée sur une documentation très complète. Depuis mai 1948 l'émigration juive en Israël a été principalement *aliya*. Israël a contribué à la solution du problème des réfugiés en fournissant un foyer pour ce noyau de Juifs dont le regroupement aurait été impossible ailleurs. Cette émigration comprend pour la première fois (sur une large échelle) des éléments importants des communautés asiatiques et africaines.

L'émigration en Israël n'est point basée sur la théorie du chiffre de «population optimum» comme dans certains autres pays, mais sur le principe du «rapatriement des exilés». Ceci a produit un niveau d'immigration sans précédent. Son but déclaré est la fusion totale des divers éléments hétérogènes qui composent Israël, but qui est à très longue échéance. En attendant on peut considérer l'émergence d'une société pluraliste comme étant un stade transitoire permettant des contacts avec les Juifs de la Dispersion et qui pourrait neutraliser les fortes tendances assimilisatrices de cette dernière.

TENDANCES DANS L'ORGANISATION PROFESSIONNELLE ET LA DISTRIBUTION DES REVENUS DE LA POPULATION JUIVE D'ISRAËL

A. Bonné

La société juive vivant hors de la Palestine et d'Israël présentait un tableau largement homogène pour ce qui est des métiers ou des professions exercés par ses membres. Le commerce, la banque, les carrières libérales, le petit négoce et l'artisanat (ce dernier particulièrement dans les pays de l'Europe orientale) étaient, avec quelques variantes, la source principale de revenus des communautés juives.

Le mouvement sioniste amena trois changements fondamentaux à cet état de choses. Le résultat en est que la structure de la société juive en Israël, pour ce qui est des occupations professionnelles, diffère nettement de celle qui est de tradition dans la Dispersion.

Le premier changement, une orientation vers le travail manuel, fut le résultat de la valeur sociale accordée par le Sionisme aux travaux agricoles et industriels.

Le second changement apporté à la tradition fut l'admission des Juifs à des carrières qui jusqu'alors leur avaient été complètement ou presque complètement fermées: l'armée et l'administration.

Le troisième changement consista en une répartition nouvelle des revenus, résultat des changements indiqués ci-dessus. La concentration des Juifs dans les groupes sociaux de la petite bourgeoisie et de la bourgeoisie moyenne, ces derniers jouissant d'une formation scolaire et professionnelle sensiblement semblables était la caractéristique de la position juive dans de nombreux pays de la Dispersion. La plupart des travailleurs en Israël, au contraire, ont des revenus d'ouvriers et d'employés. Cependant, malgré l'effet normalisateur des syndicats tendant à un ajustement des tarifs, le revenu par tête des familles provenant de pays asiatiques ou africains, et jusqu'à un certain point de tous les nouveaux immigrants, est plus bas que celui des familles établies depuis longtemps dans le pays. Les conditions de vie des immigrants venus d'Asie et d'Afrique sont également à un niveau nettement inférieur pour ce qui est du logement et du degré d'éducation. Il en résulte des différences considérables dans la structure sociale et économique de la population juive d'Israël.

LA BASE SOCIOLOGIQUE DE LA RELIGION JUIVE SELON MAX WEBER

I. Schiper

Cet exposé par feu I. Schiper fut a l'origine publié en langue polonaise en 1924. Il reparaît ici comme la première partie de ce qui sera plus tard, selon l'espoir des rédacteurs, un recueil d'articles sur le travail de Max Weber concernant le judaïsme ancien.

L'exposé résume les arguments essentiels dans l'oeuvre de Weber sur la sociologie de la religion juive dans les temps reculés. Il présente ensuite une critique énumérant les points suivants. La «méthodologie typologique» n'a qu'une valeur relative. Dans cette méthodologie l'attitude subjective du chercheur joue un rôle important. L'idéologie propre de Weber fut rationaliste et idéaliste, ce qui explique pourquoi tous les éléments du rationalisme qu'il trouva dans la religion juive avaient pour lui l'aspect de «phénomènes typologiques» à signification universelle. Selon Weber la religion *yahviste* était du type «plébeien rationaliste» et opposée au type «magique» et «patricien» qui comprenait selon lui la religion de Baal. Mais, en fait, la religion juive se développa à partir du culte de *Yahvé* et du culte de Baal, bien que dans ce compromis nous trouvions plus d'éléments *yahvistes* que d'éléments tirés de la religion

de Baal. Un certain nombre d'éléments qui peuvent être qualifiés d'irrationnels et de magiques se trouvent dans la religion juive, même telle que pratiquée par les lévites et les prophètes et par les membres de l'intelligentsia que Weber prenait pour les représentants typiques du pur *Yahvisme*. En plus, en traitant des rapports entre la religion et la vie économique juives, Weber reste trop partial. Si l'on veut étudier le développement de l'économie juive on doit examiner non seulement l'histoire des Juifs dans l'antiquité, mais aussi la situation où se trouvaient les Juifs au moyen âge et dans les temps modernes.

Enfin, Schiper conclut que Weber nous a légué un concept véritablement précieux: son analyse de l'Alliance avec *Yahvé* et de la confédération des tribus d'Israël en son nom.

JACOB KATZ SUR L'HISTOIRE SOCIALE DES JUIFS

J. Agassi

Selon la critique, M. Katz* fournit une hypothèse pour expliquer la stabilité surprenante dans la société juive en Europe pendant la dernière partie du moyen âge, bien qu'aucune autorité centrale ne dominât ni n'unifiât cette société. Cette hypothèse est que tous les membres de la société en question avaient le même idéal, visant à spiritualiser le côté matériel de la vie dans le cadre de la communauté. Ce ne furent pas les querelles sur les rites et les mœurs qui rompirent l'unité de la société juive, mais bien l'infiltration d'un ensemble de valeurs nouvelles: le mysticisme hassidique en Orient et l'âge des lumières en Occident.

* Voir p. 261.

מקס וובר על היסוד הסוציאולוגי של הדת היהודית

י. שיפר

המאמר הנוכחי, מאת המנוח י. שיפר, פורסם לראשונה בשפה הפולנית בשנת 1924. העורכים מקוים שפרסומו מחדש יהווה צער ראשון לקראת סימפוזיון אודות עבודתו של מקס וובר בחקר היהדות העתיקה.

המאמר מסכם את השענות המרכזיות בעבודתו של וובר בשאלת הסוציולוגיה של הדת היהודית בזמן העתיק, ומציג ביקורת בנקודות הבאות: למתודולוגיה הטיפולוגית של וובר יש רק ערך יחסי. במתודולוגיה זו יש לנישה הסובייקטיבית של החוקר תפקיד ניכר. האידיאולוגיה של וובר עצמו היתה רציונלית ואידיאליסטית כאחד ועובדה זו מסבירה מדוע כל היסודות הרציונליסטים שהוא מצא בדת היהודית לבשו לדידו אופי של תופעות טיפוסיות בעלות ערך כללי–עולמי. לדעת וובר, הדת היהודית היתה מהטפוס הפלבאי–רציונליסטי בניגוד לטפוס המאגי והמעשי אליו שייך את האסונה בבעל. אבל, למעשה, הדת היהודית התפתחה הן מפולחן יהווה והן מפולחן הבעל, אם כי בפשרה זו אנו מוצאים יותר יסודות יהדריים מאשר יסודות דת הבעל. מספר יסודות שניתן לתארם כאירציונלים ומאגיים נמצאים בדת היהודית, אפילו בקרב האינטלגנציה אשר וובר התיחס אליה כאל טפוסית ליהודיות טהורה, ובקרב הלווים והנביאים. יתר–כל–כן ניתוחו של וובר את היחס שבין הדת היהודית והכלכלה היהודית הוא חד–צדדי מדי. על מנת לבחון את התפתחות הכלכלה היהודית יש להקור לא רק את תולדות היהודים בזמן העתיק, אלא גם את המצב שבו היהודים מצאו את עצמם בימי הביניים ובזמן החדש.

לבסוף, בא שיפר למסקנה כי וובר העניק לנו טושג בעל ערך אמתי והוא טושג הברית וכנסת ישראל בשם יהוה.

יעקב כ"ץ אודות ההיסטוריה החברתית של היהודים
(ביקורת על הספר)*

יוסף אגסי

לדעת המבקר מציג הספר הנחת יסוד על–מנת להסביר את היציבות המפתיעה של אחדות החברה היהודית באירופה המרכזית והמזרחית בשלהי ימי הביניים – אחדות שנתקיימה ללא תמיכה של שום מוסד, ארגון, או פיקוח מרכזי. הנחת–היסוד היא שכל אנשי החברה היהודית החזיקו ברעיון של «היים טובים» שמטרתו הסרת הנשמיות מעל הצד החומרי שבחיים בתוך מסגרת של קהילות מאוחדות. הקרע בחברה היהודית אירע לא כתוצאה ממחלוקת בשאלות פולחן או נוהג, אלא כתוצאה מהדירת ערכים חדשים: חסידות מיסטית במזרח, והשכלה במערב.

*ראה עמוד 261

בעיות תרבות וכלכלה של ההגירה היהודית שלאחר המלחמה

יוליוס איזק

זוהי הערכה מפרי עטו של המנוח י. איזק את תנועות ההגירה היהודיות במסגרת תנועת ההגירה הכללית ואת השפעותיהן על ההתפתחות היהודית הספציפית.

בתקופה שבין שתי מלחמות עולם הונבלה ההגירה **מסיבות** כלכליות לארצות־הברית וארצות הגירה מסורתיות אחרות, אם כי תקופת הנאציזם גרמה לגידול ההגירה מסיבות הומאניטריות. מצב זה השתנה לאחר מלחמת העולם השניה הודות לתעסוקה מלאה ולעובדה כי ההתפתחות הכללית עברה את שיעור הגידול הטבעי של ארצות «העולם החדש» בעלות אוכלוסיה דלילה. ההגירה עתה אינה בלתי מונבלת כמו בתקופה שלפני שנת 1914, אלא שהיא מבוססת על אומדן צורכי ההגירה. גורמים אחרים המעצבים זרמי הגירה הינם סוכנויות בינלאומיות וחישובים מדיניים ואסטרטגיים. בסכומו של דבר תנאי ההגירה נוחים, וההגירה היהודית שלאחר המלחמה הרויחה מהם. קבוצות יהודיות שמרו על אחדותן מתחת הסביבה העוינת, אך הנטיה הנוכחית היא לעבר התפזרות. דבר זה נכון במיוחד ביחס למתישבים בארצות דוברי אנגלית. אלו שבארצות אמריקה הלטינית, השטח השני בגודלו כקולט הגירה, נראה שהם נוטים פחות להתבוללות. בכל זאת, בהעדר אנטישמיות, התוכן היהודי שבאורח החיים של שתי הקבוצות נוטה לאבד את היוניותו.

הגירה יהודית בגולה הונבלה בזמן האחרון להגועות משניות בחשיבותן; מספר הפליטים קטן באופן יחסי. בעוד שניתוחים מוקדמים יותר היו מבוססים על התרשמות, ניתוח ההגירה אפשר לברר על יסוד חומר עובדתי עשיר. מאז הקמת המדינה מרבית ההגירה לישראל היתה עלייה. ישראל תרמה לפתרון בעיית הפליטים בספקה משכן לאותם פליטים שלא היו יכולים להשתקע בשום מקום אחר. הגירה זו גם כללה בפעם הראשונה מספר ניכר של קהילות מאסיה ואפריקה.

הגירה לישראל אינה מבוססת על תורת «האוכלוסיה האופטימלית» כמקובל בארצות הגירה אחרות, אלא על עקרון «קבוץ גלויות» שכרך הגירה בעלת עוצמה שלא היתה כמוה. מטרתו הסופית היא מזון מושלם של היסודות הישראלים השונים. דבר זה יש לראות כתהליך איטי מאוד. ביניתיים אפשר לראות בצמיחה חברה פלורליסטית שלב טעבר, תוך יכולת להחויק בקשר עם יהדות הגולה ולהחליש את הנטיה החזקה להתבוללות מוחלטת.

נטיות במבנה התעסוקה ובחלוקת ההכנסות של האוכלוסיה היהודית בישראל

א. בונה

למבנה המקצועי של החברה היהודית בזמננו מחוץ לארץ ישראל היה דפוס אחיד למדי: מסחר, בנקאות, מקצועות חופשיים, סחר קמעוני ועסקי מלאכה. האחרונים ביהוד באירופה המזרחית, היו, עם גוונים שונים, מקורות הפרנסה העיקריים.

ההגועה הציונית גרמה לשלושה שנויים בסיסיים בסרטיפיקציה זאת ועל־ידי כך לשוני בולט בין המבנה המקצועי של יהודי ישראל ובין זה של יהודי הגולה.

השינוי הראשון היה עידוד לקראת עבודה גופנית כתוצאת ההפצרה הציונית לבחור במקצועות של עבודה פיזית ומתן כבוד חברתי לעבודה הקלאית ותעשייתית.

השינוי השני במבנה המסורתי היה הוספת שטחי עבודה מקצועית שעד עתה היו בדרך־כלל סגורים בפני יהודים: צבא ושרות משלתי.

השינוי השלישי הוא הלוקה הדשה של ההכנסה בעקבות השינויים במבנה המקצועי. במקום הריכוז של המפרנסים בשכבות על הכנסה בינונית ונטוכה, והכשרה חינוכית ומקצועית דומה שהיו מאפינים את מצב החברה היהודית בהרבה ארצות של הגולה, רוב המפרנסים בישראל מתפרנסים על רמות ההכנסות המיפוסיות של פועלים ופקידים. אך למרות ההשפעה המאזנת של מדיניות השכר המתנהלת על־ידי האגודות המקצועיות לקראת השוואת שיעורי השכר, ההכנסה המטוצעת לראשי משפחות הבאות מארצות אסיה ואפריקה, ובמידה מסויטת גם ההכנסה של עולים חדשים בכלל, היא נטוכה מזו של הוותיקים. עולים מאסיה ואפריקה גם אינם מגיעים לרמות הדיור וההשכלה המקובלות אצל יוצאי אירופה ואמריקה, והתוצאה היא קיום הכדלים ניכרים במבנה הכלכלי־החברתי של הישוב היהודי במדינת ישראל.

דרך החיים של יהדות כורדיסתאן

דינה פייטלסון

דרך החיים של יהדות כורדיסתאן מתוארת על יסוד עבודת שדה בקרב בני קבוצה זו בישראל כשנתיים שלוש לאחר עלייתה.

נראה כי חיי הקהילות היהודיות הקטנות אשר היו מפוזרות בעיירות וכפרים בצפון עיראק הצטיינו בקביעותם. היהודים היו קשורים בקשרים חברתיים וכלכליים לשכניהם הכורדים, ובולט במיוחד הדמיון התרבותי בין שתי העדות.

התעסוקות העיקריות היו עבודה גופנית קשה והקלאות, וכמו־כן אריגה ומסחר זעיר.

הלשון המדוברת היתה ניב ארמני – «תרגום». בדרך כלל גם יתר הלשונות הנפוצות באשור היו ידועות. הדת היתה שזורה בכל פרטי החיים היום־יומיים, ומצוות היסוד נשמרו תוך קפדנות רבה. למרות זאת נתקבלו מנהגים מקומיים רבים כחלק טן הדת סבלי שתשרור הבחנה ברורה בינם לבין המסורת היהודית הכללית. התפקידים הדתיים הרשמיים בוצעו על־ידי אדם אחד – הוא החכם. בקהילות הגדולות יותר שמש הלה גם כטורה. בדרך כלל נופלת רמת למרנותם של היהודים הכורדים מרמת למדנותם של בני עדות יהודיות אחרות, ומצויים, אף בין הגברים, אנאלפבתים גטורים.

כמו בין הכורדים היוותה המשפחה הטורחבת את היחידה החברתית והכלכלית היסודית של הקהילה. נישואין בין בני אותה משפחה הועדפו. הבנים הנשואים על משפחותיהם נשארו בבית אביהם. בדרך כלל עבדו הגברים של כל משק בית יחד וכל ההכנסות וההוצאות היו משותפות. לא נוהלו כל חשבונות נפרדים. השלטון המוחלט היה נתון בידי ראש המשפחה.

כך מתואר מהלך חיי היחיד.

הדמוגראפיה של הקהילה היהודית בקנדה

ל. רוזנברג

אם כי היו בקנדה יהודים מאז שנת 1759, הקהילה היהודית בקנדה היא הדשה וצעירה באופ יהסי. יסודה של הקהילה, מבנה ואופיה התרבותי הינם פרי של כמה גלי הגירה מרופיה, פולניה, ליטא ורומניה, שבאו החל משנת 1882 עקב פוגרומים ותהוקות הפליה נגד יהודים בארצות אלו.

ההתפתחות ומבנה הקהילה היהודית בקנדה הינם בעלי עניין מיוחד, מאחר שקנדה כאומה הינה עדיין בשלב של התהוות, ואף לא אחת מהקבוצות האתניות שתרמו לישובה והתפתחותה של הארץ מהווה רוב באוכלוסיה.

אם כי מעריכים שלטעלה מחצית יהודי העולם כיום חיים בארצות־הברית של אטריקה ובארצות חבר העמים הבריטי, הרי מכל ארצות דוברי אנגלית קנדה היא הארץ היחידה בה מצוייה אינפורמציה סטטיסטית מהימנה אודות האוכלוסיה היהודית וקיים תיאור דמוגרפי של אוכלוסיה זו המבוסס על מפקד תושבים רשמי ומהימן. בארצות האחרות ישנם רק אומדנים מקריים או בדיקות דוגמאות, אשר דיוקם ואופיים המייצג נתונים במפקד.

האוכלוסיה היהודית בקנדה גדלה מ־170,241 נפש בשנת 1931 ל־204,836 נפש. למרות זאת, אחוז הגירול של האוכלוסיה היהודית על־ידי הגירה ועל־ידי עודף ילודה על תמונה קטן מאחוז הגירול של כלל האוכלוסיה; בעוד שבשנת 1931 היוו היהודים 1.5% מכלל האוכלוסיה, קטן אחוז זה בשנת 1941 וכן בשנת 1951, ויש להניח שיקטן בשנת 1961 ובשנות מפקד התושבים שלאחר מכן.

המחקר הנוכחי מטפל בגידול האוכלוסיה היהודית בקנדה בתקופה שבין 1851 ו־1891; חלוקת האוכלוסיה לעירונית וכפרית, לפי ארצות מוצא, גיל, מין, מצב משפחתי, גודל המשפחה, אחוז הילודה והתטותה, נשואי התערובת, עיסוק, הגירה, שפה ושפת־אם של האוכלוסיה היהודית בתקופה שבין 1921 לבין 1951 וסיכויי גידול האוכלוסיה היהודית על־ידי הגירה לקנדה וריבוי טבעי.

תחיית השפה העברית

חיים יהודה רות

המאמר הנוכחי נתן כהרצאה פומבית באוניברסיטת וולס באברידסטווית באוקטובר 1955.
קשה לקבוע תאריך שרירותי של הופעת השפה העברית החדשה, אך המחבר משער שהופעה זו הינה לאמתו של דבר פרי עובדה מדינית מרכזית: ההכרה הרשמית בשפה העברית כפי שנזכרה במנדט שניתן לבריטניה בשנת 1922 לגבי ארץ ישראל. הזדמנות מדינית זו הביאה אתה צורך מעשי והשפה העברית המודרנית הפכה לעובדה – שפה עברית התואמת את הצרכים הטכניים של הכרה מודרנית.
יהדות ארץ ישראל פתחה מעכת חינוך עצמאית שבה לא רק הורו עברית אלא שהעברית אף שימשה שפת הוראה לשאר המקצועות. בעבודת פיתוחה של השפה היה לאוניברסיטה העברית תפקיד נכבד.
הלקח שיש ללמוד מהנסיון הארץ־ישראלי של החיאת השפה העברית הוא שאם אנו יודעים היטב נושא מסויים וברצוננו להורותו באמצעות לשונית שיש בה ניצוץ חיים המקצוע יחיה ויעורר להיים.

שני סופרים יהודים ילידי עיראק מחברי ספורים קצרים הצעה למחקר סוציאולוגי

אמיל מרמורשטיין

זהו נסיון ראשון לבחון את הספור הקצר הערבי כמקור אפשרי לחומר עבור מחקר סוציאולוגי. המחבר מסכם ומנתח תוכן שני כרכים של ספורים קצרים; שניהם נכתבו לפני זמן קצר על־ידי מחברים יהוריים מעיראק שנותרו בבגדאד אחר העלייה של מרבית הקהילה היהודית לישראל.
לדעת המחבר משקפים ספורים אלו בנאמנות את השפעת ההשכלה על יהודי עיראק שהאמנסיפציה אפשרה להם לקבל הנוך חילוני. יהודים אלה עודם תומכים בהתלהבות באידיאלים הדתיים עליהם חונכו. אולם מתחת לשטח אפשר לגלות אצלם סימני אכזבה שמקורה במרחק שבין רעיון למציאות. למעשה, מהווים האידיאלים של ההשכלה מסורת יציבה שתפסה את מקומה של ההשקפה הדתית שעליה הושתת הנוך הדורות הקודמים. על־כל־פנים הרקע החברתי המשתקף בספורים אלו שונה מאוד מהרקע של הקהילה בכללה ותואם רק את הייהם ומחשבותיהם של האינטלקטואלים בעלי ההשפעה, ושל אלה הנתונים להדרכתם. יותר ממה שהוא מתאר את המצב הממשי שהתהווה בתקופה שבין שתי המלחמות, הרי הוא משקף מצב דברים שהיה עשוי להתקיים אילו היתה הקהילה מתפתחת ללא הפרעות מבחוץ.
המחבר מסיים בקריאה למחקר נוסף, הן בספרות הערבית שנכתבה על־ידי יהודי המזרח עד לתקופת פזורם, והן בפעילות ספרותית בשפה הערבית של יהודי המזרח אשר עלו לישראל. הרחבת תחום המחקר הסוציאולוגי לספורים ערבים קצרים בכלל שנכתבו בשלושים השנה האחרונות עשוייה ללא ספק לזרוע יותר אור על ההתנגשות האידיאולוגית שבין אמונה מסורתית ובין חילוניות מודרנית בתלך רוחם של מנהיגים רוחניים אשר עמדו נלויים להשפעות שתי האידיאולוגיות בתקופות שונות של חייהם.

HEBREW SUMMARIES

קבוצות הדם של היהודים

א. א. מוראנט

הבדלים בין אוכלוסיות, כגון היהודים ושכניהם, ניתנים למחקר בעזרת מדידות פיסיות או ביוכימיות, כגון קבוצות דם. קבוצות הדם הן פשוטות יותר מבחינה גנטית, ויש להן יתרון נוסף שהשתייכות היחיד לאחת מהן אינה משתנית כל משך ימי חייו. עבור מחקר לפי קבוצות דם בו כל יחיד משתייך בבירור לסוג זה או אחר, יש לחקור את האוכלוסיה בכללה ולוודא את אחוז כל סוג וסוג.

ישנן הרבה טערכות של קבוצות דם, וסבחינה תורשתית הן בלתי תלויות אחת בשניה, כך שכל אחת מהטערכות כשלעצמה מאפשרת קלאסיפיקציה של יהידים ואוכלוסיות. המאמר מתאר את התכונות התורשתיות של קבוצות הדם ABO, RH ו MN וכמו־כן תכונות ביוכימיות אהרות.

אחוזי קבוצות הדם ABO בכמאה קבוצי אוכלוסיות יהודיות הועתקו מן הספרות והושוו בעזרת דיאגרמות עם אחוזי קבוצות הדם של האוכלוסיות הלא־יהודיות באותן הארצות. השוואות דומות, אם כי בקנה מידה קטן יותר, נעשו ביחס לקבוצות הדם RH ו MN.

באפריקה הצפונית ההשוואה בין יהודים וערבים מראה שיותר יהודים משתייכים לקבוצות A ו B ופחות יהודים משתייכים לקבוצה O מאשר ערבים, בדמיון מה ליהודים הספרדיים באירופה ובישראל.

אחוזי ABO של יהודי מזרח אירופה אינם שונים בהרבה מאלה של האוכלוסיה הסקוטית, אך כנראה זהו דמיון מקרי, מאחר שקבוצות ה־שלהם מראות כי יהודי מזרח אירופה הם ממוצא ים־תיכוני שבודאי התערבו במידת מה באוכלוסיה הסקוטית. היהודים האשכנזים בכללם הינם קבוצה הומוגנית למדי, והוא הדים לגבי היהודים הספרדים. יתר־כל־כן, שתי קבוצות אלו דומות אחת לשניה במידה ניכרת, אך הספרדים מראים תכונות ים־תיכוניות בולטות יותר. למעשה כמעט ולא ירוע דבר על קבוצות הדם של יהודי מערב אירופה.

העובדות הידועות ביחס ליהודי המזרח קשה לפרשן בהערך נתונים אודות האוכלוסיה של אותה ארץ בה חיו לאחרונה. בקרב יהודי תימן אחוז קבוצות הדם A ו B הינו נמוך מאוד, בהבדל ניכר מכל האוכלוסיות היהודיות האחרות. בקבוצות ABO, MN ו RH הם דומים לערבים התימנים.

היהודים הכבלים מעיראק מצטיינים באחוז גבוה של חוסר אנזימים הנודם «פביזם». עובדה זו מחזקת את טענתם שהם קבוצה יהודית טהורה.

ביחס לכמה קהילות יהודיות יש בידינו הומר עובדתי רב; ביחס לאהרות כמעט ולא כלום. העלייה לישראל מארבע כנפות הארץ נותנת הזדמנות מיוחדת במידה למחקר קבוצות הדם של הקהילות השונות.