THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF BUENOS AIRES[1]

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WITH a population of approximately a quarter million, Greater Buenos Aires and its adjacent provinces unquestionably has the largest concentration of Jewish people in the Western Hemisphere outside the United States. Further, in absorbing more than one-half of all twentieth-century Jewish immigration to Latin America, Argentina ranks second only to the United States as a haven for the Diaspora Jew.[2] Given this impressive fact, it comes as something of a surprise that serious sociological and demographic analysis of the Jews of Buenos Aires has not yet been undertaken.[3]

The reasons for this are many and various. We might here mention the following. First, the generally late development of empirical sociology in Latin America and the particular blight on social science research in Argentina during the rule of Juan D. Peron (1945–53), years which coincide with a widespread growth of interest in community life and the study of complex organization;[4] second, the extremely powerful nationalistic ideologies which have tended to emphasize the homogeneity of Argentina in terms of Roman Catholicism as a social institution;[5] third, the tendency of Jewish community leaders in Buenos Aires to accept the ground-rules set forth by competing nationalist and statist ideologies, and thus to carry on their activities outside the glare of any sort of publicity which might adversely affect Jewish occupational or cultural advances;[6] fourth, the widespread 'assimilationist' Jewish intelligentsia, which has traditionally identified with *positivismo* as against *espiritualismo*; taking the position that being Jewish, like being Gentile, is an accident of birth, an ethico-religious credo having no real utility in the post-feudal world—where a new enlightenment and new humanism ought to prevail (if they do not exist in fact).[7]

The sociological study of the Jewish community of Buenos Aires is therefore a virgin field. Within the confines of this study, I shall attempt a general framework for the study of the Jewish community by taking an inventory of relevant information at present available on immigration, organization, and occupation. The empirical elaboration and sophistication of our subject is another undertaking, which can be

decisively conducted only in connexion with a wider investigation—the function of ethnicity in an economically underdeveloped country having a politically overdeveloped sense of national destiny. A complete focus on the Jewish community would therefore entail examination of the place of competing social allegiances and ideologies in Argentina.

A canvassing of opinion from sectors of leading 'decision makers' in the Jewish community of Buenos Aires yielded little consensus. Five issues in particular seemed to find informants equally distributed on both sides of the issue:

(*a*) how well organized is the Jewish community?
(*b*) what role does antisemitism play in Jewish-Gentile relations?
(*c*) does the Jewish collectivity of Buenos Aires exhibit more rapid, less rapid, or the same sort of social mobility as the populace in general?
(*d*) when is the political orientation of the Jewish community different from or the same as that of the population in general?
(*e*) does the occupational-economic ranking of Jews show approximately the same distribution as the rest of the city's population?

To provide a set of useful answers to the above questions requires more than public opinion surveys, since what are primarily involved are matters of fact rather than statements of sentiment. It cannot be emphasized strongly enough that factual data are exactly what is in short supply. Thus the hypothesis and conclusions which follow must be considered as tentative, modifiable in the light of changing circumstances and new evidence.

I. IMMIGRATION: ADAPTATION WITHOUT INTEGRATION

The first stage in our analysis is to set forth Jewish immigration patterns to Argentina. It is apparent that Jewish economic, political, and even ideological moorings have been forged in the confrontation of the group identities the Jew brought with him to the 'new world' (what we shall call ethnicity), with the social, political, and psychological complex he found awaiting him in Argentina (what we shall call nationality). That this task is eminently sociological in character is proved by the simple facts of biology and anthropology. Mankind is essentially one, a unique species. There is no evidence of any *inborn* differences of temperament, personality, character, or intellect among the different populations and races of mankind.

The sociological significance of immigration patterns for questions of ethnicity is clear from the connexion, either real or alleged, between immigration and economy ('depressions are caused by cheap immigrant labour' . . . 'immigrants prevent the native population from advancing'), between immigration and psychology ('immigrants lower the general cultural level of the old populace' . . . 'immigrants reveal high levels of

mental illness and insanity'), and between immigration and sociality ('immigrants bring about a lowering of social morals' . . . 'they create the seeds of higher rates of crime and alcoholism'). These canards were clearly evident in Maciel's concern over the 'Italianization' of Argentina during the twenties[8] and were used a decade later by Julio Alsogaray to trace the growth of prostitution and white-slavery in Buenos Aires to the Jews.[9] While such allegations have in general been laid aside by serious scholars, the popular consciousness clearly lags behind the scientific.[10] Therefore, the position of the Jewish immigrant in Argentina is a subject heavily laden with conflicting psychological drives and ideological loyalties. Broadly, the Jews insist upon ethnic singularity, while Argentines incline toward national unity. An exploration of these contrasting loyalties sheds a good deal of light, not solely on problems of immigration, but on basic organizational properties of the Argentine Jewish community.

Our first specific task is to survey the demographic and immigration patterns of the Argentine Jew. The most striking and noteworthy property of Table 1 is the essentially twentieth-century character of Jewish migration to Argentina. The next feature to be noted is the relative stability of Jewish population increase from 1905 until 1950, although the qualitative composition of this crescendo shifts radically from immigration to internal population increases owing to a climbing birth-rate.

TABLE 1. *Jewish Population in the Argentine Republic**

Years	*Established population*	*Immigration*	*Births in excess of deaths*	*Total increase*	*Composite total*
1890–94	2,595	7,159	365	7,524	10,119
1895–99	10,119	4,536	941	5,477	15,596
1900–04	15,596	8,370	1,437	9,807	25,403
1905–09*a*	25,403	40,006	3,267	43,273	68,676
1910–14	68,676	41,027	6,573	47,600	116,276
1915–19*b*	116,276	1,607	9,044	10,651	126,927
1920–24*c*	126,927	33,963	10,513	44,476	171,403
1925–29*c*	171,403	32,836	14,284	47,120	218,523
1930–34	218,523	17,336	17,612	34,948	253,471
1935–39*d*	253,471	26,159	25,357	51,516	304,987
1940–44	304,987	8,210	27,212	35,422	340,409
1945–49	340,409	7,505	30,407	37,912	378,321
1950–60*e*	378,321	—	—	41,679	420,000

* Data drawn from information contained in Simon Weill, *Población Israelita en la Republica Argentina*, Buenos Aires: Bene Berith, 1936; and Jacob Shatzky, *Comunidades Judias en Latinoamerica*, Buenos Aires: American Jewish Committee, 1952.

a. immigration of Russian Jews in the wake of pogroms following the 1905 revolution.
b. immigration decline due to First World War.
c. second wave of Polish and Slavic immigration.
d. German-Jewish migration following the rise of Nazism.
e. estimate of current population in Moisés Kostzer, '*Problemas propios de la estadistica relativa a los Judios en la Argentina*', p. 2.

The importance of the data is not confined to showing the extent of Jewish immigration patterns, but is an index of the twentieth-century burst in Jewish immigration to Argentina; and the continued worsening of the economic and political situation in the 'old country'. Startlingly new developments in Argentine life have not had an appreciable effect on conditioning Jewish immigration either in upward or downward directions. Unlike migration to the United States, there was little 'magnetism' involved in the shift of countries. Perhaps the most singular aspect of Table 1 is that Jewish population expansion is increasingly explainable by Jewish identity in Argentina, and decreasingly by new immigration waves.

As a second and third generation of Argentine Jew emerges, problems tend to shift. A movement takes place within the Jewish community from occupational and linguistic issues to mobility and educational problems. The new generation of Argentine Jewry is essentially *adapted* to the new home country, and is indistinguishable by mode of dress, habit, or speech.[11] The question thus becomes the nature of Jewish identity, while the older (and perhaps more basic) theme of Jewish survival tends to become a minor motif. This generational shift from considerations of survival to those of identity has become particularly pronounced with the liquidation of the Nazi Leviathan in Germany. Although the threat to national survival has been revived in the post-war world by discomforting problems projected by outbursts of antisemitism in other parts of Europe and the Middle East following the establishment of Israel, and perhaps equally by the exposure of the monumental scale of the Nazi effort to annihilate European Jewry, the elimination of mass genocide as a current factor has had definite social consequences. The ideological shift from survival (*who* is a Jew?) to identity (*what* is a Jew?) can hardly be said to be complete. None the less, the essays which are published in Argentine Jewish literary sources—from *Commentario* to *Davar*—do indicate that a broad generational shift has been effected.

The concentration of the Jew in the Buenos Aires area is somewhat obscured by the geographical distribution of provinces in Argentina. Thus the census reports of 1934/35 (which closely approximate to the 1935 figures given in Table 1) show that out of 253,242 Jews living in Argentina at the time, 131,000 (or slightly more than half) live in the city of Buenos Aires proper. But to this total must be added the Jewish population of the Litoral region in general—including the three main provinces: Buenos Aires (29,408), Santa Fe (29,946), and Entre Rios (28,231).[12] An additional 87,585 living in these provinces, which are geographically, economically, and politically connected to Buenos Aires proper, must be added to the totals. Thus something in the neighbourhood of 80 per cent of the Jewish population is concentrated in the most urbanized portion of the country. The Jewish question in

TABLE 2. *Population by Provinces in Argentina, 1935**

Province	*Total population*	*Jewish population totals*			*Percentage of Jews*
		Ashkenazim	*Sephardim*	*Total combined*	
Capital Federal (Buenos Aires)	2,228,440	107,000	24,000	131,000	5·87
Province of :					
Buenos Aires	3,282,869	25,151	4,257	29,408	0·89
Santa Fe	1,439,245	25,557	4,389	29,946	2·09
Entre Rios	669,974	26,940	1,291	28,231	4·21
Cordoba	1,168,649	6,929	2,364	9,293	0·79
Mendoza	468,117	3,415	627	4,042	0·86
Tucuman	493,903	2,810	1,034	3,844	0·78
San Luis	179,778	185	227	412	0·22
La Rioja	104,147	115	132	247	0·23
San Juan	193,568	1,171	418	1,589	0·82
Catamarca	138,035	440	55	495	0·36
Sgo. del Estero	433,174	1,410	1,133	2,543	0·59
Corrientes	473,742	1,677	682	2,359	0·49
Jujuy	103,901	203	176	379	0·36
Salta	192,105	605	693	1,298	0·67
Regions of:					
Chaco	205,000	1,820	470	2,290	1·11
La Pampa	199,162	2,584	359	2,943	1·42
Misiones	150,683	366	277	643	0·42
Neuquen	42,241	219	38	257	0·61
Rio Negro	115,000	576	253	829	0·72
Santa Cruz	23,352	33	18	51	0·22
Formosa	30,000	242	143	385	1·28
Chubut	55,644	561	170	731	1·31
De los Andes	6,000	5	22	27	0·45
Tierra del Fuego	3,296				0·00
Totals	12,400,025	210,014	43,228	253,242	2·04

* A note on the totals is necessary. The size of the Jewish population has been subject to wide speculation. The census figures of 1934–5 and that of 1947 report roughly the *same* number of Jews living in Argentina. Despite the large-scale immigration of German Jews to Argentina, and the normal population crescendo in Argentina (from 12,400,000 in 1935 to 20,000,000 in 1960), the later Census reports roughly 4,000 fewer Jews in Argentina as compared to the earlier figures. It is clear that given a normal curve with the rest of the population, the number of Jews in Argentina should range from between 400,000 to 500,000. Part of the explanation of these peculiarities is the repressive potential of *Peronismo*, which compelled a large segment of the Jewish populace to answer 'without religion' on the 1947 Census. Another factor, of course, is the falling away from Judaism exhibited by the sizeable Jewish intelligentsia of Argentina. It is not without interest to speculate on the number of those with Jewish parentage answering 'without religion' (239,949); particularly in the light of the fact that by combining the Jewish population totals (249,330) with the 'non-religionists', the total (487,279) is only slightly higher than the normal expectancy of Jewish population in Argentina—given the population explosion between the years 1935 and 1947.

Argentina must therefore be discussed in terms of the general urbanization process, and the tendency of immigrants generally to congregate in the cities.[13] The efforts at the turn of the century by wealthy Jewish philanthropists to relocate the Jews in Argentine farmlands and

embody the myth of the Jew as a man of the soil as a *prima facie* retort to antisemitic charges of the 'commercial Jew', have essentially failed. Jewish colonization of the land came upon a combination of poor soil, strenuous competition, and the general impulse of the Argentine to move from the interior to the Capital city.[14]

It is clear from Table 2 and the previous explanation of the provincial structure that the Argentine Jew is primarily rooted in Greater Buenos Aires.[15] He is, indeed, an 'economic man' rooted in *Gesellschaft* relations. But what too frequently has been overlooked by those working in the Sombart tradition is that the Jew is also a 'community man', having powerful social roots in *Gemeinschaft* relations. This functional duality makes the Jew of Buenos Aires an adaptive rather than an integrative person. We shall examine in more detail this community-associational complex in the next section.

Undoubtedly the commercial and cultural greatness of Buenos Aires was profoundly affected by Jewish immigration. The Jew added a special dimension to the 'Enlightenment' strain in the city's educational and cultural life. Along with this, he had his greatest opportunity for upward social mobility in the city's compelling commercial and industrial activities. He thus accentuated economic and cultural forces already operative in the city, contributing much needed skilled labour and management techniques to an urbanization process sorely lacking in just these qualities. The philanthropic effort to solve the 'Jewish question' by turning back to the land was simply misanthropic. The European Jewish bourgeois failed to take into account traditional Jewish social aspirations: educational achievement, economic security, occupational mobility, and cosmopolitan orientation—aspirations which can far more readily be realized in an urban and suburban environment than in a rural life style.[16]

The structure of Jewish voluntary associations follows closely the characteristic types of migration waves. For some idea of the natural history of Jewish life in Argentina, we may divide immigration patterns of the Ashkenazi Jews into five stages, involving three distinct national or regional types of European Jew. The first type was the Western European Jew, Alsatian and French. Migrating between 1860–85, after the liberalization of the Argentine Constitution, they came in search of religious freedom and found it. Occupationally, this first Jewish wave was linked to professional and small banking enterprises. The second (1889–1905), third (1905–21), and fourth (1921–30) waves emigrated from Eastern Europe to form the largest bulk of Jews in Argentina. The reasons for their coming are profoundly linked to the alternating currents of revolution and counter-revolution that shook Eastern Europe during this period. The brutal oppression at the hands of Polish and Ukrainian landlords, exclusion from educational opportunities as a result of Czar Nicholas' quota system, political exclusion and cultural

starvation elsewhere in Eastern Europe, these are the well-known but none the less distressing reasons for outward migration.

The Jew of Eastern Europe came without funds, but with a wealth of domestic, handicraft, factory, and commercial skills—all of which were more readily utilizable in Latin America than in Europe. Thus, it was the search for economic opportunity and, concomitantly, political freedoms, rather than any particularly deep religious sentiment that accounted for the bulk of these middle waves of immigration. The last type of migrant to Argentina was the German Jew—and the 'reasons' for his change of homeland require no elaboration. It might, none the less, be noted that the German Jew came with his 'high culture' intact.[17] Generally, this type of immigrant had some adequate means of financial subsistence, or had those professional and business qualifications that soon restored his financial position to its former state. Further, the German Jew had a conservative rather than radical orientation politically—and tended to identify with authority and order rather than 'meddle in affairs of State'.[18]

Of these five distinct migratory waves, only the first failed to survive with its 'Jewishness' intact. The reasons for this failure offer valuable clues to the nature of Jewish ethnicity. Leaving aside the imbalance of males to females, something characteristic of all migrations, the Western European Jews who came to Argentina arrived with their *Gesellschaft* orientation intact. They set up houses of worship, but tended to improve their occupational roles by consolidating their social prestige within the larger Gentile society. The process of absorption was enhanced by the relatively high life-chances of early Jewish settlers, their rapid linguistic adaptation from one Romance language to another, and by a highly 'Protestantized' self-vision of fulfilling Providential Will through commercial and business enterprise. In brief, and to paraphrase Dubnow, this kind of Jew had a religious conscience without having also a national conscience. As such, when the Alsatian-French Jew lost his religious beliefs in the general fervour of the Enlightenment-Positivist revolt against traditionalism he lost even the traces of Judaism.[19]

The arrival of the Eastern European Ashkenazi Jew represented an altogether different specimen. First, this Slavic-Polish-Ukrainian Jew was born and reared in 'ghetto' life and tended to see himself as part of a solid phalanx against the outside (hostile) world. Second, linguistically, he was far removed from the romance language tradition—with Yiddish as his first language and the particular national languages of his mother country, Russian, Polish, or Hungarian, as his second language. Third, the new immigrant was organized on a *Gemeinschaft* basis in Europe, and as such, upon arriving in Argentina, thought in terms of the re-establishment of his 'total community' patterns—involving voluntary associations for every form of social activity from banking

to baking; Jewish credit agencies, hospitals, schools, welfare centres, and orphanages were established in terms of the *Kehillah* as the central institution.[20] Thus, the Jew was identified as such not simply by his special place of worship, but by a reference-set brought with him from the old world.[21] Without a powerful counteractive culture or ideology to inhibit ethnic centralization (such as the 'melting-pot' ideology in the United States), Jewish national ideals and ideas flourished.[22] The importance of the *Kehillah* as an organizational counterpart of the 'Community of Fate' ideology can hardly be overstated. Precisely the totality of Jewishness rather than any single aspect, both united the Jewish immigrant to Argentine society and served to focus antisemitic feelings against this special cultural and social sub-structure. Typically enough, hostility to Jewish feelings of separateness only served to reinforce the intimacy of Jewish social bonds.

We might here note that Slavic, Polish, and Russian immigrants came with strongly felt separatist ideological moorings. The Jewish substructure tended to conflict with the dominant culture. While the ideologies of the French Enlightenment and Continental liberalism were outside the normal reference-set of the Eastern European Jew, he could accommodate them. Far more difficult was his adjustment to the military-economic coalition or political *caudillaje*. Conversely, such powerful ideological factors in Jewish life as Zionism, agrarian socialism, and trade unionism, etc., while revealing superficial points of contact with the humanistic tradition in Argentine culture, were too sectarian and too ethnocentric to be either serviceable or welcome to Argentine versions of the *Führerprinzip*. Traditionalist and nationalist alike saw in Judaism an uncomfortable kind of radicalism that would only deepen the socio-cultural schisms existing in the country.

In this connexion, we may add that even the Jewish view of socialism revealed ethnic strivings, as is made plain in the Jewish *Bund* movement of Czarist times, and now in the *Hashomer Hatzair* groupings. This relative disinterest in the nationalistic strivings of either the Argentine Right or the Left, and the contrary identification of socialism with specifically Jewish goals, remains a dividing line between 'Jewish interests' and Argentine 'national interests' in general. Socialism, like Zionism, was thought of by the Jewish community as valuable in so far as it was a guarantor—and not the gravedigger—of Jewish interests. The East European Jewish immigrant in this fashion developed over a period of years an ideological superstructure which operated as a functional reinforcement of the *Gemeinschaft* structure against a background of Argentina in its first furies of industrialism, nationalism, and urbanism. Political privatization was thus a mechanism of resistance—a strategy of survival through disengagement.

A paramount difference must be noted between immigration to an underdeveloped country and immigration to a highly advanced indus-

trial complex—a distinction not in the type of Jew (since he was essentially uniform in ethnic stock and cultural background—Ashkenazim, East European, Slavic, 'ghettoized', etc.) but in the society he came to. The Jew coming to an advanced industrial society is self-conscious and very concerned over any undue delays in integrating into the new nation. His peer group immediately preceding him in time to the new country tends to reinforce this need for belongingness as a means of getting along. The urge to be 'accepted' is pronounced.[23] This observation, made in reference to immigration to France, applies with equal if not greater force to the United States where the market orientation contributes greatly in defining social mobility. In terms of the Eastern European Jew in the United States 'this might mean that he could adjust his "artificial self" to the outside world by leaving his internal "idiosyncrasy"—a part of his heritage, his sympathies and his group attachments—for his "home consumption" '.[24]

Precisely the absence of such affective relations and drives characterizes Jewish immigration to Argentina. For the geographic relocation of a relatively high state of 'cultural achievement'—here signifying everything from hygienic habits to educational perspectives—into a culture which at the least cannot claim to be either higher in the above senses of culture, or able to offset this cultural differential in material production, creates the condition for a clash which is difficult, painful, and, perhaps most important, tends to prevent the establishment of a consensual apparatus. In short, ethnicity does not simply become self-liquidating in the face of a new cultural milieu—unless the national culture holds out very substantial advantages that cannot be guaranteed in any other form. Nor is this a specifically Jewish 'neurosis', since a similar pattern can be observed for English, French, and German communities living in Buenos Aires over a span of several generations.

We should pause for some further accounting of this Jewish predilection for non-political transactions with the nation-State. The middle-class character of the Argentine Jew places him (along with members of the middle sector in general) in an anomalous position; he is a man of relative economic security who at the same time has no significant voice at the political level. With the possible exception of Hipolito Irigoyen's regime (1916–30) twentieth-century Argentina has been ruled by the conservative landed oligarchy, by an alliance of this oligarchy with the armed forces, by the military sector alone, by the military sector in conjunction with labour federations, and now obliquely by the military wearing a constitutional mask and civilian clothing. In so far as the decisive political mainsprings have been military blocs, large-scale landowners, labour syndicates and what there is of large-scale industry, the Jew has not been able to exercise an influence *qua* Jew.[25] Such a phenomenon as exists in the United States of ethnic *en bloc* voting plays

little part in Argentina where power is neither a consequence nor a derivative of this middle-class tradition of *vox populi*.[26]

The middle-class concern for education, health, welfare, insurance, and loan facilities displayed by Jewish voluntary associations is none the less indicative of high social (if not political) involvement in Argentine currents. While no exact statistics now exist for the Jews of Buenos Aires, we can take the figures in Table 3 as indicative.

TABLE 3. *Occupational Distribution of the Jewish and Total Population of All Origins in Argentina (in per cent)**

	Total population 1947	*Jewish population*		
		1942	*1950*	*1954*
Primary Activities Agriculture, forestry, fishing, etc.	26·4	13·0	21·0†	10·7
Secondary Activities Construction, power sources, printing, metal, chemical, textile trades, etc.	28·6	19·5	10·0	22·1
Tertiary Activities Business, banking, securities, State bureaucracy, service activities, etc.	41·8	67·5	67·0	67·2
Indeterminate	3·2		2·0	
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

* Information compiled from the following sources: Gino Germani, *Estructura Social de la Argentina*; *ORT Economic Review*, Vol. III, No. 2, New York: April, 1942; Jacob Shatsky, *Comunidades Judias en Latinoamerica*, Buenos Aires: Editorial American Jewish Committee, 1952; and Moisés Kostzer, 'Problemas propios de la Estadistica Relativa a los Judios en la Argentina'.

† The disproportionate size of Jews placed in the field of agriculture by Shatsky reflected his penchant for considering all Jews not living in the Litoral region as agriculturally employed. In part, the shift registered between the 1942 and 1950 figures reflects the temporary post-war boom in Jewish colonization activities. Indeed, if the findings of Harari and Lewin (see Table 4) are considered, even the figures of 13.0 per cent and 10·7 per cent are probably too high.

What this table reveals is a preponderance of Jewish occupation in 'tertiary activities'. Even though Argentina has an extremely high percentage of its population in the middle sectors (in Latin American terms), Jewish concentration, like that of the foreign born population as a whole, is considerably larger than the norm. If we also take account of the eighty-six 'banks' and thirty-seven 'loan offices' ministering primarily to Jewish needs, it is clear that a high premium on economic security is connected with a high concentration of Jewish membership in the middle classes. Since these economic associations are no less 'voluntary' in character than hospitals and schools, it is correct to conclude that Jewish voluntary associations are strongly linked to middle-class social attitudes and ambitions.

More specific information verifying the middle sector base of Jewish life in Argentina is forthcoming from the report of Harari and Lewin.

TABLE 4. *Economic Structure of Jewish Communities in Argentina*

City	*Unclassified*	*Self-employed artisans*	*Industrial workers*	*Small business*	*White collar employees*	*Professionals*	*Rentiers*	*Agricultural colonizers*	*Total*
Santa Fe	41	43	17	208	25	44	9	11	398
Cordoba	120	191	10	215	2	242	37	16	833
Lanus	11	18	15	125	65	15	3	—	252
Mendoza	9	27	2	93	16	12	1	—	160
San Juan	3	2	9	57	6	15	—	—	92
Total	184	281	53	698	114	328	50	27	1,735

Elsewhere they report that in 1946 over 52 per cent of adult male Jews living in the *smaller urban centres* of Argentina earned their livelihood through commercial and small business activities. If we add to this the self-employed artisans (15 per cent) and professionals such as teachers, physicians, and lawyers (11·5 per cent), more than three-quarters are seen to be in some sector of the middle class. As is typical of middle sector activities, a heavy premium is placed on education as the path to higher social mobility. Thus, in contrast to the national norm of 7·7 per cent of Argentine students in university attendance, the Jewish population shows a percentage of 22·5.[27] Therefore, given the general isolation of these sectors of the Argentine population from political power, and the specific trepidations of the Jewish settlers to 'assimilate' even to the point of participation in the political mainstream, the relative failure of Jewish voluntary associations to perform a political pressure group role becomes manifestly clear.

II. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION: FROM SURVIVAL TO IDENTITY

The most striking characteristic of Jewish associations in Buenos Aires is their completeness. Their range of services are total, covering the entire spectrum of human necessities in a complex, highly mobile, urban environment. The motto might well be: take nothing for granted in the way of governmental assistance. Thus, one is greeted not so much by a Jewish community as by a Jewish 'little society'. The relative lack of involvement in political or military affairs is well explained by this near total absorption (especially by the first and second generation) in private, voluntary association as the basis of survival. While shifts in the national political scene are keenly observed and scrutinized, little participation in political party life at any level was observed. Rather, what is observable is that *within* the structure of Jewish organizational life, one can find the entire political spectrum mimetically reproduced. There will be conservative, liberal, and radical shades of opinion as an

outgrowth of policies formulated within the organizations of Jews as such.

A second prominent feature of these voluntary associations is their highly centralized and bureaucratic structure. The number of paid high echelon functionaries is small, since most of the leaders have as their main source of wealth independent businesses, small factories, or professional positions. However, a large staff of educators, religious counsellors, social service workers, and lower echelon staff are paid and work on a full-time basis. Thus, the philanthropic character of these organizations is essentially intact—with the decision-making leadership also providing a large portion of the organizational funds. In this connexion it must be noted that there is considerable duplication of organizational efforts which tends to lessen the effectiveness of these associations. This duplication has nothing in common with the 'national pastime' of wasting energies in fruitless directions and unprofitable undertakings. It is simply an outgrowth of Jewish stratification along older national lines (German Jews versus Russian Jews), religious lines (Ashkenazim versus Sephardim), and regional lines (Galician Jews versus Lithuanian Jews). This internal fragmentation of Jewish life has been considerably modified with the maturation of a third generation Argentine Jew. The organizational apparatus none the less remains operative.

A third significant feature of Jewish associations, in contrast to specifically Catholic associations for example, is the nearly complete domination of these associations by a lay body having either little or no substantive connexions with the rabbinical councils. Indeed, the rabbi's authority is far less in Argentina than it is in the United States, where the Protestantization of rabbinic functions has led to a view of the rabbi as spiritual leader and psychological counsellor in contrast to his traditional function as teacher.[28] These associations are able to involve a broad representation of Jewish sentiment, from the orthodox to the non-believer, without placing in the forefront those theological problems dividing Jews into conservative, orthodox, and reformed camps. So if intense social stratification is reflected in organizational multiplicity, this situation is somewhat alleviated by the fundamentally non-clerical character of the voluntary associations.

A fourth central feature is the tendency towards privatization and insularity not only from the broader society at large, but no less from one another. While this fact is alluded to above, it deserves some special consideration, since the tendency is to think of Jews *en masse*. This does not mean that an anarchic situation prevails—the welter of inter-connecting organizational links from international to local levels is powerful evidence that a consensual basis does prevail.[29] None the less, the task of analysis is more complicated than it appears to be at first sight. Since we are dealing with a 'little society' and not simply a 'little community',

the ends of organization tend to become diversified if not diffuse. It is interesting to note that 'rebellious' Jewish youth is sufficiently inclined to organizational duplication to manifest its demands not by rejecting established associations so much as setting up yet new ones—often of a paperweight strength.

Some indications of the intra-group divisions within Judaism are supplied by the state of Jewish parochial education. The 'battle' be-between Hebraists and Judaists continues unabated. Unlike Jewish communities in North America, a rapprochement between or an amalgamation of the various ethnic branches of Judaism has not yet been achieved. A reflection of its non-integrative character is the persistence of old-world cultural values which receive special attention in terms of the Jewish language. The language of the Central and Eastern European Jew, Yiddish, continues to hold its own. A reorientation towards Hebrew, while it is gaining momentum, continues in some quarters to be viewed as an acceptance of orthodox theology and/or Zionism; while Hebraists, for their part, view Yiddish as a mark of the Diaspora and the Ghetto and hence a permanent self-inflicted stamp of inferiority. The following table gives some indication of the split involved.

TABLE 5. *The Linguistic Orientation of Jewish Education in Buenos Aires*.

Central School Agency	*Sponsorship*	*Languages Taught*
Vaad Hajinuj Haroshi	German Jews	Hebrew and Yiddish
Adat Ierushalaim	Sephardi Jews	Hebrew
Yesod Adat	Arabic Jews	Hebrew
Jafetz Jaim	Eastern European Jews	Yiddish
La Organización Central de Escuelas Judias Laicas	Left-wing Zionists	Yiddish
Asociacion de Escuelas Laicas I.C.U.F.	Socialists (Bundists)	Yiddish
Mendele Mojer Sefarim	Communist	Yiddish*

* Closed after two years in operation.

Perhaps the most pointed commentary on this educational-organizational proliferation is that the Jew of Buenos Aires, after the initial immigrant generation, tends uniformly to adopt Spanish as his primary language. As a matter of fact, Yiddish speaking parents tend to speak Spanish in addressing their children.[30] To this degree, ethnicity has disintegrated under the pressures of the necessities of economic existence and the amenities of social existence.

Turning now to Jewish voluntary associations in Buenos Aires, we find that the single most powerful agency of Jewish life is the *Kehillah* of Buenos Aires. Organized in 1894 with 85 member families, in 1959 it serviced no fewer than 50,000 households. The fundamental domination of the organization, as well as its membership composition, is of

Russian and Polish Jewish ancestry. Although it has various tenuous and amorphous connexions with the German Jewish community its ethnic character remains basically intact. (See Table 6.) With an annual budget of about sixty million pesos (roughly $800,000) this is clearly the most potent organizational force. Nearly one-half its budget is taken up with education of the young. Subventions for social welfare services, publishing, building additional centres throughout the city and country, colonization, and religious activities absorb the remainder of the funds. The funds themselves are administered by a Council of ninety members drawn from the specific organizations connected with the Buenos Aires *Kehillah*. These 'parliamentary representatives' are elected every three years by the membership on the basis of proportional representation.[31]

Increasingly, the funds of the Kehillah are being used for educational purposes. Schools at all levels exist, from kindergarten to seminary. The struggle to create an intelligentsia out of a generation formed solely in Argentina has led to a heavy investment of funds and energies toward this end. However, the actual increase in number of students at Kehillah sponsored schools has increased only slightly over the years. It must be surmised that the 'challenge' from Argentine society as a whole is growing particularly in the relatively unimpeded post-Peron intellectual atmosphere, With the generational change-over the 'crisis' in Jewish associational life can be expected to show a marked increase.[32]

A sound index of the complexities of Jewish associational life in Buenos Aires is revealed by the German Jews who settled in Argentina during the Nazi epoch (1933–45). Here we can observe some of the above associational properties in action: organizational totality, multiplication, and bureaucracy. The powerful *Gemeinschaft* nature of German Jewish life does little to support the conventional notions of the rootless, cosmopolitan Jew. It must be observed that their choice of *Gemeinde* is not synonymous with ghetto existence. The ghetto, at least as a segregated geographical area of Jewish housing, does not exist in Buenos Aires. There are no equivalents to the New York East Side of yesteryear.[33] Even Corrientes Avenue and its surrounding environs, where a higher proportion of Jews live than elsewhere in the city, does not show any decisive area characteristics. The Jews, in short, do not 'flavour' the culture of Buenos Aires so much as simply inhabit it.

This is particularly true of German Jewry, reared as this group was in the cultural and psychological traditions of *Aufklärung* and Assimilation. None the less, *Gemeinschaft* feelings, that Community of Fate in which hardships and sorrows as well as joys and achievements are shared in common, typifies the German Jewish community of Buenos Aires. That fragmentation and condition of *Entfremdung*, which *Gesellschaft* life supposedly carries within itself, tends to be offset by common cultural factors of language, culture, and education—as well as more substantial

identities of middle-class occupational roles and the cohesive effect of miraculous survival from the Hitlerian holocaust. The 'hostile world' of Christian Argentina has its fanatical counterpart, total organization along *Gemeinschaft* lines. The most revealing aspect of German Jewish life is the completeness of organization implied.[34] It is a defence against 'outsiders' as such, which may be defined by some German Jews as Christianity, by others as generated by the material inadequacies of Argentine society, and by still others as made inevitable by the encroachments and prestige-seeking of 'lower' types of Jews—especially those from Eastern Europe. The high level of organization achieved by German Jews, often at the expense of larger scale homogeneity within Judaism, is a minute reproduction of 'East-West' tensions. These reflect inherited animosities harboured by Germans against Russians (and vice versa) throughout recent history. That the Jew should be the symbolic bearer of these East-West differences may appear ironic in the light of his treatment at the hands of Nazism and to a lesser extent Great Russian chauvinism. Even more ironic is the fact that the Jew reflects the same functional separations as does the Christian. In short, national and ethnic allegiances, rather than religious credos, have come to define modern social types in Argentine city life.

The powerful and long standing divisions between Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews along the religious axis, between German and Slavic Jews along the national axis, and between professional and lower class Jewish economic interests, show little abatement—except possibly the last, and this is a consequence of the 'deproletarianization' of the Argentine Jew. None the less, he does highlight the *absence* of what Handlin has recently termed 'competition for loyalty' between ethnic values and the larger values of the nation-State.[35] Although the well-developed Argentine educational apparatus has given assistance to the professionalization and in some measure disaffiliation of the Jew from his community ties, this has been resisted with relative success by the firmness of his associational loyalties. Thus even among informants from second and third generation Russian Jews there remains a powerful residue of 'anti-German Jewish' feeling. Sephardi Jews for their part retain a distinctive associational apparatus; and the most recent survey showing that 'inter-marriage' between Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews is still somewhat of a rarity is an index of these intra-Jewish separatist traits.[36] The rise of a new post-war Jewish generation may somewhat alter the statistics, but the continued strength of old particularistic organizations makes the effect of such statistical shifts minimal in size and marginal in terms of the specific reference groups involved.

What can be observed is large-scale duplication and multiplication of effort in every sphere of Jewish voluntary associational life and a consequent weakening of the Jewish community as a whole. The Jewish collectivity of Buenos Aires tends to appear stronger than it actually is

by virtue of its tendency to proliferate organizations and periodicals—each geared to preserve particularist trends in Judaism rather than preserve Jewish life as a whole.[37] Functional specialization is indeed an integral part of community life. However, such 'specialized' agencies as exist within Jewish community life may often be dysfunctional in relation to the social solidarity of the Jew as such.

A unique by-product of over-specialization has been to reinforce the fragmentation and atomization in present-day Jewish life. The generational changeover from the search for survival to the search for identity has tended to operate within a structural apparatus not necessarily prepared to cope with changing patterns. Organizations formed in the 'age of survival' are not likely to be much concerned with those issues genuinely agitating the young Jew. As such, the new generation faces alternatives of *conforming* to the old institutional mores and folkways, *agitating* for increased power in Jewish agencies, or *abandoning* Jewish orbital life altogether. The fourth possibility, new organizational forms, has the effect of further fracturing Jewish life. Segments of the young intelligentsia have decided to pursue either this last or have followed a policy of disaffiliation. The younger professional and business strata tend to identify more markedly with established organizational norms either as conformists or as critics of the 'old guard'. It is fascinating to observe the degree to which Jewish associational life parallels developments in the Argentine polity as such; the multiplication of organizational forms beyond their functional value, the rise of an entrenched bureaucratic stratum in policy-making positions, and a narrowing middle-class tendency to identify truth with wealth, learning with power.[38]

There are none the less powerful counter-active features which tend to establish a consensual base in Jewish life. There is first the unifying force of Israel, which has given Argentine Jews a rallying symbol in a form not subject to the fissures of internal criticism. This is not to say that they, any more than Jews in the United States, have any intention of leaving Argentina for Israel *en bloc* (although the most militant Zionist elements do have such ambitions). The maturation of Israel has, however, given them a sense of pride and achievement. The image of courage and constructive accomplishment projected by Israel has had a significant effect on broad sectors of the Jewish population. It has further given a *raison d'être* to many voluntary associations which were able to transfer activities from immigration from Europe to aid for Israel without undue organizational upheaval.

Subsidiary but potent as a unifying agency, has been the re-telling in the form of the Nuremberg and Eichmann trials, in novels and essays, of the contemporary martyrdom of one-third of all Jewry—irrespective of particularistic affiliations or occupational ranking. This has reinforced the older survival ethos at a critical juncture. The unity of the Argentine Jew is seen as bound up with the lot of world Jewry—

Moroccan and Ukrainian, Sephardi and Ashkenazi. This has served as a cohesive agency forestalling any mass disaffections or apostasies.

The largest unifying element in Jewish community life is what it has been traditionally: antisemitism. To discuss antisemitism in the same context as Jewish associational life is axiomatic. We have seen that in a physical, linguistic, and even psychological frame of reference the Jew is now well adapted to the life of Buenos Aires. And it must be said that this adaptation has been aided in no small part by the basic liberality and cosmopolitan spirit of the citizens of the city. Most Catholic males, for example, have no idea who among them is Jewish—the chauvinistic stereotype is to identify the Jew as a 'Russian'—a stereotype with little operative value beyond the immigrant generation. The Buenos Aires resident, or the *Porteño*, especially the male, has a typically 'Latin' attitude toward his Catholicism. He sees his Church as a political agency, performing certain beneficial social rites—'particularly for womenfolk'. The lack of Church attendance on the part of the Buenos Aires male population is a fact of life observable any given Sunday morning. The nuclear membership of the Church is, outside the hierarchy of the Church itself, composed nearly entirely of female parishioners. To use Fichter's pithy phrase, the *Porteño* is a marginal Catholic. What this means is that role definitions and reference-sets are basically defined by the 'profane world' by one or a number of non-religious institutions.[39] The absence of expressions of religious superiority, or of a missionary attitude toward the non-Catholic population, accounts for the sizeable body of public opinion—both Christian and Jewish—which maintains that antisemitism is not manifest in Argentina.

If antisemitism were merely a matter of contrasting religious impulses or degrees of marginality or nuclearity, it would be true to say that relations between Catholic and Jew are harmonious. However, other types of antisemitic syndromes are known to exist.[40] There is the psychological variant, in which stereotyping and negative attitudes toward Jews stem from feelings of self-failure often connected with downward social mobility. Such manifestations are usually reserved for highly mobile societies heavily stressing pecuniary values.[41] Then there is the more strictly psycho-sociological variety, come to be known as the 'authoritarian personality', who, given a general proclivity to an oversensitized 'in-group'-'out-group' approach, sees the Jews as a menacing out-group. While there are undoubtedly some variations on these patterns in Buenos Aires, the fundamental nature of antisemitism has not been found to be of such a type. The ordinary citizen of Buenos Aires, the Porteño, makes few distinctions between Jew and Gentile. Indeed, like the small-town citizen of the United States, he tends to have negative stereotypes of the Jew, but of such a weak and amorphous variety, that he neither wishes to nor is able to act in response to them. Particularly is this the case with the linguistic identification of the second

generation Jew with the Spanish language and the Argentine cultural-historical traditions.[42] Perhaps the most succinct expression of Porteño feeling, was the comment of a bookseller in reply to a query on whether he had books on the Argentine Jews available. The reply, although factually inaccurate, is significant none the less: 'No, there are no books on the Jews of Argentina, since the Jews here do not present any special problem.' And as we have already observed, the Church does not present that sort of reference group which could 'key' non-Jewish reactions.

Antisemitism as a posture tends to be very sharply an upper-class social phenomenon. Neither blue collar nor white collar employees, nor the professional or business stratum as such tend to include the Jewish community as a major source of irritation. The upper-class stratum, recruited from wealthy landowners, professional militarists, and sectors of domestically-controlled industry, is precisely the feeding ground of extreme right-wing nationalism as such. The Jew is an object of attack in that he cannot be counted on as a celebrator of the national myth of an Argentine imperial orbit in Latin America. Reflective of this is that where physical violence against Jews occurs, it is most often directed against those having strong Zionist feelings, and some projected identification with Israel. Thus a sector of the *Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas* (*Hajshara del Ijud Habonim*), which conducts 'workshops' in the theory and practice of labour agriculture, simulating Kibbutz conditions in Israel, and having as an end the working of youths in Israel, was on several occasions subject to antisemitic violence at the hands of a group known as *Tacuara*—a loosely knit organization of youths from upper-class Buenos Aires sections.[43] Their political slogan, 'patriotism yes, Jews no', echoes most forcefully the fusion of this social sector with ultra-nationalistic aims of 'moral' purification.[44]

Organizationally, antisemitism is quite weak, despite (or because) of its upper-class exclusivity. Fringe groups exist in various spheres of public life for the purpose of disseminating antisemitic literature. None however is particularly potent. Since the educational system is a primary agency for the conduct of popular politics, and is no less an area of intensive interaction of the Jew and non-Jew, some of the most vehement forms of antisemitism take place in the fringe areas of the school system. At the secondary school level, there is U.N.E.S. (*Union Nacionalista de Estudiantes Secundarios*), and at the university level there is the S.U.A. (*Sindicato Universitario Argentino*). A large proportion of these student group activities bear on the Jewish question only indirectly. The continuing struggle is between *Libre* and *Laica*, between Catholic and Secularistic views of the correct relation of Church to State. Antisemitism becomes a viable adjunct for parading forth the ideological necessity for having a 'morally sound educational system'. The secularization of Argentine education is deemed wicked. The Jews are firm

advocates of this separation. Therefore the division between the world of learning and the world of theology is a Jewish plot to destroy the national integrity of Argentina. Such is the logic of antisemitism in this social sector. While this 'logic' is basically an attempt to transform the basis of the Argentine educational system, it has had certain particular side-effects on Jews. Complaints of discrimination, denial of entrance to particular university faculties, favouritism in grants awarded, while clearly exaggerated, none the less are too numerous to be entirely discounted.

The overt political manifestations of antisemitic patterns generally derive from the same material sources and have a clear *Falangist* character. Slogans of national liberation, national honour, anti-Yanquism, anti-capitalism, anti-socialism, tend to fuse in the myth of *patria*—and the cement for this myth is often the Jew. There is first the U.C.N. (*Union Civica Nacionalista*) made up of old-style corporativists. They hold that the Jew stands in the path of national redemption, in much the same way as such *fin de siècle* extremists as Drumont in *La France juive*, and Toussenel in *Les Juifs rois de l'époque.*[45] The Jews are held the chief sinners in commerce and merchandizing, destroyers of the soil, corrupters of Christian virtue—and above all, alien by self-definition. And like this French antisemitism of the Dreyfus era, the U.C.N. presents an admixture of national redemption with utopian programmes for an Argentine *Goliath.* The newest entrant to this fertile field is the G.R.N. (*Guardia Restauradora Nacionalista*), which displays a parental affection for the *Tacuara* movement, and which differs from the U.C.N. by its belief that redemption will come from the land rather than through the industrialization process. While it cannot be emphasized too strongly that these 'political parties' are often of a paper-weight variety, more a matter of journalistic proclamation than numerical or organizational consequence, it would be incorrect to overlook that they do reflect a sizeable body of upper class and deracinated Argentine opinion.

Overt hostility for the Jew is a manifest reaction to more profound, if more latent, sentiments. The population explosion in the Litoral region, Buenos Aires, and its surrounding environs, has led to a shift from ruralism to urbanism as the fundamental property of Argentina. This phenomenon of the massification of society, coming as it does after one hundred years of intense struggle between inland financial interests and Buenos Aires commercial interests, marks a decisive conclusion to the conflict at the level of material culture. Ideologically, resistance to 'mass society' remains.[46] The Jew, as a thoroughly urbanized creature, is seen as somehow accelerating, if not initiating the demise of inland traditional agrarian interests. Allied to this is the fact that the real wealth created by agricultural and livestock products tends to be translated into the purchase of secondary consumer goods. The pecuniary instincts of the *latifundists* are seemingly boundless, and the rationalization

for these pecuniary traits is the Jewish business man who 'robs' the innocent inlander of his wealth. The fact that many Jewish families are engaged in secondary sales and distribution of consumer items adds some note of credibility to an otherwise empty claim. Argentine landowners are not renowned for interest in either technological advancement or social reforms. The seller of goods becomes the object of resentment. As a recipient of pleasure commodities the virtuous buyer becomes a fallen angel; with the Jew relegated to the role of devil's advocate. The 'canon of pecuniary emulation' becomes allied to rather than antagonistic to the 'canon of supernationalism'.

For the youthful, and generally more radical, socio-political element, the Jew is pictured as the transmission agent for imperialist produce. Newspapers will refer to smugglers of contraband goods as 'Jews' or as having 'Jewish names'. The Jew is linked in this way to a cosmopolitan plot not only against nationhood, but no less against the urge to social reform felt by the younger generation of the Argentine. In the realm of ideology similar stereotyping is found. The myth of the land as the only true basis of national wealth has as its counterpart *folklorismo*. The ultra nationalists, of both right and left, see themselves as threatened by foreign music, foreign painting, foreign languages—and the Jew again seems to admit supreme sin. His cosmopolitan socio-cultural role permits scapegoating to go on unimpeded and often uncontradicted. The possibilities of antisemitic exploitation of the Jew as being of an alien culture and unbound by allegiances of any political variety tend to increase, not decrease, as the middle sectors of society continue to lose ground politically to the 'orienters' of policy—the military, and the 'formulators' of policy—large-scale business and banking concerns.

There is a range of organizational reactions by the Jewish community to these various phenomena: first, intensification of *privatization*—a disbelief that antisemitism exists at all (characteristic of the intellectual and professional Jewish sectors); second, *alienation*—a realization that antisemitism exists, but what else could be expected from such an underdeveloped Latin culture? (characteristic of the German-Jewish community); and third, some efforts at combating antisemitic outrages (typical of the *Kehillah* and the parent DAIA). The character of these efforts at restoring a view of the more parsimonious Jew are, however, rarely directed at the specific phenomena of ethnicity and nationalism, cosmopolitanism and insularity, adaptation and integration, etc. Outbreaks of *Tacuara* upon Jewish institutions—theatres, agricultural cooperatives, synagogues, etc., bring forth a flock of proclamations from Church dignitaries opposing any manifestation of antisemitism, while Jewish organizational reaction is limited to consultations with police and articles on the 'Christian Problem'.[47] The conversion of these outbursts into a religious issue tends to obscure the realities of either the Argentine Jew (fundamentally affectively neutral with respect to the

synagogue), or the Argentine Catholic (who likewise shows no signs of mass conversion to a nuclear role in the Church).

The political questions are, of course, particularly sensitive in a context approximating to falangism. And the Jewish community has every right to be suspicious of 'symbiotic relations between socialism and nationalism'. The last fusion of the words 'national' and 'socialism' produced Nazism; while the guarantee of 'self-determination for all nations' has been a slogan more observed in the breach than in the execution by the Soviets. Thus, if the Argentine Jew is a political outsider, it is just as much a consequence of the general orientation of super-nationalist politics in Argentina as it is a positive effort to guarantee some niche for the separate national flowering of the Jewish spirit. But that the Jew is politically 'deviant' in terms of Argentine nationalist 'norms' is beyond doubt true. The exact composition of elements—positive and negative—remains a task for future research.

If these final pages have touched upon issues which are beyond the confines of organizational analysis of Jewish voluntary associations in Buenos Aires, it is because these larger social forces have been and remain significant in defining the content and roles of these associations. No sociologically sound definition of Jewish associational life in Buenos Aires can proceed without accounting for antisemitism—since in fact the disequilibrated development of ethnicity and nationality has for its core the rights of separate cultural forms and the obligations of Sovereign-power to see to it that organizational expression of these cultural forms are not tampered with. On a broadening of the social content and moral fibre of democracy in Argentina hinges a more effective participation of the Jewish community as such. The policy failures thus far—of Jewish *anti-politique* no less than of Argentine *pro-patria*—should not obscure the over-riding fact that Argentina (Buenos Aires in particular) has allowed for the settlement of Jews in generally favourable conditions. The question of greater moment for the Jewish collectivity of Buenos Aires is thus no longer survival and shame but identity and interaction. This transition period can be materially assisted by a firm policy decision by the Argentine government that ethnicity is not the mortal foe of nationality, and that the values of ethnic groups will be respected, honoured, and defended.

NOTES

[1] This project is essentially the result of personal contact with the Jewish community of Buenos Aires, many members of which I was able to know as a result of three different stays in Argentina as visiting professor at the Instituto de Sociologia, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. For the assistance rendered to me by the Instituto, I acknowledge my gratitude.

[2] Statistical Office of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Demographic Yearbook/ Annuaire Démographique. Special Topic: Ethnic and Economic Characteristics*, New York: United Nations, 1956, pp. 272–4. The most recent estimate is that the Argentine-Jewish population stands at 420,000 people. See Moisés Kostzer, 'Problemas propios de la Estadistica Relativa a los judios en la Argentina', *Primera Conferencia de Investigadores y Estudiosos Judeo-Argentinos en el Campo de las Ciencias Sociales y la Historia*, Buenos Aires: Universidad Hebrea de Jerusalém-Comunidad Israelita de Buenos Aires, 1961.

[3] The first concerted effort to develop a sociological account of the Jews in Argentina took place in October 1961. Called the *Primera Conferencia de Investigadores y Estudiosos Judeo-Argentinos en el Campo de las Ciencias Sociales y la Historia*, the conference was jointly sponsored by the Majon Leiahadut and the Comunidad de Buenos Aires (*Kehillah*). Cf. *Boletin de la Asociación Amigos de la Universidad Hebrea de Jerusalém en la Argentina*, No. 21, May 1960, p. 15.

[4] Cf. Norberto Rodriguez Bustamante, 'Un Esquema Sociologico de la Argentina', in *La Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, 11:3, 1958, pp. 402–10; also, Gino Germani, 'The Development and Present State of Sociology in Latin America', *Transactions of the Fourth World Congress of Sociology*, 1960, pp. 117–38.

[5] Despite the century-old battle between *espiritualismo* and *positivismo* in Argentina, the politics of nationalism, from the Argentine Constitution of 1853 which provided for the support of the Catholic Church by the government, to the formation of a Christian Democratic Party a century later, has never abandoned the theme of Argentina as a nation living under a state of Christian grace. A good index of this is contained in the various census reports which give the Catholic population of Argentina as 99·1 per cent in 1895, and 93·6 per cent in 1947. In essence, anyone not explicitly declaring in favour of another religious option is listed as Catholic. See Presidencia de la Nacion, Ministerio de Asuntos Tecnicos, *IV Censo General de la Nación: Censo de Población*, Buenos Aires: Direccion Nacional del Servicio Estadistico, 1951. For contrasting attitudes on the role of Catholicism in Argentine national life, see Jose Luis Romero, *Las Ideas Politicas en Argentina* (Mexico-Buenos Aires, Fondo del Cultura Economica, 1956; and John J. Johnson, *Political Change in Latin America*, Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1958. This does not imply that Catholic sentiment is uniformly hostile to the Jew, only that the identification of nationalism with Catholicism often carries with it criticism of other religions. See the collection of pro-semitic statements from Church officials, *La Iglesia Catolica se define*, Buenos Aires: Instituto Judio Argentino de Cultura e Informacion, 1961.

[6] Lest it appear that this Jewish acquiescence is unique (or necessarily cowardly), it must be noted that a majority of world Jewry believes that the demon of antisemitism lies *sub specie aeternitatis*. How much this must seem more so in the aftermath of Hitlerian 'total solutions'. The authoritarian character of twentieth-century political militarism in Argentina certainly reinforces this tendency towards privatization. It should be kept in mind that not until 1860 were such elementary civil liberties as marriage services extended to 'those who hope for the arrival of the Messiah', i.e. those who do not subscribe to Christianity. Cf. Boleslau Lewin, *Los Judios bajo la Inquisicion en Hispanoamerica*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Dedalo, 1960, pp. 99–100.

[7] A forceful presentation of this assimilationist trend can be found in Carlos Estaban Etkin, *Abraham Leon y el pueblo judio*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Indoamerica, 1954, especially pp. 71–86. Despite its basis in a *Vulgarmarxismus*, there is little doubt that the views taken by Etkin represent a sizeable sector of deracinated Jewish opinion.

[8] Carlos Nestor Maciel, *La italianización de la Argentina*, Buenos Aires, 1924.

[9] Julio L. Alsogaray, *Trilogiá de la Trata de Blancas: Rufianes: Policiá, Municipaldad*, Buenos Aires, 1933.

[10] See in this connexion, Oscar Handlin, *Race and Nationality in American Life*, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1957, and 'Ethnic Groups in American Life' (ed. by Oscar Handlin), *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 90, No. 2, 1961; *American Jews: Their Story*, New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, 1958.

[11] The evidence of the Buenos Aires Jewish community does not substantiate Wirth's position that 'the Jews owe their survival . . . to their social isolation'. Adaptation does not imply assimilation, nor does isolation guarantee survival. Cf. Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928, p. 288.

[12] Dirección General de Estadística de la Nación, *Estadística de la Municipalidad de la Capital—IV C.G.C.B.A.*, Buenos Aires, 1936. Information summarized in Simon Weill, op. cit., p. 30. See Table 2.

[13] It is estimated that approximately 83 per cent of foreign born residents of Argentina are to be found in Greater Buenos Aires and the Litoral region. Cf. Gino Germani, *Estructura Social de la Argentina: Analisis estadistico*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Raigal, 1955, p. 63. Thus Jewish figures are in no way disproportionate to general tendencies.

[14] On the relative failure of Jewish agricultural colonization of the Argentine *Pampas* regions, see Ismar Elbogen, *A Century of Jewish Life*, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1953, p. 342; and on the absolute failure of agricultural colonization to 'absolve' the Jew of antisemitic outbursts, see Nathan Reich, 'The Economic Structure of Modern Jewry', in *The Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion*, edited by Louis Finklestein, New York: Harper & Bros., 1949, Vol. II, pp. 1261–2.

[15] This is not to imply that study of the Jews outside the Buenos Aires area is without importance. Indeed, the pioneering efforts of two Israeli social scientists, Iejiel Harari and Itzjak Lewin, deserve far more attention than they have thus far received. See their 'Resultado de la Encuesta Sobre Profesiones, Idiomas y Crecimiento' (Cordoba, Mendoza, San Juan and Santa Fe provinces), in *Nueva Sion*, February–July, 1950.

[16] The differential in educational standards and illiteracy rates between the Buenos Aires region and the rest of Argentina is in itself a sufficient magnet for Jews reared to gain occupational mobility through professional education. Cf. Gino Germani, *Estructura Social de la Argentina*, pp. 229–34.

[17] A disconcerting illustration of German–Jewish alienation from the larger society is revealed by the near-total absence of news or information on the Jewish condition in Argentina or Latin America. In the weekly *Judische Wochenschau*, the only mention found of Argentina is a column on musical events in Buenos Aires—and this because the performers are generally European.

[18] For this typology of Jewish immigration to Argentina I am very grateful to Professor Boleslao Lewin of the University of Buenos Aires, who placed his knowledge as well as his personal library at my disposal. See his *El Judío en la Epoca Colonial*, Buenos Aires, 1939, for information on the earliest immigration patterns of Jews to Argentina.

[19] Cf. Simon Dubnow, 'The Doctrine of Jewish Nationalism', and 'The Sociological View of Jewish History', in *Nationalism and History*, edited by Koppel S. Pinson, Cleveland and New York: Meridian Books: The World Publishing Co., 1961. Dubnow's views have been particularly well received by the Jewish intelligentsia of Argentina.

[20] The Hebrew word *Kehillah* can best be defined as a total Jewish institution, integrating and organizing all civic aspects of Jewish life. See *Comunidad Israelita de Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires, 1960.

[21] Cf. Rosa Perla Resnick, 'Problemas Relativos al Bienestar Social de la Comunidad Judia de la Argentina', *Primera Conferencia de Investigadores y Estudiosos Judéo-Argentinos*, op. cit., 3–11.

[22] Cf. Abraham A. Roback, *The Story of Yiddish Literature*, New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1940, and Yudel Mark, 'Yiddish Literature', *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949, Vol. II, pp. 859–94.

[23] Georges Mauco, 'The Assimilation of Foreigners in France', *Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants*, Supplement to *Population Studies*, March 1950, p. 15.

[24] David Riesman, as cited in Bernard D. Weinryb, in 'Jewish Immigration and Accommodation to America', in *The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group*, edited by Marshall Sklare, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958, p. 21.

[25] For a general discussion of this problem, see: Gino Germani and Kalman Silvert, *Politics, Social Structure and Military Intervention in Latin America*, mimeographed and distributed privately by the Instituto de Sociologiá, Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1961; and Irving L. Horowitz, 'Modern Argentina: The Politics of Power', *The Political Quarterly*, October–December 1959, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 400–10.

[26] An example of how severely circumscribed the upper limits of Jewish social mobility are in Argentina is shown by an analysis of the nearly one hundred members of the Argentine–Israeli Chamber of Commerce. For the most part, the leading positions held by Jews are in import-export trade, subsidiary distributions for foreign commodities, and small scale chemical and industrial production. Only two members of this group have any banking or stock-exchange operations and one of these is a manager of a 'Jewish Bank'. Cf. *Revista de la Camara de Comercio Argentino-Israeli*, Vol. II, No. 55, April–May 1961.

[27] Compare Gino Germani and Kalman Silvert, *Politics, Social Structure and Military Intervention in Latin America*, p. 12, with Iejiel Harari and Itzjak Lewin, 'Resultado de la Encuesta Sobre Profesiones, Idiomas y Crecimiento de la Colectividad Judia', *Nueva Sion*, July 14 (1950), p. 6. See also *The American Jewish Year Book*, 1946–7, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, Vol. 48, pp. 610–16.

[28] Contrast, for example, Marshall Sklare, *Conservative Judaism: An American Religious Movement*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955, and Jerome E. Carlin and Saul H. Mendelovitz, 'The American Rabbi: A Religious Specialist Responds to Loss of Authority', *The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group*, pp. 377–414, with Shalom Rosenberg and Daniel B. Rubenstein Novick 'El Rol de la Tradición Religiosa en la Comunidad Judia en la Argentina', *Primera Conferencia de Investigadores y Estudiosos Judeo-Argentinos*, especially pp. 15–17.

[29] See pp. 152 ff. of this study.

[30] Cf. Iejiel Harari and Itzjak Lewin, 'Resultados de la Encuesta Sobre Profesiones Idiomas y Crecimiento de la Colectividad Judia de Mendoza', *Nueva Sion*, 24 February 1950, p. 7. The authors note that the only instances found where Jewish children do not speak Castellano as their primary language are if they were born in Europe.

[31] *Communidad Israelita de Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires, 1960.

[32] An acute reflection of this 'crisis' other than in the sphere of education, is the virtual absence of growth either in membership or number of Temples and Synagogues for the past quarter century. Only five new synagogues have been established between 1939–61—basically to service the orthodox sector of German Jewry. This compares to eighteen synagogues built in the period between 1918–39. See Rosenberg and Rubenstein–Novick, 'El Rol de la Tradición Religiosa en la Comunidad Judía en la Argentina', *Primera Conferencia de Investigadores y Estudiosos Judeo-Argentinos*, p. 5.

[33] This ghetto-less existence casts some doubt on the 'universality' claimed for the ghetto as a Jewish social institution. See Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto*, p. 121.

[34] On the centralization of Jewish community life, see Natan Lerner, 'La Vida Comunitaria Judia en Buenos Aires', *Primera Conferencia de Investigadores y Estudiosos Judeo-Argentinos*, pp. 10–14.

[35] Oscar Handlin, 'Historical Perspectives on the American Ethnic Group', in *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Spring 1961, Vol. 90, No. 2, p. 227.

[36] Cf. Iejiel Harari and Itzjak Lewin, 'Resultados del Censo Sobre Profesiones, Idiomas y Crecimiento de la Colectividad Judia de Santa Fe', *Nueva Sion*, 28 July 1950, p. 7.

[37] This proliferating tendency is observed even in the ethnic separatism of the synagogues. In both origin and present realities the Jewish congregations divide up as follows: Russian (12), Roumanian (5), Polish (14), Galician (2), German (5). See Shalom Rosenberg and Daniel B. Rubenstein-Novick, 'El Rol de la tradicion religiosa en la comunidad Judia en la Argentina', *Primera Conferencia de Investigadores y Estudiosos Judeo-Argentinos*, pp. 5–6.

[38] The most reliable guide and reflection of the younger elements is the newspaper *Renacimiento de Israel*. Here the various strands coalesce: 'Liberalism' as

a national posture, support for Zionism as consonant with Argentine loyalties, a forthright attitude towards antisemitism, stronger organizational responsibilities for young Jews, a common alliance with Jews of other Latin American nations. See especially, 'Resolución del Comite Central de la Organizacion Sionista Liberal en la Argentina', *Renacimiento de Israel*, July 1961, p. 8.

[39] Joseph H. Fichter, 'The Marginal Catholic: An Institutional Approach', *Social Forces*, December 1953, pp. 167–73. In this connexion it might be noted that studies of Catholicism in Argentina from a sociological viewpoint have yet to be undertaken, and until course offerings in the sociology of religion are made available in the universities, prospects for such badly needed studies are grim indeed.

[40] See, T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswick, Daniel J. Levinson and R. Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York: Harper & Bros. 1950; and Bruno Bettleheim and Morris Janowitz, *Dynamics of Prejudice*, New York: Harper & Bros. 1950. In Spanish see 'Psicologia Social del Prejuicio', *Cuadernos del Instituto de Sociologia La Universidad de Buenos Aires*, No. 23 (1960), pp. 215–343.

[41] Bruno Bettleheim and Morris Janowitz, 'Ethnic Tolerance: A Function of Social and Personal Control', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LV, 1949, pp. 137–45.

[42] Particularly is this the case with those Jewish *pensadores* who have tended to substitute Argentine democratic symbols for Jewish symbols of identification. There is now a fairly evident schism between the Jewish intelligentsia, and an intelligentsia which is of Jewish origin.

[43] *Tacuara* has a long record of antisemitic violence. It was formed in 1930 by Juan Queralta, a high-school student, and took its name from the bamboo pikes that were carried more than a century ago by supporters of the tyrant Manuel Rosas. *Tacuara* became a branch of the Peronist youth movement, and went underground when the former leader was overthrown in 1955. Since 1960 it has been vigorously led by two students, Alberto Ezcurra Uriburu and José Baxter. Their political position is avowedly Falangist, with a strong emphasis on corporate fascism as the best form of government for Argentina. *Cf.* Joaquin Sokolowicz, 'Antisemitismo Criolla: La verdad sobre Tacuara', *Renacimiento de Israel* (July 1961), p. 3 *et passim*.

[44] Cf. *La Prensa*, Wednesday 16 August 1961, and Saturday 26 August 1961. Also see 'Vandalico atentado antisemita contra la *Hajshara de Ijud*', *La Luz: la revista Israelita para toda Sud America*, Vol. 31, No. 782, 25 August 1961.

[45] For an acute historical analysis of antisemitism, conservative and radical, see Robert F. Byrnes, *Antisemitism in Modern France*, Vol. I, *The Prologue to the Dreyfus Affair*, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1950, especially chapters III, IV, and V.

[46] Gino Germani, 'Comparacion Tipico-Ideal Entre La Sociedad Preindustrial Rural y la Sociedad Industrial Urbana', *De la Sociedad Tradicional a la Sociedad de Masas*, edited by Gino Germani and Jorge Graciarena, Buenos Aires: Departamento de Sociologia. Facultad de Filosofia y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1961, pp. 349–62.

[47] Cf. 'El crucifijo y la libertad de cultos', *La Luz: la revista Israelita para toda Sud America*, Vol. 31, No. 776, 2 June 1961.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT OF ITALIAN JEWRY FROM THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY[1]

Roberto Bachi

I. THE DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT OF ITALIAN JEWRY

IT IS very difficult to estimate the numbers of Jews in Italy before the seventeenth century. Partial data reveal that their number dropped between the period of the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages. It reached an appreciable size in the fifteenth century, and then again declined as a result of the persecutions at the end of that century and during the sixteenth, mainly because of the expulsion of Jews from all those parts of Italy which came under the dominion of Spain.

On the other hand, from the beginning of the seventeenth century estimates of the total number of Italian Jews can be made as given in Table 1. On the basis of these estimates, and of more detailed material which we cannot produce here, the following conclusions can be arrived at.

The number of Jews in Italy, which had fallen to a record low level at the beginning of the seventeenth century, grew slowly but steadily during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The increase was slower than that of the entire Jewish people and of most populations in Europe, including the Italian. In consequence, the proportion of Jews in Italy per 1,000 population dropped almost continuously from some 2·6 around 1700 to 1·00 in 1931, or to 1·16 in 1938 according to the census of persons of 'Jewish race' taken by the Fascist Government in 1938, as a preparation for implementing anti-Jewish persecutions. This census gave a higher estimate of Jews than current estimates, and a critical appraisal of its results still remains to be made. It may be estimated, however, that over 10,500 of the 'persons of Jewish race' registered in this census were not of the Jewish religion.[2]

In the course of the three and half centuries under survey (1600–1938) the Jewish population of Italy at most doubled itself.

There is reason to believe that these characteristics of the demographic development of Italian Jewry were affected by migration only

TABLE 1. *The Jewish Population of Italy*

Year	*Italy (boundaries before First World War)*			*Italy (boundaries after First World War)*		*Source*
	Jewish population	*General population in thousands*	*Jews per 1,000 general population*	*exclusive Venezia*	*inclusive Tridentina*	
				Jewish population		
c. 1600	21,000* 25,000†	10,804	2·13	?	?	Estimates
c. 1700	26,500	10,071	2·63	?	?	Estimates
c. 1770	29,900	16,033	1·87	30,700	?	Censuses and estimates
c. 1800	31,400	17,860	1·77	33,00	?	,,
c. 1840	33,900	22,355	1·52	37,200	?	,,
c. 1850	34,900	24,162	1·44	38,900	?	,,
1861	34,498	25,017	1·38	39,182	?	Census of Italy
1871	35,783	26,801	1·34	40,597	?	Census of Italy corrected by the writer
1881	37,401	28,460	1·31	42,726	?	'Census of the Israelites' corrected by the writer
1901	36,982	32,475	1·14	43,691	44,445	Census of Italy corrected by the writer
1911	39,908	34,671	1·15	47,705	48,459	,,
1931	39,649	39,538	1·00	46,532	47,825	,,
1938	48,151	41,348‡	1·16	56,436	57,425	Census of persons of Jewish race
				Italy, according to boundaries after Second World War, incl. Trieste, excl. Fiume, Abbazia		
1946						
(A) Jews resident in Italy	27,432	46,284§	0·59	29,066	29,117	(A) Estimates by the Union of Jewish Communities: persons registered with communities¶
(B) Displaced persons and refugees‖	26,000			26,000	26,000	(B) According to *American Jewish Yearbook*, data for 1947
Total	53,400	46,284§	1·15	55,100	55,100	
1959	30,700	49,478	0·62	31,950	32,000	Rough Estimate**

* Estimate by the writer. † Estimate by Simone Luzatto (*c.* 1638).
‡ Resident population, census of 1936. § Census of 1951.
‖ February 1948: 29,300 displaced persons were maintained by PCIRO in Italy.
¶ Records indicated under (A) do not include Jewish families not on community records, female children not registered by their families with the communities, non-Italian Jews in transit or not definitively established in Italy, Jews scattered in places not connected with the Jewish communities, etc. ** *American Jewish Yearbook, 1960.*

to a limited extent. True, numerous and important streams of Jewish migration entered Italy and left it, in the tragic period of the expulsion from Spain and in the course of the persecutions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but it seems that during the subsequent centuries a certain stabilization took place in the position of Italian Jewry. The descendants of those Jews who had not been expelled during the persecutions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries remained in the ghettos which were established in the various Italian states, and their numbers were not increased by large migrations from other countries. It seems that only three immigration streams in the direction of Italy were of some numerical significance in that epoch: to Venice in the seventeenth century, to Leghorn in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to Trieste in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the other hand, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was a systematic exodus of Jews from Tuscany to other Mediterranean countries. After the Italian unification and the restoration of civil rights to the Jews, accompanied by the assimilation of Italian Jews to their environment, it appears that no noticeable waves of emigration came from Italian Jewry. On the other hand, Italy served as a shelter for various migration streams of Jews who had escaped from persecution (Jews of Corfu to Trieste in 1891; Jews from Eastern Europe who reached various parts of Italy at the end of the nineteenth century and during the twentieth; Turkish Jews after the Turko-Greek War of 1922; German Jews[3] after the Nazi persecutions, etc.). Likewise, the number of Jews who settled in Italy for commercial or other economic reasons also grew.

Hence, the slow rate of growth of Italy's Jewish population until 1938 cannot be explained as the results of emigration. On the contrary, without immigration from other countries the rate of growth would have been still slower.

The principal explanation for the slow rate of growth must, therefore, lie in low natural increase, which will be discussed in Sections 4–7.

After 1938 Nazi-Fascist persecutions brought about a drastic reduction in the number of Jews. According to data collected by the Union of Jewish Communities, 8,360 Jews were deported from Italy, of whom only 611 came back; in the years 1938–42, 5,651 were baptized or otherwise dissociated themselves from membership of the Jewish communities; and some 6,000 emigrated.[4] After the end of the Fascist era, in 1946, Jews permanently resident in Italy were reduced to some 29,000, according to registers of the communities which are to some extent incomplete (see note ¶ to Table 1).

On the other hand, after the war Italy was a temporary shelter to tens of thousands of refugees and displaced persons in Europe. Including these people, Italian Jewry in 1946 reached almost the same size it had been before the persecutions. However, the overwhelming majority of the refugees left the country in the course of a few years. A new

and smaller influx of refugees came mainly in 1956–7, from Egypt (some 5,000), Hungary, and Poland. A considerable part of this new wave left; however, it is estimated that some 2,500 Egyptian refugees—90 per cent of whom were of Italian citizenship—remained in Italy.[5] This may account for the small increase in the number of Jews resident in Italy registered by the Union of Jewish Communities between 1956 and 1959. In the latter year the number of Jews in Italy was roughly assessed at 32,000.[6] The proportion of Jews per 1,000 inhabitants within the old boundaries of Italy is thus found to be about 0·62 as compared to 1·16 in 1938 and 2·63 in 1700.

2. CHANGES IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ITALIAN JEWRY

The geographical distribution of the Jews, until a few years before the emancipation, accurately reflected the results of the expulsions and persecutions which—mainly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—led to the abandonment of the numerous Jewish communities in Sicily (1492, 1639), the 'Vicereame' of Naples (1510, 1541, 1702), the Duchy of Milan (1550, 1597), Sardinia (1492), the Papal States—apart from Rome and Ancona—(1569, 1593), the Republic of Genoa (1550, 1567, 1737), etc. As a matter of fact, 95 per cent of Italy's Jews were until 1840 concentrated in a small number of areas. A third of them lived in 38 communities in the plain between Mantua, Venice, Emilia, and Romagna. Around these groups, in the West, the East, and the South, there were another five groups of communities: (*a*) the Piedmont group with nineteen communities, which included 16·7 per cent of Italy's Jewish population; (*b*) five communities of Venezia Giulia (including Udine) with 9 per cent of the total Jewish population; (*c*) four communities in the Marche (7 per cent); (*d*) five communities in Tuscany (19·5 per cent); and (*e*) the southernmost community, Rome (9·9 per cent).

The largest Jewish community at that time existed in Leghorn and contained 4,800 people. From 1593 the city attracted a growing number of Jewish migrants because of the grant of special privileges to Jews and on account of the city's commercial development. Second and third places were taken by Rome (3,965) and Trieste (2,815); in eight other communities the number of Jews ranged from 1,000 to 2,500. There were four communities with 500–1,000 Jews each, 30 with 100–500, and 27 with fewer than 100 each. Quite a few of these communities were located in rural centres and small towns, but even then a considerable section of the Jewish population had an urban character (see Tables 2–4).

In the light of the economic characteristics of the Jewish population, its geographical distribution before the emancipation was 'unnatural'. It arose, as mentioned before, from the persecutions of the past, from

TABLE 2. *Distribution of Italian Jews among Various Groups of Communities*

Groups of Jewish communities	*Total No. of Jews*			*Indices (1840 = 100)*				*Per 100 Jews in Italy*		
	1840	*1931*	*1948*	*1861*	*1901*	*1931*	*1948*	*1840*	*1931*	*1948*
(1) Old communities										
(A) In 50 villages and small towns	7,700	1,150	430	83	33	15	6	20·7	2·7	1·5
(B) In 17 provincial towns	16,388	6,033	2,992	99	64	37	18	44·1	14·3	10·5
(C) In regional centres*	7,551	12,006	7,035	130	183	159	93	20·3	28·5	24·7
Total A–C	31,639	19,189	10,457	102	85	61	33	85·1	45·6	36·7
(D) Rome	3,696	11,065	11,000	119	193	299	298	9·9	26·3	38·6
Total (A–D)	35,335	30,254	21,457	104	96	86	61	95·0	71·9	75·3
(2) New communities in Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Naples	658	9,256	6,308	201	828	1,407	959	1·8	22·0	22·2
(3) Scattered in localities outside organized Jewish communities	1,202	2,584	717	84	240	215	60	3·2	6·1	2·5
Total (without Fiume, Abbazia)	37,195	42,094	28,482	105	114	113	60	100·0	100·0	100·0

* Torino, Venezia, Trieste, Firenze.

TABLE 3. *Distribution of Italian Jews* according to Size of Inhabited Places*

Number of inhabitants in 1901	*Per 100 Jews living in each group of places*					*Jews per 1,000,000 inhabitants in each group of places*		
	1840	*1861*	*1881*	*1901*	*1931*	*1881*	*1901*	*1931*
Up to 5,000 inhabitants	1·03	1·07	0·91	0·65	1·51	12	10	3
5,000–10,000	4·35	4·01	2·80	1·17	1·01	215	77	44
10,000–15,000	5·73	4·51	2·99	1·38	0·59	554	189	68
15,000–25,000	5·07	3·80	3·51	2·48	1·74	616	357	213
25,000–50,000	15·85	14·60	11·27	7·99	4·19	2,357	1,278	466
50,000–1000,000	35·24	32·03	30·10	23·41	15·20	13,851	5,461	2,119
100,000 and over	32·72	39·98	48·42	62·92	75·96	6,396	6,924	4,073
Total	100·00	100·00	100·00	100·00	100·00	1,314	1,122	952

* Italy within the boundaries before First World War (without Venezia Giulia and Venezia Tridentina).

TABLE 4. *Distribution of Italian Jews according to Size of Jewish Communities*

No. of Jews in place of residence	*Per Jews living in each group of Jewish communities*			
	1840	*1881*	*1931*	*1948*
Up to 50	0·90	1·56	1·55	1·72
51–100	3·62	2·75	0·89	1·56
101–250	9·18	5·25	3·41	4·14
251–500	12·45	8·42	3·60	5·31
501–1,000	7·52	8·73	9·52	7·12
1,001–2,500	35·07	37·01	20·35	14·77
2,501–5,000	31·27	21·09	18·92	26·23
5,001–10,000	—	15·16	14·99	—
10,000+	—	—	26·76	39·15
Total	100·00	100·00	100·00	100·00
Total in communities with over 1,000 Jews	66·34	73·26	81·02	80·15

regimes which restricted its rights, and from the division of Italy into different States. An analysis of the figures on the development of various communities and of the distribution of family names in certain localities, seems to justify the conclusion that this geographical distribution, 'unnatural' though it was, was also fairly stable. It seems that there were not many internal migrations.

With the emancipation and the unification of Italy in the middle of the nineteenth century the situation rapidly changed. The Jews soon took part in the general movements of the population towards areas and centres which were economically more highly developed.

However, the move to urbanization of the Christian population was constantly fed by the great natural increase in the agricultural areas (especially the Southern areas), and did not cause a very profound change in the geographical distribution of the whole population. On the other hand, among the Jews the internal migration led to radical changes. A comparison of the numbers of residents in the various communities in 1840, 1861, 1901, 1931, and 1948 allows us to follow this development closely (see Tables 2–4). The Jewish migratory movement rapidly led to the almost complete abandonment of 50 old communities in small towns and villages; the 17 communities in provincial towns managed in the first period to prevent a great decline, thanks to the fact that, while supplying migrants to the larger towns, they themselves absorbed migrants from nearby villages and small towns. But in the twentieth century their demographic decline was very strong. The ancient communities of towns such as Turin, Venice, Trieste, and Florence made great progress, but even there symptoms of demographic decline were noticed, even before the Nazi-Fascist persecutions. In the

forties, all those processes became very rapid, and in 1948 the population of the old Jewish communities outside Rome was about one-third of its size in 1840. The community of Rome, on the other hand, continued to increase, and at the same time other new communities of considerable size grew up in the centres of trade and industry, first and foremost among them being Milan, and to a certain extent before the persecutions, Genoa, Bologna, and Naples. The number of Jews 'dispersed' over various places outside the organized communities also grew to some extent up to 1931.

3. THE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE JEWS IN ITALY

The socio-economic evolution of the Italian Jews, and in particular their quick rise in social status, after the emancipation, have been largely discussed elsewhere.[7] Here I shall cite only a few data from the census of 1931, which can help in understanding some of the demographic characteristics of the Italian Jews which are discussed below. Table 5 shows that Italian Jews had the usual characteristics of Jewish occupational distribution in modern West European groups: almost complete absence of agriculturalists among the Jews (only 0·8 per cent as compared to 48·5 per cent among the Italian population), low proportion of labourers and exceedingly high proportion in commerce, public services, liberal professions, etc. The high proportion of Jews belonging to the middle classes, and often to the upper middle classes, is particularly evident in communities such as Turin, Bologna, Padua and Florence, where between one-quarter and one-third of the Jews were in free professions or proprietors, and in the community of Milan where over 9 per cent were industrialists.

Some residue of a Jewish proletariat was found in Leghorn and in Rome. In this community the proportion living by commerce (part of which was petty trade, peddling, etc.) was conspicuous.

4. MARRIAGES

Table 6 shows the rates of marriages among Italian Jews during the period 1775–1955.[8]

These data disclose that *before the emancipation* the Jewish rate of marriage was more or less stable: in the period 1775–1875 it ranged between 7–7·5 per thousand. This rate was not high if compared with that of other populations, but it was not particularly low either. It was higher (7·6 on the average in 1775–1875) in richer communities outside Rome than in Rome itself (6·8).

Although we do not have any more detailed material on this subject, it can be assumed that the frequency of marriages among Jews was affected by mutually opposing factors: religious tradition—which was

TABLE 5. *Distribution of Italian Jews by the Socio-economic Conditions of the Heads of the Families, according to the Census of 1931*

Socio-economic condition	*Total Italian population*	*Jewish population*							
		All Italy	*Selected communities*						
			Rome	*Leghorn*	*Milan*	*Trieste*	*Turin*	*Florence*	*Padua*
Industrialists	39	62	41	40	93	62	79	66	81
Merchants	61	343	456	267	337	322	183	283	174
Clerks	49	252	231	207	315	276	287	229	183
Commissioned officers	2	6	5	7	3	2	8	4	—
Free professions	19	108	56	114	111	79	143	149	206
Proprietors, etc.*	10	49	17	39	43	31	100	110	125
Artisans	45	17	20	28	11	14	17	12	2
Agriculturalists	485	8	4	4	2	3	3	6	29
Labourers	211	56	81	149	26	90	52	35	33
Household help, porters, etc.	26	19	26	39	7	39	11	6	17
Not gainfully occupied†	53	79	62	105	51	82	117	99	149
Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

* Includes religion and art.
† Includes regular army (excl. officers).

still very strong—encouraged normal marriage and family life, whereas it can be assumed—although there is no direct evidence—that the following factors limited the frequency of marriages:

(1) The dispersion of part of Italy's Jews over communities with small numbers of residents. The irregular composition of the populations of these communities by sex and age, which was a likely result of their small numbers of members, was liable to restrict the possibilities of marriage, or at least of marriage between suitable partners with regard to age and other characteristics.

(2) The serious restrictions imposed on the economic and professional life of the Jews (this factor was even more likely to influence the Jews of Rome).

(3) The custom that the family of the bride must provide a dowry.[9]

After the emancipation, the Jewish marriage rate, as registered by the communities, rapidly declined: from 7·5 per thousand in 1851–75 it fell to 5 at the beginning of this century, and to less than 5 in the course of the present century. In communities outside Rome it fell even below 4, and in 1945–53 it was only 2·4.

TABLE 6. *Marriage Rates (per 1,000) according to Registration with Jewish Communities**

Years	*Jewish population in the communities for which data on marriages are available*		*Marriage rates per 1,000 Jews*			*Marriage rates per 1,000 of general Italian population*
	Population of these communities	*Per 100 Italian Jews*	*Rome*	*Other communities*	*Total*	
1776–1800	8,705	—	6·29	7·62	7·01	—
1801–1825	7,507	—	7·04	7·60	7·37	—
1826–1850	13,906	—	7·42	7·50	7·48	—
1851–1875	17,150	42·4	6·64	7·87	7·53	7·9†
1876–1900	15,730	37·1	6·54	6·22	6·35	7·6
1901–1905	36,115	81·8	5·60	4·97	5·10	7·4
1906–1910	30,338	65·8	6·99	5·14	5·65	7·9
1911–1915	30,949	66·4	5·95	3·99	4·56	6·9
1916–1920	33,146	72·4	6·09	3·47	4·22	6·4
1921–1925	35,088	78·0	8·10	4·83	5·78	9·0
1926–1930	39,022	88·4	6·20	3·64	4·51	7·3
1931–1935	30,876	69·4	5·53	4·30	4·74	6·8
1945–1955	17,415	64·3	6·76	2·40	4·15	7·9

* For interpretation of these rates, see note 8.
† 1872–5.

These marriage rates must be considered as very low; in fact, they are almost unparalleled throughout Europe. However, it must be considered that these rates do not reflect all the marriages of people of Jewish origin. Owing to several factors, not all marriages of Jews are celebrated by religious rites and registered in the community: (1) first of all, the number of marriages with Christians constantly increased in Italy and reached very great proportions;[10] (2) a certain number of Jews who married Jewish wives did so without a religious ceremony. The extent of these two phenomena can be seen from detailed statistics which were assembled in 1930–40 by the Central Bureau of Statistics in Italy (see Tables 7, 8, 9, and 10).

These statistics show:

(1) The percentage of marriages with partners of the same religion solemnized by religious rites was very high among the members of the majority (Catholic) religion. It was low among the Jews and still lower among the other minorities.

(2) Some 30 per cent at least of the Jewish brides and grooms married partners of a different religion. The true percentage may have been even higher because the statistics do not show cases where one of the two partners changed his or her religion before the marriage.

(3) As in other countries, the frequency of mixed marriages was greater among Jewish men than among Jewish women (if the unknown frequency of conversions before marriage is disregarded).

TABLE 7. *Percentage of Marriages performed by Religious Rites (1930–5)*

	Catholic	*Jewish*	*Protestant and other Christian*	*Total*
Per 100 husbands of each religion	97·9	54·3	37·3	97·8
Per 100 wives of each religion	97·9	58·5	40·2	97·8

TABLE 8. *Distribution of Jewish Marriages according to Types (1930–40)*

Married	*Per 100 Jewish husbands*	*Per 100 Jewish wives*
A Jewish partner, by Jewish religious rites	51·8	53·9
A Jewish partner, without Jewish religious rites	16·1	16·8
A Christian partner, in civil marriage	26·5	23·9
A Christian partner, in Christian marriage	5·5	5·1
Total	100·0	100·0

TABLE 9. *Percentage of Jewish Marriages*

Year	*Married a Jewish partner*	
	Per 100 Jewish husbands	*Per 100 Jewish wives*
1930–1932	67·9	72·7
1933–1935	66·6	70·1
1936–1937	65·3	66·2
1938	54·0	55·5
1939–1940	98·9	99·6

TABLE 10. *Marriage Rates, per 1,000 Jews*

Year	*Marriages between Jewish partners*	*All marriages*
1930–1932	3·60	5·12
1933–1935	3·82	5·59
1936–1937	4·26	6·47
1938	4·85	8·52
1939–1940	2·84	2·86

TABLE 11. *Percentage of Mixed Marriages by Places (1930–3)*

Place	*Per 100 Jewish husbands*	*Per 100 Jewish wives*
	Married a non-Jewish partner	
Rome	5·7	2·9
18 places in which there was a local Jewish community	39·1	33·7
Other places	72·5	64·1
Total	32·7	27·2

TABLE 12. *Percentage of Marriages in which both Partners were Jewish and which were performed without Jewish Religious Rites, by Places (1930–3)*

Place	*Per 100 Jewish husbands*	*Per 100 Jewish wives*
Rome	5·3	5·4
18 places in which there was a local Jewish community	15·1	16·4
Other places	17·7	23·1
Total	12·9	13·9

(4) In localities without Jewish communities the number of mixed marriages constituted the majority, while in localities which had Jewish communities mixed marriages were a minority although of considerable size; only in the large, and more conservative, community of Rome were mixed marriages still a very small minority.

(5) It appears that in the first period after the emancipation mixed marriages were more frequent among the more cultured and wealthy strata of the population, where contact with non-Jews was more frequent. But later on, mixed marriages also developed among the lower officialdom, workers and others. A special inquiry carried out among the Jews of Rome in 1928 showed that the percentage of mixed families was greater among the bourgeoisie and working strata than among business circles; it was much greater among people born outside Rome than among the natives of Rome; it was also greater among the less conservative elements, who lived outside the ghetto quarter and its vicinity.

(6) Marriages between Jews solemnized only by civil ceremonies were contracted more largely in places without organized Jewish communities; however they occurred also in places with Jewish communities; this proves an obvious trend towards secularism and abandonment of religious tradition.

(7) The official statistics for 1930–7 show that the rate of Jewish *religious* marriages was only 3·0 per thousand Jews; the total marriage rate between Jews was 3·8 and the rate of all marriages involving Jews (including mixed marriages) was 5·6. In view of the fact that Jews who were converted to another religion before entering a mixed marriage do not appear in these statistics, these rates have to be slightly increased. We thus arrive at a marriage rate which does not seem very different from that applying to Catholics belonging to the social strata of which the Jews formed part.

This and the analysis of Jewish and Catholic marriages by age justify the conclusion that there was no systematic difference between the frequencies of marriages among Jews and non-Jews respectively. However, the concentration of the Jews in urban and bourgeois strata and their estrangement from religion, as well as their increasing tendency to intermarry with non-Jews—especially in places where Jews did not constitute a concentrated population—led to the great drop in the rates of Jewish religious marriages. On the basis of a gross estimate, it can be assumed that according to the situation existing in 1930–5, only 70 per cent of the Jews entering matrimony could be expected to bring up their children as Jews.

As shown by Table 9, the beginning of the persecutions in 1938 brought about a marked increase in mixed marriages; fear of threatened laws led to the hurrying up of many such marriages planned earlier. On the other hand, after the implementation of antisemitic legislation forbidding mixed marriages, those marriages almost completely disappeared. The census of persons of 'Jewish race' taken in 1938 showed that 43·5 per cent of existing married couples were mixed. Of the 7,457 mixed couples, 2,445 were childless. Of the 9,247 children, 2,045 were Jewish, 6,935 non-Jewish, and 267 part-Jewish.[11]

Unfortunately, no statistical data are available for the period after the restoration of freedom to the Jews. There is no doubt about the fact that mixed marriages, mainly outside Rome, are again very frequent, but their frequency is not assessed now by the Central Statistical Institute of Italy.[12]

5. BIRTHS

Table 13 shows the development of the birth-rate among the Jews of Italy in the course of some two hundred years: from the middle of the eighteenth century until the middle of the twentieth. With regard to previous periods, we have only figures relating to two communities: Leghorn and Florence (Leghorn: 1669–75, 548 yearly births per 1,000 Jews; 1676–1700, 42·3; 1701–25, 28·1; 1726–50, 27·5; Florence: 1675, 43·8; 1676–85, 45·9; 1741–50, 39·4).

TABLE 13. *Birth-rates (per 1,000) according to registration with Jewish communities**

Years	*Jewish population in the communities for which data on births are available*		*Birth-rates per 1,000 Jews*			*Birth-rates per 1,000 of general Italian population*
	Population of these communities	*Per 100 Italian Jews*	*Rome*	*Other communities*	*Total*	
1751–1775	9,885	—	32·0†	26·35	28·64	—
1775–1800	14,057	—	33·9	27·43	29·27	—
1801–1825	13,518	39·4	36·4	27·79	29·75	—
1826–1850	15,450	42·4	36·8	27·86	29·95	—
1851–1875	21,709	54·6	35·3	27·80	29·44	36·8 (1872–5)
1876–1900	18,450	43·5	29·3	19·36	22·81	36·5
(1879–1881)	(40,876)	(95·7)	(30·0)	(21·93)	(23·12)	(36·9) (1876–80)
1901–1905	37,456	86·8	30·67	14·27	17·56	32·7
1906–1910	30,795	68·3	27·19	15·06	18·35	32·7
1911–1915	30,234	64·7	21·82	13·64	16·09	31·5
1916–1920	30,962	67·8	18·50	10·42	12·93	23·0
1921–1925	33,019	73·4	26·78	13·49	17·60	29·8
1926–1930	33,742	76·4	23·70	10·46	14·69	26·8
1931–1935	38,675	86·9	20·68	7·73	11·43	23·8
1945–1955	22,465	81·1	15·12	7·29	10·37	19·9

* For interpretation of these rates, see note 8.
† 1775.

On the basis of an analysis of these figures, as well as other detailed statistics, which cannot be produced here, we can distinguish different periods in the development of the birth-rate of Italian Jewry:

(1) In the view of Professor L. Livi (see 'Gli Ebrei alla luce della statistica', cited above), the Jews of Italy, in the early period, enjoyed high fertility under the influence of tradition and as a result of their special situation. This is evidenced by the high birth-rates of the Jews of Leghorn in the eighteenth century, of Florence until 1750, and of Trieste at the end of the eighteenth century, etc.

Livi's thesis is very interesting, but, as I have pointed out in my book mentioned above, it is open to criticism or, at least, needs further research before we can accept it. It would be especially desirable to investigate the following questions: (*a*) whether the high birth-rates of the Jewish communities of Leghorn and Trieste were not connected with particular age-structures (it is possible that these communities enjoyed an influx of a high percentage of young people among the migrants who arrived there); (*b*) whether the high fertility of these communities was not influenced by the particular type of migrants which they received (in Trieste—Ashkenazim; in Leghorn—people from Oriental communities).

(2) The era of high birth-rates—as estimated by Livi, and if it existed at all—apparently ended in an early period. In the middle of the eighteenth century, when the statistical material in our possession

becomes more comprehensive, we find that the Jews of Italy, with the exception of Rome, did not have high birth-rates but these rates were more or less stable. In fact, it can be seen that in the period 1750–1875 the birth-rate of Italy's Jews outside Rome remained at a level of 27 births per 1,000 a year. For purposes of comparison, we should mention that the total birth-rate of Italy in 1871–5 was 36·8 per 1,000, and in all Europe it was in the period 1800–70, 38–9 per 1,000 on the average.

In Rome, too, the birth-rate was stable, but ranged around a much higher level (in 1776–1875 it was 35·6 on the average). In view of the fact that the marriage rate in Rome was lower at that time (6·85 on the average in 1776–1875) than in the other communities (7·65), it would appear that even then the Jews outside Rome were restricting the numbers of their children to a much greater extent than the Jews of Rome. A gross calculation of the ratios between the birth-rate and the marriage rate in the hundred years between 1776–1875 shows that the average number of children per marriage among these Jews was only 3·6 per family as compared with 5·2 among Roman Jews. It is possible that this was connected with the fact that the cultural and social position of the Jews outside Rome was generally better than that of the Jews of Rome.

(3) After 1875 the birth-rate of Italy's Jews began to fall rapidly and reached 11·4 in 1931–5 and 10·4 in 1945–53, as compared with 29·4 in 1851–75. This decrease was particularly great in the communities outside Rome (from 27·8 in 1851–75 to 7·3 in 1945–53), but even in the relatively more fertile community of Rome the birth-rate fell from 35·3 in 1851–75 to 15·1 in 1945–53.

This decline resulted from the same circumstances as mainly manifested themselves in restriction of fertility in married life and led to a decline in the birth-rate of all the populations of European origin, especially among more urbanized and cultured strata. However, the extent of the fall of the birth-rate among the Jews in Italy is much greater than among the Italian population and among other European populations. It seems that this phenomenon had two basic causes: (*a*) The birth-rates of Italy's Jews as shown in Table 13 indicate, more or less, the numbers of children born to every thousand Jews who remained in the Jewish faith. Before the emancipation, these children made up nearly 100 per cent of all Jewish children, but with the increase in the number of mixed marriages, the proportion of these children dropped, and reached, as we saw above, only 70 per cent in 1931–5. In view of this it can be assumed that the birth-rate among the Jews of Italy dropped as low as only 17 per 1,000 in 1931–5 (and not 11·4 per 1,000 as stated in the records of the communities, according to Table 13).[13]

(*b*) This estimated level—some 17 births per thousand persons of Jewish origin—is still much lower than the level of 23·8 per 1,000 found among the total Italian population. However, it can be proved (by

detailed calculations which we cannot show here) that the difference between the birth-rates of Jews and Christians would turn out to be much smaller if we compared Jews with Christians of the same social, occupational, and geographical background. In other words, the Jews of Italy restricted their births more or less to the same extent as the Christians of the same social strata. However, the low level of the birth-rate which was so pronounced and abnormal in the communities resulted from the fact that many Jews left their religion and that the more fertile strata of the population—such as farmers and urban workers—formed a very small proportion among the Jews.

As a result of the decrease in the birth-rate, we find that the size of families of Italian Jews is also small and that the age structure of the population shows pronounced signs of 'ageing'.

This process was already considerable in 1901 and has continued throughout the first half of this century. At present the age distribution of Italian Jews tends to become more and more a reversed pyramid. The 'ageing' process is less pronounced in the community of Rome, where birth-rates are higher (see Table 14).

TABLE 14. *Age Distribution of Italian Jews*

Age groups	*1901*		*Age groups*	*1911*	
	Per 100 Jews	*Per 100 Italian population*		*Per 100 Jews*	*Per 100 Italian population*
0–15	26·4	34·1	0–15	22·2	34·0
16–30	22·8	24·2	16–65	69·8	59·6
31–50	28·4	23·0			
51–70	18·0	15·1	66+	8·0	6·5
70+	4·4	3·6			
Total	100·0	100·0		100·0	100·0

Age group	*1922–8 Per 100 Jews**	*1921 Per 100 Italian population*	*1938–54 Per 100 Jews†*	*1951 Per 100 Italian population*	*1928 Per 100 Jews of Rome*	*1954 Per 100 Jews of Rome*
0–14	20·2	30·2	15·6	26·1	25·6	19·7
15–29	24·5	26·5	18·5	25·5	25·5	24·0
30–44	22·2	19·2	23·1	20·3	21·0	21·2
45–59	19·6	13·6	21·4	15·9	16·1	18·6
60+	13·5	10·5	21·4	12·2	11·8	16·5
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

* This estimate is based on data on distribution by age in various types of communities in 1922–5 and in Rome in 1928.

† This rough estimate is based on data on distribution by age in the Jewish community of Rome (1954), of Milan (1938: date quoted by G. B. Ghidoli, op. cit.), and in various small communities (1953).

6. MORTALITY

With regard to mortality, too, a number of figures (see Table 15) can be cited which relate to the seventeenth century and to the first 75 years of the eighteenth. Together with other figures relating to later periods they induced Livi to assume that the mortality rates of Italian Jewry developed in a particular way of their own. In the initial period of the isolation of the Jews in ghettos in poor hygienic conditions, it must be assumed, according to Livi, that their mortality was high. However, as a result of natural selection, the strongest people survived and bequeathed to their offspring a greater immunity to certain diseases (such as tuberculosis). Therefore the rate of mortality among Italy's Jews dropped even before the period in which the general mortality decrease, characteristic for the nations of Europe, took place.

This is not the place for a detailed discussion of this thesis. At any rate, it is a fact that the overall mortality of Italy's Jews (see Table 16) was relatively low and tended to drop still further as long ago as the last quarter of the eighteenth century; it continued to decrease consistently throughout the nineteenth and the beginning of the present century.

A simpler explanation for this decrease than that proposed by Livi can perhaps be found in a series of circumstances which led to the decrease of mortality rates among other populations (such as: the general advancement of the sciences of medicine and hygiene; the improvement in organized public methods for health protection and individual hygiene; social, cultural, and economic advancement). It appears that the fact that Jewish mortality was lower than that of the Italian population as a whole can be explained by the social and geographical composition of the Jewish population of Italy. It can also be explained by the particular Jewish characteristics which produce an earlier decrease in death-rate among the Jews than among the non-Jews in other places as well.

In the course of this century the progressive ageing of the Jewish population of Italy produced the result—which is also characteristic for other Jewish populations in similar situations—that the rate of decrease of the crude rate of mortality slowed down, so that the rate now exceeds that of the general population, despite the low level of age-specific Jewish death-rates[14] (see Table 16). This development is particularly pronounced in communities outside Rome where the ageing process was more considerable.

TABLE 15. *Death-rates per 1,000 Jews in Certain Communities*

Years	*Leghorn*	*Years*	*Florence*	*Years*	*Modena*
1657–1675	43·7	1675	31·5		
1676–1700	46·0	1676–80	53·5		
1701–1725	33·1	1721–25	33·2		
1726–1750	29·9	1729–32	32·8		
1751–1775	29·0	1756–75	32·0	1756–75	25·5

TABLE 16. *Death-rates (per 1,000) according to registration with Jewish Communities**

Years	*Jewish population in the communities for which data on deaths are available*		*Death-rates per 1,000 Jews*			*Per 1,000 of Italian population*
	Population of these communities	*Per 1,000 Italian Jews*	*Rome*	*Other communities*	*Total*	
1776–1800	10,057	—	?	28·23	?	—
1801–1825	13,518	39·8	29·6	24·60	25·74	—
1826–1850	15,450	42·4	26·7	23·58	24·31	—
1851–1875	21,709	54·6	24·3	24·21	24·23	30·5 (1872–75)
1876–1900	23,013	54·3	20·2	20·45	20·38	26·5
(1879–1881)	(40,876)	(95·7)	(21·89)	(20·89)	(21·01)	(29·4)(1876–80)
1901–1905	37,456	86·8	17·55	18·02	17·35	22·0
1906–1910	30,795	68·3	15·40	17·32	16·79	21·2
1911–1915	30,234	64·8	14·32	17·14	16·30	19·7
1916–1920	30,962	67·8	16·69	18·59	18·00	24·4
1921–1925	33,019	73·4	15·82	18·56	17·71	17·4
1926–1930	33,742	76·4	13·57	17·26	16·09	16·0
1931–1935	38,675	86·9	15·20	17·32	16·71	14·1
1945–1953	22,465	81·1	11·59	15·86	14·18	10·9

* For interpretation of these rates, see note 8.

7. NATURAL INCREASE

The analysis of the natural movements of the Jewish population in Italy, as given in the previous paragraphs, explains the relatively slow rate of development of the population between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, as well as the demographic decline of the communities outside Rome in this century.

In the later ghetto period, Jewish mortality in Italy, except for Rome, was relatively low, but so was the birth-rate and the resultant natural increase was very modest. In the period of the emancipation, frequency of marriage and births among the Jews was more or less similar to that of the Christians who belonged to the same social strata and lived in the same places. The Jews even had a certain advantage with regard to mortality. However, the fact that they belonged to those population

groups which have drastically restricted their births, coupled with the spread of mixed marriages, resulted in a situation where the birth-rate of families which remained connected with Judaism dropped very far below the rate of mortality in all the communities with the exception of Rome (see Table 17). Even before the First World War, according to the registers of the communities,[15] the more or less 'normal' natural increase of the Rome community (which also tended to drop) was no longer adequate to make up for the considerable natural deficit of the other communities. Italian Jewry in general, therefore, suffered from a surplus of deaths over births which was balanced only by the surplus resulting from migration movements.

These phenomena paralleled those of other Jewish populations in Western and Central Europe, whose long-term demographic future was doubtful, even before the Nazi persecution began.

As indicated in § (1), persecutions inflicted heavy losses on Italian Jewry. After the return to normal life, the reduced number of Italian Jews was again subject to excess of deaths over births. This fact, and the continuous ageing process, render the survival of most Italian Jewish communities uncertain. On the other hand, the community of Rome seems still to be endowed with some demographic strength.

TABLE 17. *Rate of Natural Increase* (+) *or Decrease* (−) *per 1,000, according to Registration with Jewish Communities.*

Years	*In the Jewish population*			*In the Italian population*
	Rome	*Other communities*	*Total*	
1776–1800	?	−0·80	—	—
1801–1825	+6·8	+3·19	+4·01	—
1826–1850	+10·1	+4·28	+5·64	—
1851–1875	+11·0	+3·59	+5·21	+6·3 (1872–5)
1876–1900	+9·1	−1·09	+2·43	+10·0
(1879–1881)	(+8.11)	(+1·04)	(+2·10)	(+7·5)(1876–80)
1901–1905	+13·12	−3·75	+0·21	+10·7
1906–1910	+11·79	−2·26	+1·56	+11·5
1911–1915	+7·50	−3·50	−0·21	+11·7
1916–1920	+1·81	−8·17	−5·07	−1·4
1921–1925	+10·96	−5·07	−0·11	+12·4
1926–1930	+10.13	−6·80	−1·40	+10·9
1913–1935	+5·48	−9·59	−5·28	+9·8
1945–1953	+3·53	−8·57	−3·81	+9·0

NOTES

[1] This article is largely based on my book *La evoluzione demografica degli ebrei italiani (1600–1937)*, which, after having reached proof stage, was not published because of the situation that arose after the enactment of the anti-Jewish laws in Italy (1938). The first parts of this book appeared in the *Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, Vol. 12, 1938, nos. 7–9, pp. 256–320, and nos. 10–12, pp. 318–62. A summary in Hebrew was given in an article which appeared in a book of studies on Italian Jewry in honour of Sally Mayer (Jerusalem and Milano, Sally Mayer Foundation, 1956). I have been unable to bring my research up to date by a systematic investigation of the effects of the persecution of the Italian Jews. The period after 1937 is therefore studied here only cursorily.

The reader is referred to works quoted above for an analysis of the sources and their evaluation.

A version of this paper was read at the Second World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 1957, in the section 'Demography of the Jews'.

[2] From figures given by R. De Felice, *Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo*, Torino, 1961, it appears that out of 48,032 persons of Jewish race and Italian citizenship registered at the *end* of 1938, 37,241 were of the Jewish religion and 10,791 of other religions or no religion. Alien Jews numbered 10,380 in the census of August 1938.

[3] From a comparison of the detailed figures for the censuses of 1931 and 1938, despite their different basis (1931: religion; 1938: Jewish race) it appears that a strong increase occurred in this period mainly in Milan and Rome, which can be explained probably by immigration from abroad. A detailed statistical analysis of the 1938 census records is, however, still to be undertaken. Incidentally, the data of the 'Census of persons of Jewish Race' for Milan are very different from the estimate based on community records, as given by G. B. Ghidoli, 'Ricerca, Antropologica e demografica su un gruppo di ebrei milanesi', *Statistica*, April–June 1951, p. 159. Data cited by De Felice, op. cit. p. 9, show that some 5,500 alien Jews had, in 1938, been living in Italy less than ten years.

[4] G. B. Ghidoli, in the article cited above, indicates that according to statistics published by the Central Statistical Institute of Italy on 25 October 1941, 5,966 of 45,410 Jews of Italian citizenship present in Italy on 1 January 1932 had left Italy before 15 October 1941. For the movements of Jews of alien citizenship see De Felice, op. cit., pp. 424 f.

[5] See *American Jewish Yearbook 1960*, p. 229.

[6] See *American Jewish Yearbook, 1960*, p. 228.

[7] See R. Bachi, 'La demografia degli Ebrei Italiani negli ultimi cento anni', *Atti del Congresso Internazionale per gli studi sulla popolazione*, Rome, 1931, Vol. 6., and other publications by the same, quoted in footnote 1; Eliezer Ben David, *Gli ebrei nello vita culturale Italiana, 1848–1928*, Città di Castello, Unione Arti Grafiche, 1931; the article by G. B. Ghidoli, cited above; L. Livi, *Gli ebrei alle luce della statistica* (Vol. I, Florence Libreria della Vòce, 1918; Vol. II, Florence, Vallecchi, 1920). See also De Felice, op. cit., p. 130.

[8] Marriage rates given in Table 6 and birth- and death-rates given in Tables 13 and 16 are based on the registrations with Jewish communities. It seems likely that in the periods in which the Jews were shut up in the ghettos and the religious, administrative, and legal bonds between the individual Jew and the community were very close, registration was practically complete. Registration became less complete during the emancipation period. With regard to marriages, mainly those performed by a religious Jewish ceremony were registered by the community. With regard to births, mainly those male births were registered in which circumcision was performed. With regard to deaths, mainly those deaths were registered which led to burial in a Jewish cemetery. The registration improved in completeness to some extent after the Law of 1932 which made it compulsory for the Jews to belong to Jewish communities.

Birth-rates were calculated on the basis of male births registered with the communities, with an appropriate correction for female births.

[9] For (2) and (3) see L. Serristori, *Statistica dell'Italia*, Florence, Stamperia Granducale, 1842, p. 372.

[10] Apart from data given in Table 10,

we have no historical data on mixed marriages from the whole of Italy. Only for Trieste the following percentages are available for Jewish husbands or wives who married a non-Jewish partner: 1869–70, 1·9; 1871–80, 6·0; 1881–90, 12·9; 1891–1900, 20·8; 1901–10, 23·8; 1911–20, 31·1; 1921–7, 42·0.

[11] See De Felice, op. cit., p. 19.

[12] Detailed data on the marriages of the Jews in Milan, cited by S. Della Pergola ('I matrimoni degli Ebrei a Milano', *Hatikwa*, March–April 1952), show a considerable increase in mixed marriages. Percentage marrying a non-Jewish partner: out of 100 Jewish husbands 1940–45—44·1, 1946–51—46·4, 1952–55—51·9; out of 100 Jewish brides, 1940–45—16·5, 1946–51—31·0, 1952–55—39·0.

[13] No data are available for extending this calculation to the 1945–53 period.

[14] According to G. B. Ghidoli (op. cit.) the expectation of life at age 0 for the Jews of Milan was in 1931–9 67·0 years as compared to 59·5 for the population of Milan.

[15] In judging the data in Table 17, we must bear in mind the fact that under-registration is probably higher for births than for deaths, so that figures for natural increase are to some extent underestimated.

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ON JEWISH HUMOUR

Salcia Landmann

FOR some decades now jokes have been in decline. This is not surprising; for years, newspapers and periodicals have been serving up boring inanities which provoke only the feeblest of smiles. The excruciatingly funny mother-in-law; the almost surrealistically brainless Count Bobby, a Viennese prototype; and the tightfisted Scotsman—all of them are used time after time as seasoning in an increasingly unpalatable humorous broth. Why waste mental energy on jokes which raise hardly any laughs—in other words, jokes that are not funny? But if, on the other hand, a joke really does make us laugh once, we are even less inclined to take it seriously.

If we look back into the past, we find that in other ages humour was regarded from a different angle; its importance was recognized and it was taken quite seriously. In the Bible, the Prophets, for instance, clearly realized the significance of humour—and rejected it with the utmost severity. And in the age of feudalism, the French, who have a high reputation for intelligence, often showed their respect for the authors of witty pamphlets by persecuting and hanging them. They were prepared to pardon a poor serf who blasphemed or cursed, but the perpetrator of a joke against the ruling class could never be forgiven.

Both the Prophets and the French feudal lords abhorred humour, though for entirely different reasons. The Prophets had two motives for their rejection: if the humour was pointed critically and with revolutionary intent at Jewish religious laws, it resulted in a weakening of resistance against a hostile environment and was therefore regarded as more dangerous than foreign occupation or persecution. Alternatively, if it attacked, as the Prophets frequently did themselves, internal abuses and shortcomings, or defects in the world at large, the humorous purpose was admitted to be positive, but the form in which it was expressed —the playful and frivolous character of humorous stories—was not sufficiently direct and virile for the taste of the Prophets. When they themselves launched an attack, it was not a laughing matter; it was couched in the most unequivocal and savage terms, and they were quite willing to pay with their lives for such audacity.

But humour is not a weapon of open combat. It is rather a rearguard

action, the last resort of the hopelessly defeated and oppressed who, though embittered by the prevailing circumstances, are nevertheless compelled, reluctantly but by dire necessity, to resign themselves to the inevitable.

But what the Prophets of ancient Israel had considered feeble and spineless was, for the French feudal lords, more than they could take: though humour was a weapon of the defenceless and utterly defeated who were fully conscious of their impotence, it was a weapon which, in its cumulative bitterness, the feudal lords found too revolutionary and too dangerous.

This scanty historical introduction will suffice to show that humour can be charged with a powerful spiritual and political content. It was left to our own era—and to us, who think ourselves so superior—to forget this and to let the joke go to the dogs.

What has been said will also make it clear why the joke achieved a special eminence and became an important means of expression among the Jews, a defeated and persecuted people *par excellence.*

Experts in Jewish humour are in fact agreed that it is more acute, more profound, and richer in expression than that of any other people. In its polyphony, it surpasses by far most of the poverty-stricken humorous clichés we are used to encounter. It is also unique in being the only kind of popular humour that is, at the same time, the humour of the educated. This is connected with the fact that, since time immemorial, all traditionally educated Jewish boys were expected to possess a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew language, the Bible in its original version, and the immense and voluminous spiritual and liturgical post-Biblical literature in Hebrew and Aramaic, part of which contained very closely reasoned legalistic, religious, and philosophical debates. It is due to this that many experts and admirers of Jewish humour believe that the Jews are a people by nature gifted with humour, and that this characteristic is connected with their oriental origins.

But what is the truth regarding this alleged Jewish proclivity for humour? If we look at it more closely, we soon see that this specific and prolific humorous tradition of the Jews does not go back very far into the past. The Bible, the most ancient written document of the Jews, is almost completely devoid of humour. As already mentioned, the Prophets expressly and uncompromisingly condemned humour as such. The Talmud, a later collection of myths, sayings, commentaries, and supplements to the Bible, does contain occasional shafts of light relief—there is even a character closely resembling the Freiherr von Muenchhausen, of comic renown in German literature, an entertaining mountebank and teller of tall stories. Nevertheless, the Talmud can hardly be described as a humorous work in spite of the brilliant and sometimes witty debates it contains. All later Bible commentaries and compendia of ritual laws are unfunny to a degree. And, needless to say,

medieval and early modern mystical Jewish writing eschews humour completely.

If we disregard the short period of the early Middle Ages when the Jews in Spain, under their Moorish overlords, experienced an era when philosophy and literature flourished, we find that the Jews had virtually only mystical and religious writings; in other words, their literature was entirely without humour, and it remained so until after the French Revolution and the beginning of emancipation.

It is true that Jews in medieval times would tell one another instructive little anecdotes and parables as well as somewhat coarse jokes; for their target they frequently selected the citizens of the little Polish township of Chelm (just as the Germans used to make fun of the inhabitants of Schilda). But the Jews also used these parables to castigate human failings, such as avarice and unreliability. Others tell of the wisdom of famous rabbis, of the sly but simple coarseness of the hawkers and coachmen of those days. However, all this has hardly anything to do with Jewish humour.

There are, nevertheless, two types of jokes which may be regarded as an exception to this general rule: first, jokes poking fun at ignoramuses in the religious sphere; and second, jokes dealing with the *chutzpa* of *schnorrers* who, in their solicitations, appear to confer a favour upon the prospective donor. Both these types of jokes are typically Jewish and firmly anchored in the traditions and peculiarities of Diaspora Judaism. For while, on the one hand, the Jews are the only people to whom their God has allocated a certain territory, they are, at the same time, the only people which—dispersed, helpless, and persecuted—has managed to preserve its time-honoured way of life without a common country, language, or cultural environment. This they could never have accomplished had they relaxed or neglected their strict mental and spiritual traditions and disciplines. There is more truth for the Jews than for any other people in the world in Hegel's dictum that their existence is indissolubly linked to their consciousness of it. If they were to forget and abandon their traditions they would soon cease to exist as a separate entity and become absorbed among the peoples of their environment. Hence the often rather cruel jokes at the expense of those ignorant in religious matters, who are considered more liable to abandon their faith for good.

The element of irritation contained in the joke directed against the *schnorrer* derives from the Old Testament injunction to love your neighbour; it is not just a vague rule of conduct for the Jews, but is strictly laid down and specified in Mosaic Law. Proper care for the poor is one of certain well regulated and financially quite onerous stipulations among these rules. They are burdensome rules: they make of the beggar a creditor. And though the observant Jew of the Middle Ages would not think of contracting out of or rejecting this duty, he nevertheless tried to

protest, to get his own back, by making the importunate beggar the butt of his joke.

Here we touch upon one function of humour which explains why the Jewish joke could fully develop only at a certain moment in modern times. This may appear paradoxical, even to many Jews who regard themselves as experts in Jewish humour, and to understand the causes we must first of all accurately define the nature of humour.

The most precise and authoritative analysis of humour was made by Sigmund Freud. His analysis explains why humour was on the one hand particularly endemic among the Jews but why on the other it could not develop among them until comparatively late.

True, Freud never actually made it his business to analyse Jewish humour as such. His explorations penetrated into depths of the soul where all national, racial, and religious differences disappear. Therefore, the nature of humour (which he was one of the first to recognize clearly) was not revealed to him through any characteristics of the Jewish people, but through the study of dreams for which, again, he was the first to find a key. It was Freud who recast into a scientific mould the ancient adage about all dreams being, fundamentally, pipe dreams. He is also responsible for the recognition that the desires realized in dreams are not haphazardly selected unfulfilled wishes, but wishes incapable of fulfilment: in other words, fairy tales, but fairy tales of a quite special kind. In our dreams we often realize desires which, owing to moral or other inhibitions, we would not even dare to contemplate when awake, and which we therefore repress and hide from ourselves; wishes so preposterous that their fulfilment cannot be clearly and directly promised even in dreams. True, some degree of fulfilment there must be or our sleep would be disturbed by nagging wants. Accordingly, the dream fulfils our desire by means of detours and veiled insinuations. And if we analyse these detours we find that they are of an unquestionably humorous—albeit primitively and coarsely humorous—nature. Dreams make use of techniques inherent in humour, such as formal disguise, omissions, replacement of a subject by its exact opposite, and deliberate inconsistencies.

Thus we find that jokes, much as dreams, are a means of expressing forbidden thoughts which weigh heavily upon us, and which we cannot even put into words—let alone convert into deeds—by way of a game of hide and seek which makes us laugh.

For Freud jokes were a sort of outlet used by highly educated nineteenth-century Europeans to abreact feelings of inferiority due to cultural deficiencies. For while Freud's main interests were not really sociological, he nevertheless realized that there were some ethnic groups for whom humour was a much greater necessity than for others. Freud realized that a primitive and uneducated person who is actuated by impulse and has few inhibitions is less dependent on an outlet like

humour than a highly cultured person on whom both he himself and his environment make very exacting demands. But while in his analysis of humour Freud quotes almost exclusively Jewish jokes, he failed to pursue the path which would have led him to the realization that the European Jew of that particular era and environment represented a creator of wit *par excellence.*

The reasons for this are quite obvious: the moral and cultural burden which the modern educated Jew has to bear weighs very heavily upon him. To the spiritual and mental equipment of a modern European has to be added, for the Jew, the extremely complicated ballast of a Jewish religious education. And beyond this, the Jewish way of life is regulated at every step by strict ritual laws from which St. Paul, in his time, expressly exempted the Christians, but which the Jews—if they wanted to remain Jews—could not and would not discard. As if this were not enough, there has to be added in the case of the Jews, living for millennia as a dispersed and vulnerable minority among foreign peoples, the constant danger inherent in an aggressive environment. The persecution of the Hitler era, while on a hitherto unprecedented scale, is by no means the only (and possibly not even the last) instance of this constant danger.

As long as his faith had its medieval tenacity, the Jew was willing to bear such a twofold or threefold burden. At that time, whenever persecution became seemingly intolerable, he did not find refuge in the escapism provided by a bitter and critical humour, but found solace in mystical speculations. In Biblical times the Jew had been even less inclined to use humour as a weapon: when attacked he would retaliate with the sword. His position was often hopeless enough in all conscience. Yet, he was not helpless; no more so than the Israeli citizen of today who has no need of humour since he can, and will, take up arms to defend himself.

In order to be really witty, the Jew must at one and the same time be defenceless and unwilling to accept the simultaneous burdens of persecution on the one hand and of a strict religious discipline on the other. Wit, in its highest and most brilliant expression, requires a combination of intellectual training and a profound insight into universal problems. Such a combination has been available among Jews ever since the age of Enlightenment when religion began to loosen its hold upon men's minds—minds which, however, still bore the impact of traditional religious training. And it was at that time precisely that Jewish jokes originated. At first they were only directed against the hostile environment, but soon turned increasingly against Jewish tradition, sketching, in deft and malicious strokes, all Jewish defects and weaknesses, including some which could only have resulted from constant persecution. Jewish humour became more and more subtle, bitter and philosophical; finally, in its ultimate and most profound expression,

it questioned the meaning of the universe. But its two outstanding characteristics—which it shares with Jewish literature since time immemorial—are self-criticism and the recognition of the discrepancy between ideal and reality. These qualities are already inherent in the historical writing of the Bible and lend it its characteristic stamp. The Old Testament's concept of the universe may be one of grandeur and reverence, in contrast to that of the modern Jewish joke, the child of an enlightened era, which is all lightness and frivolity; yet, by its two ingredients of self-criticism and universal criticism it is in line with the ancient tradition of the Jewish people. The Jews were the first people with a recorded history (before, there had been nothing but the glorification of particular rulers or dynasties). An objective treatment of history suddenly developed among the Jews of the Old Testament; and they found their sources in self-criticism and criticism of their environment, in measuring the world around them and their own achievements against the yardstick of absolute ideals.

We have mentioned that in Israel today the joke as a weapon is out of favour and moribund. Where, then, is it still to be found, given that European Jewry was almost completely exterminated during the Hitler era? There are two other regions where Jews live in large numbers, the United States and Russia. In both these countries Jews today still live as vulnerable minorities, exposed to varying degrees of antisemitism. In both areas they sorely need their Jewish humour if they want to preserve a sense of proportion, but in both instances one essential ingredient for the creation of Jewish humour in its most brilliant form is increasingly lacking: the formal Talmudic training of Jewish youth. It is not easy to establish what is going on behind the Iron Curtain, and we cannot tell how the young Russian Jew bears up against present conditions without being able to find light relief in Jewish humour. But we do know of the American Jew that, at the slightest provocation, he seems to rush off to have himself psychoanalysed. Psychoanalysts also teach their patients, in the final analysis, to endure the seemingly intolerable and to come to terms with reality. But with the help of humour the same result can be achieved more easily, more quickly, and more pleasantly.

The Jewish joke, today in its decline, was only a few decades ago a vital feature in German entertainment. (In this respect it bears some resemblance to another manifestation of wishful thinking: the fairy tale of a century ago.) Jewish jokes were quoted in the same way as famous sayings, pronouncements of celebrities, proverbs, etc. There was a large fund of Jewish jokes in existence with which, it was assumed, everybody was familiar and which were used to illustrate all sorts of concepts and conditions. At that time it would have been as difficult to visualize any debate in Germany being conducted without Jewish jokes as to imagine the German mental climate as a whole without the Jews.

Since then much has changed. German Jewry is, to all intents and purposes, a thing of the past. But even today occasional Jewish jokes still circulate in German conversation. True, they are mostly deprived of their Jewish colouring, and only the older generation and real experts in Jewish humour recognize the Jewish provenance in its new disguise. Let us examine three jokes of this type, before dealing with some of the best and most profound of the genre.

The setting of the first joke is Western Germany. A drunkard trips in the dark and falls into the Rhine. It is winter and the water is icy. He is unable to get out and cries for help. Two policemen are on their beat nearby, but they are not inclined to take a nocturnal dip and pretend not to hear anything. At last the drunkard has a brilliant idea; he yells, at the top of his voice: 'Heil Hitler.' Upon which both policemen immediately dive into the river, pull out the drunkard, and arrest him.

The joke as such is not a bad one, but anybody with an ear for stylistic nuances will immediately sense something wrong about it—in fact, the joke is false. It presupposes that the German police today are more likely to risk their lives in the fight against Nazi sympathizers than to save a harmless drunk from drowning—an assumption which one would be hard put to prove. But if the conduct of the police as described in this joke is not typical, it ceases to be a joke.

In fact, the joke is of Jewish origin. And the original version went as follows. In Czarist times a Jew—identifiable by his kaftan and *payes*—falls into the Neva. Two policemen look on and laugh as the unfortunate man is dragged down by his heavy garment. Suddenly he cries: 'Down with the Czar!' The policemen now dive in without further ado to haul him out and arrest him.

If we examine this version, everything suddenly falls into place: the police in Czarist Russia were in fact both antisemitic and loyal to the Czar. They were always prepared to look on when a Jew died a painful death—they were even prepared to lend a hand in the process. But the pleasure of arresting a Jew for *lèse-majesté* provided more intense gratification even than that of watching him drown.

This joke has a meaning and validity far beyond the confines of Czarist Russia. It mirrors the position of the defenceless persecuted Jew at all times and almost everywhere.

Now for the second instance, a story which also reappeared in the Federal Republic shortly after the downfall of Nazi Germany. The following conversation takes place between an Allied officer and a German.

Allied officer: 'The Germans are responsible for all the evil in the world.'

German: 'No, not the Germans, the cyclists.'

Allied officer: 'Why the cyclists?'

German: 'Why the Germans?'

This again is not a bad joke. But, as in the first case, something does not click. Collective hatred of the Germans was extremely rare before, and even in the early stages of, the Nazi era; and today there are not many who have extended their detestation of Nazi Germany and its bloody deeds also to Germans of the stature of Beethoven, Goethe, and Lessing. But if hatred is directed only against National Socialism and its results, and not against the German people as such, the joke implies a meaningless generalization; if, on the other hand, the hatred is bestowed upon all Germans indiscriminately, there is nothing funny about it.

In fact, this again is not originally a German but a Jewish joke. The Jews, and not the Germans, are indeed a people which has for centuries —and for the most contradictory and baseless reasons—been subjected to hatred, persecution, murder, and extermination; a people, in other words, used as a scapegoat with about just as much justification as the proverbial cyclists. The conversation did in fact take place originally between a Jew and a Gentile, and the joke only makes sense in this original Jewish form: it is a stenographically abbreviated formula illustrating the senselessness of antisemitic accusations.

The third example is a joke which has been circulating in the whole German linguistic orbit for many decades. Most of those who tell or hear it fail to realize that it is of Jewish origin.

A car gets stuck in a Podolian village. After the driver has tried in vain to extricate himself, the village handyman approaches, looks at the engine, taps the gearbox with his hammer and, lo and behold, the car starts. 'That will be 20 zloty,' he says. The driver, feeling that this is an excessive fee for a single blow of the hammer, asks for a detailed account. The villager writes on a scrap of paper: 'One blow of the hammer—1 zloty; for knowing where to hammer—19 zloty.'

In this instance the Jewish provenance is even more clearly discernible by the expert than in the preceding ones; a simple village handyman would not normally express himself so astutely. The formulation used implies a fairly high level of intelligence—an intelligence and mental agility with which traditional Judaism imbued all its sons, even if they be village handymen, by means of Talmudic studies.

Now let us look at a few stories taken from the superabundance of Jewish jokes.

Here is one which delicately hints that compliance with the Ten Commandments adds to the complications of life:

Father: 'Maurice, have you been taught the Ten Commandments yet in your scripture lessons?'

Maurice: 'No, daddy, only the ten plagues.'

Next, a joke poking fun at the Talmudic practice of splitting hairs:

Rabbis in Eastern Europe were not only teachers but also, to a considerable extent, arbiters in legal and religious questions, with which they dealt in accordance with Talmudic law.

A man stands accused before such a Rabbi. He has been caught with another man's wife. 'You cad,' the Rabbi cries indignantly. 'Rabbi,' the culprit pleads, 'it is written that one must not judge a man without first listening to his story. Give me a chance to prove my innocence. Rabbi, you will admit that I am entitled to have an affair with my own wife?' Rabbi: 'But of course. What a question!' The Jew: 'Equally, Rabbi, you will grant that the man who accused me may have an affair with his wife?' Rabbi: 'Obviously so.' The Jew: 'But may he also have an affair with *my* wife?' Rabbi (disgusted): 'Of course not—the very idea!' The Jew: 'Well, then everything is crystal clear, Rabbi. You have just said yourself that I may have an affair with a woman with whom my accuser may not have an affair. Am I not entitled, all the more, to have an affair with a woman with whom he may have one too?'

Now a joke making fun of the otherworldliness of Talmudic scholars. It was a long-standing practice among Eastern European Jews for the men to devote themselves entirely to the non-profit-making study of the Talmud, leaving it to their womenfolk to provide for the needs of the family. One such Jewess asks her husband, well versed in Talmudic lore but in not much else, to look after the shop while she is preparing the Sabbath meal. Upon her return she finds to her horror two Cossacks about to plunder the shop and stuffing their pockets while her spouse is deeply immersed in his volume of the Talmud and makes no attempt to interfere. The woman retrieves her property and chases away the looters, complaining to her husband: 'How can you sit and look on while they rob the shop?' To which the erudite husband replies: 'What are you getting excited about? I admit, if Rabbis were suddenly to go and commit robbery, this would be cause for alarm. But for Cossacks to rob is perfectly normal.'

The Chassidim were a mystical group in Eastern Europe, usually gathered around a so-called wonder-Rabbi. Their opponents sometimes made fun of their belief in miracles in the following manner. There is a drought. The faithful call on the Rabbi and ask him to pray for rain. The Rabbi prays—and it rains. But the rain will not stop and the people go back to the Rabbi, this time to ask him to pray for sunshine. The Rabbi prays—and the rain continues. So the Rabbi's servant, the *shammes*, explains: 'You must bear in mind that the Rabbi is still quite young. He has learned how to make rain, but not yet how to stop it.'

Jewish ritual law is very strict and prohibits any physical exertion on the Sabbath, including lighting a fire. Accordingly, no observant Jew would smoke on the Sabbath. The 'enlightened' Chaim Katz however goes for a walk one Sabbath day with a lighted cigar between his lips. As he passes a gunpowder magazine, the guard calls: 'You must not smoke!' To which Chaim Katz replies disdainfully: 'Pshaw, I got over these prejudices long ago.'

A people which has long cultivated a logical way of thinking derives great amusement from illogical behaviour. Here is an example. A Jew, greatly agitated, runs up and down a railway platform, calling 'Rubinstein, Rubinstein!' Another Jew, curious at the commotion, sticks his head out of the window of a stationary train. No sooner has he done so than he receives a resounding slap in the face. The occupants of the compartment are highly amused, particularly the recipient of the slap. 'We think this is funny, but why are *you* laughing,' the others ask him. 'Well, what do you know,' he replies, convulsed, 'I don't even happen to be Rubinstein.'

Being a people of Mediterranean origin, the Jews are apt to gesticulate a lot when speaking, a peculiarity which makes them rather conspicuous in Northern Europe, hence the following joke: Moishe: 'Yankel, what is the meaning of the word "pantomime"?' Yankel: 'That is very simple. "Pantomime" means that two people have a conversation but they don't say anything.'

A joke about the impudence of the professional *schnorrer*: Two *schnorrers* meet after a good 'day's work'. 'Oh dear,' says one, 'I completely forgot to call on the wealthy Mr. Goldbaum and he always gives me a *Gulden*.' 'Look,' says the other, 'it is getting late; let us go home and make Goldbaum a present of his *Gulden*.' 'And why should I make him a present,' *Schnorrer* number one asks with righteous indignation. 'When has he ever made me a present?'

During the Middle Ages there were many parts of Europe where the only professions open to the Jews were those of bankers and merchants. Jokes making fun of the *déformation professionelle* which developed as a result of the consequent mental orientation towards business matters have survived to this day. Here is one of them. A ship is about to founder on the high seas. The passengers are having hysterics, the loudest wails being uttered by a Jew. One of his fellow-Jews tries to calm him: 'Why are you yelling? It isn't *your* boat?'

Many jokes express the Jews' detestation of war and military service. This often resulted in the Jews being regarded as cowardly and deficient in military virtues. The courage with which they fought the occupiers of their country in antiquity and of which they have also proved themselves capable in modern times—if they were given full equality and could regard themselves as citizens in every respect—was conveniently forgotten. That they felt little inclination to fight on behalf of regimes which oppressed them (such as that of the Czar) is not surprising. Hence the following joke.

A lieutenant in the Czarist army is instructing recruits in military theory. Turning to Recruit Silberstein, he asks him: 'Why is a soldier expected gladly to lay down his life for the Czar?' To which Silberstein retorts: 'How right you are, Lieutenant. Why, indeed?'

The fact that the Jews in Russia were outside the law is reflected in

jokes without number. Here is one. A bear has escaped from a circus and the police announce that anybody who finds him is allowed to shoot the animal. As soon as he hears this, Yankel Goldstein prepares for flight. People wonder why and ask him. 'But don't you understand?' he replies. 'They may just as easily shoot me—and afterwards go and prove that I am not a bear.'

The aversion from militarism is sometimes reinforced by a genuine humanitarianism which manifests itself even in jokes as in the following. A Jewish conscript, Itzig Geliebter, arrives at the front. An enemy patrol is discovered and immediately attacked by machine-guns near which Geliebter finds himself. He grabs hold of the gunner nearest to him and cries out in horror: 'What do you think you are doing? Can't you see there are people over there?'

There are countless jokes at the expense of business men. Jossel Nachtlicht goes bankrupt, offers his creditors twenty per cent, and retires for a while to a distant resort to allow the excited creditors to calm down, letting it be known that he is ill. On his return he meets an acquaintance who greets him warmly: 'You do indeed look eighty per cent better than before.'

Many jokes poke fun at the traditional Jewish custom of contracting arranged marriages instead of love matches.

A respected *schadchen* in Breslau meets wealthy Mr. Rosenzweig and reproaches him mildly: 'Your daughter Ethel has become engaged—and you did not even think of your poor old *schadchen*?' 'You need not feel hurt,' Rosenzweig comforts him. 'This match was arranged by Eros himself.' 'Eros?' the *schadchen* asks jealously. 'Eros? I never heard of him—he must come from Berlin.'

As is well known, some Jews, conditioned by the memory of anti-semitic attacks throughout the ages, end up by suspecting antisemitism even where it is entirely absent. They are the protagonists of jokes of the following type.

A Jew emerges from the radio headquarters. 'What were you doing in there?' he is asked. 'I ap-pplied f-for the p-post of an-an-announcer,' he stammers. 'And did you get it?' his companion inquires. 'N-no, b-but then th-they are all antise-semites in there.'

By virtue of being a minority, ever exposed to attack, the Jews have become particularly sensitive to all types of mass hysteria.

Shmul is bored. Looking out of the window he calls to passers-by: 'Have you heard the latest? A salmon is dancing in the market square!' Immediately somebody turns round and makes for the market. On his way he passes on the exciting news, and soon the whole town is on the move, bound for the market square. Shmul observes this mass movement with increasing amazement. Finally he grabs his hat and says to his wife: 'I am also going to the market. I must see what is going on —maybe there really is a salmon dancing in the square.'

Where could one find a more striking expression of the dilemma of collective guilt than in the following story?

Little Gerda to little Moishe: 'I am no longer allowed to play with you. Mummy says you Jews killed Jesus!' To which little Moishe replies: 'She can't mean us; it must have been the Cohens next door.'

And, finally, a joke which, in its profundity and bitterness, seems to have undertones of Schopenhauer and Indian philosophy:

A traveller, arriving in a Galician town, orders a pair of trousers from a Jewish tailor. Three months later he leaves, without the trousers. After seven years he happens to pass through the same place again and, lo and behold, the tailor comes to deliver the trousers. 'Well,' the traveller exclaims, astounded, 'God created the world in seven days—but you take seven years for a pair of trousers!' 'True,' the Jew agrees, quite unimpressed, 'but look at the world—and look at my trousers.'

Even the few examples quoted will have sufficed to prove that Jewish humour is more profound, more varied and altogether richer than that of other peoples.

They also illustrate why even extensive collections of Jewish jokes do not appear monotonous and why an attempt to collect as many Jewish stories as possible while there is still time to save them from oblivion is well worth while.

CHRONICLE

Prepared by

Paul Glikson

The American Jewish Year Book for 1962 has published estimates of the Jewish population in the United States at 5,510,000, of whom 80 per cent are native born. The total world Jewish population is estimated at approximately 12,500,000: 936,000 in Canada and Central and South America, about 3,750,000 in Europe, and some 2,000,000 in Asia. Some 500,000 Jews are estimated as living in African countries and about 70,000 in Australia and New Zealand. The population of Israel is given as 1,936,000 Jews and 243,000 non-Jews.

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Mr. Moshe Chaim Shapiro, Israel's Minister of Interior, announced in the Knesset on 17 July 1962 that the dispersal of new immigrants is being implemented under a plan envisaging a population of 3,000,000 Jews and 360,000 Arabs within the next ten years. According to the plan, the greater Tel-Aviv area will have a population of over 900,000, Haifa 400,000, and Jerusalem 250,000. The population of Eilat is expected to reach 38,000, and Beersheba with its surroundings may have some 125,000 inhabitants.

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The setting up of a World Bureau of Jewish Education was decided on at the last session of the first World Conference on Jewish Education in Jerusalem on 17 August. The new agency will be a clearing house for information and form the basis for the formulation of plans to meet educational needs and raise educational standards in all Jewish communities, 'in the light of their own views and conditions, and in full respect for their autonomy'. It is to be supervised by a representative World Council, which will decide the location of the Bureau.

This was the major result of the six-day meeting, which was sponsored by the World Conference of Jewish Organisations (COJO), a consultative body of ten major organisations, including the World Jewish Congress. More than 500 delegates and observers attended.

A report on Jewish education in 28 countries outside Israel and the Eastern bloc which was submitted to the conference, showed that only about half of the estimated 1,573,000 Jewish children of school age in these countries received some kind of Jewish education. Of their 25,000 teachers, only about a quarter are professionally qualified. Reports from universities—there are 250,000 Jewish students in the United States and 150,000 in other countries in the West—showed that a relatively low percentage of the students were actively concerned with Jewish community affairs and that their knowledge of Jewish affairs was generally elementary.

In its final resolutions the conference also urged Jewish communities to provide adequate facilities for a Jewish education for every Jewish child. It called upon community leaders to devote themselves to the problems of Jewish education, and asked for immediate steps to raise Jewish educational standards and remedy the 'acute shortage' of teaching personnel. It appealed to educators to 'expand the study of Hebrew and the role of Israel in the curriculum', and to parents to 'give priority to the Jewish education of their children'. The conference also recognised that Yiddish 'is a cultural and educational force in many Jewish communities'.

No fund for the World Bureau of Jewish Education was established at this stage but it is expected that in two years' time, when the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany comes to an end, between $15 and $20 million will be available.

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More than 36,000 persons received educational and economic aid through ORT, according to the report on its 1961 activities published in New York. ORT programmes were conducted in 19 countries, though mainly in Israel, North Africa, Iran, Poland, and Western Europe.

During 1961, 596 trade schools were operating emergency courses for refugees, apprenticeship projects, and other trade instructional facilities in the international ORT network, making it the largest non-governmental system of technical education in the world.

Some 10,000 students completed training in ORT courses last year. ORT announced the establishment of a new programme in Bombay for the Jewish community in India, and the expansion of activities in Israel and France 'to meet the rising tide of refugees from North Africa and other areas'.

The cost of all ORT activities in 1961 amounted to $7,650,760. The Joint Distribution Committee allocated $1,848,000 (about 27 per cent) out of the United Jewish Appeal funds.

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An expanded Youth Aliyah programme envisages 6,000 new wards for the current year, compared with 4,000 for the year ending last April. Since Youth Aliyah has offered to accept an unlimited number of children from Algeria, 6,000 is only a working figure. Mr. Moshe Kol, director of Youth Aliyah, submitted during his visit to France a detailed plan for absorbing Algerian youth. The age limit for admission has been widened at both ends of the scale. People will be accepted from the age of 12 to 17 or 18, instead of between 13 and 16 as was previously the case.

At present there are about 12,000 children enrolled in various Youth Aliyah institutions.

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It is estimated that between 80,000 and 85,000 Jews have left Algeria since last March, and that about 20,000 still remain there. From the files of the Secretariat of State for Repatriates it seems clear that the bulk of the Jewish families decided to settle in Marseilles. This could mean an establishment of a new community of some 50,000 people. Marseilles is also proving a magnet for Algerian Jews sent to other parts of France, who are now returning to settle there.

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Sir John Cockcroft devoted part of his presidential address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science annual meeting (Manchester, August 1962) to the plight of sociology, social anthropology, and social psychology in the United Kingdom. All these disciplines need more support. Grants from the United States foundations on which the social sciences in Britain have relied rather heavily are no longer available. The foundations justly argue that British social research should be financed to a far larger extent from British sources. More post-graduate scholarships are urgently needed as well as complementary funds to enable students to undertake specific research. The Sociological Committee of the Association considered that it would be impossible to meet the demand for well-trained, responsible social workers and university teachers without such assistance.

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The Department of Social Sciences of UNESCO is initiating, within the framework of the East–West major project, a series of studies on the role of Eastern students as culture carriers after they complete their university education in Western countries.

The proposed studies will be made in two countries of Asia and a country in the Middle East, and will be carried out on the basis of interviews with samples of 'returnees'. A first series of questions will deal with the time before their departure abroad and determine to what degree the students were prepared both academically and generally for studying in a Western country, as well as improvements which could be proposed in this respect. The interviews will be concerned with the role played by the foreign student as culture carrier in the Western host country, the extent and nature of non-technical knowledge and skill (as well as technical information) acquired, and finally with the impression gained in, as well as the attitude assumed towards, the host country. The most important part of the interviews will be devoted to the period after the student has returned to his home country. It will attempt to analyse his role as intermediary between the two cultures and to define the difficulties he experiences in the task of transmitting knowledge and attitudes acquired abroad. The social and mental problems of his re-integration will be equally examined.

It is hoped that the studies will make it possible to isolate the factors which affect favourably or unfavourably the intercultural communication arising from Eastern students studying at Western universities. The findings of the studies will be discussed at a meeting of Eastern and Western experts with a view to elaborating recommendations for the better planning and organisation of the university training given to Eastern students in the West and to improving the understanding of values held in foreign cultures.

JEWS IN THE HIGH ATLAS MOUNTAINS OF MOROCCO: A PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Dorothy Willner and Margot Kohls

INTRODUCTION

THE settlement of Jews among the Berber populations of North Africa goes back to ancient times. The first Jews may have come during the period of the Phoenician colonization but it is more probable that they arrived in the years following the destruction of the First Temple in Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E.[1] A flow of Jews from Palestine continued in subsequent centuries, particularly after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., augmented by immigration from other parts of the Roman Empire. As Jews dispersed throughout North Africa extensive conversions to Judaism occurred among its Berber population until the rise and spread of Islam. The Jews of the Atlas Mountains of Morocco most probably are descendants of ancient Jewish immigrants and of Judaized Berbers who did not become Moslems,[2] possibly augmented after the fifteenth century by descendants of refugees from Spain.

Although Jews are still to be found in the Atlas Mountains of Morocco, this paper is a reconstruction derived from the memories and continuing behaviour of immigrants to Israel soon after their arrival. Most of the fieldwork on which it is based was carried out in an Israeli village here called Ometz.[3] Informants who were systematically questioned included immigrants who arrived in Israel knowing Hebrew, those who had learned enough during their first year there to be able to respond to questions, Israeli instructors who lived in Ometz with the immigrants, and Israeli emissaries and urban Moroccan immigrants who had visited the Atlas Mountains.[4]

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Jews have lived in towns and villages scattered through the Atlas Mountain region.[5] In the towns they generally have had their own quarter, known as *mellah*, although mingling freely with the remainder of the population in the main streets and market-places.[6] In the rural districts, Jews frequently have lived in separate hamlets or clusters of hamlets,[7] also termed *mellah*, adjoining or at a short distance from Berber villages, themselves often composed of separate sub-villages or hamlets.[8] Occasionally, a few Jewish families would inhabit a corner of a predominantly non-Jewish village.[9] All the Atlas Mountain families I encountered in Israel undoubtedly had Berbers for neighbours, although they referred to them in Hebrew as Arabs.[10]

Many of these villages, according to the testimony of Israeli and urban Moroccan emissaries who visited the Atlas Mountains, are situated at an altitude that can attain over 2,000 metres,[11] and such villages may be accessible only by mule or by foot. They may be built against mountain slopes or on the tops of cliffs;[12] and the emissaries described some villages as being partly hewn out of the mountainsides.[13] The villages generally are located near mountain streams (cf. also Montagne 1931a : 41) and fruit trees were reported to grow in abundance near most of them.

Houses might be built of stone, mud, or even mud and straw, according to informants, depending on materials available in the vicinity.[14] Dwellings could range from several rooms to several stories. Windows consisted of small unglazed openings in the walls. Entrances and ceilings were low, and the latter made of roughly worked rafters. In buildings of several stories, access to the upper stories was through inside stairs or outside ladders. Houses generally were built against each other and around courts. In the courts most of the cooking was done. People lived very close together, according to the description of an Israeli emissary; he reported one case of 50 families occupying a ground-space of about 50–80 square metres.

In such villages the Jews generally have been artisans and traders, the traditional occupations of Jews throughout North Africa.[15] In some localities, they also have engaged in money-lending[16] and in distilling fig or date brandy for their own consumption and for illegal sale to the Moslems.[17] They could not own land, and the practice of agriculture was exceptional but not unknown.[18] They might own cows and/or sheep, cared for by neighbouring Berbers to whom they gave the money to purchase the animals.[19] New-born animals would be divided between Jew and Berber.

Women's work in the villages included food preparation and child-rearing; and wives might help their husbands in such trades as shoe-making and tailoring.[20] In the villages in which agriculture was

practised, women may have helped in some farming tasks.[21] In Ait Adrar and Ait Rahhal they all practised weaving both for domestic needs and on occasional commission for the neighbouring Berbers. Throughout the Atlas Mountain villages, women rarely left their homes except to fetch water,[22] sometimes from a spring or stream an hour's distance by foot; and they never went to market.

Jews could be identified throughout the Atlas Mountains by the black skull-caps worn by the men.[23] Berbers too may wear skull-caps, but these are in colours (cf. Clarke 1959 : 92). Otherwise, the dress of Jews approximated to that of their neighbours. Principal garments for the men traditionally included a long-flowing shirt over which was worn the djelaba, a loose outer garment sewn up the middle and provided with a hood. The women traditionally draped lengths of woven woollen cloth several times around the body, securing them at the waist with coiled woollen girdles. In recent decades this costume was being replaced by long shapeless dresses made of manufactured cotton cloth. All married women would keep their heads covered, as dictated by Jewish law.

Within the Jewish villages, both wealth and religious learning and piety conferred status, and old age was honoured. Marriages were arranged by parents, and young men were married around the age of seventeen to twenty. Girls could be married as early as their seventh or eighth year,[24] but the age of thirteen or fourteen also was customary. The marriages of those who had wed as children usually would not be consummated until they reached that age, at least in Ait Adrar. Monogamy was general.[25]

The prescriptions of Jewish law and ritual were scrupulously observed, although the general level of Jewish learning was low. North African Judaism has been suffused with mysticism and magical beliefs and practices,[26] which permeated the observances of the Atlas Mountain Jews. Various customs also were common to Jews and Berbers. Particularly noteworthy among these is the cult of the saints, the veneration of holy men at whose tombs offerings would be made and favours asked.[27] The same tombs could be the object of pilgrimages by both Moslems and Jews.[28]

Each Jewish village had one or more representatives to mediate relations with the French and Berber local administration.[29] The Jews of Ait Adrar lived in virtual symbiosis with their Berber neighbours and enjoyed excellent relations with them and a high subsistence level. However, this was reported as far from the case in some other parts of the Atlas Mountains,[30] in which Jews had to work desperately hard to maintain a bare subsistence level.[31]

AIT ADRAR

Ait Adrar is situated ninety kilometres east of Demnat at an altitude of over 2,000 metres. The Jewish villages were located near a mountain stream, and there were also cold springs, which never froze in winter, nearby. Olive trees, plum trees, and other fruits were reported to grow in profusion. The region is known for its beauty, and French tourists visited it during summer, camping near the banks of one of the streams.

The Jewish community lived in four hamlets, situated one to several kilometres apart. Itkaalan had a population of about sixty families, Taabant of about fifteen families, Ait Ouriat of about twenty-five families, and Ait Imi[32] of about twenty families. Each village had a synagogue, but only Itkaalan and Taabant had living in them men able to carry out the duties of ritual slaughterer (*shohet*), performer of circumcisions (*mohel*), and teacher (*mori*), which meant teacher of Hebrew and minimal Jewish learning. These functions had been performed for several years prior to immigration in the other two villages by a Rabbi from Itkaalan, the son of its own Rabbi. In addition to its Rabbi, Itkaalan had a *shohet-mohel*. A single Jewish cemetery, situated next to Taabant, served all the villages.

Taabant also adjoined both the site of the weekly market, held on Sundays, and the district office of the French administration. Also located there was the seat of the Berber sub-district to which it and Itkaalan belonged. Ait Ouriat and Ait Imi were under the jurisdiction of another sub-district.

Houses in Ait Adrar were built of small stones and clay, with ceiling and roof made of wooden beams on which a special kind of red clay was poured. This hardened sufficiently for another story to be built on top, and houses might be three stories high. Roofs also might be covered with tar to keep out the rain. More recently, cement, purchased in the cities, was reported as occasionally having been used in building. Houses were painted according to individual taste.

Extended families lived either around courtyards or in adjoining houses. Each nuclear family generally occupied one room in which its members lived, slept and worked at their trades. In summer many people would sleep outside. The women of an extended family generally cooked together in the courtyards, and one or two ovens might serve about ten nuclear families. Since water was nearby, women seldom left the vicinity of the house. Food would be brought home by the men, or neighbouring Berbers would bring it to the house. Some houses seemed to have had small gardens in which hot peppers and 'nana', a mint plant used in brewing tea, as well as other vegetables were grown. Some people might keep chickens, goats and sheep, although the latter mainly were held and tended for the Jews by the neighbouring Berbers according to the arrangement previously described. Some families also

kept donkeys or mules, although these generally were farmed out to the Berbers.

The villagers were carpenters, blacksmiths, tinkers, jewellers, shoemakers, leatherworkers, tailors, dyers, makers of millstones, and processers of oil for the surrounding countryside. Some of them also knew building trades. Most if not all of the men seem to have known and practised more than one craft; and specific skills were differentiated. Thus, shoemaking was differentiated from shoe-repairing, and the practice of trades would be qualified as 'for the Arabs'. Sons often but not always learned and followed their fathers' trades. The only women's craft seems to have been weaving, both for family use and for the neighbouring Berbers. However, only widows or the women of very poor families would weave habitually for the Berbers, according to informants, although a very rapid and skilled weaver might do so occasionally. Girls generally began to learn to weave at about the age of eight. Men tailors might be helped by their wives, who held the threads in the fine sewing required for djelabas and women's traditional robes. However, no woman could sew or repair garments until, a few years prior to the time of emigration, two women purchased hand-turned sewing machines and learned to use them. Also, women did not know how to knit, although many men possessed this skill.

The raw materials for all the crafts could be purchased at the weekly market, at which cows, sheep, chickens, cloth, finished craft products and manufactured goods from the cities also were sold. While everything needed by the villagers was available at the market, purchases also might be made in Demnat, Marrakesh and even, by those specializing in trade, in Casablanca.

Subsistence, apparently, was assured, since most of the year's supply of basic foodstuffs could be obtained by working in agriculture during the summer months. Jews might work for land-owners as labourers, receiving part of the harvest in exchange. The portion they received usually was enough to last for the rest of the year. Also, a group of Jews might take over a field and work it, receiving part of the harvest in return. Finally, Jews might receive land as security for loans. Until the debt was paid, they received part of the harvest from the real owners who continued to work it.

Additional food was received as payment for craft work, and informants described how they were given baskets of eggs, strings of chickens, and sacks of grain in exchange for work performed. Food also was given as gifts, in addition to the agreed-upon price. Fruit was free as was salt, available in crystal form at a nearby saltmine. Those unwilling to dig it out and fetch it themselves paid a trifling sum to a Berber to bring them a several months' supply. The women ground the crystals in mortars. Thus, food hardly entered the money economy of the Jews of Ait Adrar, and minimal subsistence needs could be satisfied

by all. When purchased, food was bought in quantity: grain by the sack and meat as animals for slaughter.

Work was carried out by each according to his tempo. The villagers might labour long hours during peak agricultural periods, but men otherwise might ply their trades for only a few hours a day. A full day's work began after morning prayers and would extend to about 11.00 a.m., to be resumed at about 4.00 p.m. and continued until sundown.[33] Every religious holiday or life-cycle ceremony usually was observed for several days, with work put aside.

Meat had a central place in the Ait Adrar diet. Even the poorest families were reported to have eaten meat, fried in oil, every day together with bread baked in the outdoor oven. Beef and chicken were preferred, and the meat of sheep and goat also was consumed. Another item of daily consumption was couscous,[34] whose basic ingredient generally is wheat, millet, or barley flour, rolled into tiny balls and steamed. Couscous might be served with meat, fried pepper, and other vegetables or with cooked chickpeas, and always with a highly seasoned sauce. It was so freely available and eaten that the old Rabbi from Itkaalan once remarked that he would forget to say the blessing on food over it. Fish, caught in the river, also was available and eggs were abundant. Beans, maize, potatoes, tomatoes, and melons as well as fruit from the surrounding trees entered into the diet. Milk was purchased by some women from a Jew who had many cows, but it was drunk mainly by children. However, sour milk was prepared, as was a kind of cheese, and these were consumed by adults.

Upon arising, adults drank tea and ate or not as they chose. Meals seem to have been eaten around noon and in the evening. Ceremonies usually included a festive meal, with quantities of meat. The entire community and, usually, neighbouring Berbers as well would be invited to life-crises ceremonies and parties. While milk and meat were eaten separately, separate sets of dishes seem not to have been kept.

Men were accustomed to taking wine with their meals; and brandy, made in the village, also was drunk. Women as well as men drank wine and brandy, especially on festive occasions, but they drank as they ate apart from the men and never took strong drink while among women alone.[35] Strong, very sweet green tea prepared with mint was drunk at all times, as throughout Morocco, and it was served to very young children. In Ometz, the settlers continually spoke of the very cold water they had in Ait Adrar, and purchased ice boxes as soon as they could to continue drinking cold water in Israel. During the winter months in Ait Adrar, when the snow lay on the ground, people were reported as rarely having gone out. They would sit together, drink wine, brandy, or tea, and gossip.

The customary dress for men was the djelaba. In Ait Adrar these were made and worn by Jews in blue or brown cotton or white wool.

They did not care for black and did not wear it, except for their skull-caps. Conversely, it was worn frequently by the neighbouring Berbers. The hood would be worn on the head only during cold or rainy weather or during periods of mourning. Generally, it would be used as a pocket. Men ordinarily went barefoot, but might wear Turkish slippers on trips or holidays. While working, especially in the fields, men often might wear the loose baggy trousers with hanging seat and legs fitting closely around the lower leg or ankle, worn throughout North Africa. Long or short shirts were worn over them. However, under the djelaba, the men generally wore long shirts without trousers, and some were reported never to have donned them.

The traditional woman's dress was woven of fine white wool, into which would be woven at about six-inch intervals narrow strips of cotton, often tufted. The coiled rope girdles, usually of red and black, would be wound several times around the waist. The traditional head-dress of the Jewish women of Ait Adrar consisted of a small (40–45 cm. long) piece of rectangular silk cloth, around which a very long, narrow silk shawl, generally dark red, with a fringed edge would be wound four times and then tied. Its ends would fall to the waist or even lower. However, beginning about two generations before the time of emigration, women had begun to replace the traditional costume with long, shapeless gowns. Material for them generally would be purchased at the weekly market, and the gowns would be made by male specialists in the village. Women often would wear one gown on top of another, the number varying in part with the weather; and the outer one might be used to tie an infant on the back. Silk kerchiefs in all colours, also to be bought at the weekly market, were worn increasingly, rather than the traditional headdress. Most women ordinarily went barefoot, donning embroidered leather or silk slippers only on holidays or at ceremonies. Recently, some women had begun to wear western-style dresses or skirts and blouses, which could be purchased at the weekly market or in Marrakesh.

Toddlers were dressed in small shirts. From about the age of four, boys would wear small djelabas and girls would be dressed in long gowns like their mothers. Children had bead bracelets and necklaces in which amulets were placed fastened around their arms and neck to guard against the evil eye.

New clothes were supposed to be made or purchased for everyone before the Day of Atonement, and before the festival which follows it within a week, *Sukkoth*. Clothes made for *Yom Kippur* were supposed to be in white, and those for *Sukkoth* in colours. New clothing was made or purchased at other times in the year according to need, means, and taste.

Jewellery worn by the women consisted of silver bracelets with incised, geometrical designs, silver rings and coloured bead necklaces,

and strings of bead earrings. The bracelets and rings generally were made by jewellers in the village, and the beads for necklaces and earrings would be purchased at the market or in the towns. Threaded in with the beads would be metal amulets, of which more is said later. These were made by the village jewellers and could be passed down for generations. More recently, cheap costume jewellery, purchased in the market, usually imitation gold or silver chains and bracelets, might also be worn.

Henna would be smeared on the head or on other parts of the body at various times. It would be placed on a baby's head when the hair first was cut and on weaning, on a boy's head and hands at his *Bar Mitzva* ceremony, on the head, hands and feet of a bride, and on a bridegroom's hands.[36] A bride's face also was washed in henna water. According to one young man in Ometz, henna strengthens the hair and is put on the heads of children of every age. A woman returning from the hospital also had her head smeared with henna. The most general explanation given was that it is used for beauty, against illness, and when a child stops nursing. It also seems to have been used as protection against the evil eye. Soot also was used on various occasions. A boy on his confirmation had his eyes blackened as did brides and bridegrooms. A black spot of soot was observed on the forehead of a sick baby in Ometz, and women were seen with their eyes blackened on festive occasions. Thus, it too seems to have been used for beauty and against illness. A black band also once was observed worn across the forehead of a sick man.

These customs were but elements in the body of beliefs and practices concerning health and illness held by the Jews of Ait Adrar. The central beliefs and practices seem to derive both from local tradition, shared with the Berbers, and from part of the vast body of ancient Jewish tradition that does not come within the binding law. As explained by the old Rabbi of Itkaalan and his son, also a Rabbi in Ait Adrar and the principal systematic informant for this reconstruction, demons (Hebrew, *sheddim*) cause many illnesses, apparently all sudden ones. Every human being has a *shed* who goes with him wherever he goes. Men walk on the earth and the *shed* under the ground. There are additional *sheddim* everywhere, and precautions must be taken not to step on them lest they revenge themselves by bringing on illness. They cannot be appeased, only guarded against. Said the Rabbi: 'As a man takes care of himself, so also must he take care lest his *shed* cause him ill.' Beliefs about *sheddim* are ancient in Jewish tradition, and discussions of them are to be found in the Talmud.[37]

As the Rabbis further explained, ditches of standing water are among the places where *sheddim* congregate, and should not be stepped into. Also, there are *sheddim* in the fire, and water should not be poured on it. Thus, after an evening of songs and instruction for young people in

Ometz, led by the youth instructor, a young man was asked to pour water on the bonfire around which the group had sat. He answered in terror: 'I have a wife and children and they still should live.' *Sheddim* are particularly prevalent on Tuesdays and Fridays, the third and sixth days of the Jewish week.

Against the *sheddim* are the angels (Hebrew, *malachim*), whose protection can be invoked with the help of the Kabbala. Special prayers and amulets with the Holy Name invoke such protection. Angels also are thought to sit in the entrance to the house, so that water never must be poured out there. No human being can put a spell on another person, as is believed by other groups of Jews such as those from Yemen. When asked about this, the younger Rabbi in Ometz seemed amazed and said that the power obtained through learning Kabbala could be used only to heal.

Among the illnesses caused by *sheddim* are fainting, insanity, and sudden paralysis of a limb. They are healed by people with special knowledge, which is to be found in the Kabbala. The two Rabbis in Ometz, father and son, modestly admitted to having this knowledge. Special prayers are said in such cases, special charms are written and fastened to the sick person or sick limb, and bands are tied tightly on aching parts of the body. Prayers also are said over water, are written in the hand of the sick person or on his forehead, or a charm might be put in his ear. Further details were not forthcoming from the Rabbis. There are also prayers and amulets for journeys and, indeed, for every occasion.[38]

Thus, there are amulets for pregnant women, worn on the girdle or in a necklace. It also is believed that a pregnant woman will miscarry if she steps on fingernail parings, a belief to be found in the Talmud. However, in talking about childbirth, women would say that they were not afraid; what happened would be as God willed it. As observed in Ometz, in cases in which labour had started before the woman was taken to the hospital, she stood or sat on the floor supported by two women and holding on to a rope suspended from the ceiling. Children of all ages could be in the room. It was reported by the Ometz instructress that none of the women cried out while in labour.

After the birth of a child, talismans are written and fastened on the wall, in Ometz above its sleeping place and around the room.[39] These talismans generally consisted of pieces of paper on which horizontal rows of lines of graduated length in several patterns were inscribed together with blessings. Up to five such talismans were observed in rooms with new-born babies in Ometz. Their purpose, explained the younger Rabbi, is to render powerless a *shedda* (she-demon) with many names, of which the most important is Lilith, who puts to sleep the mothers of new-born children and then kills the child. In addition to the other amulets worn by children, their ears are pierced and wire amulets

inserted. This might be done immediately after birth, but some families waited for years. Thus, the children of the young Rabbi had their ears pierced at the age of five, but a customary age seems to have been between six months and a year. These ear amulets rarely remain on for more than a year.

There are different names for the different illnesses and different names for the *sheddim* causing them, but the names of the *sheddim* should never be pronounced. Thus, when the fieldworker forgot this injunction and said the name of Lilith after the Rabbi had spelled it out, he blanched and told her never to say that name. Also, it is wisest not to talk about *sheddim* and not to discuss past illnesses, since the *sheddim* could return. Thus, it was seven months after the settlers had come to Ometz and ten months after they arrived in Israel that the instructor team received the first indication that a seemingly much respected old woman had had attacks of insanity in Ait Adrar. She had appeared ill for several months and had been sent to a hospital for diagnosis. When nothing wrong had been discovered, her son admitted that every year at about that time she would become ill and dispirited. Later it emerged that she periodically had suffered spells of madness in Ait Adrar, during which she would run around the village naked. Also, she had once bitten another woman who then went mad too. The latter had died in Ait Adrar before the immigration. When the old woman's attacks of madness were later once talked about in the presence of the old Rabbi, he stopped the discussion, saying 'What is buried is buried'. During their attacks the insane in Ait Adrar were kept locked in their homes and had their legs chained, since people feared them.

However, not all illnesses are caused by *sheddim*. Some, like diarrhoea, were considered to have entirely natural causes, and both natural causes and *sheddim* might enter into others. Such ailments were treated with herbs, as prescribed by the old Rabbi. The herbs used, he said, are those specified in the Shulhan Arukh. However, he stated that all the old women also knew how to use herbs; and a few of them who were then in his presence smiled.[40] These herbs, such as a special kind of mint for stomach pains, were brought by the settlers to Ometz, and the old women would bring them out on request.

The old Rabbi also pointed out that it is written in the Five Books of Moses that 'each goes to its kind'. Therefore, heat could expel heat, as in the use of hot compresses for fever, and cold could expel cold. However, he thought little of the custom of burning an aching part of the body with a hot iron, as is done throughout the Arab countries, and did not prescribe it, although it was known in the villages.[41]

But at all times that herbal or other practical remedies were applied, prayers and amulets were used as well. As it was impossible to be certain whether or not *sheddim* were involved in an illness, precautions against them had to be taken. Amulets also were used for toothache; if

relief was not forthcoming, the tooth was pulled. The Rabbis did not pull teeth; but a number of people, among them a carpenter, knew how to do so.

Practices against the evil eye included fastening a wooden right hand to an infant's sleeping place. A hand print also might be painted on the wall of the house, near the entrance, as is found throughout the Arab world.[42]

Five, in general, was considered a lucky number. A baby's hair was first cut in Ait Adrar when it had five teeth. Henna was then rubbed on its head, and the mother invited all female relatives with small children, in effect most of the women of the community, to a celebration. In extending the invitation, the mother sent out a plate of food to each of the prospective guests. In returning the plates they sent back five eggs if the child was a boy, so that many more would come, one egg in the case of a girl to discourage the birth of more daughters. Instead of eggs, they also could send five pieces of money. Women mentioned that fifteen and two are also good numbers. They knew no unlucky numbers.[43]

Whatever the provenance of the beliefs and customs described so far, those central to the way of life of the Jews of Ait Adrar derive from the tradition of Judaism, binding on the orthodox everywhere. Social control was exercised largely within its framework, at least as locally understood and adapted. The synagogue was the centre of religious life and, apparently, of community life as well. However, it could be a very simple building in which the scrolls of the Torah would be placed on a few boards. Every male received a fixed place in the synagogue at the time of his religious coming of age. This place would remain the same, regardless of later attainments in terms of learning and/or wealth. Fathers could seat their sons next to them. Only if a man went to another village would his place in the synagogue be determined by learning, the most honoured places being the seats in front nearest the Scrolls of the Law.

If a man did not appear for a day in the synagogue, his absence would be noted; and the next time he came he would be asked where he had been. Unless a good reason was given, he would be warned by the important men of the community.[44] Should he continue not to attend, the community would boycott him: no one would talk to him, no one would trade with him, the ritual slaughterer would refuse to slaughter for him. This had never happened in Ait Adrar in the memory of the immigrants to Ometz. Sons of the community had been leaving Ait Adrar during recent decades to work in Casablanca. Some had settled there and had become less observant. But they fell back into the practices of the community whenever they returned to Ait Adrar.

Observance of the yearly cycle of religious holidays included some holiday periods of longer duration than ordained. Further, no work was

carried out on certain days on which post-Talmudic law allows it, such as the days intervening between the first and last days of a holiday. Of the holidays decreed in the Torah, *Rosh Hashana*, the New Year, was observed for two days, as throughout the Diaspora, and was considered the most important holiday of the year. The mood was profoundly serious on the first day, lighter on the second. *Yom Kippur*, the Day of Atonement, of course was a day of fasting on which the mourning abstentions were observed. None the less, some of the gladness that is supposed to accompany *Yom Kippur*, according to the ancient codes, seems to have been maintained in Ait Adrar. White garments were worn, and some women were found dancing and laughing on the morning of the first *Yom Kippur* in Ometz. The men spent the entire day in the synagogue, and the women gathered outside it, at least part of the time. *Sukkoth*, the festival of Tabernacles, was fully observed, with no work done during the entire period.[45] The Passover was celebrated for eight days, with no work carried out the entire time. *Shavuoth*, Pentecost, was observed for three days with no work carried out.

Of the post-Mosaic holidays, *Purim*, the Feast of Esther, was observed for two days, with no work done, which is not demanded by the law. Similarly, the observance of *Hannuka*, the Festival of the Lights, included abstention from work for two days. Oil was burned in the *Hannuka* lamp. The reason given for this was the ordinance in the Torah referring to the burning of oil before the Tabernacle. *Simhat Torah* included in its observance the bringing of lighted candles into the synagogue by the women and children. All the holidays included the serving of festive meals, and the giving of gifts of food was customary. A common festive meal was also eaten by the men on the first day of every Hebrew month, *Rosh Hodesh*, in addition to the special prayers prescribed.

The five fast days of the Jewish calendar, in addition to *Yom Kippur*, were all observed by the entire community. These include four fast days connected with the destruction of the Temple, of which the most important is the ninth day of the Hebrew month of Av, on which the destruction of both Temples occurred. It was also forbidden among the Jews of Ait Adrar to wash from the first day of the month of Av to the ninth. In addition, they considered as an obligatory fast day the seventh day of the Hebrew month of Adar, which is supposed to be the day of the death of Moses. A number of voluntary fasts, according to the law, were also kept by many people, both men and women.

The Sabbath was fully observed, although the women in Ometz were observed to go on cooking and cleaning on Friday after the men had left for the synagogue and to take their time about lighting the Sabbath candles.[46] In addition to the candle lit for the Sabbath, a candle was lit for every dead person in the family. Further candles might be lit for holy men. Once the burning of a candle for a person was initiated, it had to be kept up on all successive Sabbaths; to have done otherwise

would have symbolized that the dead had been forgotten. On Sabbath (Friday) evenings after the Sabbath meal, groups of men came together and the Rabbis and old men read from the book of Zohar. On Sabbath mornings the men visited one another and partook of festive foods, including meat in abundance and wine or brandy. The women served, then sat separately in a corner, as at all festive gatherings. They might visit each other in the afternoon, but no formal meals were served. Women generally wore everyday clothes on the Sabbath.

The family institutions and life-cycle observances of the Jews of Ait Adrar were organized in terms of Jewish law within a cultural tradition not markedly discontinuous with that in which the Talmud was framed. Marriages were arranged by parents, although it was reported that they were not enforced if the children objected strongly. Girls generally brought a dowry of household goods with them but could get married without one.[47] Marriage within the community was preferred, but girls did marry out of Ait Adrar and brides were brought in from neighbouring Jewish settlements. Although, according to Jewish law, it is permissible to marry cousins, marriage between close cousins was not preferred in Ait Adrar. It was reported, however, to have taken place occasionally, although statistics could not be gathered under the conditions in which this reconstruction was carried out. As a young couple were not supposed to be acquainted before marriage, apart from unavoidable familiarity in early childhood, this may have been one factor disfavouring cousin marriage.

Structural factors may also have entered, in that affines were not regarded as real relatives, whereas consanguineal kinship ties were recognized for at least four generations, together with their attendant rights and obligations.[48] These meant mutual assistance and rights in one another's homes, although economic sharing, apart from financial assistance in times of emergency, seems to have been limited to a father and his sons when it occurred. None the less, whenever people left Ait Adrar to study or settle in the towns, they immediately went to relatives and could live with them as long as they might wish, sharing household tasks and responsibilities. Orphans might stay with various relatives, going from one to another. However, should a woman with young children be widowed, she would generally bring up the children herself, earning a livelihood by weaving for Berbers, and helped by both her relatives and those of her dead husband until the oldest son reached the age to assume responsibility. In the very rare cases in Ait Adrar in which she had no relatives to help, money would be collected in the synagogue from all the villagers; and neighbouring Berbers also were reported to have contributed.

The women's place was in the home; and as springs and stream were close to the villages in Ait Adrar, they apparently never went far from the house, until, in recent years, some girls went to Casablanca. It was

forbidden for a woman to go out alone, to be alone with a man who was not a close relative or even, it was reported, to talk to one. Fear of rape or adultery was not the reason; they were not even conceivable in Ait Adrar,[49] as responses to questions made clear. Rather, it was explained, it just was not right for women to be alone with men or for girls to talk to boys; they would be ashamed. However, an unmarried girl in her teens would sleep in the same room as her grown brothers and cousins.

A woman, ideally, was to obey her husband in all respects and never question his judgement or talk back. If she did, he had every right to beat her, and he could also beat her if food was not prepared on time or to his liking. The accepted retaliation by a woman was to run away to her own relatives, generally taking at least the smaller children with her. The Rabbi was then called in to make peace. Second wives were taken only if a woman remained barren through ten years of marriage. After that period a man had the right to divorce her, as is prescribed by Jewish law, unless she agreed that he take a second wife. However, if a man waited until the ten years had passed before complaining of his wife's childlessness, he then had to wait another four years before divorcing her and/or marrying again.

Jewish law provides a considerable number of grounds on which a man can divorce his wife provided that she accepts or can be made to accept the writ of divorce, and divorces for reasons other than barrenness did take place in Ait Adrar, although neither case histories nor frequencies were collected. However, it is almost impossible in Jewish law for a woman to get a divorce unless her husband is willing to give her one. In Ait Adrar those rare women who asked for one lost their property rights as stipulated in the marriage contract. In Ometz, two cases occurred during the first year in which the families of very young wives tried to get them divorces, and the husbands demanded large sums of money as the price of giving the divorce, alleging that they had spent this amount on their wives. In Ait Adrar divorced women were not well regarded and could hope to be remarried only to widowers. This also was the case with widows; and second wives, including previously unmarried girls, could be fifteen to thirty years younger than their husbands.

Should a widow with small children marry again, it had to be written in the marriage contract, the *ketuba*, that the new husband would take care of the children. 'Otherwise,' said the young Rabbi explaining this practice, 'how could one be sure that he really would?' When a widower remarried, which he could do after the thirty-day mourning period enjoined by Jewish law, his new wife was expected to care for his children. However, it seems to have been accepted that this care need only be minimal. Thus, it happened in Ometz that two school-age children of a man by his dead wife went around particularly dirty and ragged. When his present wife was asked by the village instructress,

why this should be so, she shrugged and answered: 'Poor things, they are orphans, they have no mother.' Meanwhile she most carefully tended her own baby son. Young children whose mothers had died might be taken in and brought up by married siblings or by siblings of the dead woman. If a woman died in childbirth or soon after, the infant would be suckled by those relatives or neighbouring women with milk. If no such woman was available, the baby generally died. The survival of one such infant, nursed in this fashion during the day and fed cow's milk and tea by his grandmother at night, was recounted as a miracle.

After the birth of a child, its mother is unclean for a stipulated period.[50] As during all her periods of uncleanliness, she could not serve her husband food in addition to the prohibition on his touching her, her clothes, or covers lest he be contaminated. At the expiration of this period, the woman bathes in running water. In Ait Adrar, the women then dressed in their best clothing and the day was one of rejoicing within the family, with a small family celebration. This custom was retained in Ometz. Thus, the youth instructress, herself a young married woman, once entered the house of a recent mother to find her washed, dressed in her finest clothes, and very happy. The unclean bed was outside the house airing, and the wife said joyfully: 'It is now two and a half months after my son was born and I can sleep with my husband again.' After he came home from work that day, she would serve him food for the first time since before she had given birth. Meanwhile she made tea for her guest and served it ceremonially on a round brass tray used to serve tea to guests on the Sabbath. Further, she did not allow the youth instructor to sit down until she had covered the chair with a pretty spread.

Eight days after the birth of a son the circumcision ceremony marking the covenant of Abraham with God is carried out, as among Jews everywhere. It could be delayed, however, as is allowed in the law, if the infant was ill or underweight. If a member of the family was a ritual circumcisor (*mohel*), he had the privilege of performing the circumcision, although this was not obligatory. As observed in Ometz, the house was decorated with prized spreads and blankets before the ceremony, and the grandmothers put their hands in the water in which the infant was first washed.[51] After the circumcision, the mother was forbidden to leave her bed for fifteen days.

Boys receive their names at the time of circumcision; and in Ait Adrar the circumcision ceremony was celebrated with a festive meal and celebration to which all the relatives and usually the whole community were invited. For a female child, a festive meal and celebration would be held from four to forty days after birth, depending on the means and inclination of the parents. This was obligatory, and only then could the girl be named.[52] As is customary among Jews, children could not be named after living relatives.

Babies were wrapped in cloths after birth, and their legs might be tied up to the knees and their arms wrapped with a piece of string over the covering cloth to guard against their scratching eyes and face. From about the third or fourth month, their torsos were tightly wrapped to the hips to keep their backs straight. A baby was nursed until the age of two, although weaning might take place earlier if the mother became pregnant again. However, children below the age of two were observed being nursed even after the birth of a new infant. The moment an infant became restless it was given the breast, and it was considered that infants should never be allowed to cry. Within a few months after birth children would be given additional food: pieces of bread to chew, strong mint tea, highly seasoned titbits, or anything else they might want to keep them contented.

Babies were constantly with their mothers. They slept with them, were held in their arms or lap at all times or tied to the mother's back. It was said that small children must never be left alone because of snakes or scorpions. Fear of *sheddim* may also have been a factor. Mothers make infants sit up by the age of two weeks, holding the torso while the baby is in the lap. By that age they are also encouraged to urinate and defecate on the floor by being held in the hands and fondled patiently until this is accomplished. However, the moment a child begins to toddle about, no attention whatsoever is paid to toilet training, as observed in Ometz. Young children were allowed to urinate and defecate wherever they wished, inside or outside the house.

Weaning ideally took place at the age of two, often patiently and gradually. While some mothers might put hair or pepper on their nipples or put henna on their breasts to frighten the child, many older women were opposed to this. Small children ate constantly; and a child reluctant to eat, as after sudden weaning, was tempted with anything he might like. However, no forcing took place.

The birth of a new baby did not involve displacement of older children. Mothers in Ometz were observed walking around with the smallest infant in their arms, the next older one tied or clinging to their backs, and another one hanging on their skirts. A woman, just after giving birth and not allowed to leave the unclean bed, was observed keeping five children quiet and contented on a rainy day without toys or diversions. The new-born baby was in her arms, two older ones were snuggling up against her lap, the other two close by on the bed, occasionally fondled by her. A girl of about twelve brought tea and was doing the cooking and housework. Only after an intensive campaign of infant care and cleanliness by the Ometz instructress and nurse, which focused mothers' attention and time on the care of new-born babies, were children, presumably older infants and toddlers, ever heard to cry in the village. Young children were never spoken to loudly by their parents or forced to do anything they did not want to. Although sons

were culturally more valued than daughters, fathers were observed fondling and playing with young children of both sexes with equal affection.

Infants might be talked to or crooned to in Arabic melodies, the singing allowed to women. Men sang religious songs in Hebrew on all ceremonial occasions after the festive meal. Women were forbidden to sing when men were present.

On *Shavuoth*, the Day of the Giving of the Torah, after his first hair-cut a boy would be taken to the synagogue by his father. A piece of board on which the first two letters of the Hebrew alphabet were written would be put into his hand, and his father and all the men would encourage him to say them. Thereafter, he would be taken to the synagogue frequently. On reaching the age of four, he would be taken regularly and was supposed to sit quietly and listen. This was also the age at which he would be sent to study with the *mori*, the religious teacher and only formal teacher of the community.

According to the ideal pattern described, the *mori* first treated the child patiently, perhaps giving him sweets occasionally, and the boy was not forced to spend many hours with the teacher. But as soon as his intelligence, *sechel*, was considered sufficiently developed to understand right and wrong, his education began in earnest. He was expected to spend most of the day, from about 7.00 a.m. to noon and about 1.30 to 6.00 in the afternoon, with the *mori*, returning home to eat. While with the *mori*, he was to sit quietly and obey. Otherwise the *mori* would beat him with a stick or, if he did not wish to do so, he would tell the father and the father would beat the boy. A boy would also be beaten for absenting himself from study. The boys studied Torah with the commentary by Rashi. They memorized the prayers by rote, but did not have to understand their meaning. Except for those who wanted to be able to write books, i.e. make copies of the holy writings, they learned to write Hebrew script in block letters and only as an aid to learning to read. Talmud seems not to have been studied except by those who went to centres of religious learning, *yeshivoth*, in the towns.

In fact, many of the men seem to have studied with the *mori* for about two years only, with an additional period of intensive study before the *Bar Mitzva*. Their level of literacy, as manifest in Ometz, was low. Except for the Rabbis, a few 'learned' men, and some young men who had studied in Meknes or Casablanca, they had to learn to speak Hebrew and read and wrote with great difficulty. Most of them signed documents with a thumbprint. All the men knew addition and subtraction, but few of them could multiply or divide. Distances were measured in hours walked or ridden, or might be given in comparison with known distances, e.g. from one village to another.[53]

A few men had studied for about six years in Ait Adrar and met to read Zohar which, however, they did not understand. They were found

in the adult literacy courses given in Ometz to have a much greater facility in reading and writing than the others. Also, those who had spent some time in Casablanca, even without having studied further there, seemed to grasp and learn more easily than those who had always lived in Ait Adrar. Teachers in Ait Adrar included the young Rabbi, but there had been others as well who in Israel were living in villages other than Ometz. They had been paid by the parents until about four years before the time of emigration, when an international Jewish aid and relief organization working in Morocco apparently began to pay a regular salary.

The *Bar Mitzva* was a major ceremony in a boy's life. He was dressed in new clothes, his head and hands would be stained with henna and his eyes blackened with soot. After the service in the synagogue the parents would give a festive meal to which all relatives and generally the whole community were invited. *Bar Mitzvoth* occasionally were organized for several boys of approximately the same age, but this was an optional pattern.

After his *Bar Mitzva*, a boy was considered a man, but a man as yet of little understanding. His opinions would begin to be regarded around the age of twenty, contingent on the maturity of his intelligence and understanding, his *havana*. This acceptance was not dependent on whether or not he was married and had children. However, after the *Bar Mitzva*, he would begin to practise one or more trades, generally learned during the preceding years. A boy who had lost his father would then be considered capable of supporting his widowed mother and younger siblings.

Little girls began to imitate their mothers at an early age. From about the age of four they watched over their younger siblings and could be seen in Ometz carrying them around on their backs. They also had begun to help with the housework. A five-year old was observed in Ometz washing clothes in a tin tub and sweeping the floor. While she was washing, her two-year old sister brought water in a tin cup. By the age of eight, girls in Ait Adrar also knew the rudiments of cooking according to the dietary laws and were learning to weave. Their marriage then was sometimes arranged.

Such a marriage took place between the young Rabbi, who was then about sixteen, and his wife. It was described a year after Ometz was founded by some old women, with a girl in her twenties, who by then could speak Hebrew, translating. Saada was about eight when the boy's mother came to the girl's mother and said: 'I want your Saada for my Avraham.' Saada's mother agreed. Then Avraham's father, Rav Shlomo, his wife and their oldest son came to Saada's parents to ask officially. A date for the betrothal ceremony was set at this time. The young Avraham brought a goat and many chickens, which the bridegroom always provides, a dress, a kerchief, a pair of slippers, a ring, and

a head of sugar for his bride, which also were obligatory.[54] He also bought a bracelet and additional gifts and sent them to her through his family. Saada's family prepared the food and invited all the relatives on both sides to the betrothal ceremony, which lasted one evening. It included a festive meal and drinking, prayers by the men, and their singing religious songs in Hebrew.[55] At this festival, the date for the wedding was set, some three or four months later in this case, up to a year being customary. It was agreed at the betrothal that Saada remain with her parents until the wedding, although it could be arranged that the betrothed girl go to live with the bridegroom's family.

Weddings in Ait Adrar began on a Monday and lasted until the night of the Sabbath.[56] Before the wedding the bridegroom provided the bride's family with a cow for the wedding feast.[57] The bride's family provided quantities of chicken and other food. On the Monday of the wedding the bride was dressed in white, in Saada's case white silk; a kerchief was put on her head, and she was daubed with henna, etc. The bridegroom and relatives on both sides also stained their hands with henna. The marriage contract was written and the ceremony performed according to Jewish law. To the wedding feast the whole community generally would be invited and the neighbouring Berbers as well, as in the case of the wedding of Avraham and Saada. During the festivities the bride sat on a throne-like arrangement covered with coloured material, and neither bride nor groom could eat or drink until long after everyone else. Women, as always, would eat after the men and in their separate corners. After the feasting the men would sing and the women might yell, a whooping yell for which Berber women are famous, and which is sounded by Jewish women in Morocco on such occasions. Men and women might dance but quite separately; and women could dance only with their husbands' permission. Steps are simple, and the woman dances holding her body like that of a wooden doll, with arms pressed to it. If a woman danced well, she could be given money. Before midnight the young couple would retire to the bridegroom's father's house, and shots then would be fired into the air by the young men.

In Ait Adrar feasting and dancing would continue for the rest of the week, during which the men did not work. On the Sabbath the community would bring presents to the young couple in their own home, and the father of the bride was obliged to present a considerable gift. The wedding ended with a feast given in their own home by the newlyweds, helped by relatives on both sides.

Since Saada had been so young when she married and Avraham was studying in Meknes, she divided her time for the next few years between her parents' home and his parents' home, staying with her family when he was away. While living with his family she was treated like one of their daughters. She was given responsibilities only as her intelligence developed, when she had enough *sechel*. The young couple first had

intercourse about five years after they had been married. According to the old women, a child bride took up her duties as wife when she had enough *sechel* to be one; whether or not she had begun to menstruate was irrelevant. Families sometimes sought child brides for their sons in order to be able to educate the girls as they liked.

In a small community like Ait Adrar the young couple knew all about each other before the marriage, even though they were not supposed to have known each other. According to the old women, however, it could happen and had happened in other villages that the husband saw his wife for the first time at the wedding to discover that she was blind, lame, or deaf. The women laughed uproariously in recounting this and obviously relished the thought.

Even after marriage a boy was supposed to obey his father. He could not undertake any journey, except to the Holy Land, without the father's permission. Any disobedience or neglect of religious duties and observances could be punished by beating, as had begun at the time of the boy's education. It was reported that during later childhood and youth fathers would often beat their children, girls less than boys since girls had fewer religious obligations to perform. A father also might tell a disobedient son that he would kill him for further disobedience, and this was reported as having been believed. It was, in fact, considered permissible for a father to kill a child for violating the religious law, but this had never happened in Ait Adrar in anyone's memory. Mothers were reported rarely to have beaten their children if at all.

The young Rabbi, a man in his thirties by the time of settlement in Ometz and by then the father of three boys, was asked what he considered the most important qualities to develop in a boy. He answered: 'He should not break the Sabbath, he should not shave his beard, he should go always to the synagogue, he should keep all the commandments (*mitzvoth*)', i.e. 'he should be a good Jew'. When further pressed, he hesitated questioningly; and when then prompted to talk of the character of a boy he added: 'He should be straight, he should learn a trade, he should look after his parents.' Being a good Jew obviously included these and all other desirable traits. Other parents when questioned also emphasized that a boy should be brought up to be a good Jew. The ideal bride to choose for a son would be a girl who did not roam around, did not quarrel, and was a good worker. Beauty was not important. In choosing a bride or accepting a bridegroom it was important that they come from a good family, not necessarily wealthy but well-regarded and known not to quarrel.

Like all other life-crises, death was handled within the framework of Jewish law; and in Ait Adrar custom carried mourning abstinences beyond those enjoined in the Shulhan Arukh. A bereaved family sat on the ground in a circle during the seven-day mourning period. Mourning customs were first observed in Ometz, a few weeks after its founding,

when two women received word of the death in Morocco of two of their sisters. In the centre of the circle of women in which they sat weeping had been placed a covered cup containing a small loaf of flat bread. Next to it was a plate containing salt, eggshells and a broken piece of pottery.[58] This practice was not again observed among bereaved families in Ometz or other villages in Israel settled by people from the Atlas Mountains. What was observed was the differential behaviour of men and women. In the case of a dead child, the women, mother and grandmothers wailed, wept, gashed themselves, rocked back and forth, moaned a mourning chant, etc., while the father neither cried nor talked, although obviously grief-stricken. A bereaved husband, after his wife's death, also accepted his sorrow almost wordlessly.

During the seven-day mourning period, houses of the bereaved accumulated refuse and filth, and the mourners remained unwashed and unkempt, with their clothing unchanged. Then, on the seventh day, relatives and friends were observed in Ometz to come to the house and clean it thoroughly, scrubbing corners, washing all clothing and bedding. They also prepared food for the mourners, who washed themselves before eating. It had been forbidden in Ait Adrar to wash with warm water or soap or to travel during the remainder of the thirty-day mourning period. Furthermore, children and grandchildren of the dead were forbidden to wear new clothing and even, according to some informants but not the Rabbis, to wear clean clothing for a year. Those who wished to honour the dead did not cut their hair for a year. In practice, however, this could mean that relatives wore new or clean garments for a few moments, after which the mourner could don them. Also, if a friend told a mourner that it was not fitting that he go about so unkempt, he could cut his hair. It was reported that only the minimal mourning ordinances had been observed for a small child in Ait Adrar, since so many died.

On the death of a man his estate was divided after the children were grown. Girls inherited only if they were not married when this took place. Inheritance is a subject covered in detail in Jewish law,[59] and disagreements would be adjudicated by the Rabbi. It was reported that quarrelling members might turn to the French administrator; but in this as in other internal disputes, he would refer them back to the Rabbis. One administrator was quoted as having said: 'These are your customs, and we are not concerned.'

In addition to the cycle of yearly and life-cycle observances, prayers were said and a festive meal served to relatives and friends whenever a family moved into a new house, at least as observed in Ometz. On that occasion, passages from the book of Zohar had to be read aloud by the men.

Within the Jewish community, both riches and learning conferred status, and deference was extended to age. The possession of wealth

could confer status, as throughout the Jewish communities of the Atlas Mountains, even without learning. For it was assumed that a man had to be clever to make money. Once acquired, status could not be lost even if disaster overtook an individual. Said the young Rabbi in this regard: 'We used to honour him; how could we do otherwise now?'

Status was partly inheritable, at least status derived from learning and holiness. Thus, in one of the other *mellah* of the Atlas Mountains there had lived a Rabbi who was considered a holy man. He had been in the Holy Land, Israel, in his spirit, apparently in a dream or trance.[60] The son of this holy man, although not himself outstandingly learned, held status from his father (Hebrew, *s'khut avoth*) and had been fed and clothed 'because of his father' by the local Jews wherever he had gone in the Atlas Mountains. He used to spend part of each year in Ait Adrar. In Israel he travelled from village to village settled by Atlas Mountain immigrants and had collected considerable sums of money, reputedly IL. 100–200, each time he visited a village. He settled in one of the older *mosh'vei olim*, some of whose settlers were from the Atlas Mountains, but would not till his land. When, according to reports, the land settlement agencies for this reason would not give him permanent housing, the other villagers bought seeds and worked his land for him so that he would remain in the village.

The father of the old Rabbi in Ometz also had been considered a holy man as well as both learned and wise. It was reported of him that an itinerant rabbi from the Holy Land had invited him to come to Jerusalem, since his learning was being wasted in the Atlas Mountains. After his death, people from even distant communities were reported to have made pilgrimages to his grave where they prayed, lighted candles, and slaughtered sheep. Also the object of veneration was the tomb of another holy man, an itinerant rabbi from Palestine who had died in Ait Adrar.[61]

Rabbis generally were the sons of rabbis. Sons of other families could become rabbis, if they went to study, explained the young Rabbi, but they found it so much more difficult. The wife of the old Rabbi was considered a wise and righteous woman in her own right. She sat outside the Ometz synagogue during holiday and Sabbath services, and had been a principal midwife in Ait Adrar.

While the round of life of the Jews of Ait Adrar was governed by Jewish law and tradition, the discords and passions the law was designed to regulate were hardly absent. It was reported that men often lost their tempers and shouted, although they loathed being shouted at. One young woman informant admitted that fights had taken place between men during which they also struck one another. But, she added, people shook their heads at this. Peace was made by the Rabbis or, apparently, could be made by anyone deeply respected. For reconciliation was an expression of the honour due to him. If men refused the peacemaking

offices of the Rabbis and continued to sustain a bitter quarrel, the French administrator might intervene and imprison both disputants. The young Rabbi laughed in relating this.

Public quarrels observed in Ometz included shouting and hitting between old women, shouting among men, and a reported attempt to beat up a work foreman. Bitter hatred between husband and wife was also observed in more than one case, apart from the recurrent pattern of men shouting at or hitting their wives and the wives then running away to their own families. In the levelling of accusations, particularly against instructors, veracity was not always respected.

It was reported by the young woman previously cited that even if a Jew shouted at one of the neighbouring Berbers, 'Arabs', he did not shout back. This is but one detail in the symbiosis between Jews and Berbers in Ait Adrar that seems to have been exceptionally felicitous for the former. In addition to the economic arrangements previously described, it was reported that a Jew in time of need could go to a Berber and would always receive help. The arrangement was reciprocal, and Jews had to give Berbers money when asked. But it was never demanded by force, at least not after the arrival of the French. It was frequently said by informants: 'We lived like brothers, and Arab property was like Jewish property.' As guests at Jewish weddings, neighbouring Berbers brought many gifts. Wages for work performed by Jews in Berber fields would be paid on the same or the following day.

It was also related that when Jewish parents beat their children, the children might run to the Berbers for comfort. The latter then would say: 'Do not hit him; he is only a child.' It also was reported that some Jewish children once ran after a Berber and threw stones at him, drawing blood. The man appeared before the father saying: 'Look what your sons have done.' The father commiserated but concluded: 'What can I do? They are only children.' And the Berber was appeased. The young woman previously cited said: 'Honestly, our Arabs weren't like Arabs; they were so good it is hard to believe. An Arab often came to my father's house who was very well off. He used to say of me: "She is my daughter." And when we visited him he always said to me: "Tamu, take what you want." I was small and really pointed to things and said that I wanted them, and he always gave them to me.'

The Berbers respected the Jewish religious customs, and they did not enter the Jewish villages on the Sabbath. They knew the meaning of the Jewish festivals, and one old man who admired the old Rabbi of Itkaalan brought him every year his best chicken to use as 'kaparah', as *Yom Kippur* scapegoat. The young Rabbi also was informed that after the departure of the Jews from Ait Adrar, the Berber sub-district official, who lived close to the Jewish cemetery, would burn candles there every Friday evening.

But it could happen, on the death of a Jew who had lent money to a

Berber with land as security, or who had livestock tended in a Berber's flocks, that the latter denied the existence of such an arrangement to the heirs of the deceased. None the less, this was a rare occurrence in Ait Adrar. The French administrators (or administration) had forbidden the taking of interest in financial transactions and punished it with prison at hard labour. Some five years before the time of emigration, the administrator had annulled the economic agreements then obtaining between Berbers and Jews, resulting in considerable losses to the latter. The Jews of Ait Rahhal also were affected. For the most part, however, the Berber sub-officials were bribed by the Jews not to inform the French administrator of such arrangements, which were part of Berber as well as Jewish local economy.

Also somewhat dissonant with the idyllic state of Berber–Jewish relations usually described was an incident that had occurred some years previously, towards the end of the Second World War. Strife had broken out between Jews and Berbers when some of the latter accused some of the former of polluting a spring, and demanded that they build a fence separating it off from their village. The Jews refused. A delegation of twenty-six of them went to the French administrator, and all were put in prison. They remained there for two months, had to work at hard labour and had their beards shaved off. The young Rabbi, who had been away when the men were imprisoned, had to go to Casablanca to get them freed. They still had to build the fence. During this incident a number of the younger boys had left Ait Adrar for the cities.

Emigration to the cities, particularly Casablanca, had been in progress for several decades, as from all the *mellah* of the Atlas Mountains.[62] But when, at the end of 1954, the entire community of Jews of Ait Adrar began to leave for Israel, the Berbers were bitterly opposed to their departure. Some were reported to have said: 'Remain here, and I will share all I have with you.' They were also quoted as having said: 'What shall we do now when we have nothing? To whom can we go?' At one point the Berber administrator put about twenty-five Jews in prison to prevent their departure. It was recounted that a Berber woman, generally considered mad, then said: 'Let the Jews go. Their time has come to go back to their own country.' The opposition at their leaving then was somewhat relaxed.

Families left in small groups and some families left by night in order not to risk the possibility of last-minute detainment. Within two months Air Adrar was practically emptied of its Jews.

Three families were reported to have remained behind. One had come as far as Casablanca, saw the sea and, frightened, returned. These three families lived together with the Berbers for about a year. But they had no one to slaughter for them; their numbers did not even include the ten men necessary to form a congregation for prayer. By 1956 they had left for Marrakesh.

NOTES

[1] This is the view of Chouraqui (1952: 13–21) after a careful review of the available evidence, and Briggs (1960: 89–90) also gives this date. Goulven (1923:317–26) reviews various discussions in the literature without reaching any opinion other than that Jews were established in North Africa several centuries before the Christian era, on which there is general consensus. Voinot (1948:99–101) suggests 320 B.C.E., when Jews were deported to North Africa by Ptolomy Soter, as the earliest verifiable date.

[2] Cf. Chaumeil (1953:228–9), Monteil (1948:157 ff.) and Montagne (1930a:46) for indications of the on-going process of Islamization in recent centuries; Flamand (1952:118, n. 1) for the same process in recent decades; and Voinot (1948: 102–3).

[3] Fieldwork in Ometz was carried out from June to December 1955, with follow-up visits six months later by Margot Kohls under the supervision of Dorothy Willner, who also made supplementary observations in other Israeli villages settled by Atlas Mountain immigrants.

Miss Kohls's fieldwork was sponsored and directed by the Henrietta Szold Foundation for Child and Youth Welfare of Jerusalem. It was one of several research projects of the Szold Foundation directed at understanding the transformations taking place in Israel among immigrants of non-Western origin. It was guided by the service orientation of the Szold Foundation and was focused primarily on changes taking place in Israel in the practices and habits of the immigrants. In the gathering of data on the pre-immigration culture of the immigrants, ethnology in depth could not be carried out.

Miss Kohls summarized her research in an article entitled 'Culture Patterns and Adjustment Processes of Moroccan Immigrants from Rural Areas' (Hebrew), published by the Szold Foundation in its quarterly journal *Megamoth*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1956.

[4] In the remainder of the article, the text is based on field observations and informants' statements. The footnotes are devoted to placing these data in the context of Atlas Mountain ethnology, both Berber and Jewish, and to clarifying Jewish tradition. The research involved was carried out by Dorothy Willner, much of it while holding a Research Associateship at the Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change, the University of Chicago. This paper was put in its final form during this period.

[5] Flamand (1950:368–76) gives a list of 155 settlements in the Atlas Mountain region between Marrakesh and Mogador (including these two cities) in which Jews were to be found in 1949, with their approximate Jewish population. In addition, he lists (1950:377–9) 34 more settlements noted in earlier literature as having been inhabited by Jews but in which they no longer were to be found by 1949. Of these, the majority he derives from the maps of Dresch (1941: Planche I, Feuilles 1–3) referring to the Central Massif of the High Atlas Mountains. In the Commentary on his maps, Dresch briefly writes of the Jews (1941:10) that they are not herders and certainly not farmers. He goes on to say that they are mostly to be found at the edge of the Atlas Mountains, near markets or on the main routes of passage, and rarely in the mountains proper. He then qualifies this observation by adding that in the eastern region Jewish families are to be found dispersed in villages, although tending to come together.

Whatever the accuracy of Dresch's observations for the Central Massif, east of it were settlements of Jews practising agriculture, according to Flamand (1950: 336, 372, 274–376). These include the former homes of the immigrants to Israel who settled in Ometz and in other villages. They had practised farming previously, as is subsequently discussed in the text.

[6] Montagne (1930a:37–41) distinguishes several kinds of urban or quasi-urban settlements in the Atlas Mountain region. These are (1) cities on the plains around the Mountains, e.g. Marrakesh, Mogador and Taroudant; (2) towns or large villages at the foot of the Atlas Mountains at the point of juncture of mountain and plain; and (3) large villages at the summits of the Atlas Mountains, inhabited during the winter but deserted during the summer when their settlers disperse to summer pastures and plots. Jews are to be found in settlements of all these categories. Thus, Marrakesh had a Jewish population of 18,310 in

1949 and a non-Jewish population of approximately 225,000 (Flamand 1950: 381), as contrasted to a Jewish population of approximately 11,000 in 1920, 21,000 around 1930 and 26,000 in 1936 (Flamand 1950:371). Mogador, essentially a Jewish city in 1920, with a population of 9,500 Jews as compared to 9,000 non-Jews, had by 1949 6,500 Jews and 13,000 non-Jews (Flamand 1950: 371). Taroudant had a Jewish population of approximately 1,200 in 1920 and 953 in 1949 (Flamand 1950:374) with a total population of over 10,000. Of the juncture towns cited by Montagne, two out of five, Amismiz and Imi n Tanout, are on Flamand's list. Demnat, another such town lying 120 kilometres east of Marrakesh, had a Jewish population of 2,500 in 1936, 2,200 in 1940 and 1,800 in 1949 (Flamand 1952:23). Its *mellah* was studied and described by Flamand (1952). As an example of one of the large summit villages of his third category, Montagne cites (1930a:40) Amasin, canton of Ikhozamen, near Sirwa, which is pictured in another of his publications (Montagne 1930b: Fig. 29). This village has a special hamlet near by, inhabited, according to Montagne's caption to the figure, by blacksmiths, Jews and strangers. Its Jewish population, according to Flamand (1950: 367), was 100 in 1949.

Another kind of quasi-urban settlement in the mountains, discussed separately by Montagne (1930a: 124–7, 341–7; 1930b: 11 ff., Figs. 59 ff.), is the *kasbah*, the large fortified castle or complex of castles serving a great chief or chiefly family as fortress, palace, administrative centre, storehouse, etc., usually rising above a village. Montagne (1930a:346–347) notes that a *mellah* might be established under the protection of such a *kasbah*, the Jews lending money and engaging in commerce.

[7] Flamand (1950:384–5) notes that the *mellah* in rural areas generally consist of a series of settlements named after the Berber tribes among whom the Jews live. He gives the names of a number of such *mellah*, particularly in the Dades region lying outside the area of his Marrakesh-Agadir list. In general, he states, there are no isolated *mellah* or even isolated clusters, but rather chains along a line of communication, with continuous relations between them. The few isolated exceptions he considers to be refuge *mellah*, with a Judaized Berber population practising agriculture. The Jewish settlements I have termed Ait Adrar and its neighbouring Ait Rahhal, the previous homes of the immigrants to Israel to whom this reconstruction refers, consisted each of four hamlets in the territory bearing the names for which these have been substituted.

[8] Montagne (1930a:151–2, 218–20) considers the village (Berber, *mouda* [Montagne] or *lmud'a* [Berque: 1955]) as primarily administrative units, sharing a mosque, a common storehouse, pasture land and a brush-wood forest. A village assembly, in which the decisions are made by agreement of heads of extended families, although all men able to bear arms may participate, regulates such common matters as affairs of the mosque, hospitality towards strangers, guarding the fields, regulation of irrigation, usage of forest and pasture, etc. The assembly meets at the mosque. The village, according to Montagne, has practically no political functions; and Berque (1955:32) is even more emphatic on this point. The major political unit is the canton (Berber, *taqbilt*), usually composed of several villages separated by mountains from the neighbouring cantons, and governed by an assembly of the heads of families from within the different villages. The major social unit is the extended family, the patrilineal lineage (Berber, *ikhs*), two or three of which usually inhabit a hamlet of twenty to thirty habitations. A hamlet also may consist of one such lineage or, as Berque indicates (1955:32, 61–92), the *ikhs* may be distributed among various hamlets and villages of a canton.

In regard to these various units, the Berber form 'Ait' or 'Ida' followed by a proper name generally (although not in all cases) is used to designate genealogical units from the level of the lineage to that of the tribe, in which the descent from a common ancestor may be largely fictitious. It may also be used to designate territorial units, as on a map of the Atlas Mountains, which seem to be cantons, usually inhabited by people of diverse origins (cf. Berque 1955:63 ff., Montagne 1930a:34–5). This term usually is taken to mean 'sons of' but Hart has suggested (1960:472–5) that the meaning to the Berbers is 'people of', referring to territory as well as common descent.

[9] Flamand (1950:384), using the term

mellah to denote any Jewish aggregation, refers to such instances as '*mellahs* reduced to one or two families', of which he cites several. He considers them neither instances of formerly larger aggregates reduced to vestiges nor the beginnings of new larger aggregates, but rather as tiny Jewish outpost colonies ('comme des "comptoirs", de miniscules colonies juives en terre étrangère').

[10] Flamand (1952:141–6) falls into this usage himself in describing the relations of the Jews of Demnat with their Berber neighbours, and I assume that he does so in paraphrase of the statements of the Demnati Jews. Demnat is but forty kilometres west of Ait Rahhal and ninety west of Ait Adrar (Flamand 1950:366) and had received into its *mellah* emigrants from both places (Flamand 1952:139, statements of informants). Therefore, it can be assumed that this usage on the part of the immigrants to Israel antedated their immigration.

The language of these immigrants was described by Moroccan immigrants from the northern cities as an Arabic dialect containing many Berber words and difficult to understand. I assume that this is the same Arabic dialect described by Flamand (1952:23–4), analagous to that of Marrakesh, spoken by both Muslims and Jews in Demnat, with both knowing and using Chleuh Berber in their relations with the mountain Berbers and the Jews using Hebrew only in their prayers.

As for the Jews in other parts of the Atlas Mountains, Chaumeil (1953:232–3) describes the Jews of Tahala (about 180 people in 1951 [p. 239]) living among the Ammeln in the Anti-Atlas, as speaking Arabic among themselves (dialect unspecified), Chleuh with their neighbours, and an argot, composed of Hebrew and deformed Arabic vocabulary and Arabic syntax and grammar, when they do not wish to be understood by their neighbours. (In regard to this argot, Slouschz [1927: 194–6] reports that the Jews of the Jebel of Tripoli had a Hebrew dialect of their own, slowly disappearing by 1908, of which most of the vocabulary was Hebrew spoken with a change in pronunciation. He lists words from the Hebrew, Aramaic and even of Greek origin. He adds that elements of this language are to be found in Algeria and Morocco, but only as a few scattered words used by Jews among themselves in the presence of outsiders.) In discussing the origin of the Jews of Tahala, Chaumeil suggests (1953:285 ff.) that at least some of them may be descendants of Jewish immigrants from Khaibar in Arabia who were expelled in the 7th century C.E., by the Caliph Omar. He cites their domestic use of Arabic as evidence in favour of this. Monteil (1946:394–5) reports the same use of argot and of Arabic domestically for the Jews (34 families) of the *mellah* of Bani in the pre-Saharan oasis region along the Dra River. Among the various origins of these families (some claiming descent from ancient immigrants from Palestine, some from Debdou in the northeast [cf. Slouschz 1927:388–429], some from the Anti-Atlas), the ancient provenance of some of them from Khaibar also is set forth as a possibility.

I can do no more than note the suggestiveness of the general domestic use of Arabic (whatever the dialect) among Atlas Mountain Jews for the question of their antecedents and/or for the general problem in Moroccan ethnology of the Berber-Arab division (cf. Hart 1960:458).

[11] Dresch (1941:5) states that the highest villages in the Central Massif of the Atlas Mountains are located at an altitude of 2,000–2,400 metres.

[12] Pictures of a sample of Atlas Mountain villages are to be found in Montagne (1930b: Fig. 6, Figs. 22–33). Cf. also Berque (1955: Plates IX, XI, XII).

[13] Slouschz (1927:450) describes the *mellah* of Tazert, west of Demnat, as built in this way.

[14] Slouschz (1927:449) describes the houses of Sidi Rahal, a juncture town at the foot of the Atlas Mountains southeast of Marrakesh, as made of baked mud. The houses of the *mellah* of the village of Oulad Mansour, eighty kilometres east of Sidi Rahal (Flamand:1950:372) and west of Demnat, Slouschz (1927:450) describes as mud huts. Still further east, he found fortified houses (material unspecified) with forty Jewish families divided between six such dwellings (Slouschz: 1927:451). A brief résumé of housetypes in the High Atlas Mountains is to be found in Montagne (1930a: 41–3; 1930b:5, Figs. 17–21) and, for the Seksawa, in Berque (1955:30–1, Plates I, III). According to their descriptions, houses of beaten earth without stories are to be found primarily in the valleys,

usually well-fortified, whereas storied houses of stone are characteristic of the high mountains. A monograph on houses and villages in the Anti-Atlas is also available (Adam: 1951).

[15] Various combinations of crafts and trade are reported by Slouschz (1927) for the Jews from Tripoli west, by Briggs (1960) for the Sahara, and by Chouraqui (1952:222–6). The Jews of Ait Adrar practised a fairly wide range of crafts, as is reported subsequently in the text, but this seems not to have been true in all parts of the Atlas Mountains. Chaumeil (1953:233–4) reports the Jews of Tahala in the Anti-Atlas as engaged only in small-scale commerce, the sale of sugar, tea, oil and cloth, in which they are in competition with Chleuh shopkeepers, in jewellery-making which about half the men practise, and in the itinerant vending of jewellery and cloth in the various weekly markets of the countryside. They are not money-lenders, he writes, 'the Chleuhs having superior mastery of the art of usury', and they have no access to the land whereby to engage in farming. He adds that they are very poor. Monteil (1946:395) gives the occupations of the Jews of Bani as traditionally those of goldsmith and trader but adds that the number of goldsmiths had been reduced to four by 1945. He also notes the making of date brandy. Flamand (1950:382) mentions that a Jewish mattress-maker was allowed to practise his craft among the Ida ou Tanan, the westernmost tribe of the High Atlas Mountains, but that he could not obtain permission to settle among them.

As for the Atlas Mountain towns, Slouschz (1927:449) gives the following occupational distribution for the Jews of Sidi Rahal in 1913: of a population of 462, 214 of whom were adults, 40 were merchants of woollen goods, cloth, etc., 7 perfumers, 10 jewellers and metal-workers, 57 cobblers, 12 blacksmiths, 8 vendors of oil, 4 vendors of grain and 25 beggars. In Demnat, the occupational distribution of Jewish males as of 1949 was as follows (Flamand 1952:29–30): 2 bakers, 36 makers of Turkish slippers, 2 doughnut makers, 9 jewellers, 5 butchers, 7 harness makers, 1 blacksmith (not a native of the town), 13 rope-makers, 25 shoemakers, 1 hairdresser, 3 lime-kiln repairers, 60 merchants, 2 bicycle and sewing machine repairers, 3 domestic workers, 4 processers of oil, 3 teachers (who had left by 1950), 7 millers, 4 carpenters, 9 mattress-makers, 3 notaries (for which no requirements were necessary), 27 walnut grinders (casseurs de noix), 1 painter, 4 fishermen, 8 porters, 9 rabbis, 7 book-binders, an unknown number of metal-workers, 2 makers of bellows, 3 makers of sieves, 19 tanners and 19 tailors. Of these occupations, the highest in prestige was that of merchant, followed by tailor, tanner, butcher, mattress-maker, bicycle repairman, shoemaker, maker of furniture and maker of doughnuts. The lowest was that of maker of Turkish slippers, with harness-makers, sieve-makers, millers and metal-workers holding successively higher ranks. Rabbis, teachers and domestic workers were not included in his rank list, and the rabbis also engaged in other activities, i.e. ritual slaughterer of fowls, shoemakers, or tailors (Flamand 1952:95, n. 1). This practice of following several trades simultaneously or according to season is characteristic of most of the population. Flamand (1952:52) considers the level of knowledge and skill in any craft very low; he reports people working very long hours but with neither attachment to any one occupation nor pleasure in the work. Of the 370 families in the *mellah*, 10 were 'rich', 5 of these merchants, 100 were indigent and partly sustained by the Jewish Community Committee (an 8-man elected body functioning under the administration of the French Commandant des Affaires Indigènes); and there were 25 beggars of both sexes (Flamand 1952:50–2, 122–6).

[16] Money-lending and commerce are the sole activities Montagne (1930a:126, 347) ascribes to Jews in the Atlas Mountains in his few references to them. Clarke (1959:93) speaks of them as money-lenders and as blacksmiths, tailors and carpenters, many of them itinerant. In referring to the former activity, he says that it helps stabilize the economy in that the Berbers are improvident, and there might be widespread starvation in late winter and early spring without the money-lenders. He does not specify the source of these statements. Flamand (1952: 38, 41) refers to usury at an interest of 24 per cent among Jews within the *mellah* of Demnat, but adds that the subject is complex and secret. How widespread money-lending was in the villages I cannot say, especially given Chaumeil's

denial of it among the Jews of Tahala, as cited in the previous footnote. Immigrants to Israel had lent money to Moslems to buy and care for animals for them and in return for usage of land for farming, or a share of the crop, as is subsequently discussed in the text. Inquiries about usury were not made, but there was some evidence that it had been practised.

[17] This seems to have been a general pattern throughout North Africa, cited by Slouschz for Tripoli (1927:37, 126) as well as Morocco (pp. 455 ff.) and by Briggs (1960:89). Clarke (1959:92) refers to it among Jews of Telouet, the seat of the Glaoua tribe; and a Rabbi, one of the immigrants to Israel from Telouet, had laughingly informed me about it.

Telouet, south-east of Marrakesh and south-west of Demnat, is the site of a great *kasbah* (cf. Clark 1959:61–63, Montagne 1930b: Fig. 7) of the ruling Glaoui family. Four of the villages in the valley, according to Slouschz (1927: 463–7), had *mellah* in 1913 containing in all about 800 Jews. Slouschz gives the figure of about 300 Jews for the principal *mellah* of Ighilbein, for which Flamand (1950:374) gives the figure of 150 as of 1949.

By 1913, the time of Slouschz's trip to the Atlas Mountains, the Glaoui ruling family was far along in the expansion of power and territorial conquest through which they finally achieved, in alliance with the French, a domain extending over both sides of the Atlas Mountains east to the Dades and south to the Sahara. An account of their rise is to be found in Montagne (1930a:320–32, 334–341). At the time of Slouschz's visit, the nephew of Si el Madani, the Glaoui ruler under whom this conquest was achieved, was Caid of Telouet and had as his intendant a Jew of whom Slouschz writes (1927:465): 'A clever Talmudist, he has a cunning and subtle mind. He plays up to every caprice of the Kaid, and knows the art of making himself indispensable to the courtiers. He is very friendly with the black eunuchs, who are so influential in Musselman courts, and he is even admitted to the Harem . . . he has been able to monopolize all the export trade, dividing the profits with the Berber chiefs, and he often comes into conflict with other Jewish merchants, who fear and detest him. An undying feud exists between him and his rivals, who only wait for the moment when he will fall from grace to exact their revenge and take his place.' El Hajj Thami, younger brother of Si el Madani and his successor as Pasha of Marrakesh from 1919 until his own death in 1956, also was reported to have used Jews extensively in his employment. Montagne, writing of the *kasbah* Jews (1939a:346–7) who 'facilitate commerce and conclude with the Moslems all the transactions which the Caid would not be able, without blushing, to negotiate directly', must have had such figures in mind.

[18] All the villages in which agriculture is reported (Slouschz 1927:450 ff., Flamand 1950:366–76) seem to be east of the Central Massif of the High Atlas, the subject of Dresch's study (1941) and in territory that came under Glaoui rule.

[19] Flamand (1952:141–2) reports this practice by Jews in Demnat. The Berbers have the right to use the animals (bulls, cows, sheep, goats) in working their fields, and milk, butter, and wool are equally divided. When the Jew wishes to realize his capital, the animals are sold and all gains above the initial investment also are divided equally. Flamand adds that the 'Arab' is not always of good faith in these transactions, but that competition among such guardians of flocks serves the Jews as one means of control.

[20] In Demnat the following occupational distribution, listed in descending order of prestige, was reported for women in straitened circumstances (Flamand 1952:30): 1 dentist (meaning puller of teeth, who also was nurse for the newborn and leech), 8 midwives, 113 seamstresses, 45 knitters, 19 thread-makers, 2 sieve-makers, 24 makers of brandy and wine, 7 laundresses, 16 domestic servants, 15 water carriers, 19 rugmakers, 8 embroidery-makers. 3 makers of black soap are also noted (Flamand 1952:34).

[21] Some informants in Israel denied that women had ever worked in the fields but some of the women from Ait Adrar were observed in Ometz to hoe their gardens with real proficiency from the first days of their arrival, and I saw in another village an old woman from Ait Rahhal carry home, with the ease of obvious long experience, a huge load of grain tied to her back.

[22] Women in Demnat also carried water home from the public fountain of the *mellah* (Flamand 1952:37). Flamand notes that any Jewish male in Demnat,

unlike the Moslems, would feel dishonoured to fetch water or carry bread. Women who could afford to do so paid carriers of water to bring it to their homes. Chaumeil (1953:37) notes that in the *mellah* of Tahala, women leave their homes only to do laundry and fetch water.

[23] Prior to the arrival of the French, sumptuary restrictions applying to Jews also included their wearing black footgear (Turkish slippers) and walking barefoot in the towns. The possession of horses and arms also could be prohibited them (de Foucauld 1888:395 ff. as cited in Chouraqui 1952:93). Informants claimed that the wearing of black djellabas also had been erratically enforced prior to the French protectorate (cf. Briggs 1960:92 and pictures of Jews in black djellabas in Tahala [Chaumeil 1953: Figs. 3, 8] and Ifran [Monteil 1948; Pl. I]). However, the wearing of black by Berbers as well as Jews is reported for Telouet in 1913 (Slouschz 1927:467), and the immigrants to Israel had worn outer garments in the colour they pleased.

[24] Slouschz (1927) cites cases of such early marriage from all over North Africa. Flamand notes (1952:57, 64 ff.) marriages in Demnat between girls of nine and men close to or over thirty, the usual age of marriage for males in this town. Girls might be engaged by the age of eight years, and some even by the age of six. A girl who had reached the age of seventeen unmarried was an old maid. In 1934, the President of the High Rabbinical Court of Morocco had the French Protectorate forbid the marriage of Jewish girls below the age of thirteen. This law was ignored in Demnat and probably even more so in the villages. One result in Demnat was the frequency of deaths among young girls unable to survive premature motherhood. Conversely, girls aged ten already could be widows.

[25] This is true of the Atlas Mountain Berbers as well (cf. Montagne 1930a:43; Berque 1955:34), in contrast to the Arabs of the plains.

[26] The influence of the Kabbalistic tradition, particularly the mystic book of Zohar, has been particularly strong (cf. Chouraqui 1952:276 ff.). The Zohar, written in Aramaic and supposed to be composed in the 2nd century by Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai after the defeat of the final Jewish rebellion against the Romans, is a work filled with allegory and mystical exegesis actually composed in the 13th century. The itinerant rabbi from the Holy Land, the 'Haham' (wise or learned one), travelling from village to village, collecting money to send back to the Palestinian academies and dispensing cures, blessings and Kabbalistic formulas (cf. Chouraqui 1952:279; Slouschz 1927:96–103), was a common figure from the 15th century. Such rabbis introduced the cult of Zohar, with its Messianic aspect, and other Kabbalistic doctrines and practices to the most remote communities in North Africa.

[27] This practice is an aspect of North African Judaism which may largely derive from the influence of North African maraboutism (Chouraqui 1952: 293–301), and it flourishes throughout Morocco, particularly among the Berbers of the Atlas Mountains. Voinot (1948: 107, 121 ff.) suggests that it derives from ancient Berber beliefs and practices which antedate Islam and became systematized after the introduction of Sufism into Morocco.

[28] Voinot (1948:16–92) lists 100 sites throughout Morocco that are the object of such double veneration. He divides them into three categories: (1) those of holy men whose origin is claimed by both Moslems and Jews, each of whom has a legend in reference to the alleged person involved; (2) those of Moslem origin also visited and revered by Jews; and (3) those of Jewish origin also visited and revered by Moslems. He finds 31 sites to fall into the first category, 14 into the second category and 55 into the third category. Of these 100 sites, the greatest number, 37, are in the High Atlas Mountains, of which 12 fall into the first category, 3 into the second, and 22 into the third (Voinot 1948:85). There is no relation between the number of pilgrimage sites in a region and the density of its Jewish population.

[29] According to Israeli emissaries and their urban Moroccan assistants who visited the Atlas Mountains, these generally were the richest men of the communities. The chief informant among the immigrants from Ait Adrar, a thoughtful young Rabbi, denied this. He claimed that in Ait Adrar the villagers chose the mediator according to his truthfulness and reliability as well as ability, lest he distort communications or

use his position to further his own interests. He gave as an example of this the case of a clever young merchant who had travelled often to Casablanca and was also the son of a rich and respected man. He had been given this position but was allowed to hold it only for a few months, since he was found to be unreliable.

In Demnat there had existed a position of Sheikh of the Jews since before the French Protectorate (cf. Slouschz 1927: 454). Chosen by the Jewish community, as of 1949, he arbitrated lawsuits in so far as he could, and served as intermediary in the regulation of misdemeanours between the Jewish population and the local judicial power, meaning the Caid and his Khalifat aided by an official of the French administration (Flamand 1952:126–7). His duties included investigating cases and giving his advice before judgment was passed, attending the sessions of the court held on the twenty-second day of each month, and aiding the tax-collector in fixing and collecting taxes. Unlike his Moslem equivalents, who received five per cent of the money collected, he served without remuneration. The administration of justice was 'rickety' where the Jews were concerned, according to Flamand. But this was tempered, he adds, by (1) the equality of treatment given to Moslem and Jewish defendants; (2) the general absence in the administration of justice of Western-style guarantees; (3) the existence of the right of appeal; and, above all, (4) the infrequency of appearance of Jews before the court.

[30] The Atlas Mountains are part of the traditional 'Bled es Siba' of Morocco, the 'land of dissidence' of the Berber mountain tribes resistant to the Sultan's authority and administration, as contrasted to the 'Bled el Makhzen', the plains area subject to the control of the central government. Of the Jews of the Bled es Siba, particularly the Atlas Mountains, in 1883–1884, de Foucauld wrote (de Foucauld 1888:394 ff. as cited in Chouraqui 1952:93–6) '. . . they are the most unfortunate of men'. He describes not only the sumptuary restrictions to which they were subject, cited in note 23, but also a series of special taxes levied on them and, most particularly, the state of vassalage in which they lived. 'Every Jew of the *bled-es-siba* belongs body and goods to his lord, his *sid*. If his family was already established in the countryside, he has come to him (the sid) as part of his inheritance. . . . If he himself (the Jew) has come to settle down, he must constitute himself, as soon as he arrives, the Jew of somebody. His homage given, he is tied for ever, he and his posterity, to the one he has chosen. The sid protects his Jew against strangers as one defends his property. He makes use of him in the way he manages his patrimony, according to his own character.' De Foucauld continues with this analogy, contrasting the wise and economical Moslem's treatment of the Jew with that of the prodigal: the former requiring as annual tribute no more than the Jew can afford; the latter demanding excessive sums, taking the Jew's wife in hostage for what he cannot give. De Foucauld piles detail on detail: should violence break out, everything the Jew earns is snatched from him; his children are taken away; finally, he himself is put on the market and sold at auction. Or else his house is pillaged and destroyed, and he and his family chased away. 'No one protects a Jew against his lord; he is at his mercy.'

By 1913, the year of Slouschz's visit, such conditions of vassalage still obtained in the Dades region (Slouschz 1927:483) not yet conquered by the Glaoui. In the region of Telouet, the Jews suffered from very heavy taxation and might have to engage in forced labour (Slouschz 1927: 470), but this was no less true of the Berber subjects of the great Berber chieftains newly risen to power (cf. Montagne 1930a:348 ff.) who despoiled their subjects, formerly organized in independent canton (*taqbilt*) states (cf. Montagne 1930a:147–241).

By the 1920s Jews still remained, according to Montagne (1930a:45), 'the most despised class in Berber country'; but they could move around freely under the French protectorate, unlike former times when, according to de Foucauld (op. cit.), the men needed the authorization of their overlords in order to travel and their families were compelled to remain behind to guarantee their return.

Informants from Ait Adrar spoke of the time, before the arrival of the French, when they needed a protector in order to enter a Berber village.

[31] Cf. Chaumeil 1953; Flamand 1950: 390–3.

[32] These are the true names of the hamlets all of which, with the exception

of Ait Imi, I was able to find on the Index Map of Morocco.

[33] The workday in Demnat for Jews was: in winter, 7.00 a.m.–2.00 p.m. and 3.00 p.m.–8.00 p.m.; in summer, 6.00 a.m.–1.30 p.m. and 2.30 p.m.–5.30 p.m., 8.00 p.m. on even to 2.00 a.m. (Flamand 1952:42). Subsistence in Demnat was far from assured, according to Flamand's description, as reflected in these hours.

[34] In Demnat meat and couscous were eaten by the vast majority of Jews only on holidays (Flamand 1952:42, 78). The usual meal consisted of barley bread and vegetables prepared with a highly seasoned sauce.

[35] In Demnat, home-made wine and brandy were on all tables (Flamand 1952:80–1). Wine was made of local grapes, and brandy, *mahya*, of grapes, raisins, figs, and dates, with grains of aniseed added.

[36] In a description of a wedding in Demnat in 1932 (Flamand 1952:57–60), the bride's hands, arms and feet were stained with henna.

[37] Clarke's brief description (1959: 71–3) of beliefs concerning spirits, *djnun*, in a Berber village north of Telouet shows parallels.

[38] The ritual of Judaism includes prayers for every occasion.

[39] Flamand (1952:101–8) reproduces printed talismans used in Demnat against scorpions, to protect a male infant on the day of his circumcision and to protect women during childbirth. The maker of talismans, while at work, must guard himself by wearing a ring engraved with the name of an angel, the name formed by the final letters of the first five verses of the Bible. Before engraving the ring, the engraver should purify himself in running water.

[40] Flamand (1952:96, 99) notes that in the *mellah* of Demnat old women were turned to for formulas of exorcism and Berber magicians (he writes Arab) for charms against illness, etc.

[41] Clarke (1959:71) reports piercing with red-hot skewers as a cure for lassitude combined with pain in the joints in Ait Rbaa, the Berber village where his party worked. He states that the pain is believed to be caused by *djun* who are made uncomfortable by the treatment and depart.

[42] Laredo (1954:100) considers the use of the sign of the right hand as a custom going back to the Phoenicians.

[43] There is an aversion from even numbers in the Talmud. Its advice against doing certain things twice ('There is a teaching: A man should not eat or drink in a company where there is an even number, or wipe himself twice or attend to his needs twice.' [Pes. 109b, as cited in Cohen 1949:294]) may not have been known by the Jews of Ait Adrar, certainly not by the women.

[44] This was not the case in Demnat. Flamand (1952:118) reports that many adults go to the synagogue irregularly, except for Sabbath attendance.

[45] Only on the first and last days of Sukkoth is work prohibited, but the Jews of Ait Adrar seem to have refrained from labour for the entire period from the beginning of *Rosh Hashana* until *Simhat Torah*. Also, Sukkoth may have been observed an extra two days.

[46] Lighting the Sabbath candle and saying the blessing over it is one of the three religious observances specifically enjoined on a woman in addition to the prohibitions binding on all and the prohibitions related to uncleanliness. The other two observances are: to burn a bit of dough with a blessing when the Sabbath bread is baked; and to go to the ritual bath or *mikva* of running water before marriage and following every period of uncleanliness after marriage. All three were observed by the women of Ait Adrar, with the mountain stream serving as *mikva*.

[47] In Demnat, a dowry of at least the following objects was required of the bride: a rug, a woollen cover, a copper basin, a pestle, two mattresses, a collar of seven pieces of gold and bracelets of gold or silver (Flamand 1952:56).

[48] Kinship relations could not be looked into in detail in the conditions of research under which the data for this reconstruction were gathered. It may be that the consanguineal relationship involved rights and obligations difficult to reconcile with potential sources of tension between affines or with other kinds of roles in which potential affines might stand in regard to each other. Thus, the woman's practice of running home to her own family, her recourse against maltreatment, as subsequently discussed in the text, could possibly be seen as a factor mitigating against marriage between close consanguineal kin. However, the consanguineal relation equally could be seen as reinforcing the marriage bond,

at least for the families involved, so that inference from this point is double-edged. Without additional data, the whole subject cannot be further pursued.

[49] However, adultery is reported as frequent in Demnat (Flamand 1952:87–88). Among the reasons suggested for this is the disparate age of the spouses. On the one hand, the young men, generally unmarried until after the age of thirty, seek sexual partners. Reciprocally, young women, married to much older men, are not unreceptive to advances from the younger men.

As for rape, Jewish girls were reported as often carried away by Berber men in pillage of a *mellah* before the period of the French protectorate (Slouschz 1927: 448); and Chaumeil reports that the women of Tahala in the Anti-Atlas were afraid to leave the vicinity of their homes (Chaumeil 1953:233).

[50] Beliefs and practices related to the uncleanliness of women in Ait Adrar were those of Jewish law. Women are considered unclean during menstruation and for seven days after, and have to purify themselves by immersion in running water (Leviticus xv. 19–28). The period of uncleanliness after the birth of a child varies with its sex (Leviticus xii. 2–5), and in Ait Adrar was two and one half months after the birth of a son, three months after the birth of a daughter. In Ometz a special bed, the unclean bed, was to be found in every house and men never sat on it or touched it. It was put outside to air after each period of uncleanliness.

[51] In Demnat special talismans were indispensable on the day of circumcision (Flamand 1952:104), and this may have been the case in Ait Adrar also and not noted at the circumcisions reported on in Ometz. On the day of birth in Demnat, a red and black cock was slaughtered and a soup made of it for the labouring woman (Flamand 1952:60). The head and neck were nailed to the door frame together with five small crown-shaped loaves of bread. Both on the Saturday which preceded the circumcision and after the circumcision, festive meals were served (Flamand 1952:64, 64).

[52] In Demnat a small celebration was held for girls, much less elaborate than that for boys. (Flamand 1952:60). Flamand cites neighbouring *mellah* in which the birth of a girl might be celebrated equally with that of a boy or, conversely, the day of her birth be treated as a day of mourning (op. cit.).

[53] Berque (1955:14) notes that in the mountainous landscape of Seksawa, distances were calculated by the amount of time necessary to get from one place to another.

[54] The gift from bridegroom to bride's family or bride, the *mohar*, is an ancient Jewish custom. The custom of giving a dowry is later, although of pre-Talmudic origin. The amount of the dowry and a sum settled on the bride by the husband are written in the *ketuba*, the marriage contract, and belong to the wife if she is widowed or divorced. In Demnat (Flamand 1952:55–7), a go-between is used by the boy's family to approach the girl's family. Once the boy is accepted, negotiations over the dowry begin. For the betrothal party the fiancé brings only a plate of henna and another of dates and brandy. As the notary draws up the contract, further squabbles over the dowry could take place, with the girl's father usually conceding.

[55] It possibly also included arrangements in regard to the dowry, but the old women said nothing about this and were not questioned about it.

[56] Weddings in Demnat began on a Tuesday and lasted until Sunday (Flamand 1952:59), although the betrothal ceremonies generally took place on Mondays or Thursdays (Flamand 1952: 56). Tuesday also was the favoured wedding day in the Eastern European *shtetl* (Zborowski and Herzog 1952:277) 'because when God was creating the world, at the end of the third day He said twice, "It is well." ' However, Monday there was considered unlucky, since He did not say this even once at the end of that day.

[57] In Demnat the bride's family must provide the cow (Flamand 1952:58).

[58] Placing eggshells on the eyes of the dead was an ancient Jewish custom.

[59] A tractate of the Talmud is devoted to the subject of inheritance. Sons and daughters inherit equally from a father's estate, except that the first-born son inherits a double portion. Daughters do not inherit from the mother's estate. A wife does not inherit from the husband, although he does from her. The marriage contract provides for her in case she is widowed.

[60] The term used in the telling of this story (Hebrew, *k'vitsath haderekh*, which

can be translated as 'contraction of the road') is to be found in the Talmud (San. 95a), referring to three Biblical personages for whom the earth was supposed to have shrunk so that distances could be rapidly traversed. These three persons were: Eliezer, servant of Abraham on his trip to find a wife for Isaac (Genesis xxiv. 42); Jacob on his trip from Beersheba (Genesis xxviii. 10) and Abishai the son of Zeruiah who succoured David (2 Samuel xxi. 27).

[61] Voinot (1948:61–2, 90, 95) lists a site in Ait Adrar as one of the objects of pilgrimage by both Jews and Berbers. Candles are lit there and animals sacrificed. There is no tomb, but legend assigns the site as the burial place of one of ten Palestinian rabbis of ancient times who came to participate in the conversion of the Berbers to Judaism. His intervention is asked in cases of fever, whooping-cough, eye trouble, possession, and sterility. Girls desiring a husband attach to a fig tree a thread from their girdles, then wash their bodies with water brought for the purpose. After having married, they come to thank the saint. Berber girls desiring more abundant hair comb it at the site; this is supposed to be an infallible remedy. On the twenty-fifth of December a grand public feast (*moussem*) is held at the site, at which the meat of sacrificed animals is divided with the poor.

The Rabbis in Ometz mentioned nothing of all this.

[62] Chouraqui (1952:164–5) notes the great increase in the Jewish population of Casablanca because of migration from the interior. Marrakesh also was the object of migration from the Atlas Mountain *mellah*. Flamand (1950:389–97) attributes this emigration to local economic fluctuations to which the *mellah* of Southern Morocco were extremely sensitive. He notes at least 15,000 departures from them between 1940 and 1949. Movement towards the great cities could be made by stages. Thus, the Jewish population of such juncture towns as Amismiz and Imi n Tanout had left them between 1930 and 1950, being replaced by Jews from the Atlas Mountain villages who, in turn, passed on to Marrakesh and then Casablanca. But the high birth-rate tended to keep the Jewish population of the villages relatively constant, although some *mellah* entirely disappeared.

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MINORITY STATUS AMONG JEWS AND THEIR PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT

Victor D. Sanua

IN THE course of the past twenty years, action-oriented agencies have been sponsoring studies in prejudice and discrimination on the premiss that an understanding of the underlying forces leading to intolerance would make it possible to reduce their effect.

During 1950 a number of studies were published on the 'authoritarian personality' and on the antisemite. The major work culminated in the voluminous study by Adorno and his co-workers which was entitled *The Authoritarian Personality*, research which was sponsored by a Jewish Agency. Furthermore, Bettelheim and Janowitz (1950) and Ackerman and Jahoda (1950) put forward hypotheses on the psychodynamics of prejudiced people who received intensive interviews or who were undergoing psychotherapy.

It is felt, however, that this orientation, the study of the biased individual, had been over-emphasized to the neglect of studying the object of this bias, namely, members of minority groups. Kardiner (1951) was the first investigator who combined psychoanalysis and psychological testing to study a member of the minority group in the U.S.A., the Negro. A scientific study on the adjustment of the American Jew as a member of a minority group is yet to be conducted.

Statements regarding the influence of social factors in the psychological adjustment of minority groups have been derived to a large extent from impressionistic and subjective evaluations, and have therefore little scientific validity. For example, Allport (1955), who has written quite extensively on the subject of prejudice, enumerates 16 different traits which are to be found among minority groups. Some of these are: ego defences, withdrawal and passivity, clowning, slyness and cunning, identification with dominant group, self-hate, neuroticism, enhanced striving, and symbolic status striving. The material presented in his book, however, is mostly anecdotal and offers little discussion concerning the existence of these traits among all members within a specific minority group or in the various minority groups. Several investigators have used morbidity rates in mental illness to conclude that minority groups may suffer from a greater degree of psychological malfunctioning. However, enumeration of these rates contributes little

to this problem, since the numerous complicating factors do not permit any definitive deductions.

Morbidity rates have shown, with considerable regularity, that the frequency of mental illness differs in the various religious and racial groups and social classes. Furthermore, diagnostic categories have also been found to be unevenly distributed. To illustrate, the following examples are cited.

Roberts and Myers (1954) pointed out that there was 2·5 times more psychoneurosis among Jews than among non-Jews. On the other hand, while the psychoneurosis rate of the Negro was the lowest of all national and racial groups, his schizophrenia rate was the highest.

Wortis (1953), studying the first admissions at Bellevue Hospital, discovered that although 31 per cent of the population of New York was Jewish, only 13 per cent of the patients belonged to this group. Interpretations of these various differences in rates of mental illness among different racial and ethnic groups have been more speculative than empirical.

Two major types of interpretation have been offered to explain the above differences. One hypothesis is that certain 'racial' groups are more prone to mental illness than others and that the specific rate of each illness may differ in different 'racial' groups. The other stresses the influence of the milieu in causing such differences: (1) differences in the general attitude towards mental illness, and (2) differential stresses in the environment. For example, Tiedze and his co-workers (1942), in an epidemiological study of mental illness in Baltimore, found that the prevalence rates were relatively higher in Jewish neighbourhoods. They reported that the case-finding in these communities was more complete because Jewish case-workers tend to be more sensitive to the manifestation of personality deviations and consequently tend to refer their clients for psychiatric treatment more frequently. Lemkau *et al.* (1942) believe that this higher rate of mental illness among Jews may be explained by the fact that there is little conflict between Judaism and psychoanalysis. The recent book on the Midtown Manhattan Study by Srole and co-workers (1962) shows interesting patterns in the differences in rates of mental illness among Jews and non-Jews. The following table summarizes the prevalence rates.

TABLE I. *Prevalence Rates of Mental Illness per 100,000 in the Midtown Census*

	Hospitals			
Religious Group	*Public*	*Private*	*Outpatient*	*Total*
Jews	250	148	380	778
Protestants	385	61	103	549
Catholics	659	33	108	800

Figures from public and private hospitals are reversed, fewer Jews being in public hospitals and more in private ones. Furthermore, the out-patient rate for Jews is four times as high as it is for Protestants and Catholics. This larger number of Jews under psychiatric care on an out-patient basis tends to reduce the percentage of Jews who are considered seriously impaired. The authors' hypothesis was that Jews tend to embody some kind of impairment-limiting mechanism which operates to counteract the more pathogenic stresses of life. It seems that the anxiety in the 'Jewish exilic environment' may be generated in the Jewish family to function as a prophylactic to immunize Jews against the more severe stresses of life which lead to psychoses.

Further findings of this study may explain the differences in rates among the three major religious groups. While socio-economic status among Protestants and Catholics affects their attitude toward psychiatric treatment, no such difference was found among the Jews. A larger proportion of Jews of all social classes indicated that it is the psychotherapist who is the most appropriate authority to turn to for help when psychological problems arise. Such a ready acceptance of psychiatric help by Jews from all walks of life minimizes the significance of the allegedly higher rate of neurosis among Jews.

Those who believe that social stresses are paramount in increasing prevalence rates point out that people of marginal status are bound to suffer from conflicts resulting from non-acceptance by the majority group and self-doubts about their identity, or that the differences could be explained on the basis of economic deprivation. Thus, this view holds that marginal groups, racial and economic, are likely to have a higher representation of individuals under psychiatric care.

Another approach to the study of morbidity differences has been the administration of psychological testing to normal members of racial and religious groups from diversified social backgrounds. Psychological testing has become one of the indispensable tools for the clinician, educator, and vocational counsellor in the evaluation of aptitudes, abilities and personality attributes of patients, students, and subjects. The ideal manner of standardizing a test is to administer it to a representative sample of the population at large, or, in the case of a special test, to a selected group representing those for whom the test is specially designed. One persistent shortcoming of most tests, however, is that their norms cannot be applied to individuals of different social and ethnic backgrounds. In spite of the fact that Auld (1952) stressed the importance of social class as a variable in psychological testing, publishers of such tests fail to include class and ethnic group differences in their norms. This omission is understandable since social class differences are de-emphasized in a democracy. Neurotic responses and responses due to social class differences when compounded may invalidate the interpretations of the test results. In a later section of this paper some of the

findings, when personality testing of the objective type was administered to Jews and non-Jews, will be described.

In recent years cross-cultural research has been growing in importance. An extensive bibliography on the use of psychological tests in culture and personality studies conducted by anthropologists in various areas of the world has already been collected. However, research using psychological testing with various sub-cultural groups in the United States has been rather scant. There are a limited number of studies which report on the personality differences between Negroes and whites and between Jews and non-Jews which were conducted predominantly with college samples. However, no systematic attempt has been made to use various scales of personality assessment such as objective and projective techniques in a study which includes non-college population of the three major religious-ethnic groups in the United States.

In the early thirties the concept of marginality was first introduced by Park (1928) and used later by Stonequist (1937) for the purpose of identifying a 'type' of individual who suffers from psychological tensions because of his close association with two different cultures. This is how Stonequist defined the marginal man:

> . . . one who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often 'dominant' over the other; within which membership is implicitly based upon birth or ancestry; and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations. (p. 8)

An analysis of the concept of marginality raises two questions. Does identification with two groups always result in experience of conflict and psychological tension? Is it possible for an individual to experience conflicts of marginality which are purely in his mind? In other words, is it possible that what is assumed to be a social fact is simply the functioning of a 'psychological fact'? Of the Jew it has often been said that he is the marginal man *par excellence*. The question which can be raised, however, is: who is truly marginal? Is it the immigrant, his children, or his grandchildren? The immigrant may be considered marginal because he is uprooted and lives in an alien milieu; his offspring, because they are subjected to the demands of the home and those of the dominant society; the third generation offspring who, although quite acculturated, may still suffer from the minority stigma.

Golovensky (1952), in his analysis of the concept of marginality, challenges the basic premisses upon which it is built. He indicates that so many people would be 'marginal', such as the Catholics, Negroes, members of pietistic sects, fundamentalists, etc., that the term has no meaningful sociological foundation. He rejects in its entirety the notion that the Jew is condemned to live a life of duality and conflict; he

prefers to emphasize the positive aspects of marginality which have been stressed by Park, Simmel, and Veblen. The marginal status may provide a perspective for creative ideas, and, rather than a stumbling block, the marginality is considered as a stepping stone towards cultural cross-fertilization. Golovensky accepts the concept only if it is restricted in its meaning. The truly marginal man is the individual whose parents are of different religions and who is torn in his decision as to which one to adopt; or the individual who consciously and deliberately seeks to erase his ethnic or religious origin.

Lewin (1948), holding quite a different viewpoint, stated that in general he found typical signs of maladjustment among Jewish students such as overtension, loudness, and overaggressiveness which were quite noticeable when he began teaching in the United States. Hurwitz (1950), on the other hand, points out that good or poor adjustment depends on the degree of Jewish identification. On the basis of an investigation of Jewish adolescents attending a Jewish community centre, he found that those with the greatest sense of Jewish group belongingness and Orthodox children seem to exhibit the least conflict over their status as Jews and in their relationship with non-Jews. Rothman (1960), however, found no essential relationship between minority group identification and out-group relationship.

All the generalizations formulated by Golovensky and Lewin are rather speculative and the inferences made by Hurwitz and Rothman are contradictory.

The child belonging to a minority group, apart from the problems which confront him as a member of the minority group, still has to undergo a process of socialization which is likely to leave its mark upon his personality. Langner (1960), in his study of the Yorkville Community, was able to identify eight childhood factors which are conducive to poor psychological adjustment at a later age. They are: parents' poor mental health; parents' poor physical health; economic deprivation in childhood; poor physical health in childhood; broken homes in childhood; parents' character perceived negatively; parents' quarrels; and disagreements with parents. Could anxieties resulting from unfavourable parental and environmental conditions be separated from anxieties resulting from conflicts derived from a peculiar status in society? In other words, is it possible to be psychologically well-adjusted as an individual and yet be inadequately adjusted as a Jew or Negro, or be a well-adjusted Jew or Negro and yet be a maladjusted person?

It would be of paramount importance, therefore, to study the individual from both aspects: personality growth as it is affected by general environmental familial forces and as influenced by his minority status. It is felt that there is an interrelationship between interpersonal factors within the primary groups and the cultural conditioning, both of which are responsible for moulding the personality. One point of view, which

is one of the basic tenets of psychoanalysis, is that a happy childhood prepares the individual to meet successfully many of the psychological traumata he encounters in the course of his growth, irrespective of its source. We do not believe, however, that a secure childhood is the only adequate prerequisite for the healthy growth of the individual.

The literature offers two major types of psychological studies on the Jew. On the one hand, investigators have been interested in comparing Jews and non-Jews by means of the paper and pencil test of personality which is supposed to measure psychological adjustment, the assumption being that Jews would obtain poorer scores because of their 'marginal' status. The primary interest of the second type of study is to measure Jewish identity in various Jewish groups through the use of scales of Jewish identification. In an exhaustive study of the psychologically-inspired literature, the investigator was able to locate fourteen studies of the first type and seventeen studies of the second type. While the group of investigators conducting studies in the area of Jewish identity was predominantly composed of sociologists, those engaged in the study of psychological adjustment were primarily psychologists. However, no study has been located whose primary interest is to relate Jewish identity to psychological adjustment as measured by *individually administered mental tests*. Hence, an interdisciplinary approach to the problem which includes projective techniques appears to be more fruitful.

Table II summarizes the findings when objective tests of personality were used to compare Jews and non-Jews.

These findings are somewhat inconclusive since some investigators report that Jews appear to be more unstable than non-Jews, while others report that Jews appear to have fewer psychological disturbances than non-Jews. A careful examination of the trend in the findings reveals that in the earlier studies, conducted in the thirties, Jews had a higher maladjustment score, while the trend is reversed in the following decade. It has already been indicated that Auld (1952) found that lower class subjects tend to give poorer adjustment scores on the personality inventories. Using this finding to interpret the above trend, we can assume that Jewish subjects in the thirties came primarily from poor immigrant homes while those in the forties came from relatively comfortable homes. Another interpretation is based on the possibility that during the thirties subjects were primarily of first or second generation, while those during the forties were primarily of second and third generation. With the greater degree of acculturation they were more familiar with the dominant values of American society which are inextricably attached to these objective psychological tests. An investigation by the author (1959) confirmed this hypothesis. He found that generation constituted an important variable affecting the test results. Jewish boys born abroad obtained the poorest mean score on a personality inventory, while the third generation of Jewish boys obtained

TABLE II. *Summary of the Research on Personality Differences between Jews and Gentiles*

Name and Year	*Test*	*Sample*	*College, etc.*	*Findings*
Garrett 1929	Laird P.I.	Freshmen: 75 Jews, 119 non-Jews	Columbia	Greater instability among Jews; difference not significant
Thurstone 1929	Thurstone	Freshmen: 127 Jews, 694 non-Jews	Chicago	Greater instability among Jews; difference not significant
Sward and Friedman 1935	Heidbreder Inferiority	Freshmen: 163 Jews, 163 non-Jews	Minnesota	More variability among Jews; more inferiority feelings among Jews; both not significant
Sward and Friedman 1935	Bernreuter	College students: 114 Jews, 114 non-Jews	Western Reserve	Jews have higher neurotic score; not significant; women more neurotic in general; age least significant variable
Sward and Friedman 1935	Bernreuter	High School students: 40 Jews, 40 non-Jews	Pittsburgh	Jewish boys less neurotic; sex more important variable
Sward and Friedman 1935	Bernreuter	Adults: 80 Jews, 80 non-Jews	Pittsburgh	Jewish adults higher neurotic score; scores of foreign-born fathers higher than American-born fathers; national origin no effect on non-Jewish scores
Sward 1935	Bernreuter	Item analysis of previous study	Pittsburgh	Jews show more gregariousness or strong social dependence; submissiveness; drive and over-reaction; various anxiety states and symptoms of mood changes
Sukow and Williamson 1938	Rundquist-Sletto	Freshmen: 163 Jews, 1166 non-Jews		Jewish students, on the average, have more marked tendency toward maladjustment
Sukow and Williamson 1938	Bell	Freshmen: 49 Jews, 366 non-Jews		No significant differences between the two groups
Sperling 1942	Human behaviour inventory; introversion-extroversion;	Athletes: 80 Jews 80 non-Jews	New York	No significance in total adjustment scores between Jews and non-Jews Jews more extroverted
	ascendance-submission;			Jews more ascendant
	conservatism-liberalism;			Jews more liberal
	Allport's values			Jews have higher theoretical and social scores
Brown 1940	Brown inventory	Students; 13 years old: 67 Jews,	Minnesota summer camp	Jewish boys manifest better school adjustment;
	Furfey D.A. scale	91 non-Jews		Jewish boys more mature
Long 1943	Bell	College students: 73 Jews, 74 non-Jews	Mental Hygiene Clinic, Detroit	No over-all difference; Jews show better social and emotional adjustment, but less home and health adjustment
Gordon 1943	Willoughby Personality Schedule	College students: 159 Jews, No non-Jews	Minnesota	Majority of Jewish students as well adjusted as non-Jewish students
Shuey 1945	Bell	Freshmen: 397 Jews, 101 non-Jews	New York University	Social adjustment of Jews indicated by more favourable scores

healthier scores than non-Jews. On the other hand, while the first group of boys gave a normal score on the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test, the second group obtained a poor score on this test. The interpretation which was presented was that the third generation Jewish group appeared to have adopted dominant group values through acculturation and, therefore, 'knew' to a greater extent the right answers on the objective test. However, as evidenced by the poorer scores on the Rorschach, a projective technique, the third generation Jewish boys expressed a greater degree of anxiety. It is felt that this anxiety was caused by conflicts resulting from weaker identification with the minority group combined with the uncertainty of acceptance by the dominant group. However, more studies will be required in this area with individually administered tests in order to show the relationship between Jewish identification and psychological adjustment.

The writer was able to locate seventeen studies on Jewish identity where college students were given scales of Jewish identification. Findings of these studies will be reported on in a separate paper. However, a number of studies will be reviewed here which, although interested in Jewish identification, have dealt with aspects of personality other than psychological adjustment, such as creativity of ideas, hostility toward the outside world, authoritarian personality, tolerance toward ambiguity, and identification with the aggressor.

Seeman (1956), following the suggestion of Park, Simmel, and Veblen to the effect that marginality has positive consequences, wanted to test the hypothesis that the Jews who adjust to their minority status are more likely to develop a perspective and creativity in the realm of ideas. Seeman developed two major instruments: one was an Incomplete Sentence Blank consisting of both neutral items such as 'I secretly . . .' and items of Jewish content such as 'Jewish radicals . . .' The neutral items provided an index of general personality adjustment, as opposed to adjustment to minority status which was measured by items which were Jewish in content. The second instrument which Seeman devised consisted of a questionnaire composed of six items dealing with controversial issues. The subjects were expected to state and discuss their reactions to such issues. The premiss held by the investigator was that the larger the number of alternative possibilities expressed by the subjects, the higher their intellectual perspective.

Seeman found that those who were 'high' in minority maladjustment, that is, those who had not solved their marginality problems, were low in intellectual perspective. They were negatively correlated (−·41). On the other hand, he indicates that whenever the marginal status had been favourably solved, potential source of insight and perspective was high. He did not, however, find any relationship between the general personality adjustment and the adjustment to minority status. Owing to Seeman's limited sample and the use of a Single

Sentence Completion Test to measure psychological adjustments, the investigator has some reservations about accepting the complete independence of these two measures.

Marian Radke-Yarrow (1958), instead of limiting her study to one age-group, studied Jewish children ranging in age from 7 to 17. Besides age, the author controlled for social environment. One of her methods consisted in conducting informal group discussions with 26 groups, each consisting of six children. These sessions were held in three different settings, labelled by the author as 'Orthodox', 'Centre', 'Community'. The major topic was the interaction of Jews and non-Jews. Two observers recorded the discussion. After each session the children were requested to fill out a questionnaire which was designed to crystallize their views on the subject. The youngsters found that the non-Jewish world was essentially hostile towards Jews with the exception of the 7- to 8-year-old Orthodox children attending parochial schools who, by and large, remained silent on the subject. Most children, however, indicated that they would remain inactive if confronted by such hostility. The general impression of the author was that Jewish children not only have to confront conflicts and struggles related to their own growth but also those related to their minority status.

The questionnaire provided some measure of frequency regarding certain attitudes of children. In-group choices of associations were found to be high among the youngest. These, however, gradually declined with age (from 89 per cent to 44 per cent). In the giving of charity, the trend was reversed; 22 per cent of the 7- and 8-year-olds would support only the in-group as opposed to 66 per cent of the 16- and 17-year-olds. Regarding environmental setting, children from 'Orthodox' groupings change least with age, while children from the 'Community' show the steepest drop in in-group choices.

Radke-Yarrow indicated that adolescents expressed the highest rate of insecurity relating to minority membership—85 per cent as compared with 57 per cent of younger children. On the basis of her preliminary findings, the author feels that given more sensitive measurements of the child's development in his thinking of Jewishness and further comparative studies with other children of minority groups in the United States, a great deal is yet to be learned. By utilizing a more scientific approach it will be possible to study the psychological impact of minority status on the child with greater precision.

Both Adelson's (1958) and Rinder's (1958) dissertations attempted to measure 'Jewish identification' in order to correlate this variable with other personality traits, particularly with the 'authoritarian personality'. Adelson selected a sample of 214 undergraduates from fraternities, the Hillel Foundation, and a Zionist Club. Rinder, on the other hand, selected 88 individuals who had various degrees of Jewish identification. He selected his samples from a 'leadership' class at the College of

Jewish Studies, a class at the same College, office personnel of an Anti-Defamation League, groups of students attending the University of Chicago, and those expected to express the least degree of Jewish identification—members of the American Council of Judaism.

Adelson devised a scale for 'Jewish authoritarianism' which correlated highly with the F-Scale. He found, for example, that the Jewish authoritarians consider antisemitism to be the result of the deviant behaviour of what they call the out-group Jew, or the more undesirable type of Jew. Furthermore, the Jewish authoritarians believe that any organizational activity directed against antisemitism should be discreet.

Adelson devised another scale, named 'Jewish ethnocentrism', which to all intents and purposes could be considered as a scale for Jewish identity. The index of correlation between Jewish authoritarianism and the F-Scale was found to be rather high (+·67) while the correlation between Jewish authoritarianism and Jewish ethnocentrism was found to be insignificant (+·16). These correlations suggest to the author that Jewish group identification is not a unidimensional variable ranging from 'self-hatred' to intense group feelings.

According to Rinder's hypothesis, a functional psychological equivalence existed between those who over-identify themselves and those who under-identify themselves as Jews. Both groups obtained high scores on the F-Scale, that is, both were unable to tolerate an ambiguous Jewish identification. Despite different ideologies, such persons had a similar dominant personality trait, namely, 'authoritarianism'.

It can be seen from the above two summaries that a perfect agreement is lacking between them. Rinder suggested that the differences could have been reduced if generation, cultural background, etc. were held constant.

The next study, conducted by Sarnoff (1951), while not primarily concerned with normal Jewish identification, tried to find the relationship between Jewish antisemitism and psychological adjustment. Those who were high on the Jewish antisemitic scale tended to have a high measure of identification with the aggressor. Those who had low scores on the Jewish identification scale would be willing to retaliate in case of an attack upon them. Results further confirmed Sarnoff's hypothesis that the antisemitic Jewish subjects were insecure and chronically anxious individuals who felt rejected by their parents. Self-hatred is often characteristic of these individuals.

This study provides experimental support for some aspects of the Freudian theory of identification with the aggressor, which was also tested by Bettelheim during his experience as a prisoner in a concentration camp in Germany. It seems that there is a relationship between rejection of parents and the internalization of the antisemitic attitudes emanating from majority group. We have already discussed in this paper that there must be some interrelationship between the child's experience at home during his formative years and his status as an

individual belonging to a minority group. Sarnoff has made a positive contribution in throwing some light on the interaction of these two types of influences.

This paper has tried to present some of the theoretical and practical problems involved in trying to assess the relationship between psychological adjustment and minority status. Reference was made to the differences in rates of hospitalization in mental hospitals among various ethnic groups, and the difficulty in interpreting these differences. Research in the adequate use of psychological testing to determine differences between dominant and minority groups was shown to be rather scant. However, a number of studies were mentioned which used only the personality inventory to find out whether there are differences in the psychological adjustment of Jews and non-Jews. Results were shown to be inconclusive. However, in more recent years Jews seem to obtain healthier scores on these tests. It was hypothesized that this does not necessarily reflect a better psychological adjustment of Jews but rather a tendency on their part to comply with the dominant values of their society. Other investigators have been primarily interested in measuring the Jewish identification of various Jewish groups. No attempt has been made to factor-analyse Jewish identification into its components, and no one has adequately tried to relate Jewish identification to psychological adjustment. A few studies, however, were mentioned which tried to relate Jewish identification to other aspects of personality.

This area of research is all the more important since the foundation of the State of Israel. For the first time in 2,000 years, Jews are being born who have neither the burden (Lewin) nor the privilege (Golovensky) of minority status. It has often been said that the *sabra* (native-born Israeli) presents different personality traits from those of the Jew in the Diaspora. This, of course, is more of a speculation than an established fact. The writer, therefore, advocates studies of the personality of Jews and their non-Jewish neighbours in various countries of the world, as well as studies of the personality of the *sabra*. Jews have always been painted with the 'same brush' and stereotyped. It is felt that a well-co-ordinated research on an international level would offer an important contribution to the problems raised in this paper. More scientific answers can be assured if similar studies are conducted sub-culturally and cross-culturally.

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DEATH RATES IN NEW YORK CITY BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS AND RELIGIOUS GROUP AND BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, 1949–1951[1]

Herbert Seidman, Lawrence Garfinkel, and Leonard Craig

THIS is a study of the variation in death rates among subgroups of the White population of New York City during the period 1949–51. The study is concerned principally with mortality by age, sex, and socio-economic class among Jewish as compared to non-Jewish persons. Also presented are data for various subgroups classified by country of birth.

The Jewish and non-Jewish death rates in this study required population bases in much greater detail than any previously available. An original iterative least squares procedure was developed to estimate these population bases from death records for 1949–51 and population data from the 1950 Census.

MATERIALS

Thanks to the co-operation of Mr. Louis Weiner of the New York City Department of Health, we were provided with a deck of IBM cards containing an individual card for each person recorded as dying in New York City during 1949, 1950, and 1951. The IBM card for each death had been coded by the New York City Department of Health for such routine characteristics of the decedent as age at death, sex, race, and primary cause of death. It has also been coded for such special information as Health Area of residence and religious denomination of cemetery of burial.

Basic data on population bases and demographic characteristics were obtained from the compilations of the Welfare and Health Council of New York City,[2, 3] of data from the 1950 Census and from reports of the United States Bureau of Census.[4–6]

Vital statistics for comparisons of death rates among countries were taken from compilations of the World Health Organization or from vital statistics yearbooks of the particular countries concerned.

Definition of Study Population and Deaths

Health Area of residence is fundamental to this study since we have used the Health Area to define the socio-economic status of the population base and of the decedents. Health Areas in New York City are combinations of contiguous census tracts first made in 1930 aiming at groups of about 25,000 persons. These areas were defined so as to be convenient for tabulating social data as a base for analysis. The Health Areas were revised to some extent in 1940 and again in 1950. These revisions served mostly to split Health Areas where population growth was rapid and to combine Health Areas where the population declined. The data in this study are classified according to the 1940 definitions of Health Areas.

The 1950 Census White population of New York City was 7,116,441. 15,991 of these persons were omitted from the study because they were residents of Health Areas for which socio-economic characteristics had not been presented (because the Health Area had fewer than 1,000 residents or was a military reservation or park, etc.). The remaining 7,100,450 persons form the study population.

During 1949–51, 203,233 deaths among White residents were recorded by the New York City Department of Health. The City Health Department coding rules for deaths occurring in certain institutions specified the assignment of these deaths to the Health Areas in which the institutions were located. We preferred assigning these deaths to the Health Area of residence prior to institutionalization. We therefore referred to the original death certificates of the 6,634 such cases. Thereby 335 deaths were recoded as non-residents of New York City and dropped from the study. Also omitted were 47 deaths in Health Areas not included in the study. 202,851 deaths remained available for analysis.

Construction of the Index of Socio-Economic Status

Socio-economic status of persons in this study has been defined on the basis of Health Area of residence according to an index we constructed from data from the 1950 Census. To construct this index we used five indicators of Health Area status: (1) the median family income; (2) the percentage of dwelling units with fewer than two persons per room; (3) the percentage of dwelling units with adequate plumbing and not in need of major repair; (4) the percentage of eligible labour force employed; and (5) the percentage of the employed population that were professional and managerial persons.[7] Standard scores[8] for each of the five indicators were computed by Health Areas. The five standard scores for each Area were then added together and Health Areas ordered from low to high on the basis of the total score. The populations of Health Areas were then cumulated from low to high. Percentiles of

the total study population were then computed and these percentiles were taken as the index of socio-economic status. Thus an index of 34 means a person lived in an area whose score was exceeded by areas containing 65 per cent of the study population (and not exceeded by 35 per cent).

We have analysed death rates by socio-economic class fifths, each containing 20 per cent of the study population. These have been defined as follows:

Socio-Economic Class Fifth	*Health Area Socio-Economic Percentile*
S.E.C. I (Highest)	80 and over
S.E.C. II	60–79
S.E.C. III	40–59
S.E.C. IV	20–39
S.E.C. V (Lowest)	Under 20

By the 'High' Socio-Economic Class we mean S.E.C. I together with S.E.C. II. The 'Middle' Socio-Economic Class is defined as S.E.C. III together with S.E.C. IV. The 'Low' Socio-Economic Class is S.E.C. V.

Classification of Deaths by Religious Group

The New York City Health Department codes deaths according to cemetery of burial as Jewish, Catholic, Protestant (mainly Lutheran), non-Sectarian, City Cemetery, cremated, and out of town.

According to Liberson[9] there was variation in estimates by informed individuals of the number of Jewish interments in non-Jewish burial places. The most reliable estimates for New York City in 1953 seemed to be that (in addition to the 19,962 interments in Jewish cemeteries) 200 or 300 Jews were buried in non-sectarian cemeteries, 600 to 800 Jews were cremated, and 200 to 250 infants were buried in City Cemetery.

MacMahon and Koller[10] made a direct comparison of religion as reported in hospital records with denomination of cemetery of burial for 891 White leukemia patients. Of 450 Jewish patients 435 were buried in Jewish cemeteries (out of a total of 435 burials in Jewish cemeteries), 2 in Catholic cemeteries (out of a total of 301 burials in Catholic cemeteries), none in Protestant cemeteries (11 total), 10 in non-sectarian cemeteries (132 total), and 2 were cremated (total 12).

Thus, those buried in Jewish cemeteries are Jewish and those buried in Catholic, Protestant or non-sectarian cemeteries are, except for a small proportion, non-Jewish.

In this study we have regarded such interments as of 'specified' religions. There were 54,491 burials 'specified' as Jewish in Jewish cemeteries and 121,299 burials 'specified' as non-Jewish (71,887 in Catholic cemeteries, 7,763 in Protestant cemeteries and 41,649 in non-sectarian cemeteries).

The remaining 27,061 deaths (10,756 cremations, 6,799 interments

out of town, and 9,506 City Cemetery) were regarded as of 'unspecified' religion. These deaths were allocated to Jewish and non-Jewish groups in proportion to the 'specified' deaths, within subcategories by age, sex, socio-economic class (High, Middle and Low), and Jewish concentration group (see page 271). 6,151 of these deaths were allocated thereby as Jewish and 20,910 as non-Jewish.

We have thus classified a total of 60,642 deaths as Jewish and 142,209 as non-Jewish.

Jewish and non-Jewish Populations by Socio-Economic Class

There were no previous estimates of the Jewish and non-Jewish White population in 1950 by Health Areas by age and sex. Deardorff[11] published estimates of the distribution of the 1952 White population of New York City by religion and broad age group and by religion and sex from her study based on an area probability sample of 13,558 persons in 4,190 households. Seligman[12] and Haenszel and Hillhouse[13] presented further data from that study for the Jewish population by age and sex. More recently the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies[14] presented estimates of the 1950 New York City White population, Jewish and non-Jewish, by Health Districts (combinations of Health Areas), by age.

The census compilations of the Welfare and Health Council of New York City provided for each Health Area the total White 1950 Census population by age and sex. From the IBM death cards we were able to ascertain the number of deaths classified as Jewish and non-Jewish (subject to the problem of allocating some of the deaths for which it was uncertain whether they were Jewish or non-Jewish).

Using the census population material and the number of deaths as basic data we devised a method of estimating the Jewish and non-Jewish White populations and death rates by age, sex, and socio-economic class. This method is described in the appendix.

From our procedures we estimate that in 1950, 2,189,000 persons or 30·8 per cent of the study population of 7,100,000 were Jewish (this amounts to about 2,194,000 of the New York City White population of 7,115,000), while 4,911,000 were non-Jewish. Table 1 gives the estimated Jewish and non-Jewish population by age, sex, and socio-economic class.

It is of some interest to compare our population estimates with those shown by Deardorff.[15] Distributing the other and not reported religions proportionately among Jews, Catholics and Protestants, Deardorff's data show the Jewish population as 30·5 per cent of the White population, implying about 2,165,000 Jews in the study population and 4,935,000 non-Jews. Thus our estimates are in excellent accord with Deardorff's for the size of the Jewish compared to the non-Jewish population.

TABLE 1. *Estimated White Study Population, Jewish and non-Jewish, by Age, Sex and Socio-Economic Class, New York City, 1950*

Age Group in Yrs.	Total Study Population		High Socio-Economic		Middle Socio-Economic		Low Socio-Economic	
	Jewish	non-Jewish	Jewish	non-Jewish	Jewish	non-Jewish	Jewish	non-Jewish
Male:								
All Ages	1,073,345	2,380,220	518,975	837,775	360,860	1,021,005	193,510	521,440
Under 1	16,540	38,685	8,490	13,620	5,300	16,130	2,750	8,935
1–14	211,400	479,520	115,510	154,595	56,325	218,010	39,565	106,915
15–24	114,480	339,320	52,765	109,375	44,000	145,400	17,715	84,545
25–34	165,095	370,200	77,830	121,715	54,300	163,100	32,965	85,385
35–44	177,810	375,025	88,090	143,800	58,900	156,175	30,820	75,050
45–54	172,320	345,795	85,820	135,645	60,095	142,075	26,405	68,075
55–64	127,055	258,795	55,665	96,675	47,910	107,380	23,480	54,740
65–74	68,700	128,900	27,265	46,040	26,415	54,105	15,020	28,755
75 & over	19,945	43,980	7,540	16,310	7,615	18,630	4,790	9,040
Female:								
All Ages	1,115,915	2,530,970	546,355	942,465	374,635	1,076,795	194,925	511,710
Under 1	14,945	38,245	6,335	14,615	5,520	15,520	3,090	8,110
1–14	219,525	442,775	127,230	132,700	56,885	206,035	35,410	104,040
15–24	135,475	356,435	53,795	129,355	55,595	143,750	26,090	83,330
25–34	164,455	434,105	82,815	153,780	49,520	188,335	32,120	91,990
35–44	195,945	418,690	102,940	165,750	61,960	176,910	31,045	76,030
45–54	173,685	359,045	82,710	151,820	64,835	145,715	26,140	61,510
55–64	119,190	262,945	51,935	105,690	45,005	109,570	22,250	47,685
65–74	70,990	152,535	29,520	61,280	26,550	64,075	14,920	27,180
75 & over	21,700	66,195	9,075	27,475	8,765	26,885	3,860	11,835

The religious denomination of cemetery of burial affords a ready split between Jewish and non-Jewish; however, the further split of non-Jewish into Catholic and Protestant is not so straightforward.

Although practically all the interments in Catholic cemeteries are Catholic, a substantial number of Catholics are buried in non-sectarian cemeteries, some of which set aside hallowed grounds for Catholics. These deaths are unidentifiable without a great deal of effort and it is not feasible for the City Health Department to code them as Catholics. Practically all the interments in Protestant cemeteries are Protestant. However, only a small proportion of Protestants are thus interred. Most Protestants are buried in non-sectarian cemeteries. We did not estimate separate Protestant and Catholic death rates for all causes.

Death Rates by Socio-Economic Class Fifths of the Population

The death rates presented in this study are average annual rates per 100,000 population representing the sum of the deaths in the three years 1949, 1950, and 1951 multiplied by 100,000 and divided by three times the population on April 1, 1950.

Age standardized death rates are presented as summary figures in this paper. These rates were standardized for age by the direct method, the total study population of New York City being used as the standard population.

Figure 1 presents death rates by age and sex for socio-economic class fifths of the population. These rates were computed directly from death and population data.

Death rates are much higher among males than among females of the same age and socio-economic status. The average excess is 40 per cent. However, for both males and females the patterns of death rates from socio-economic class to socio-economic class are remarkably similar.

If we consider the overall city death rates by age and sex as 100 per cent, the highest socio-economic class fifth of the population, S.E.C. I, has summary age standardized rates that are 11 per cent low. The next highest, S.E.C. II, is 5 per cent low, S.E.C. III is 2 per cent low, S.E.C. IV is 1 per cent high, and S.E.C. V about 18 per cent high. The S.E.C. V rates are about one-third higher than S.E.C. I.

The spread in death rates among socio-economic classes is greatest in ages under 55. Here the rates are more than 1½ times as high in S.E.C. V as in S.E.C. I. From age 55 on the spread narrows. Disadvantageous rates persist for S.E.C. V even after age 75, though at a much lower level.

Death rates in S.E.C. III and IV are very similar and are close to the overall city rates. There is a slight advantage in S.E.C. III.

S.E.C. II is intermediate in rates between S.E.C. I and S.E.C. III. In the younger age groups S.E.C. II is closer to S.E.C. I, but after age 65, S.E.C. II is closer to S.E.C. III. At ages 75 and over, S.E.C. II rates exceed the city average by a small margin.

A large increase in rates occurs in the lowest socio-economic class fifth of the population.

The age standardized death rates for the High Socio-Economic Class (S.E.C. I and II combined) are about 8 per cent lower than the overall city rates, while those for the Middle Socio-Economic Class (S.E.C. III and IV combined) are about the same or very slightly less than the overall city rates. The Low Socio-Economic Class (S.E.C. V), as already mentioned, is about 18 per cent higher than the overall city rates.

Jewish and non-Jewish Death Rates by Socio-Economic Class

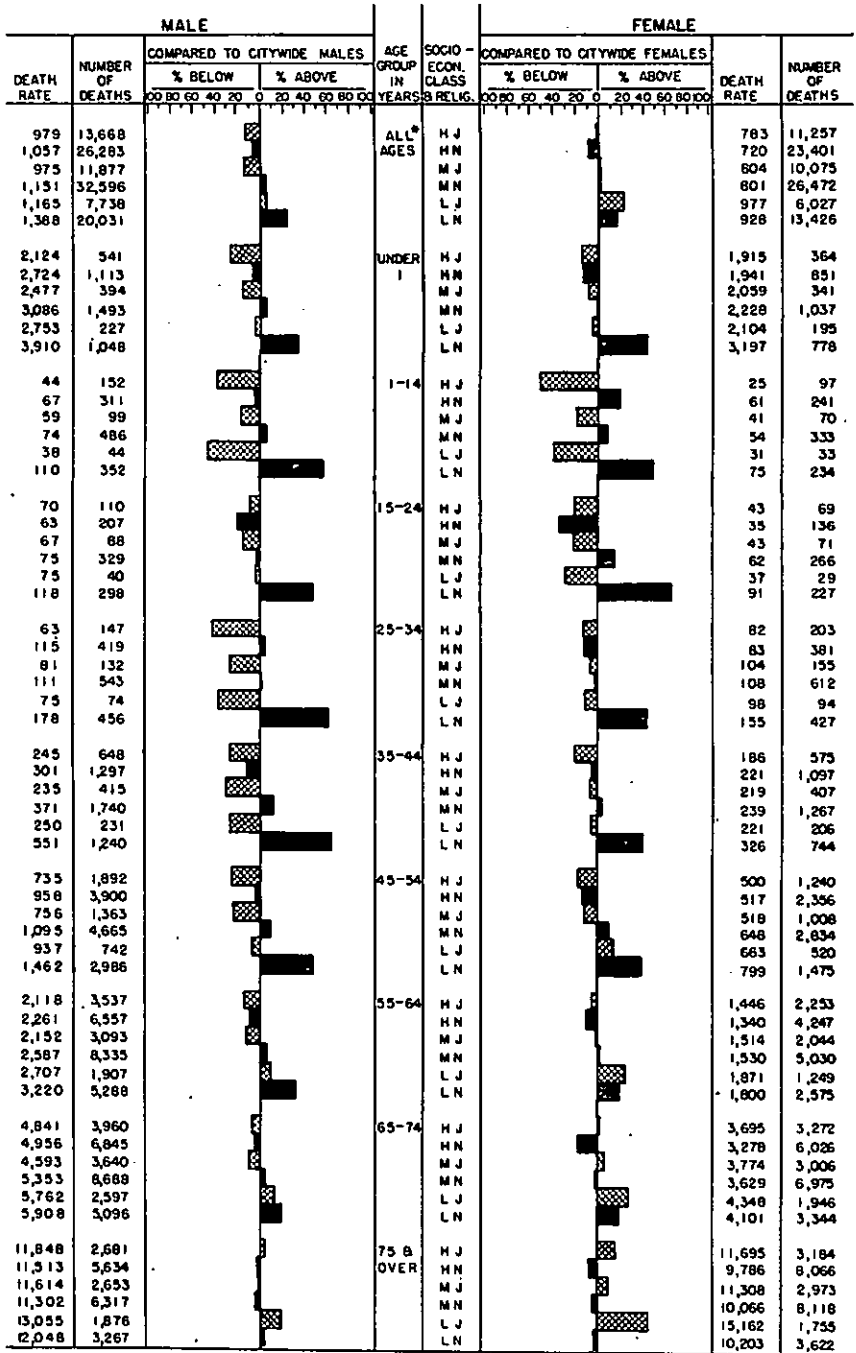
Figure 2 shows the death rates, Jewish and non-Jewish, by age, sex, and socio-economic class. In general Jewish death rates are much lower than non-Jewish death rates for the same socio-economic class in the younger age groups. However, the older age groups show a reversal in advantage. The age at which the reversal takes place varies by sex and socio-economic class. For the same socio-economic class this reversal comes ten or more years later for males than for females.

Standardized death rates for all ages are very convenient as single summary figures. However, besides depending on the particular weights adopted, they can be misleadingly simple when reversals occur. In the present instance the relatively lower Jewish death rates in the younger

MALE						FEMALE		
DEATH RATE	NUMBER OF DEATHS	COMPARED TO CITYWIDE MALES: % BELOW 100 80 60 40 20 0	% ABOVE 0 20 40 60 80 100	AGE GROUP IN YRS.	SOCIO-ECON CLASS FIFTH	COMPARED TO CITYWIDE FEMALES: % BELOW 100 80 60 40 20 0	% ABOVE 0 20 40 60 80 100	DEATH RATE	NUMBER OF DEATHS
995	18,715			ALL* AGES	I			706	16,779
1,056	21,236				II			767	17,878
1,081	21,821				III			789	17,987
1,116	22,652				IV			813	18,561
1,326	27,769				V			940	19,453
2,402	851			UNDER 1	I			1,784	602
2,599	803				II			2,106	613
2,907	938				III			2,053	649
2,963	949				IV			2,314	729
3,638	1,275				V			2,896	973
57	232			1-14	I			47	185
57	231				II			40	153
72	304				III			48	194
70	281				IV			55	209
90	396				V			64	267
67	151			15-24	I			33	87
64	166				II			42	118
77	219				III			58	173
70	198				IV			55	164
110	338				V			78	256
90	272			25-34	I			78	284
99	294				II			87	300
109	349				III			105	370
98	326				IV			110	397
149	530				V			140	521
267	945			35-44	I			199	806
292	1,000				II			216	866
328	1,092				III			215	804
340	1,063				IV			253	870
463	1,471				V			296	950
821	2,700			45 54	I			491	1,715
922	3,092				II			531	1,681
953	2,989				III			601	1,959
1,038	3,039				IV			616	1,884
1,315	3,728				V			759	1,995
2,152	4,683			55-64	I			1,344	3,111
2,260	5,411				II			1,404	3,389
2,401	5,635				III			1,500	3,466
2,506	5,793				IV			1,551	3,608
3,066	7,195				V			1,823	3,824
4,821	4,946			65-74	I			3,264	4,387
4,994	5,859				II			3,558	4,910
5,067	5,968				III			3,651	4,848
5,138	6,360				IV			3,691	5,133
5,858	7,693				V			4,188	5,290
11,247	3,935			75 & OVER	I			9,782	5,602
11,974	4,380				II			10,782	5,648
11,227	4,327				III			10,339	5,524
11,551	4,643				IV			10,402	5,567
12,397	5,143				V			11,422	5,377

*Death rates for All Ages are standardized for age by the direct method to the age distribution of the total study population.

Fig. 1 — Average annual death rates per 100,000 population, number of deaths, and percent below or above citywide death rates by age, sex, and socio-economic class fifth of the population, White population of New York City, 1949-1951.



*Death rates for All Ages are standardized for age by the direct method to the age distribution of total study population.

Code – Socio-Economic Class: H = High, M = Middle, L = Low
Religion: J = Jewish, N = Non Jewish

Fig. 2 – Average annual death rates per 100,000 population, number of deaths, and percent below or above citywide death rates, Jewish and Non Jewish by age, sex and socio-economic class, White population of New York City, 1949-1951.

age group and relatively higher rates in the older, result in overall age standardized rates increasing from 8 per cent advantageous for Jewish males (compared to non-Jewish males) in the High Socio-Economic Class to 18 per cent in the Middle Socio-Economic Class to 19 per cent in the Low Socio-Economic Class. For Jewish females compared to non-Jewish females of the same socio-economic class, the overall age standardized rates are 8 per cent disadvantageous in the High Socio-Economic Class, equal in the Middle Socio-Economic Class and 5 per cent disadvantageous in the Low Socio-Economic Class.

There is a striking reversal in age group 15 to 24 in the High Socio-Economic Class. For both males and females the ratio of non-Jewish to Jewish rates is very much lower than one might have anticipated on the basis of the pattern in the younger age groups. Of course, in the young age groups, except for infants, death rates are low. Sampling variation in spite of a large population at risk may thus be a factor. With low rates small shifts in absolute differences may mean large shifts in relative differences.

Progressions from socio-economic class to socio-economic class of the Jewish death rates and similar progressions for the non-Jewish rates may be derived from Fig. 2. Among Jews the standardized rates for all ages are very much alike in the High and Middle Socio-Economic Classes but 19 per cent and 25 per cent higher in the Low Socio-Economic Class males and females respectively. In ages up to 35 (except for age group 15 to 24) the High Socio-Economic Class Jews have much more favourable mortality than the Middle Socio-Economic Class Jews. For the males this advantage virtually disappears from age 35 to 64. However, a consistent advantage does remain from age 35 to 74 for the High Socio-Economic Class Jewish females over Middle Socio-Economic Class Jewish females. In later life, where mortality is heavy, the small relative advantage in the Middle Class Jews as compared to the High mostly balances the large relative disadvantage in the young age groups. In the younger age groups the Middle Socio-Economic Class Jewish mortality is higher than the Low Socio-Economic Class Jewish mortality. However after age 35 the Low Socio-Economic Class Jewish death rates are substantially higher than the Jewish rates in both of the other socio-economic classes.

High Socio-Economic Class non-Jews show consistent advantage in mortality as compared to Middle Socio-Economic Class non-Jews at an average level of about 10 per cent, although advantages of 25 per cent in some age groups are not uncommon. The Low Socio-Economic Class non-Jews are very definitely the group with the most disadvantageous rates, especially in the age groups up to 65. In these ages death rates half again as great or even double those of the High Socio-Economic Class non-Jews are evident.

City-Wide Jewish Compared with non-Jewish Death Rates

As may be seen from Table 1, the distribution of the Jewish population was 48·7 per cent High Socio-Economic Class, 33·6 per cent Middle and 17·7 per cent Low compared with 36·2 per cent, 42·7 per cent and 21·0 per cent respectively for non-Jews.

In order to compare city-wide Jewish and non-Jewish death rates apart from the effect of the differences in the distribution of the population by socio-economic class, death rates were standardized for socio-economic class by giving weights of 40 per cent, 40 per cent, and 20 per cent to the death rates of the High, Middle, and Low Socio-Economic Classes respectively. Comparisons based on the unadjusted rates are very similar to those based on the rates standardized for socio-economic class.

Table 2 presents the city-wide death rates standardized for socio-economic class. The very substantial advantage in the mortality of Jews as compared to non-Jews in the younger age groups is immediately apparent. For males the advantage persists until age 75, whereas for females the reversal occurs in age group 55 to 64. For ages 75 and over the female Jewish rates are so disadvantageous compared with non-Jewish females that the standardized rate for all ages of non-Jewish females is 4 per cent less than the Jewish. The non-Jewish male all ages standardized rate is 14 per cent higher than the Jewish male rate.

TABLE 2. *Average Annual Death Rate per 100,000 Population Standardized for Socio-Economic Class, Jewish and non-Jewish, by Age and Sex, White Population of New York City, 1949–1951*

Age Group In Years	*Male*			*Female*		
	Jewish Death Rate	*non-Jewish Death Rate*	*% Diff. non-Jewish Compared with Jewish Rate*	*Jewish Death Rate*	*non-Jewish Death Rate*	*% Diff. non-Jewish Compared with Jewish Rate*
All Ages*	1,014	1,161	14	830	794	−4
Under 1	2,391	3,106	30	2,010	2,307	15
1–14	48	79	65	33	61	85
15–24	70	79	13	42	57	36
25–34	73	126	73	94	107	14
35–44	242	379	57	206	249	21
45–54	784	1,114	42	540	626	16
55–64	2,249	2,583	15	1,558	1,508	−3
65–74	4,926	5,305	8	3,857	3,583	−7
75 & over	11,996	11,535	−4	12,233	9,981	−18

* Death rates for All Ages are standardized for age by the direct method to the age distribution of the total Study population.

Death Rates by Country of Birth

Our analysis of death rates by country of birth is limited to the city-wide White population. The country of birth groups we have studied are:

United States or Native: persons born in the United States plus territories and possessions except for those born in Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rico: persons born in Puerto Rico. Although classified by the U.S. Bureau of the Census as native in the 1950 census, in this study this group has been classified as a separate entity neither native nor foreign born.

Foreign countries of birth:

Austria
Germany
Hungary
Ireland (Eire plus Northern Ireland)
Poland
Russia (Ukraine plus other Russia)
Scandinavia (Denmark, Norway, and Sweden)
Britain (England, Wales, and Scotland)
All other

Table 3 presents the distributions of populations of these groups according to socio-economic class fifth. From this table it is clear that those born in Puerto Rico are heavily concentrated in the low socio-economic classes with 75 per cent in the lowest fifth and another 15 per cent in the next lowest.[16] No other group shows such pronounced concentration. The English born and German born definitely tend towards the higher classes and the Polish born and Italian born toward the lower classes. The Scandinavian born tend away from the lowest socio-economic fifth of the population.

In New York City the Russian born are heavily Jewish. The Polish born, the Austrian born, and the Hungarian born are largely Jewish. The Italian born and Irish born are heavily Catholic. The Scandinavian born and British born are predominantly Protestant. The German born and the natives are distributed with large proportions in each of the three major religious groups. Although the Puerto Rican born are presumed to be heavily Catholic, the denomination of cemetery of burial does not reflect a high concentration of Catholics.

The population bases of the individual foreign country of birth groups were obtained by pro-rating the age and sex distribution of the groups in the New York–North Eastern New Jersey Standard Metropolitan Area[17] to the total population figures for these groups in the study area.

Country of birth as recorded on the death certificate may not be in complete accord with this information as recorded in the census of population. However, as shown by Haenszel,[18] there is good correspondence in general and it is quite unlikely that the potential artifacts

TABLE 3. *Distribution of the 1950 White Population of New York City by Country of Birth by Socio-Economic Class*

Country of Birth	*Population*	*Percent Distribution by Socio-Economic Class*					
		Total	*I*	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*
Grand Total	7,100,450	100·0	19·9	20·1	19·9	20·1	20·0
United States	5,148,291	100·0	21·8	20·9	21·0	18·9	17·5
Puerto Rico	172,729	100·0	1·6	1·9	5·8	15·3	75·4
Total Foreign Born	1,779,430	100·0	16·5	19·6	17·8	24·2	21·9
Ireland	143,663	100·0	18·8	20·3	19·8	19·4	21·7
Italy	343,508	100·0	8·0	14·3	26·4	24·3	27·2
Russia	314,157	100·0	17·2	24·3	16·0	21·3	21·2
Poland	179,539	100·0	13·0	20·1	15·4	24·1	27·4
Austria	124,040	100·0	17·7	22·3	16·9	21·1	22·1
Hungary	51,809	100·0	17·0	19·8	20·3	22·6	20·3
England, Wales, Scotland	79,737	100·0	26·1	22·4	19·7	18·6	13·2
Denmark, Sweden, Norway	52,499	100·0	21·1	21·6	24·6	22·3	10·4
Germany	184,991	100·0	23·7	21·0	22·7	20·8	11·9
Not Reported	6,169	100·0	19·7	20·0	17·8	17·7	24·8

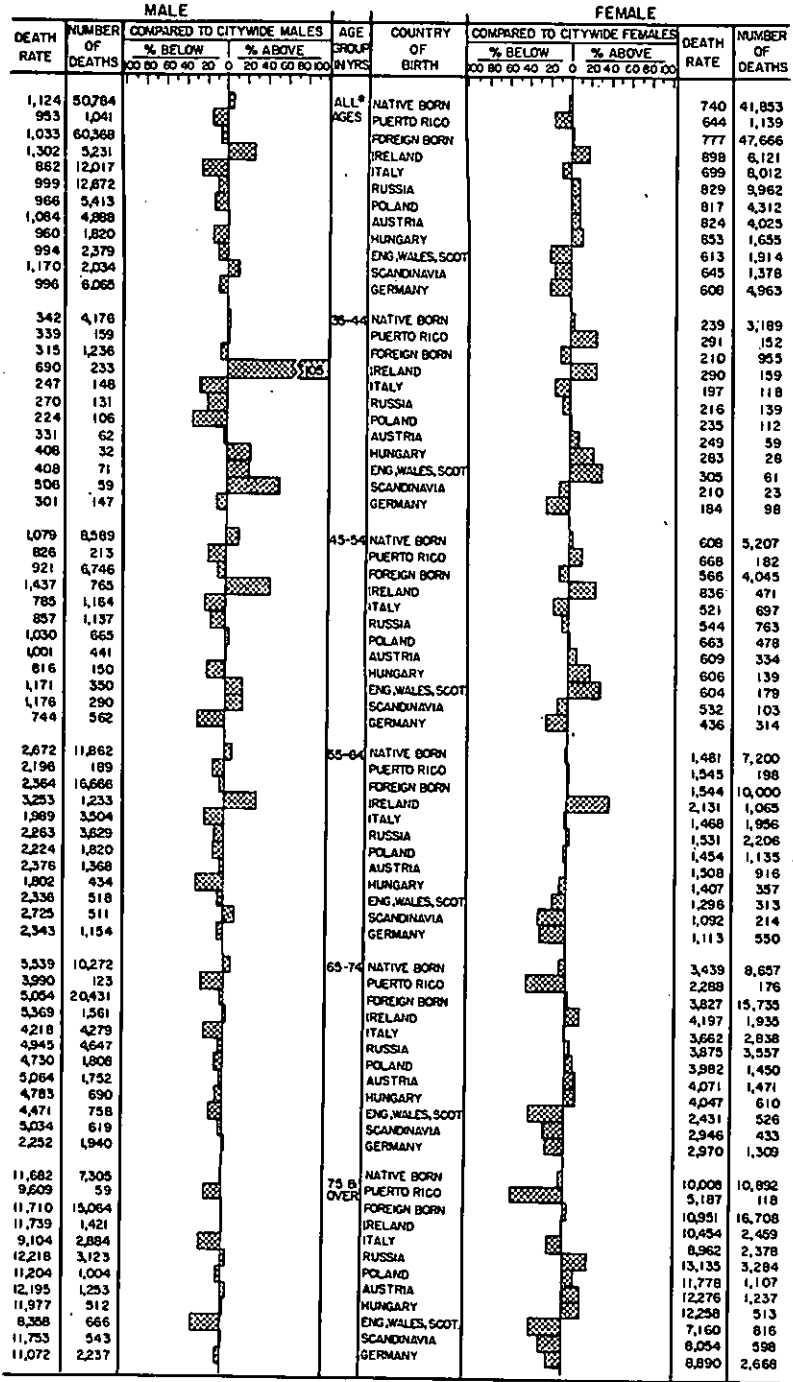
I = Highest Socio-Economic Class.
V = Lowest Socio-Economic Class.

of definition and classification play a very important part in our overall results.

Obviously the foreign born population (as such) is not subject to the high mortality risks of early infancy. Therefore to improve comparability in the all ages standardized death rates, deaths among children under 1 have been omitted. Aside from early infancy, death rates are low and there is only a small foreign born population in the younger age groups. Consequently comparisons among country of birth groups by individual age groups have been limited to age 35 years and over though death rates age 1 to 34 years were used in computing the all ages standardized rates.

Figure 3 shows the death rates for the various country of birth groups. If we compare the foreign born as a single entity with the natives, there are differences in death rates in males as contrasted to females. The foreign born males show definitely lower death rates than the natives in each age group up to 75 and over (here the rates are essentially equal). The foreign born females show a similar advantage compared with the native females in the younger age groups, but from 55 on the situation reverses and the rates become unfavourable to the foreign born.

In the all ages standardized death rates the foreign born males show rates 8 per cent lower than the native males, while the foreign born females show rates 5 per cent higher than the native born. The study of individual country of birth groups indicates that this all ages pattern principally arises from the country of birth groups with sizeable Jewish populations, Russia, Poland, Austria, and Hungary.



*Death rates for All Ages (these All Ages rates do not include death rates under one year of age) are standardized for age by the direct method to the age distribution of the total study population.

Fig 3 – Average annual death rates per 100,000 population, number of deaths and percent below or above citywide death rates by age and sex by country of birth, White population of New York City, 1949–1951

The Russian born rates follow the pattern of the city-wide Jewish rates. This might have been expected in the older ages since the Russian born comprise a large part of the Jewish population at those ages. The Polish born pattern of mortality is very much like the Russian born despite a somewhat smaller concentration of Jews.

The two European born Catholic groups show wide disparities in death rates. The Italian born, especially the males, show low rates and the Irish born very high death rates. The death rates in New York City for the younger Irish born males are excessive even for a high mortality group. The British born and the Scandinavian born showed similarities in the generally favourable female mortality and surprisingly high mortality in the younger males. In the older males, the British born reversed to low death rates while the Scandinavian born decreased to only average death rates. Germany is one of the countries whose shifting boundaries may contribute to differences in recording place of birth in the death records as compared to the population census. Taken at face value, the German born show very favourable mortality throughout all age and sex groups.

In New York City the Puerto Rican born show very high mortality at the younger ages but surprisingly low mortality in later life.

DISCUSSION

Our classification of socio-economic class was one of current status in 1950. A lifelong classification, especially for some of the foreign born in the high socio-economic classes, probably would be somewhat different. Also, all residents of a Health Area were given the same socio-economic class index whereas, of course, variation in socio-economic class status existed within the Health Area. Since mixtures in classification almost always reduce measures of relationships, we can infer that the increments in death rates from socio-economic class to socio-economic class were really greater than those shown.

In the analysis of death rates by socio-economic class of the population it was apparent that the progression to higher death rates as we went from the high to the lower socio-economic classes was very regular, with a relatively small increment except in the lowest socio-economic class of the population. In the lowest socio-economic fifth of the population the death rates increase sharply. Noteworthy is the observation that even in this unfavourable socio-economic class, Jews show favourable mortality at the younger ages. A separate analysis showed that those of Puerto Rican parentage inflated the death rates of this class at the younger ages though not of the older ages. However, even aside from those of Puerto Rican parentage, the death rates were high in this socio-economic class.

In New York City in 1949–51 the all ages death rates of the foreign

born males were observed to be actually 8 per cent less than those of the natives, while in females the foreign born rates were seen to be only 5 per cent higher than those of the natives. In this study we were not able to subdivide the native population because after 1948 the redesigned death certificate adopted for use in New York City omitted the item previously calling for country of birth of the decedent's mother. We were however able to make such an analysis of the death rates in New York City in 1940.

This unpublished analysis showed much the same picture in 1940 as in 1950 of the death rates of the foreign born compared with the total native population. In 1940 for both males and females the rates were very low among the natives with native mothers and very high (50 per cent higher) among the natives with foreign born mothers. The foreign born rates were intermediate. The high rates for the natives with foreign born mothers was not an artifact of the composition of the population because for almost every foreign country the rates of the natives with mother born in that country were higher than the foreign born counterpart. From the similarity of the ratios of the death rates of the foreign born and total natives in 1940 and 1950 it is safe to conclude that the very unfavourable mortality in the first generation native offspring of foreign born parentage persisted in New York City in 1949–51.

In New York City in 1949–51 the Irish born were a high mortality group. This followed the mortality pattern of their native country in international comparisons. Dublin[19–21] showed for New York State and Pennsylvania in 1910 and Davis[22] for Boston in 1900 that the death rate among the Irish migrants was excessive even for the high risk group. Forty and fifty years later under very different mortality conditions the same observation can be made about the younger Irish born males in New York City.

In our study we found very low death rates for the Italian born males and somewhat low rates for the females. Dublin found much the same condition forty years previously. However, Davis showed for Boston in 1900 mortality rates for those with Italian born mothers to be at an excessive level comparable to those with Irish born mothers. This undoubtedly must have been a reflection of the very poor living conditions of the Italian migrants in Boston in 1900.

There were high death rates in the younger Scandinavian born males among whom we have anticipated low rates from international comparisons. The females did follow the expected pattern. Davis previously showed favourable mortality in Boston in 1900 for those with Scandinavian born mothers, especially for the males.

The Russian and Polish born in New York City in 1949–51 had mortality patterns similar to the overall Jewish group as expected. The males continued to show the favourable mortality previously indicated by Davis and by Dublin. However, the females reversed the previous

favourable mortality shown by Dublin and in the all ages standardized death rates showed unfavourable mortality.

We anticipated the extremely high death rates among the Puerto Rican born in the young age groups but not the very low rates among the older Puerto Rican born persons.

In previous analyses of Jewish death rates in various countries the phenomenon of low death rates in the younger age groups followed by a reversal of the later ages has been noted. It has been seen in this study that the pattern of reversal of death rates prevails throughout socio-economic classes for each sex. It may also be noted that in the unfavourable mortality groups the reversal in rates takes place at more advanced ages. Thus for males as compared to females or the Middle and Low Socio-Economic Classes as compared to the High Socio-Economic Class, the Jewish rates remain lower than the non-Jewish to more advanced ages. Also, among the Jews themselves, the High Socio-Economic Class shows a large advantage in mortality up to age 35 as compared to Middle Socio-Economic Class Jews but disadvantageous rates after 65.

These results are compatible with the speculation (e.g. see Spiegelman)[23] that as a consequence of better personal care among Jews which results in low mortality at the younger ages, physically impaired lives may be brought into the later years.

So far as the potential effect of mortality differences in foreign born compared to the native born, it is of some interest to note that the reversal pattern can be seen in a wholly foreign born group which is very largely Jewish, namely the Russian.

We intend to analyse death rates from specific causes of death in another study. In that study we shall discuss the relative importance of certain causes of death in age and sex groups by socio-economic class for Jewish persons as compared to non-Jewish (further specified in addition as Catholic and Protestant) and make further inferences on the reversal pattern.

This study was limited to an analysis of variations of death rates in various subgroups of the population of New York City. Other studies are necessary to clarify the basic reasons for the variations. Just what are the influences with respect to mortality of such factors as dietary, smoking, and drinking habits, occupational and environmental exposures, sexual habits and hygiene, body build, the inheritance of longevity, selection effect of immigration, etc.? One such study from which it is hoped to get some insights into the possible roles and interrelationships of some of these factors is Dr. E. C. Hammond's current American Cancer Society Cancer Prevention Study.[24]

Summary

(1) An analysis of death rates for all causes of 202,851 deaths among

the White population of New York City for the years 1949–51 for Jewish and non-Jewish groups by age, sex, and socio-economic class is presented.

(2) An original iterative least squares procedure for estimating population bases for those death rates is presented. The derived 1950 populations by religious groups, socio-economic class, age, and sex are also shown.

(3) Our results show that death rates increased steadily by socio-economic class from the highest socio-economic class fifth of the population to the lowest. The rates for the lowest socio-economic class fifth were about one-third higher than the highest socio-economic class fifth.

(4) This difference by socio-economic class was greater among the younger segment of the population, and less in age groups 55 and over.

(5) Jewish death rates were much lower than non-Jewish death rates for persons of the same age, sex, and socio-economic class in the younger age groups.

(6) In the older age groups, the advantageous Jewish death rate is diminished and even reversed in certain age–sex–socio-economic class groups.

(7) Within religious groups, the High and Middle Socio-Economic Class Jews have death rates about 20 per cent lower than Low Socio-Economic Class Jews. For non-Jews, the High Class shows a consistent advantage over the Middle Class. The Low Socio-Economic Class non-Jewish death rates were considerably higher, especially in other than the old age groups.

(8) An analysis of country of birth by age and sex was made for the entire city. Foreign born males have a consistent advantage in death rates over natives up to age 75; foreign born females show lower death rates until age 55, when native rates become more favourable.

(9) Death rates among the Italian born and the German born are low. Among the Irish born the death rates are high especially in younger males. The Scandinavian born males show unexpectedly high rates in the younger age groups. The Russian born and Polish born follow the pattern of Jewish mortality with relatively low death rates in the younger age groups and relatively high rates in the older. In the all ages figures the Russian born and Polish born males show favourable mortality while the females show unfavourable. The Puerto Rican born show very high mortality at young ages and surprisingly low mortality in later life.

APPENDIX

METHOD OF ESTIMATION OF JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH WHITE POPULATIONS AND DEATH RATES BY AGE, SEX, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS

The underlying rationale for the procedure described here is that a higher death rate for a given number of deaths implies a smaller population at risk, while a lower death rate implies a larger population at risk. Then by assuming that within a particular age, sex, socio-economic class group the Jewish death rate is essentially constant regardless of Health Area, as is the non-Jewish death rate, we can estimate the distribution of the population from the distribution of the deaths and then estimate the Jewish and non-Jewish death rates. We have used an iterative 'least squares' procedure to estimate the Jewish and non-Jewish population and death rates for each age, sex, and socio-economic class which best 'fit' in the 'least squares' sense the observed Jewish deaths, non-Jewish deaths, and total population in six groups of Health Areas.

The Health Areas were split into six groups according to the Jewish proportion of total White deaths with the objective of getting several different separated points to utilize the least squares procedure, but at the same time to have large enough numbers of deaths (especially Jewish deaths) in age and sex categories so that sampling variation should not be too important a consideration.

In computing the Jewish proportion of total White deaths we used deaths of persons 40 years of age and older. The deaths among those 40 and over are numerically practically equivalent to total deaths. However, by omitting the deaths at age under 40 we thought we might gain slightly in classification of areas with a large recent influx of Puerto Ricans. The six groups of Health Areas were defined:

Jewish Concentration Group	*Of White Decedents Age 40 Years and Over, Percent Interred in Jewish Cemeteries*
1	Less than 5%
2	5% but less than 10%
3	10% but less than 20%
4	20% but less than 40%
5	40% but less than 70%
6	70% or more deaths

For each specific age, sex, and socio-economic class of the White population for each of the six groups of areas the total population, the number of Jewish deaths and the number of non-Jewish deaths are known. The six groups of areas have been defined so as to get a wide dispersion in the Jewish proportion of total deaths. The proportion of the population that is Jewish or non-Jewish is unknown.

Assuming that within a particular age, sex and socio-economic class the Jewish death rate is the same for all six groups of areas and the non-Jewish death rate is the same for all six groups of areas (the Jewish rate however not necessarily being equal to the non-Jewish rate) it is desired to estimate the Jewish and non-Jewish death rates and the Jewish and non-Jewish populations.

The least squares estimates that are most logical to us are those which under the assumptions and restrictions minimize the sum of squares of the differences of the fitted Jewish deaths from the observed Jewish deaths of each group of areas plus the sum of squares of the fitted non-Jewish deaths from the non-Jewish deaths of each group of areas. These estimates cannot be determined explicitly. An iterative procedure was adopted to approximate the estimates. Details of the mathematical derivations and procedures, omitted for reasons of space, are available upon request.

The principal purpose of this study is to analyse variations in mortality in subgroups of the population. As such it is more important to us that the population

estimates of the subgroups be consistent with the classification of deaths of the subgroup than that the population estimates be consistent with the actual population. For example, actual Protestant or Catholic general population figures would give misleading death rates if used directly in conjunction with the deaths. However, the Jewish deaths are by and large distinguished from the non-Jewish. Therefore we should anticipate that the Jewish population estimates derived in this study would be comparable to those obtained in other fashions.

We believe our least squares estimating procedure to be accurate; certainly accurate enough to detect large differences between the Jewish and non-Jewish death rates, our primary interest. However, at ages under 25 years (except early infancy) where deaths are infrequent and many of those that do occur, occur in clusters owing to fire or motor vehicle accident, the estimates are less reliable than in the older age groups. Though this is of little importance with respect to mortality, it can be of some importance with respect to the estimates of the size of the population, since small differences in the death rates at the young ages can imply fairly large differences in the size of the population at risk.

NOTES

[1] From the Statistical Research Section, American Cancer Society. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Samuel Kreiman and Mr. H. Stephen Victor for their assistance in the processing of the data of this study.

[2] *Characteristics of the population by Health Areas, New York City, 1950*, Part I and Part II (Manhattan, Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, Richmond), Research Bureau, Welfare and Health Council of New York City, 1953.

[3] *Population of Puerto Rican birth or parentage, New York City, 1950*, Data for boroughs, Health Areas, and census tracts, Research Bureau, Welfare and Health Council of New York City, 1952.

[4] U.S. Bureau of the Census. *U.S. Census of population, 1950*, Vol. 3, census tract statistics, chapter 37, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1952.

[5] U.S. Bureau of the Census. *U.S. Census of population, 1950*, Vol. 4, special reports, part 3, chapter A, nativity and parentage, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1954.

[6] U.S. Bureau of the Census. *U.S. Census of population, 1950*, Vol. 4, special reports, part 3, chapter D, Puerto Ricans in continental United States, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1953.

[7] We wish to thank Mr. Anthony M. Lowell of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association for making available to us some of his compilations of census tract data.

[8] For each indicator the deviations of the scores by Health Areas from the mean score divided by the standard deviation of the scores.

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THE JEWS IN MEDIEVAL POLAND*

Adam Vetulani

I

THE problem of the legal status of the Jews only arose with the christianization of the Polish state in 966. It was Christianity that brought to Poland the distinction, far-reaching in its consequences, between the adherents of the Christian faith and those who either knew nothing of or rejected it. Thus a Jew in the Middle Ages was one who professed Judaism, irrespective of his ethnic descent. Faith was the only factor distinguishing the Jew from the Christian in European countries. A distinction also existed between the *indigenae* (natives) and *advenae* (the newcomers) who enjoyed the hospitality and protection of the ruler. It must be stressed that in the early Middle Ages neither ethnic group nor biological race constituted a criterion of differentiation.

The Jews were not autochthonous in Poland, but it may be safely assumed that their settlements existed in Polish lands even before the state of the Piasts appeared in the pages of contemporary chroniclers (963). Polish scholars agree that these oldest settlements were founded by Jewish emigrés from the Khazar state and Russia, while the Jews from Southern and Western Europe began to arrive and settle only later, mostly from the end of the eleventh century, during the periods of persecution in the countries of their origin.

The fact that the earliest mention of the Jewish communities in Poland found in Jewish sources in the eleventh century specifies Przemyśl,[1] a town on the confines of the Russian and Polish colonized areas, seems to indicate that a certain proportion at least of the Jewish population (in earlier times, the main bulk) originated from the east, from the Khazar country, and later from Kievian Russia. The very earliest arrival of the Jews from the east is suggested by the Khazar origin of the ancient term for Jewish cemeteries: *kawiory*. It has been handed down by Polish historical records in reference to the Jewish cemeteries in Cracow and Sandomierz. Scholars agree in assuming that the main occupation of the Jews from the east was farming, highly developed among the Khazars, although they probably also followed other occupations, especially crafts and commerce. There is little doubt

* Translated from the Polish by the late Marek Wajsblum.

that these Jews enjoyed equality with the free inhabitants of Poland in the same way as they did in the west, in the states that had arisen from the ruins of the Roman Empire, where the Jews were not discriminated against until the last period of the Carolingian monarchy.

Besides the permanent Jewish residents there were also Jewish merchants who, plying international trade, travelled along the main highroads of commerce. Owing to the specific character of Polish historical records, which are relatively late and extremely scarce, only fragmentary data are available on the Jews in the earliest period of the Polish state, and these are mainly on the Jewish merchants. A valuable early source of information on Slavonic countries, a Spanish Jewish diplomat, Ibrahim Ibn Yakub,[2] in the tenth century speaks of Prague as an especially important market where the Jewish merchants came to trade in kind and in cash and to purchase slaves, furs, and tin. According to him, and it would seem likely, the trail of the Jewish merchants led through Hungary, but doubtless some of these merchants must have followed the important route north of the Carpathians through the Polish town of Cracow. There is also the Life of St. Adalbert who, entrusted by a Polish ruler with a mission to the pagan Prussians, suffered a martyr's death at their hands. The Life of St. Adalbert, compiled at the end of the tenth century or at the beginning of the eleventh, relates how the Saint, in denouncing the manners of the Czechs, reproached them with 'selling Christian serfs to the unbelievers and the Jews' (*mancipia Christiana perfidis et Judeis vendebant*).[3]

There are clear indications that the traffic in slaves was important in the trade of the Moslem and Jewish merchants. A panel of the famous gate of the Cathedral of Gniezno, then the metropolitan see of the Polish church province, furnishes such a piece of evidence. The panel in question portrays the conflict between St. Adalbert and the Czech prince in the redemption of the slaves from the hands of Jewish merchants. The gate, cast in bronze in the latter part of the twelfth century, was manufactured in a Rhineland workshop,[4] and certainly according to the instructions of its patron, a Polish archbishop, who would not have ordered the conflict over the redemption of slaves to be commemorated, had the problem been unknown in Poland. That it was not so is substantiated by the *Chronica Principum Polonorum* compiled in the second decade of the twelfth century. Its anonymous author, called Gallus in Polish historiography, mentions that the wife of the Polish prince Władysław Herman (1079–1102), Judith, a Czech princess (died 1085), in the last years of her life displayed a particular generosity in redeeming Christian slaves from Jewish hands (*in pauperes et captivos ante diem precipue sui obitus opera pietatis exercebat et multos Christianos de servitute Judeorum suis facultatibus redimebat*).[5]

These sparse references in historical records, combined with other texts to the effect that the Jews traded in slaves, provided a basis for the

assertion that traffic in slaves was the main occupation of the Jews in Poland. My own opinion is that this is not the only admissible interpretation of the texts mentioned. From the passage of the Chronicle of Gallus it follows that the slaves were derived from two categories: the captives, i.e. war prisoners, and the Christian paupers. It is known from contemporary sources, however, that personal bondage of Polish natives often resulted from their failure to meet their obligations either to their creditors or to the state. It was probably during the reign of Bolesław the Brave (992–1025) that the Polish penal system adopted the western practice of imposing composition fines. A culprit could obtain release from capital punishment or mutilation only by the payment of a great sum of money, often high enough to ruin a rich knight. Even in the reign of Mieszko the Old (1173–7), i.e. the latter part of the twelfth century, the fines were collected in full; in the thirteenth century one-third of the nominal amount of the fine was collected, and notwithstanding this reduction, the fine was so oppressive that it was known as 'the merciless fine'. Those charged with this fine could only surrender themselves into bondage (to those who demanded their lives or limbs) until, if they were fortunate enough, their freedom was secured by others by the payment of the remaining penalty in full. In this way the creditor secured many years of unpaid labour. Certainly he might sell such a bondsman, but he was more likely to employ him on his own estate. Still, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, household servants were recruited from among the *mancipia*, i.e. bondsmen—probably male and female, although the canonical records speak mostly of bondmaids in Jewish households. The use of slaves was inevitable since contemporary canon law took a negative attitude to the employment of Christians in Jewish households. The purchase of bondsmen was not generally forbidden to the Jews by the canon law; it forbade them possession of Christian slaves only.

The right to possess slaves would indicate that the Jews were considered free men by the contemporary state authorities. The ownership of slaves reveals further that at least some of the Jews were rich enough to possess them.

The Jews were not restricted in their choice of occupation; they enjoyed the right, officially recognized, to hold landed estate. To be sure, Jews are not mentioned as landlords before the middle of the twelfth century, but it may be safely assumed that their legal capacity to acquire landed estate (employing the feudatory peasant inhabitants) dated from a much earlier period, the formative period of the Polish feudal system and that of the earliest Jewish settlements in Poland. There are also data which allow the assumption that there were Jews who also tilled the landlords' soil as feudatories, and that not only to Jewish landlords, but probably also to Christian. Another important fact is that the Jews were admitted by the princes to the exercise of

public functions: Polish historical records reveal that it was from among them that the dukes appointed their minters and custom farmers because of their hereditary skill in money matters. As minters responsible for coinage and the maintaining of the coinage standard, the Jews first appear in the twelfth century, i.e. in the period following the first considerable wave of immigration from the west. A particularly valuable proof of their activities is in the finds of coins minted in Great Poland in the latter part of the twelfth century during the reign of Mieszko the Old. Some of these bear inscriptions 'Mieszko King of Poland' inscribed in Polish but in Hebrew letters. The Polish imprint can probably be explained by the Polish provenance of the anonymous Jewish minter and by the fact that the coins were designed for circulation inside the Polish state. It is also possible that they were minted in the ducal mint from silver belonging to a rich merchant. The practice of minting coins from silver provided by Jewish owners is confirmed by contemporary Jewish Hungarian sources.[6]

Another way in which Polish Jews could earn the favour of princes and magnates while exercising their economic skill, was by participating in the administration of revenue. An important part of this activity was doubtless the management of custom-houses, numerous in the Middle Ages, located as they were not only along the state frontier, but also inside and alongside the routes of commercial traffic near the numerous marts. Their establishment and the collection of dues, initially in kind but soon after in cash, was the prince's prerogative. Later, through conferments, the custom-houses passed into private hands, mainly those of the church, and their income constituted a large proportion of the endowment of individuals and institutions on whom they were conferred. Those endowed with income from the customs were naturally interested in the amounts and continuity of the proceeds and were not inclined to run the custom-houses under their own management, preferring rather to farm them out to those possessing sufficient money and able to guarantee a regular continuity of income. Thus, many custom farmers were Jews who, besides paying rent, often granted loans to their masters on account of the prospective income. In the capacity of custom farmers the Jews collected dues with the assistance of their auxiliary personnel. Among the latter were probably Christians who, burdened with debts, had surrendered themselves into bondage. Thus the Jews bought slaves not only for the purpose of trading in them, but also to secure workers needed in their economic activity.

From the fragmentary sources available it would follow clearly that Polish Jews engaged in all the economic activities of the day, enjoying both personal freedom and the freedom of choice to exercise their trades and occupations. There are no proofs, however, of their being liable to military service, a thing in those times associated with the possession of landed estate. What their position was as landlords in relation to

military service, whether they performed it themselves or through substitutes, a thing then possible, is unknown.

Enjoying full equality of rights as they did, the Jews were not at first protected by special legal measures. The situation probably changed by the end of the twelfth century when, under the impact of persecution, the western Jews began seeking refuge in Poland. It was from the west, after the first wave of persecution, that they took with them the concept of special legal protection in exchange for taxes paid to their rulers and financial assistance to their princes in the form of loans. For this direct dependence on the king they were termed in and out of Poland *servi camerae* (servants of the treasury), and in this capacity they obtained their security and the freedom to exercise their trades, in particular in the realm of credit operations. The Polish chronicler, Wincenty Kadłubek (*c.* 1160–1223), bishop of Cracow (1208–18), who wrote in the second decade of the thirteenth century, in a critical account of the rule of Prince Mieszko the Old, mentions that for wounding a Jew he fined students the sum of seventy silver marks, the highest fine imposed in that period.[7] This would seem conclusive evidence that in the latter part of the twelfth century the Jews in Poland enjoyed special legal protection.[8] But even later in the thirteenth century there are no records indicating any legal discrimination against Jews, or any antagonistic attitude on the part of the Christian community.

The Polish historical sources provide no clear indication of the numerical strength of the Jewish population in the early period of the Piast dynasty. It is generally assumed that in the fifteenth century their number amounted to 30,000. This figure seems too low, considering that the Jewish population in the seventeenth century (to be sure, of the whole Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth) is assessed at about 500,000, which is about 5 per cent of the total population. Polish historiography has not yet drawn any due conclusion from two important documents of the thirteenth century. One of these is an important decision of the papal legate, Cardinal Guido, of 1267,[9] and the other an undated breve of the same period, probably by Pope Clement IV, addressed to an unnamed Polish prince.[10] The two documents affirm that the Roman authorities were aware of the existence of a considerable number of synagogues in several Polish cities—the breve mentions five synagogues in one city alone. The Pope sharply denounces the fact and that Jewish temples are more stately built, taller than the churches, more ornamental, and roofed with colourfully painted leaden plates, so that the adjacent Roman Catholic churches are made to look impoverished in comparison. The legate, while decreeing separation of the town quarters inhabited by the Jews, stipulated also that once this decree was brought into effect, the Jews would not be allowed more than one synagogue to a town. Even if we assume that the report sent to Rome may have overstated the number of synagogues in Poland, the legate's

decree proves that there were towns in Poland with more than one synagogue, more than likely in Wroclaw where the legate held his synod, and probably in Cracow and Poznań. The erection of several synagogues in one locality must certainly have resulted from the needs of the Jewish population not only in respect of ethnic differentiation but also because of their numerical concentration in some towns.[11] This would seem to reflect the numerical strength of the Jewish population in Poland and disprove, in my view, the low estimate of their numbers in the thirteenth century.

The increase in the Jewish population from the thirteenth century on was probably connected with the increasing immigration waves of western Jews who sought security for themselves and the property which they were able to rescue from the recurring pogroms in Western Europe. Certainly the plurality of synagogues in several towns and cities of Poland resulted from the tendency of the immigrants to organize themselves in congregations according to their respective countries of origin and to build synagogues in architectural types familiar to them. It may be assumed with a degree of certainty that the tall synagogues of the thirteenth century, which allegedly surpassed in height the Roman Catholic churches, were built in the Gothic style in stone since they were roofed with leaden plates; thus they could indeed have surpassed the usually small Roman Catholic rotundas still frequent in that century. However, the question of the numerical strength of the Jewish population in the early Middle Ages, their migration routes, their larger centres, their part in the importation of western architectural forms, are still conjectural.

The assumption that a large proportion of the Jews were engaged in farming customs and other revenue (e.g. salt works and mining) and that another considerable part of them were self-employed in agriculture, would lead to the conclusion that, outside the important administrative and economic centres, the Jews lived dispersed throughout Poland for a long time. This dispersion of the Jews who, in the absence of any persecution, were not afraid to settle among the native Christian population, may also explain their successful endeavours to obtain the king's decree exempting them from paying any dues for conveying the bodies of deceased Jews to *kawiory*, the resting places which, as in the West, were situated probably at larger Jewish centres only.

II

A turning point in the history of the Jews in Poland was the seventh decade of the thirteenth century. From that period date two important records: the first recorded charter issued in 1264 by Bolcslaw the Pious of Great Poland (1247–1279) which secured important rights for the Jews,[12] and in 1267 the first discriminatory prescriptions issued at the

Synod of the Polish province by the aforementioned papal legate, Cardinal Guido.

The analysis of these two texts, and especially of the problem of what were the circumstances which necessitated the ducal charter and the ecclesiastical statutes, raises a number of questions which have either been disregarded or remain unsolved. What is striking is the coincidence of the two acts, involving on the one hand privilege and on the other discrimination.

It has long been established that the Great Charter of Bolesław the Pious issued for the Jews of his province belongs to the Austrian–Hungarian–Czech group of charters initiated by the charter of 1244 granted to the Austrian Jews by Frederick the Quarrelsome. Although the charters granted to the Jews of Great Poland have been preserved in the confirmation charter only, issued by Casimir the Great in 1334, there is little doubt that the charter of 1264 is genuine and not a forgery, as assumed by some historians. All the charters in the group mentioned, irrespective of their origins, agree in the tenor of their basic prescriptions, and the few peculiar deviations in the charter of Bolesław the Pious may be explained as adaptations to specific Polish conditions.

What then were the rights of Polish Jews after this charter? Foremost attention is given to the provisions aimed at protecting the interests of Jewish creditors in respect of their Christian debtors. Thus a provision was enacted that in the case of a Christian suing a Jew—either in instances of breach of contract or in criminal cases—evidence by Christian witnesses alone was insufficient and required the plaintiff to produce a Jewish witness. In cases of loans on the security of pawn, if the dispute concerned the delivery of the pledge or the amount of the loan, the Jew was entitled to priority in the ordeal of oath. In the case of a loan granted by a Jew to a Christian with no witnesses testifying, if the Christian denied the fact of the loan itself, he was entitled to the priority in the ordeal of oath. The charter expressly granted the right to Jews to lend money at interest and on security of pawn, and to accept any article as security with the exception of goods bespattered with blood (as being evidence of robbery), of sacred objects (i.e. connected with Christian worship), or of horses brought at night, the last to prevent horse-stealing (Art. 32). The Jews were also forbidden to accept articles in pawn knowing them to be stolen. By making oath that he was ignorant that the articles accepted in pawn had been stolen, the Jewish pawnbroker was entitled to his principal and interest before reconveying the article pawned. He was also exempted from the reconveyance of the article pawned on his making oath that he had lost it by fire or theft together with other goods of his own. The interests of the Jewish creditors were protected by the provision that whoever by violence snatched a pledge from a Jewish creditor's hands would be

liable to arbitrary punishment by the prince. In default of payment of the principal with interest, the Jewish creditor had the right to sell the article pawned after the lapse of a year, but not before showing it to the palatine to satisfy him that the value of the article pawned was not higher than the amount of the loan. It is not clear whether the creditor had first to sue the debtor for return of the principal with the accrued interest, or whether after the lapse of a year the article pawned was forfeited to the creditor to defray the debt (Art. 27). Among the effects which might serve as security for the amount loaned by a Jew, the charter expressly specified landed estate (Art. 25), and provided that in case of default in redemption, the Jewish creditor would have the estate adjudicated to him and protected against any attempt of recovery by the debtor. The provision is the more important in view of the significance of landed property for the social status of the individual; the contemporary Polish law conditioned the validity of all acts connected with the transfer of estates on the co-operation of the relatives of the transferer. A relative of the transferer was entitled to the so-called right of proximity by which he had the right of pre-emption, or of the equity of redemption from the hands of the transferee for the price tended by the latter. However, a pledge of a landed estate to a Jew could not be effected by an oral contract, but only by the drawing up of a deed of pledge.

A number of further provisions secured the protection of the property, safety, and life of the Jews. They were exempted from the jurisdiction of the common courts, either those of the usual officials of the prince or the municipal courts. They were subject to the personal jurisdiction of the prince for whom in this respect the *comes palatinus*, the highest dignitary of the principality, would deputize. The latter, in his turn, had the right to appoint a deputy for this purpose from among the Christians. The minters, particularly, were forbidden to arrest Jews under the accusation of circulating counterfeit coins, unless they obtained the sanction of a special commissioner of the prince or the assistance of generally respected burghers (Art. 34). For wounding or killing a Jew, the charter threatened severe penalties, and those found guilty of taking the life of a Jew were liable to capital punishment and the surrender to the prince of their chattels and estates. The culprit, of course, could ransom his life under the system of composition fines. The charter also provided that assault without bloodshed be punished in common law with damages awarded to the injured (Art. 11). Another Article (Art. 21), a repetition of the preceding one, concerning the 'violent laying of hands' by a Christian on a Jew, indicates the importance attached by the charter to the problem of personal safety for the Jews. Legal protection was also given to Jewish cemeteries and synagogues (called 'schools' in the text). Violation of a cemetery was punishable by forefeiture of all estates; that of a synagogue by the imposition of a large

fine. Other provisions deserving special attention were those which had to do with preventing accusations of the killing of Christian children for ritual purposes (Art. 31). In instances of such accusations, guilt had to be proved by no fewer than six witnesses, three of them to be Jews. The accuser, if he was unable to produce evidence, was liable to the same penalty as a Jew convicted of the crime (which meant that a false accusation of a ritual murder was punishable by a capital sentence). This provision was bound up with the false legend of ritual murder which reached Poland with the advent of German settlers in the thirteenth century. Art. 26, dealing with the offence of abducting Jewish children, provided that the guilty were to be judged as thieves and punished accordingly. In my view, what the legislator had in mind was not the kidnapping of children born of ritual Jewish marriage, but those born to bond-women (*manicipia*) who in escaping from their masters were wont to carry off their children born of either their master or another man. It is of importance that the carrying off of a child is termed *abducere* and that the women were also specified as abductors. It was probably much later in the period of a developing religious fanaticism that cases may have occurred of kidnapping Jewish infants for baptism. No such cases are confirmed by the medieval Polish records known to me.

What is striking in the provisions of the 1264 charter of Bolesław the Pious is that most of them aimed at safeguarding the rights of Jewish creditors professionally engaged in lending money at interest, and their opportunities to vindicate claims; the other provisions were mainly concerned with the security of their persons.

From the numerousness of the provisions concerned with loans, a hasty conclusion was drawn by early historians that the main occupation of the Jews was usury, as lending at interest was termed in the Middle Ages. Such a conclusion is in my view utterly erroneous. The provisions in question indicate only that the social group which managed to obtain the charter were rich Jews professionally engaged in credit operations. It was these elements which endeavoured to obtain written legislation on the methods used to reclaim loans which were running into difficulties, and in doing so they stressed those specific points which were their main concern. From the meagre references in historical records to Jewish merchants and creditors, and with the absence of any records relating to the state of the lower classes, no true picture emerges of the allegedly general wealth of the Polish Jews in this period. The usual feature of historical records is that they more often deal with the mighty and rich and seldom mention the lower classes. Many of those who fled from the pogroms in the West might have managed to save part of their property. There were certainly rich merchants engaged in international trade, minters, and custom farmers. Individual wealth is witnessed, e.g. by the tombstone of a certain David ben Shalom of

Wrocław (1204), since in those days only rich men could afford such a perpetuation of their memory. They must have been rich Jews who in 1190 lent a sum of money to the town of Bolesławów in Silesia for erecting the town defences. But there must also have been poor Jews both among those who had been settled in Poland for centuries and among those who fled from the West for their lives. In a letter written by Rabbi Eliezer (born in Bohemia *c.* 1150) to Rabbi Yehuda Ha Hasod (certainly before 1234) it is said that in most localities in Poland, Russia, and Hungary no Torah scholars were available owing to the poverty of local communities; they were forced to engage one person to act simultaneously as their cantor, religious teacher and instructor of their children.[13]

Some formulations of the charter of 1264 would seem to indicate that besides lending at interest Jews were engaged in other pursuits, particularly in commerce. Trading did not require any special protection; commerce, underdeveloped in Poland, gave no rise to acute conflicts such as those obtaining between creditors and debtors. (Let us remember that Art. 23 of the charter entitled the Jewish creditor to compound interest if the stipulated interest rate was not paid.) Thus participation of the Jews in commerce is indirectly alluded to in Art. 12 of the charter, which provided that the Jews were free to move throughout the principality, and that dues levied by the customs on their goods and personal belongings were not to be higher than those paid by the burghers of their respective places of permanent residence. Freedom of trade was expressly granted to the Jews by the closing article (Art. 36) which gives the impression of having been added at the last moment before the definite formulation of the charter. The article provides for the freedom of the Jews 'to sell and purchase all things freely, and to touch bread' (*vendant omnia libere et emant, panem tangant, ut Christiani*) and forbids an interference with this freedom under penalty of fines paid to the palatine. The formulation of this provision suggests that what mattered was the last phrase concerning the right to test the freshness of bread by touch.[14]

Further, the charter expressly granted the Jewish populations a wide measure of self-government in the judgement of disputes in which the plaintiff and defendant alike were Jews. The charter secured the palatine's support of the judgements given by the Jewish judge in disputes between Jews.

All this reveals how considerable were the measures sanctioned by Bolesław the Pious in 1264 to safeguard the rights of the Jews; the respect shown to their religious rites and the wide degree of self-government granted to their communities.

The question arises, what circumstances contributed to the granting of this charter? In view of the harmony existing between the Polish charter and those issued earlier in Austria (1244), Hungary (1251), and

Bohemia (1254), it may be safely assumed that the Polish charter of 1264 was granted at the initiative of the Jews themselves, especially of the group professionally engaged in money-lending (generally on security of pawn but also of mortgage). It is not known whether a specific need arose for written safeguards by the ruling prince, or whether the Polish Jews, on learning of similar charters issued at the time in the neighbouring countries with which they traded, and in view of the increasing importance of written documents, wished to have their own legal status established in writing. Until new historical evidence comes to light, the question cannot be answered with any degree of satisfaction.

It is, however, worth considering that a possible connexion existed between this charter regularizing the legal and economic position of the Polish Jews and an increase in Poland of towns and villages 'under German law'. This process began in Poland during the end of the twelfth century and was on the increase in the thirteenth, particularly after the Tartar invasion in 1241. The Christian settlers from the West, mainly from Germany, on founding towns and villages were issued with charters by the Polish princes securing their liberties, fixing their duties, and granting them the right to self-government according to the laws of their provinces of origin. This colonization, developing throughout Central Europe in Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, introduced foreign ethnic elements into the native Christian population which necessitated the determination of the legal status of the non-autochthonous settlers. It is reasonable to suppose that an element of Jewish refugees who had escaped from discrimination and persecution in the countries of their origin was anxious to have settlement charters instituted for them similar to those granted to the German immigrants, which would ensure their right of self-government and freedom of choice in their trades. It is also conceivable that they would have felt an anxiety over the influx of the German immigrants whose countrymen had so often exerted themselves in pogroms on the Jews in Germany. And they had every reason to seek the protection of such a charter as it was these newcomers from Germany who were stirring up an antagonism hitherto unknown in Poland between the Christians and Jews, an antagonism intensified by the economic competition in commerce and in crafts practised by the burghers of German origin. This would seem the most probable explanation of the origin of the charter which granted the Jews their personal freedom and liberty of trades, and would also seem to account for the stress laid on its provisions concerning loans on security of pawn.

Studies in medieval Polish law are too sketchy to indicate in what measure the provisions concerning the safety of loan contracts constituted an extension of the principles of Polish law to the Jews, and to what extent they privileged the Jewish creditors. As the mercantile

monetary economy in Poland only began developing under the pressure of changing relations of production, it can be safely assumed that these provisions were largely novel in relation to the existing legal institutions. Certainly a progressive new factor was the wide scope of the clause on proof by witness, replacing proof by co-jurors and ordeals or lord's judgements till then prevalent in Polish law. Detailed information on the primitive system of evidence by ordeals (duel, test by water and red-hot iron) are given in an interesting document on Polish law written in German about the middle of the thirteenth century.[15]

III

The charter of 1264 had scarcely been delivered to the Jewish representatives (probably the elders of the Poznań community) when new legal measures appeared introducing discrimination against the Jews. These were issued at the Provincial Synod of the Polish church convoked in 1267 by the papal legate, Cardinal Presbyter Guido, of St. Lawrence in Lucina.[16] In the course of his mission, begun in 1264, he held two synods in Bremen and Magdeburg and arrived in Poland in 1267 to hold a synod in Wrocław and another in Vienna before returning to Poland again. The study by T. Silnicki makes it clear that, in issuing his statutes, the cardinal followed the line of the reform programme formulated in Rome before he took up his mission, and some provisions decreed by him were the outcome of his findings about local conditions which required his intervention. This would seem to be the explanation why only some of his decisions appear in all provincial statutes issued by him, and others resulting from his observations of local conditions do not re-appear in the statutes of later synods.

Among the statutes formulated after his arrival in Poland, some of which are repeated in the statutes of Vienna, there are some discriminatory provisions against Jews, and it is peculiar to note that in the Polish statutes one of those provisions, condemning the close day-to-day intercourse between the Polish Christian population and the Jews, appears at the last but one paragraph concerning the publication and observation of the statutes.[17] Two other provisions concerning the Jews, which appear also with some alteration in the Vienna statutes, figure in the Polish text *after* the concluding formula and appear to be later addenda. It may be assumed that these provisions were formulated by the legate during his stay in Vienna, following his observations of conditions prevailing in Austria. It was only during his second visit to Poland in June and July of 1267 that he additionally issued the new articles aimed at the Jews in Poland, having been surprised by the close relations existing between Christians and Jews. The Polish scribe appended these new articles to the statutes of Wrocław issued before, and thus they appeared in the form of a supplement *after* the provision

ordering them to be read at every provincial synod and at the annual diocesan synods.

It must be assumed that the anti-Jewish decrees of Cardinal Guido resulted from his observations of social conditions in Poland during the middle of the thirteenth century. In the absence of any historical data it is difficult to say whether the Pope Clement IV's breve to an unnamed Polish prince (which is known only from Marino de Ebulo's formulary[18]) is to be regarded as apprising the prince of the decrees imminently to be issued by the legate, or whether it was despatched after Guido returned to Rome, to remind the prince of the practical conclusions to be drawn from the newly issued statutes. The latter conjecture seems the more likely.

The provisions included in the original statutes of Wrocław and issued in 1267 forbade the Christians under the punishment of excommunication to purchase *carnes venales seu alia cibaria* (marketed meats or other victuals) from Jewish merchants, and especially to maintain any close social relations with the Jews, i.e. they 'should not dare to invite Jews or Jewesses as their table companions, or to eat or drink with them, nor should they dance or caper with them at their weddings or banquets' (Cap. 10). This was supplemented by a general provision forbidding the Jews from collecting excessive interest from their Christian debtors.

It is only in the additional articles that there appear far-reaching provisions striking out at the Jews by means of express legal discrimination. There is a provision that Jewish and Christian houses throughout the church province of Gniezno must not be mingled; Jewish settlements should be separated from the Christian quarters by a fence, a wall, or a moat. The bishop and the prince had to take care to segregate the Jewish quarters in separate towns, by the sale or exchange of houses supervised by a trustworthy person, before the term set up by the legate. Until then, whenever a priest happens to pass a Jewish house carrying the sacrament for a dying man, at the sound of a handbell the Jew must withdraw to his house closing all the windows and gates. After the separation, Jews are not to be permitted to have more than one synagogue in a town or village. They are also obliged to don special headgear, according to usage, to distinguish them from the Christians. Under penal sanctions they are forbidden to depart from this practice. Ensuing on this, all forms of private social intercourse were prohibited between Christians and Jews (Cap. 10), as well as access to places of public entertainment frequented by Christians; 'we forbid them to frequent either Christian baths or bagnios or taverns' (Cap. 14). The statutes further forbade the farming out of customs to Jews and their appointment to public offices. Special provisions aimed at denying any opportunity for the conversion of Christians to Judaism, and another at preventing sexual intercourse between Jews and Christian women

servants, whether free or slave. Thus, females employed in Jewish households—whether handmaids (*ancillae*), or 'wet-nurses or bond-women'—were forbidden to stay overnight in Jewish houses. A Jew convicted of cohabitation with a Christian woman was liable to imprisonment and to a large fine of not less than 10 marks; the woman was to be whipped and banished from the town.

These expressly anti-Jewish provisions were no doubt the first to be decreed by the church in Poland, as up to this time there is no mention made in historical records of legal discrimination against the Jews in Poland. However, a mere absence of data allows us to draw conclusions only in exceptional cases and in comparison with other records available. But such an assumption would seem to be borne out by the *harangue*, the justificatory introduction prefixed to the provision for the segregation of Jews, i.e. the establishment of ghettos in Poland. This provision is missing from the statutes of Vienna (issued later than those of Wrocław) where the ghettos had been earlier decreed and established.

This *harangue*, which can be understood as motivating the additional anti-Jewish provisions decreed during the second visit of Cardinal Guido to Poland, stressed that Poland was a country recently conquered by Christianity and it was especially important to instil this awareness in the faithful. To the legate, cohabitation with the Jews might endanger this development by the permeation into Christian society of Jewish customs, and ideas which he pejoratively termed 'superstitious and depraved morals'.

The provisions affecting the legal status of the Jews should be considered in the context of all the statutes decreed by Guido as papal legate. The first impression might be that the legate was motivated by some personal and specific aversion from the Jews to which he gave expression in his decrees. This, however, would be a hasty conclusion. The anti-Jewish provisions constitute only a small part of the statutes issued by Cardinal Guido. This statute taken in conjunction with those decreed by his predecessors, particularly those of the Papal legate of 1248, Jacob Pantaleon (later Pope Urban IV, 1261–1264), suggest that in the thirteenth century a campaign was undertaken by the Apostolic See to reorganize and reform the church of the distant Province of Gniezno. Situated far from Rome and for a long time left to itself, the Province reveals a number of peculiarities in its laws and rules. The provisions of the canon law in use by local church authorities in Poland were in many respects obsolete compared with the church reform postulated by the Popes of that time. The aspirations of the Polish episcopate were now directed in large part to the conversion of the neighbouring pagan and Orthodox peoples, and the Roman court endeavoured to assimilate the principles of the particular Polish canon law to those of the universal papal law concerning the structure of the church, legal procedure, criminal law, and western political doctrine.

In this, Rome was supported by those of the Polish clergy who from the end of the twelfth century on received their training in the centres of learning in France and Northern Italy. This would account for the lively activities of the contemporary papal legates in Poland, and for the introduction into the statutes issued in Poland of those specific measures which were being promoted by papal decretals. The provisions concerning the Jews are an expression of this tendency to transplant to Poland the legal principles and doctrinal system of the western church, i.e. in its attitude to the Jews. These legal doctrines were to a large extent based on Roman law, particularly on the provisions of the Code of Justinian.

Examination of the universal canonical legislation, as contained mainly in the codification of Gregory IX in 1234, leads to the conclusion that its provisions concerning the Jews constituted an attempt to reach a compromise between the fanatical antisemitism rising in the West from the end of the eleventh century, and the safeguarding of the personal safety of the Jews and the free exercise of their trades and occupations. If I may venture a hypothesis, the idea might have arisen in the moderate and sensible circles of the Roman court that, with the segregation of the Jews from the Christians, frictions between them would be reduced; frictions which, strengthened by economic factors, had led to cruel persecution of the Jews. The persecution was instigated by territorial rulers in France and Germany who, by exploiting the religious fanaticism of the people, tried to destroy their Jewish creditors and thus free themselves from the heavy burden of loans, which had been rashly contracted, reached considerable amounts, and were mainly used for consumption purposes. The high interest accruing could only be repaid with difficulty.

The restoration by the canon law of the provisions of the Code of Justinian prohibiting the Jews from holding public offices, particularly those connected with any kind of levies, should also be considered from this point of view. Of course, the religious factor played its part, and the emotional impact of religious and philosophical controversies was at that time much more intense than it is at present. Hence came the argument that the blasphemers of Christ, the descendants of those who delivered him to his death, must not hold public offices and hold sway over Christians. Fear of Jewish proselytism is easily discernible in the anti-Jewish law, especially with regard to Christian servants in Jewish households. To what extent such fears were reflected in actual cases of conversion to Judaism (though such cases were known in Central Europe from the tenth century) and to what extent they were supposed to motivate the anti-Jewish discriminatory provisions (so inconsistent with the Christian principle of loving one's neighbour) is impossible to say.

Yet the same canon law expressly protected the persons and property

of the Jews (X, 5.6.9) by imposing penalties for killing or wounding a Jew, for the arbitrary retaking of effects pawned to him, for seizure of his money or other property, for applying any pressure to compel him to embrace Christianity, for violation of Jewish places of worship—all under the ban of excommunication, to apply until satisfaction was made for the injury inflicted. The universal canon law did not proclaim any general principles prohibiting the Jews from holding bondsmen. It nevertheless prohibited the Jews the possession of Christian slaves but it allowed them to keep feudatory dependants employed in agriculture (ch. 1, ibid.).

A comparison of the provisions of the universal canon law with those of the statutes decreed by the papal legate at the Synod in Wrocław in 1267 reveals that almost all of the latter adjusted the particular usages and legal principles current in the Polish church province to the provisions of the universal canon law long since respected by the state authorities in Western Europe. They differ in their formulation, using greatly simplified language to render them comprehensible to the Polish lower clergy. The only exception is the provision establishing ghettos in Poland. The universal canon law did not impose ghettos. However, in practice they were quite usual in Western Europe in the thirteenth century, and Cardinal Guido, under the influence of western practice, decreed their establishment in Poland. This was not the only instance of western principles not recognized by the universal law being transplanted to Poland. Such a case was that of the *official* as episcopal judge, which office was established in Poland under the influence of French legal practice by legate Jacob Pantaleon, a Frenchman himself, before this institution found full acceptance in the ecclesiastical court system throughout the western church.[19]

Thus the tendency towards total integration of the Polish church province within the sphere of legal practice valid in the West would explain the genesis of the statutes of Wrocław. Certainly their realization would substantially interfere with the existing legal status and pattern of Polish–Jewish relationship. Doubtless the Polish population and authorities did not practise any segregation. On the other hand, the principles introduced by the papal legate were in harmony with the legal sense and customs of the German immigrants who were now flooding Polish towns and imposing on them their own pattern. With absolute certainty we may dispose of the supposition that the initiative for the anti-Jewish statutes decreed by the papal legate originated with the Polish clergy. The possibility cannot be excluded though that some influence may have been exercised by the clergymen of German origin, especially among the begging orders in Poland, almost exclusively German in membership, as a reaction against the charter of 1264 granted to the Jews of Great Poland by Bolesław the Pious. However, my own opinion is that the anti-Jewish provisions must be ascribed to

the initiative of the legate himself in his attempts to achieve the uniformity of the Polish province with other western countries of the Latin church, and in respect of the legal status of the Jews in their relations with Christians.

However, the examination of the legal records of the thirteenth century leads to the conclusion that the statutes decreed by papal legates often had only a theoretical value. If they were not accepted voluntarily by the local church hierarchy—the only authority capable of making these provisions effective regulators of legal life—the provisions were left in abeyance and not carried out. There exist historical data revealing that some of the statutes decreed by the legates, the anti-Jewish provisions among them, remained dead letters in Poland up to the fifteenth century, although these provisions were repeated and made more stringent in 1279 by the legate Philip, Bishop of Termo.[20] The new statutes of 1279 indicate that the legate was obliged to introduce his sterner anti-Jewish provisions to prevail over the dormant statutes of his predecessors, particularly those provisions affecting the segregation of Jews and Christians and the removal of the Jews from revenue administration, which in spite of statutory prohibitions, they were continuing to take part in, thus exercising some jurisdiction over Christians.

The fact that the prohibition to hold any public office affected all non-Catholics would indicate that the decisive motive was of a religious character. Non-Christians have no right to exercise any authority over Christians and this was in accordance with the general principles of the universal canon law. But it may be safely assumed that an important part was played by economic motives.

The campaign by the papal legates to impose western principles on the Polish church and to abolish local particularities caused by the specific features of Polish historical development, had little chance of success unless the legates' decrees were supported by the Polish bishops and reproduced in their provincial or diocesan statutes. It is striking that the anti-Jewish provisions found no echo in the Polish provincial statutes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Especially characteristic are the provisions of the provincial synod held in Gniezno in 1285 [21] by Archbishop Jakub Swinka, a prominent statesman, known for his decrees against the clergy of German origin and for his defence of Polish as a language in the liturgy and schools. His statutes introduced one important provision altering the provisions of the 1264 charter concerned with the return of stolen goods, justifying this alteration by the assumption that Jews should not enjoy rights in preference to Christians (Art. 32). As mentioned before, a Jew who took in pawn stolen goods without knowing that they were stolen had the right to retain them until the principal of the loan with the accrued interest was paid in full. But a Christian who bought stolen goods was obliged to return

them to their legal owner without any repayment. Archbishop Swinka was of the opinion that this obligation should apply also to a Jew, moreover under the sanction of ecclesiastical penalties. An attempt was made here to annul the provision of the ducal charter, but the provision conceived for the sake of equity which plays such an important part in canon law must not be considered anti-Jewish.

Of particular interest is another clause witnessing the distaste of the Metropolitan of Gniezno and the Polish episcopate alike for the decrees of the legate. The charter of Bolesław the Pious of 1264 was in harmony with the principles of the universal canon law prohibiting Jewish creditors to take in pawn goods connected with Christian worship, a principle generally accepted by the Church as being essential for the continuous increase of its economic power: any effects once appropriated by the church must not be alienated. The synod of 1285 repeated this principle by stressing that it was forbidden to pawn *res sacras et libros* with the Jews, adding however a clause which in practice rendered this provision largely inoperative: *nisi de gravi necessitate de licentia prelatorum*, except in serious necessity and with the consent of prelates, i.e. of the appropriate bishop (Art. 33).[22]

The fact that none of the Polish synodal statutes decreed by the Polish bishops retained the legate's decrees restricting Jewish rights and discriminating against the Jews as a religious community, shows that these anti-Jewish provisions were not brought into effect.

The Jews continued to enjoy full legal equality and safety of their persons fortified by the transfer of jurisdiction to the court of the palatine. They continued to farm revenue offices and to play an important part in the circulation of money and commercial traffic. In Silesia, by the end of the thirteenth century and at the beginning of the fourteenth, they obtained confirmation of the principles formulated in the charter of 1264. The legal status the Jews enjoyed in the period of the Polish partition (1138–1320) remained unchanged in the period of the unification of Poland in the reigns of Władysław Łokietek (1306–1333) and Casimir the Great (1333–70). Under Casimir the Great their position was even strengthened by his confirmation of the charter of 1264 and by further extensions of their rights in the charter issued in 1364, valid in Russia also.

The Black Death (1342–1350) which spread throughout Southern and Western Europe, reducing the population by one-third, and which also touched Poland, brought a new and terrible wave of persecution of the Jews who were accused of spreading the deadly plague. This wave also rolled over Bohemia and Silesia, then subject to the crown of Bohemia. As before, Jews sought refuge in Poland, where they found safety of life and freedom of economic activity. They expressed their gratitude by contributing to the splendid economic development under the rule of the last king of the Piast dynasty.

Should it be deduced that the Polish nation had an exceptionally tolerant character at that time? I do not think so. It seems apparent that two motives were decisive in the persecution of the Jews in the West: the contemporary religious philosophy and the sharp economic conflict between the burghers and the Jews. The burghers strove to eliminate Jewish competitors in commerce and crafts, exploiting religious fanaticism to this end to influence the masses, while the indebted landed nobility availed themselves of the opportunity to cancel their debts by expelling and exterminating their creditors.

In thirteenth-century Poland, aptly described by the papal legate as *nova plantatio* from the point of view of contemporary politico-ecclesiastical doctrine, the money economy was just starting and all those factors were missing which in the West could kindle popular fanaticism leading to terrible pogroms. Consequently the legal status and safety of the Jews in Poland under the rule of the Piast dynasty developed differently from in the West. Yet it was also the concluding period of the rule of this dynasty in which the shift of the demographic, economic and, later, cultural potential of the Jews from the West into the Polish–Lithuanian–Russian Commonwealth took place. A few centuries later the reflux of the tide brought the flower of its intellect back to the West, while the main demographic potential and source of talents continued to develop within the territorial compass of the former Polish Commonwealth. This great and expansive potential was destroyed by the Nazis who could not, however, manage to destroy the age-old and continuing contribution of the Polish Jews to the evolution of civilized mankind.

APPENDIX

The history of Polish social and economic institutions in the Middle Ages offers an interesting subject for research in the comparative legal history of Europe.

The Polish state did not appear until late in history. The Lechitic tribes who settled between the Oder in the west and the Bug in the east, and between the Baltic Sea in the north and the Carpathians in the south, were for a long time unknown to the Byzantine and Western chroniclers. The chroniclers were naturally interested in those Slavonic tribes whose lands bordered upon their own countries. When, in 963, the first mention of a Polish ruler was made by a German chronicler, the Polish state under hereditary princes had enjoyed at least a century of independent existence, the memory of which has only been handed down by legend.

Notwithstanding the powerful neighbouring state of Kiev, developing under the influence of Byzantine culture, Poland entered the orbit of the Latin culture by receiving baptism at the hands of Latin priests. The influence of Latin culture was strengthened by the foundation in 999–1000 of a hegemonic Polish church province with its metropolitan see of Gniezno subjected—according to the principles of canon law—directly to the Pope, who seems to have exercised some kind of political supremacy over the Polish state.

Like other continental states, Poland experienced many vicissitudes during the Middle Ages. At the dawn of its statehood, from the end of the tenth century to 1034, it was a great political power, but succumbed, however, to a social revolution accom-

panied by an anti-ecclesiastical reaction. The reconstructed Polish state was soon partitioned into independent petty princedoms (1138–1320), and it was at this period that Poland lost some of its western territories, which were only restored to her in 1945.

Strengthened economically under the rule of Casimir the Great in the period 1333–70 (the end of the Piast dynasty), Poland began her expansion into Russian territory, and Red Russia, with Lwów as its main commercial centre, and Wołynia were incorporated permanently into the Polish state. The resulting contacts with Russian culture were intensified on the succession of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Jagiełło to the Polish throne. Lithuania proper was only a small part of the great Lithuanian state embracing wide Russian lands and bordering upon the Black Sea in the south and Novgorod in the north-east. During the four centuries of the Polish-Lithuanian union, up to the loss of its political existence in 1795, the influence of the western Latin culture radiated from Poland eastwards, but on the other hand, the Polish nation was simultaneously subjected to the influences of the East. It seems more than probable that to this crossing of Latin-Roman and Russian-Byzantine influences a number of specific features of the Polish nation may be ascribed. It developed first within the frame of the social and political structures of the West; later, however, it evolved structural forms of its own distinct from those of the West and the East.

The vicissitudes of the Polish state influenced the changing legal and economic status of the Jewish population. For a long time it was free from the cruel persecutions suffered by Jews in Western Europe. I have confined myself in this paper to outlining the legal status of the Jews in Poland before it was put on durable foundations by the charters granted to them by Casimir the Great, the architect of Polish statehood and great legislator who founded the University of Cracow, which in 1964 will celebrate its sixth centenary.

NOTES

[1] *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian i niektórych ludów środkowej i wschodniej Europy*, ed. F. Kupfer and T. Lewicki, Wrocław, 1956, p. 37. Recent archaeological excavations in Przemyśl have led to a discovery of the remnants of stone buildings dating from the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries, similar to those found in Cracow. Polish scholars ascribe these buildings to Bolesław the Great (992–1025).

[2] *Relatio Ibrahim ibn Ja'kub de itinere Slavico, quae traditur apud Al Bekri*, Cracow, 1946. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica Nova Series*, Vol. I, p. 49.

[3] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Vol. I, Cracow, 1864, p. 197.

[4] *Drzwi Gnieźnieńskie*, 3 vols., Wrocław, 1956.

[5] *Galli anonymi chronica et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, ed. C. Maleczyński, Cracow, 1952, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica Nova Series*, Vol. II, p. 63.

[6] *Źródła hebrajskie*, p. 125.

[7] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Vol. II, pp. 380–1.

[8] The oldest compilation of Polish customary law, prepared about the middle of the thirteenth century in German for the use of the Teutonic Knights who settled in Poland in the third decade of that century, states (Art. 12, 1–3) that the highest fine of 70 marks is levied for the theft of prince's property and certain dangerous crimes. *Najstarszy zwód prawa polskiego*, ed. J. Matuszewski, Warsaw, 1959, pp. 176–8.

[9] *Antiquissimae constitutiones synodales provinciae Gneznensis*, ed. R. Hube, Petropoli, 1856, pp. 69–71.

[10] *Analecta Vaticana 1202–1366, Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, Vol. III, Cracow, 1914, No. 515.

[11] Dr. Marek Wajsblum, who in the course of translating this essay submitted a number of valuable reservations and suggestions, questions whether a number of synagogues in a single town allows us to draw conclusions about the number of Jewish inhabitants, 10 men being sufficient to form a congregation; plurality probably witnesses ethnic differ-

entiation. However, the erection of stately temples—as mentioned in the papal missive—required a great financial effort which could be managed only by a large group of believers.

[12] *Jus Polonicum*, ed. J. V. Bandtkie, Warsaw, 1831, pp. 1–21.

[13] *Źródła hebrajskie*, p. 160.

[14] Dr. Wajsblum has suggested an ingenious textual amendment: instead of *panem tangant* (let them touch bread), *pannum tangant* (take in pawn) in medieval Latin. This would be in harmony with the foregoing clause and complement it in the sense that the Jews were granted equal rights with the Christians in their commercial activities and credit operations. Tempting as this emendation seems to be, it finds no support in the text of the Silesian charter for the Jews which reproduced the provisions of the 1264 charter. On the other hand, this suggestion indicates that a critical revision of the Silesian charter is necessary.

[15] J. Matuszewski, *Najstarszy zwód prawa polskiego*, Warsaw, 1959, Art. 23–25, pp. 204–26.

[16] T. Silnicki, *Kardynał legat Gwido, jego synod wrocławski z r. 1267 i statuty tegoż synodu*, Lwów, 1930, pp. 11 ff.

[17] *Antiquissimae constitutiones synodales*, pp. 69–71.

[18] *Die Formularsammlung des Marinus von Eboli*, ed. F. Schillmann, Bd. I, Rome, 1929.

[19] A. Vetulani, *Die Einfuehrung der Offiziale in Polen. Ein Beitrag zur Verbreitungsgeschichte des bischoefflichen Offizialats im Mittelalter*, Collectanea Theologica, Vol. XV, Lwów, 1934, pp. 277–322.

[20] *Antiquissimae constitutiones synodales*, pp. 159–61.

[21] Ibid., p. 177.

[22] Ibid., p. 178.

A NOTE ON TWO CONFERENCES ON EUROPEAN JEWRY

Shaul Esh

On 1 and 2 April this year a Conference on 'Jewish Life in Modern Britain' was convened by the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, under the auspices of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, at University College London.

Two groups of scholars made preparations for the Conference. Of the group in Jerusalem Professor Moshe Davis, Head of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Professor R. Bachi, Professor of Statistics at the Hebrew University and Israel Government Statistician, and the writer personally participated in the conference. The London group of scholars consisted of Professor Morris Ginsberg, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, University of London, Dr. Maurice Freedman, Reader in Anthropology at the London School of Economics, Mr. S. J. Gould, Reader in Social Institutions at the London School of Economics, Dr. Joseph Weiss, Head of the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London, Dr. V. D. Lipman, and Dr. J. Braude. The preparatory meetings were presided over by Lady Janner, Chairman of the Board of Deputies' Education Committee. Mr. A. G. Brotman, the Secretary of the Board of Deputies, acted as co-ordinator of the groups of scholars and as Secretary to the Conference.

This was the second in a series of three conferences organized by the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University in various centres of the Diaspora. The first conference was held on 12–15 October 1961 in Buenos Aires. It dealt with Jewish Life in Argentina. The third conference was held on 19–21 September of this year in Brussels to discuss Jewish life in contemporary Europe after the Second World War.

The aim of all these conferences is to bring together Jewish and non-Jewish scholars working in the disciplines and subjects related to contemporary Jewry, in particular, demographers, sociologists and contemporary historians. These conferences are an attempt to discuss some of the most important aspects of the particular Jewish community treated at the conference and to make plans for future research.

The conference in London was divided into two parts, a day for each. On the first day papers were presented dealing with modern developments in certain spheres of Anglo-Jewish life. The second day was devoted to 'Topics and Methods of Future Research'. A public session was held on Sunday evening at the Gustave Tuck Theatre, University College London, at which Dr. Cecil Roth delivered an address on 'British Jewry within the Setting of World Jewry' and at which Sir Barnett Janner, M.P., presided.

As the papers had been distributed to the participants before the conference, the authors gave only a résumé of their contents in order to allow time for discussion. At the first session Mr. A. G. Brotman delivered a paper on 'Jewish Communal Organization' and Mr. Ernest Krausz on 'The Economic and Social Structure of Anglo-Jewry'. On both occasions the discussions were led by Professor Ginsberg. At the Sunday afternoon session a paper was read by Mr. Norman M. Cohen on 'Trends in Anglo-Jewish Religious Life' and a joint paper was delivered by Dr. Isidor Fishman and Mr. Harold Levy on 'Jewish Education in Great Britain, A Brief Survey'. The discussion on these two subjects was led by the writer of this note.

At the Monday session Dr. S. J. Prais addressed the conference on 'Statistical Research: Needs and Prospects'. The discussion was led by Professor Bachi. Dr. Maurice Freedman and Mr. S. J. Gould delivered a joint paper on the sociological aspects of future research and Dr. V. D. Lipman a paper on the historical aspects. The final paper, jointly by Dr. Geoffrey Wigoder and the present writer, dealt with 'Oral History', i.e. an attempt to establish additional historical material by means of tape-recorded interviews. The conference terminated with a general discussion on future studies introduced by Professor Bachi and Professor Ginsberg and summed up by Professor Davis.

The picture that emerged from the comments heard both from the authors of the papers and the participants in the discussion confirmed entirely the opinion held by scholars that our knowledge of contemporary British Jewry is vague and inadequate (as, unfortunately, is the case in regard to Jewish communities in other countries). Professor Bachi, for instance, went so far as to indicate that our knowledge of contemporary Jewish demography now is less accurate than it was before the First World War.

As Professor Ginsberg remarked, 'There is general agreement that there is a lower birth rate, a lower marriage rate and that inter-marriage is increasing'. But the exact situation is not known and so may even 'raise the question of whether the Anglo-Jewish community is viable'. Another example of the paucity of information is in the sphere of economic and social structure. It was agreed that fundamental changes had taken place in Anglo-Jewry in this respect without our being able to establish exactly the amount and extent of these changes.

The discussions have proved that there is considerable interest among Anglo-Jewish scholars in promoting scholarly and systematic researches into the position of contemporary Anglo-Jewry.

One result of the conference was that a Provisional Committee for the Study of Modern British Jewry, headed by Professor Ginsberg, was planned. Its activities will in due course be reported and discussed in this Journal.

Between 19 and 21 September, 1962, the third Conference briefly mentioned above on 'Jewish Life in Contemporary Europe' was held in Brussels. This Conference was convened and prepared by the Institute of Contemporary Jewry together with the Centre Nationale des Hautes Études Juives at Brussels which was established some four years ago by the Institut de Sociologie de l'Université Libre at Brussels.

On behalf of the Belgian group, preparations were made by M. Max Gottschalk, the President of the Centre National des Hautes Études Juives, and M. Marcel Marinower, its Secretary (until his sudden death at the beginning of 1962), followed by M. W. Bok, Chargé de Recherches at the Centre. From the outset they benefited from the encouragement and support of Professor Doucy, Director of the Institut

de Sociologie. On behalf of the Jerusalem Institute, the same people took part as in the London Conference.

The Brussels Conference was divided into four working sessions, and in addition a well attended public session was held on 'Judaism in the World of Today—a Comparative Analysis' in which Professors Bachi, Davis (both of Jerusalem), and Neher (of Strasbourg) spoke on Israel, the United States, and Europe respectively.

Of the working sessions, the first was dedicated to 'Sources and Methods of Jewish Demographic Statistics'. Professor Bachi's programmatic paper on 'Aims and Problems of Jewish Demography' was followed by summaries of reports on 'Jewish Statistics in Governmental and non-Governmental Sources', presented by Professor H. Guth (Switzerland), Dr. Emanuel (Netherlands), M. Bok (Belgium), and Professor A. Moles, who spoke on 'Theoretical Aspects of Ill-Defined Population Census'. In the discussion which followed the need for definition (or redefinition) of Jewish population in the Diaspora was especially stressed.

The second day of the Conference was opened with a session on 'Spiritual and Cultural Life'. The writer of this note spoke on 'Some Basic Problems in regard to Jewish Education in the Diaspora', Professor Jean Halpérin spoke on 'Cultural Problems', and the last paper was delivered by Professor A. Neher on 'The Spiritual Crisis'. The afternoon dealt with the reconstruction of 'Jewish Communal Life in Europe'. Papers were delivered by Mr. Charles Jordan on Communal Institutions and Mr. Vladimir Halpérin on Social and Educational Institutions. The papers were supplemented by a 'panel of experiences' in which Mr. Levitte, Professor Pitigliani, and Dr. Vedder spoke on France, Italy, and Holland respectively.

As in the previous Conference, the last session dealt with 'Topics and Methods of Future Research'. Here Professor Bachi put forward proposals for further work on Jewish demography, Mme. Roland Lowenthal on 'Problems and Possibilities of Sociological Enquiries', and Professor Davis on 'Contemporary History and Research on Contemporary Jewry'.

Again at this Conference, at which most of the Western European countries were represented (invitations were also sent to scholars in Eastern European countries but unfortunately they could not participate), there was unanimous agreement on the urgency of systematic and detached research on life and institutions of contemporary Jewry everywhere in order to be able to arrive at a sober appreciation of the contemporary scene.

In meetings held after the Conference between representatives of the two organizing bodies, the establishment of Scholars' Advisory Committees in various fields of study was agreed upon. Of the first committee to be established, on Jewish statistics and demography, Professor Bachi has agreed to serve as Chairman and M. Bok will be Secretary, while scholars of various European countries will be invited (including Britain) as members. We hope soon to be able to establish other committees on a similar pattern.

Correspondence

Dear Sir,

In your issue of June 1962 Mr. G. Jahoda writes a review of our monograph *Migration and Belonging* which shows a remarkable lack of understanding of problems of research in the field of social psychiatry. Serious reviewers have pointed out the merits of our tackling one of the fundamental problems, namely objective assessment and analysis of 'mammoth depth interviews' and the relative success we have had in this respect. His admiration for the 'fortitude of those subjected to it, as well as that of the interviewers', however nice it may sound, is superfluous as can be seen from an attentive reading of pages 60 and 61. Besides, the sessions on the average did not last more than 2 hours 8 minutes.

Mr. Jahoda's misunderstanding is covered up by derogatory remarks. For instance, he writes about the author: 'Handicapped by the need to fit the concepts to the data, one feels that he is driven to take refuge in somewhat ambiguous formulae.' In order to illustrate this, he compares three sentences in the book in which the problems of psychic homeostasis are touched upon. In the first and third sentences, cited by Mr. Jahoda, the dynamic character of the steady state of mind is mentioned, but in the second sentence is not, anyhow according to Mr. Jahoda's 'quotation', for . . . he allows himself to skip its last part (page 205) which contains a footnote, referring to a summary (page 180) of an elaborate discussion of the dynamism of psychic homeostasis, on the analogy of conceptions of Claude Bernard and in particular those of W. B. Cannon (pages 176–9). He also omits to mention that a glossary with unequivocal definitions is added to the text.

To misquote our definitions and to carp about inevitable minor numerical errors are evidence of Mr. Jahoda's flippant attitude. In any case, he has hardly reviewed our book.

ABRAHAM A. WEINBERG

Dear Sir,

Dr. Weinberg takes me to task for the way I described the depth interview. This was done to convey my view that it seemed excessively loaded with detail (e.g. the cost of different insurances carried by the interviewees) whose relevance to the central purpose of the investigation is obscure. According to p. 61, total interviewing time ranged from about 2 to 7 hours, with an average of 4.

On reflection I realize that the phrase to which Dr. Weinberg objects was unjust, and I regret having used it. As to the charge of misquotation, here is the end of the sentence: 'indispensable for positive health, mental and physical'; it can hardly be claimed that its omission led to any distortion. The quotations were intended to indicate mainly varying formulations of the relationship between mental health and adjustment, as appears from the context; the dynamism in general was not at issue, hence the footnote was irrelevant. The misunderstanding does show that I ought to have elaborated my critique, showing for instance that in the discussion mental health is sometimes treated as a qualitative attribute rather than a continuum, as at the end of the following passage: 'Adjustment exists if a person has achieved maximum mental health commensurate with his adjustability [i.e. capacity for adjustment—a hypothetical variable]. He is less adjusted, if he has not achieved this maximum. He is not adjusted, or maladjusted, if he cannot achieve mental health' (p. 207). Formal definitions in a glossary do not help to resolve this kind of ambiguity.

I am unrepentant about the strictures regarding 'inevitable minor numerical errors', as Dr. Weinberg chooses to call them. In a report on a quantitative investigation one is entitled to expect reasonable care, and the cavalier dismissal of this matter merely serves to confirm the doubts expressed.

However, I should like to end with an apology for having caused offence by the tone of the review. A vast amount of work has been devoted to the research, and many of the findings and interpretations are of considerable interest. I ought to have given more credit for Dr. Weinberg's contribution in a field which bristles with difficult methodological and theoretical problems.

Yours faithfully,

GUSTAV JAHODA

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BOOK REVIEWS

RELIGION AND CAPITALISM

Joseph Ben-David

(Review Article)

DR. KURT SAMUELSSON'S purpose* is to re-examine Max Weber's famous hypothesis about the relationship between Puritanism and Capitalism. He briefly indicates what—in his view—are Weber's main points. Protestantism created the preconditions for a 'spirit of Capitalism', since for Protestants a man's trade or calling constituted a religious mission; the decisive difference between Protestants on the one hand and other Christian denominations or Jews on the other was that Protestantism abolished all the ritual means to salvation. 'The sinner could no longer find forgiveness and atonement in renunciation and the monastic life [or, one could add concerning Jews, in the precise observance of religious practices and the study of the Torah]. Only by fulfilling the daily call, by being indeed a monk in the everyday deeds of life could salvation be won' (p. 4). Besides, Protestantism placed very great emphasis on the importance of thrift. The combination of these two things, 'worldly asceticism' and thriftiness, produced the 'spirit of Capitalism' which, in time, gave rise to actual capitalism, or at least greatly facilitated its emergence.

This is a highly simplified rendering of Weber's thought. First of all Weber tested his conclusions by a comparative study of the great world religions; second, he gave a rich and discerning description of Protestantism as well as capitalism, considering different aspects of both phenomena and various possible interrelationships between them. Dr. Samuelsson does not give an account of all this. Instead he proceeds to a description of the controversy which followed Weber's publications. He shows that while many authors found it necessary to revise the direction of the relationship between Protestantism and Capitalism (asserting that the latter created a predisposition to the acceptance of the former; that the two mutually reinforced each other; or that the relationship between the two was due to their common links with Enlightenment), most of them accepted Weber's observations about the existence of a positive relationship. The authors included in the survey are all social historians dealing with Protestantism and capitalism. No reference is made to the important interpretations of Weber by von Schelting and Parsons, or the attempts at generalizing Weber's theory to fields of activity other than economics, or to religions other than those dealt with by Weber, such as Merton's work on seventeenth-century science or

* *Religion and Economic Action*, translated from the Swedish by E. G French, ed. and with an introduction by D. C. Coleman, William Heinemann, London, 1961, xi + 157 pp., 21*s*.

Bellah's *Tokugawa Religion* (only one of the less relevant papers by Parsons being briefly mentioned).

Thus, having partially surveyed the field, Dr. Samuelsson sets out to refute the hypothesis about the relationship between Protestantism and Capitalism altogether. First he re-examines the attitude of Protestantism to wealth and capitalism, in order to determine whether the affinity between them justifies the attribution of the emergence of the 'spirit of Capitalism' to Puritan religion. He points out that Weber misrepresented his sources by quoting from them selectively. Early Puritan churchmen, like those of other denominations, rejected the pursuit of riches as a danger to religious life. Their occasional praise of industrious and successful work was not different from similar pronouncements made by some Catholics. The 'spirit of Capitalism' as manifested by Benjamin Franklin, far from having been derived from religious tradition, was a typical manifestation of secular a-religious spirit. Only in the nineteenth century, after secular rationalism had elevated the pursuit of a worldly career into a supreme moral value, did Puritan preachers in wealthy communities adopt these values, trying to find for them—as preachers often do—religious justification. Indeed, none of the Protestant preachers extolling the virtues of capitalism, free enterprise, and worldly success came from agricultural regions, but from cities where it was accepted that business and industry were the benefactors of the community. They expressed, therefore, in religious terms the views of their environment, rather than having been the source of those views.

Similar criticism is levelled against the hypothesis that the approval of thrift in Puritan doctrine eventually made the followers of these sects wealthier than others. The author asserts that (*a*) Puritans were not different in this respect from others; and (*b*) not thrift, but successful speculation, inventiveness, etc., led to the accumulation of wealth.

All these discussions of the arguments against the Weber thesis, which take up two-thirds of the book, add little that is new or decisive. Weber did not argue that Puritan doctrine consciously adopted the glorification of wealth. Capitalism, according to Weber, was an unintended consequence of the Puritan theory of salvation, and not an intended one. This Weber made clear, even though his exposition is at times confusing and complicated. Dr. Samuelsson makes the point much clearer, adds some new material to show that indeed any relationship was unintended, and corrects some mistaken impressions created by Weber and his followers. But only in his last chapter does he come to grips with Weber's main factual assertion, namely, that capitalism developed first in areas where Puritanism was influential, suggesting that for some reason Puritanism created a mental climate which predisposed people to capitalism, while the other Christian denominations and the other great religions have been inimical to its development.

First, Dr. Samuelsson tries to disprove the existence of a correlation between Puritanism and Capitalism. In the Netherlands, economic expansion preceded the spread of Calvinism, while eighteenth century industrial development in Scotland occurred in a secular age, when religiousness was already on the wane. In several places (Switzerland, U.S.A., and the Netherlands) it was not necessarily the most purely Calvinist areas or the most religiously Calvinistic ones where Capitalism developed most rapidly.

Finally, there is the case of Catholic Belgium, which was the first country in the world to follow the British example of industrialization.

Dr. Samuelsson then goes on to argue that the alleged predominance of Protestants in trade and industry has not been systematically investigated. For cases which were investigated—such as the predominance of Quakers in the iron industry and the Huguenots in trades and industry in general—the author proposes other explanations.

Finally he sets out to destroy the relevance of Offenbacher's statistics on the prevalence of education and capital wealth among adherents of different religious denominations. He shows that the preponderance of Protestants relative to Catholics in secondary schools in general and *Realgymnasien* in particular only reflected the fact that Protestants were more predominant among the urban than among the rural population, and that cities with a Protestant population were more inclined to establish *Realgymnasien* than overwhelmingly Catholic cities. Similar explanations apply to the distribution of capital wealth.

All this seems to me only an affirmation of the relationship between Puritanism and capitalism. Even though Dr. Samuelsson has a different explanation in each case, the fact remains that where there was Protestantism there was an early development of capitalism. The only real exception seems to be Belgium, but of course Weber dealt expressly with the original emergence of the phenomenon, and not its diffusion, and nineteenth-century Belgium is certainly a case of diffusion. The arguments against Offenbacher are not more convincing. The fact that Protestants tended to migrate to cities and that Protestant cities tended to establish *Realgymnasien* rather than *Gymnasien* shows precisely what Weber wanted to show. Dr. Samuelsson says that it is not plausible that the same basic attitudes which create a greater propensity to the accumulation of capital and the acquisition of education should also lead to migration to cities. To me, at least, this seems quite plausible.

From the empirical re-examination of the Weber hypothesis the author proceeds to a methodological one. It is said that Weber's concepts of Puritanism as well as 'capitalism' or 'capitalistic spirit' are arbitrarily and vaguely defined. Apart from that, Weber's method is said to be 'unwarrantable, since there is no justification for isolating a single factor in a prolonged and intricate pattern of development—no matter how clearly definable or capable of isolation from other factors—and correlating it with a vast aspect of the whole history of Western civilization. It is in general a hopeless undertaking to try to isolate one particular factor even from a relatively limited sequence of events, in one particular country and over a short period of time, with the object of determining the extent to which the factor in question evolved in harmony with the general process under consideration. But Weber does not hesitate to embark on such an undertaking for so complex a phenomenon as Puritanism and for so wide a concept as economic development in over about four hundred years . . . [and] over the Western World as a whole!' (p. 150).

But certainly the more complex the phenomenon out of which a single factor has to be isolated, the greater number and variety of cases is needed to isolate it. The fact that Weber ranged over a long time period and over

most of the world—and not only over the Western one—is an argument for him and not against. One is also inclined to take exception to the complaints about the alleged vagueness and arbitrariness of Weber's concepts. Weber's way of writing is complicated, obscure, and far from precise. But the trend of his thinking was fairly clear: in the complex phenomenon of Puritanism he isolated the attitudes towards salvation, being chosen, and individual self-control and responsibility as those of central importance, and in the no less complex phenomenon of capitalism he distinguished between the universal phenomenon of acquisition of wealth and the much more limited one of elevating the accumulation of wealth into a moral value, implying a system of 'good' conduct. These aspects of Weber's thought have been dealt with at length by several writers, such as Parsons, Merton, and Bellah. Even if Dr. Samuelsson does not agree with them he ought to have considered their interpretations.

It seems that the author has spoilt a potentially good book by a wrong scheme. He has a great deal to say about the most obscure point of Weber's theory, namely the direction of the relationship between Puritanism and capitalism. Weber assumed that Puritan religiousness in its popular form had directly led to the emergence of a capitalist spirit, and emphasizes the difference between Protestantism and Judaism, since among Jews the capitalist spirit arose only as a result of secularization. Dr. Samuelsson shows that secularization might have been a more important aspect than Weber thought in the case of Protestants as well.

Furthermore, Weber and his followers assumed that the relationship between Protestantism and capitalism had to manifest itself in the relatively greater prevalence of wealthy capitalists among Protestants than others. As a matter of fact Weber's own explanations do not logically lead to such a conclusion. It seems plausible that the so-called Protestant ethic should have created a favourable basis for the legitimation of private capitalism as a social institution, but there is nothing in it to ensure one's success as an entrepreneur. (Incidentally, the case of Jews seems to provide some superficial evidence that the public acceptance of capitalism is not necessarily related to entrepreneurial ability. Jews have been outstanding in the latter, but neither in their semi-autonomous Eastern European *shtetl* nor in present day Israel have they shown much inclination to accept private capitalism as a legitimate institutional framework.) Indeed Dr. Samuelsson produces some material which suggests—though not conclusively—that the relationship between Protestantism and successful entrepreneurship may well be spurious.

Finally, Dr. Samuelsson seems to have an alternative theory about the emergence of capitalism. He regards it as a gradual process brought about by the mobility of people and changing opportunity and policies. One can only wish that he had developed these points, and systematically tested his hypotheses against those of Weber. Unfortunately, however, the author seems to have been more concerned with destroying the Weber thesis than with understanding empirical phenomena. As a result the book remains a sometimes interesting and sometimes misleading critical comment on part of the relevant literature.

SHORTER NOTICES

JACOB SONNTAG, ed., *Caravan, A Jewish Quarterly Omnibus*, 399 pp., Thomas Yoseloff, New York and London, 1962, 42*s*.

Up to a few years ago anyone writing about Anglo-Jewish literature had to scrape a very small barrel. There were Amy Levy, Israel Zangwill, and Louis Golding. He might have heard of the poet Isaac Rosenberg, but other names were usually of small fry. Otherwise he had to follow the game of defining: should he include Disraeli, for example; and what about X, even though he refused to identify himself as a Jew? But immediately after the Second World War more names were added, this time more famous and more definitely Jewish: Wolf Mankowitz, Roland Camberton, Dannie Abse, and Alexander Baron. More recently, their appearance dating from 1958, have come Arnold Wesker, Brian Glanville, Peter Shaffer, Harold Pinter, Gerda Charles, and Frederic Raphael. The change, both in quality and quantity, has been so great that the *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review* appealed satirically, in June 1962, for an 'armistice, a truce, a cease-fire'. There were Jews, it said, on the stage, in films, in novels: Jews everywhere. 'All in all, it would be a good idea if Jews could settle down for a while without having to live under a literary and dramatic microscope.'

This change has been accompanied by the regular appearance of issues of the *Jewish Quarterly*, and *Caravan* is a collection of pieces from its first seven years. The editor's aims, stated in the first issue, were for the Journal to 'revive the tradition of serious debate and discussion on [the] vital issues confronting the Jew of today'. In a note in this anthology he gives its scope as covering 'the whole range of cultural activities of world Jewry'. The coverage is certainly wide. As well as creative writing, including translations from Yiddish and Hebrew, there are critical and historical essays (e.g. on the Dead Sea scrolls). In all the book is a great improvement on the general run of Jewish anthologies. It is a welcome change to find standards being applied to the appraisal of works by Jewish authors. Mr. Sonntag is to be congratulated on having obtained such contributions from Professor David Daiches, Alexander Baron, and Kingsley Amis.

But after due praise has been given it cannot be said that the editor has succeeded in his claims. There is not very much on the vital issues confronting Jewry, whether in Britain or elsewhere. Most of the writing is confined to the past, even the younger writers looking back to the East End. Sociologists will be disappointed to find that the only references to contemporary Anglo-Jewish life are in Brian Glanville's article commenting on criticisms of his novel *The Bankrupts*. This is a very brief note and is probably incomprehensible to those who did not follow the discussions about it in the Jewish press in 1958–9. It is a pity, because there is now quite a handful of fictional writings on modern Anglo-Jewry. The community is notoriously under-surveyed and creative writers are well able, on occasion, to pinpoint important trends. An appraisal of this new writing might well be worthwhile. But it is not found here. Moreover, it is strange that there is virtually nothing on American Jewry. Even if the absence of discussion of American sociological works is understandable, there is no reason why writers such as J. D. Salinger have been passed by.

Clearly, *Caravan* is representative of the *Jewish Quarterly* (apart from its art section, selections from which may appear in a later volume), but it does not reflect many of the interesting topics affecting Jewry today. The journal is a struggling one and renown does not flow from contributing to it; there are more advantageous outlets elsewhere. Were it to reach the standard of *Commentary*, an anthology of its pieces would be more highly regarded.

A final, small point of criticism needs to be made. While the editor has praiseworthily included the dates of publication, he has not mentioned changes made to the text. Mr. Lefcwich's article 'Anglo-Jewish literature' appeared in 1953. As printed in this collection he makes reference to Wesker, Pinter, Kops, and Shaffer. None of these was known to the public in 1953; none was mentioned in the original version of the article.

HAROLD POLLINS

BENJAMIN J. ISRAEL, *Khan Bahadur Jacob Bapuji Israel, A Personal Sketch*, 50 pp., Benjamin J. Israel, Bombay, 1960.

About the middle of the eighteenth century Bene Israel began to leave the Konkan villages, on the west coast of India, in search of occupational advancement. They readily found employment, notably in the regiments of the East India Company. Moreover, they took upon themselves the burden of educating their children, many of whom rose rapidly to positions of responsibility.

One of the most outstanding careers was that of Khan Bahadur Jacob Bapuji Israel whose biography has now been written and published by his son, a retired senior civil servant.

Jacob Bapuji Israel was born in 1863, one of twenty-three children of whom only eight survived infancy. He was one of the first Bene Israel graduates. In 1885 he joined Government service as a clerk, and rapidly achieved promotion. In 1901 he was sent to Aundh where a series of intrigues, result of a disputed succession to the dignity of Chief, led to an interregnum. For a while Jacob Bapuji Israel was virtually in charge of the State.

He proved equal to the task. '. . . [In] the ten years of his stay at Aundh he initiated and brought to fruition revolutionary changes not only in the machinery of Government but in the day to day lives of the common people.' On a miniature scale, the author relates, 'my father put into effect, half a century in advance of developments in British India, a coordinated programme of rural development . . . Again, it was mainly owing to my father's concern for the backward classes that the first steps were taken, again half a century in advance of conditions in British India, to remove the evil of untouchability and to provide equal opportunities for education and employment to all classes of the population' (p. 16). In recognition of his many achievements he was awarded the title of Khan Bahadur.

His later career was tragic. After leaving Aundh he found it difficult to take a real interest in the humdrum duties assigned to him. And the reputation he had earned in Aundh as king-breaker and king-maker stood in the way of employment under one of the Princes. He retired in 1916, devoting himself to business enterprises with financially disastrous results. He died in 1933.

This is not only a fascinating biography of a genuine personality but also illuminates Indian social life. Western-Jewish readers will find much that is familiar in this sketch of a prominent member of the Bene Israel community. For instance, on the Sabbath he suffered from the bad temper of a parent deprived of the pleasure of smoking—toward the evening 'the slightest cause for annoyance produced an exaggerated explosion' (p. 4). Again: 'Though he purchased several beautiful brass and copper images of Hindu deities, he always gave them away, because he thought it wrong to keep them in a Jewish household even as decoration . . . he came very close to the strictly orthodox Agudath Israel position which regards political Zionism as impiety' (pp. 30, 34).

'My father's particular concern', the author relates, 'was to establish that the Bene Israel were racially as "pure" as Jews anywhere else in the world and that, in fact, they were likely to be much less mixed than Jews elsewhere, owing to the rigid caste system of India . . . It might appear that exaggerated importance was given to the matter by my father, but, when he wrote, a serious attempt was being made by the Baghdadi Jews of Bombay to establish that there was a vital difference between themselves and the Bene Israel who, because of their Indian character, were inferior to other Jews. Indians were a subject people, and admixture with Indians put a stamp of inferiority on them; on the other hand the Baghdadi Jews were exactly like the European Jews and, therefore, fit to consort with the white

rulers of India. Without denying our Indian character, my father was concerned to establish that we were as good (or as bad) Jews as the Baghdadis . . . My father saw that the status of the community in the eyes of our Indian neighbours depended on its genuinely Jewish character, considering the contempt in which the half-caste was held; any suggestion of inferiority in comparison with other Jewish groups would at once create the belief that the Bene Israel were a sort of Jewish outcastes' (pp. 24–5).

I can only repeat that this is a fascinating biography. It would be an excellent thing if it could be widely read. I recommend it with the utmost possible warmth.

SCHIFRA STRIZOWER

MORRIS GINSBERG, *Essays in Sociology and Social Philosophy, Volume Three, Evolution and Progress*, xii + 283 pp., Heinemann, 1961, 25*s*.

MORRIS GINSBERG, *Nationalism—a Reappraisal*, The Second Selig Brodetsky Memorial Lecture, 33 pp., Leeds University Press, 1961, 2*s*. 6*d*.

The essays contained in the third volume of Professor Ginsberg's sociological writings are of various dates between 1950 and 1958. They include the Introduction to the seventh edition of Hobhouse's *Morals in Evolution*, the Comte Memorial Lecture on 'Reason and Experience in Ethics', the Herbert Spencer Memorial Lecture on 'Social Change', a long paper on 'The Idea of Progress—a Revaluation' and, constituting more than a third of the book and not previously published, the lectures he gave in Japan in 1955 on 'European Sociology in the Early Twentieth Century'. It is evident that we have here a very comprehensive survey of Ginsberg's sociological thinking, and the fact that he attached the words 'revaluation' and 'reappraisal' to the titles of the papers on progress and nationality makes one wonder whether one would be justified in attributing a similar character to the other essays. Internal evidence favours such an attribution, and the conclusion follows that this book can be recommended as giving a more complete and balanced picture of Ginsberg as sociologist than any other he has yet published, provided the interested reader is not thereby discouraged from reading his other works.

Ginsberg's eminence as sociologist and philosopher is universally recognised today, even by those whose interests run in directions very different from his own. The great respect in which his work is held derives from its three outstanding qualities of profundity, honesty, and humanity. It may be called profound both on account of the depth and breadth of his knowledge of the literature and all that it contains, and also because of the exhaustive way in which he probes and analyses the material, allowing no possible argument or interpretation to escape his notice. It is the profundity of a mind trained in philosophy. He has great intellectual honesty, and he needs it. Without it the warmth of his humanity and his emotional involvement in his subject would no doubt have caused his writings to be dismissed as superlative wishful thinking. But this has not happened, and readers of his works will easily understand why.

Three themes have dominated his thoughts throughout, namely, progress, rationality, and the unity of mankind. All three figure in these publications, but the last is not as strongly represented as the other two. It is of the essence of his thinking that he sees them as interwoven the one with the other. The spur to social development and the criterion of human progress are found in man's power to use his reason as an instrument both for the control of his physical and social environment and for the evaluation of his actions and their consequences. 'I have assumed throughout', he writes, 'that a rational ethic is possible, and the case for progress, as I understand it, stands or falls with this assumption' (p. 52). Reason, moreover, is a faculty possessed by all men, and the more fully it enters into social life the greater the unity of civilization that emerges. In the case of biological evolution, he says, no over-all progress can be discovered. But 'in social development the situation seems more hopeful. For here there are strong tendencies towards convergence, and the unity of mankind is one of the clearest trends in human history' (p. 35). Thus reason, progress, and the unity of mankind are his sociological trinity.

Ginsberg frankly admits that he has been following a path on which few others are prepared to tread today. 'The present climate of opinion is favourable neither to the rationalist nor to the evolutionary outlook,' he writes (p. viii). So one naturally asks whether in his revaluations and reappraisals he makes any concessions to other and more prevalent schools of thought. In substance he does not. But he does seem to be particularly anxious to restate his theories and beliefs in a form that guards against adverse criticism based on exaggeration of the claims he makes for them. He has, of course, constantly insisted that theories of development and progress do not presuppose unilinear advance in all societies. But his summary of the matter in the Comte Memorial Lecture goes beyond this in its disavowal of extreme views. He does not claim that progress is inevitable, even in the long run, but only that it is possible, that it has occurred in certain cases, and that, by studying its nature and the forces that govern it, man may increase his power to bring it about. He is modest about the degree of understanding of it as yet acquired, saying that 'no laws of social development, and consequently of progress, have as yet been discovered' (p. 34). He insists, however, that we know enough to be able to recognize it with a high degree of assurance. Of the rationalist approach to ethics he says that 'the task of rational inquiry is not to create morality or derive the moral from the non-moral, but to examine the moral judgements that it finds' in order to 'discover whether any fundamental principles can be formulated whereby actual morality might be made more coherent and systematic' (p. 112). This may seem to be a rather cautious statement, but it must be read in conjunction with others, such as that 'reason has a directive or normative function' and 'in the sphere of action it has the power and authority to evaluate and guide or direct' (p. 111). Evaluation of social phenomena by reason is fundamental to Ginsberg's whole position.

There is today, as Ginsberg points out, an intense interest among social scientists of all kinds in development. But this does not extend equally to the other two terms with which Ginsberg links it, namely, evolution and progress. He recognizes in evolution a quite precise meaning, namely the process of change or growth which operates through the differentiation of species. This concept is central to the study of language, but has not proved very helpful elsewhere in the social sciences. But he recognizes also a second meaning of evolution, namely movement from lower to higher forms, which is indistinguishable from development. In using this bridge between the two he allows the emphasis to shift from the process of change (to which the first meaning refers) to the evaluation of change. 'Development' may be taken to imply an unfolding or, more actively conceived, an exploitation of capacities and resources present in embryo from the outset. Ginsberg dwells at length on this aspect of development in reference to the human mind and its power of reasoning, but in other contexts is concerned more with the evaluation of stages of development than with the analysis of the process. Thus the focal point of interest becomes the trend towards the unification of mankind. When, in the lecture on social change, he turns his attention to the question of process in a more general way, the outcome is a philosophical study of causation which, as he himself says, 'stands somewhat apart from the rest' (p. vii). One wishes he could have given a larger place to the kind of development which economists and political scientists are studying so keenly today. The problem here is to see how the unfolding, or better the exploitation, of original resources that differ, in social and physical environments that also differ, may result in producing different types of social and political organization. Should the development of the at present under-developed countries lead towards a greater unity of mankind or to new kinds of differentiation of species, or to both?

It must not be thought that Ginsberg fails to study and compare historical data about different societies, for that would be the very reverse of the truth. And in fact the lecture on nationalism consists almost entirely of a survey of the different ways in which a sentiment of nationality arises in different circumstances. History supplies him with a very large part of the material on which he bases his theories. And this reminds us of a problem which he faces, as Hobhouse did before him, with characteristic openness of mind. If general theories of social development are based on historical evidence, right up to the moment of writing, what happens when subsequent events take a new and unexpected turn, as they did with the First World War and the rise of totalitarianism? Must the generalizations be revised? Hobhouse wrestled

with this challenge and reaffirmed his central position, but Ginsberg, looking back in 1950, thought that he had underrated the gravity of the problem (p. 81). However, as we have seen, Ginsberg's own reappraisals made in the following decade, with a longer historical perspective than Hobhouse had, have retained all the essentials of their common philosophy.

The last part of the book offers an elaboration and re-presentation of the theses contained in the earlier chapter on 'The Problems and Methods of Sociology' in the volume entitled *The Study of Society* edited by Bartlett, Ginsberg, and others. More space is given to the theories and methods of the leading sociologists of the early twentieth century, but the main lines of the picture are the same.

T. H. MARSHALL

JULES ISAAC, *L'Enseignement du Mépris, Vérité historique et Mythes théologiques*, 195 pp., Fasquelle, Paris, NF.9.

It is tragic that it should still be necessary to insist on the contrast in Christian teaching and writing between 'the historical truth and theological myths'. And yet the fresh quotations which are given by Jules Isaac, and which would be confirmed and amplified by any sensitive reader of the subject, amply justify his return to the arena with this new demand that the Christian Church face its responsibility in the matter of the constant spreading of prejudice against Jews and Judaism. Only a few months ago I had to review a book by the best known and most scholarly of writers for the World Council of Churches, Bishop Stephen Neill, in which he began by insisting on his complete devotion to the principle of dialogue with other religions, and then referred casually in a 'dialogue' with Islam to 'the crucifixion of Jesus Christ by the Jews'. The remark incidentally followed some equally distorted summary of the nature of Judaism.

The rot is there, there all the time. To eradicate it needs a far greater and more consistent effort than any of the Churches are yet prepared to devote to it. In the meantime elegant resolutions like those passed by the recent meeting of the World Council of Churches at Delhi are just hollow mockery. One hopes that the Vatican Council may go a little deeper; for, as Isaac rightly points out, no basic Christian doctrine needs or is enriched by a travesty of the Jewish element in the original picture. The doctrine of the Trinity is not impugned if it was the Romans and not the Jews who were ultimately responsible for the Roman penalty of crucifixion. The novelty of Christian doctrine is not made any less by an appreciation of the real nature of the Judaism from which it sprang.

In this new study Isaac concentrates on three central points: the constant statement that the Diaspora came into existence in C.E. 70, that Judaism in the time of Jesus of Nazareth had degenerated into a legal and lifeless formalism (he has some telling quotations from the Scrolls in this section), and that 'the' Jews are a deicide people. In addition there are three very interesting *Annexes*, the first dealing with the controversy between Isaac and Daniel-Rops, the second with the constant Christian charge that Jesus himself laid the Jewish people under a perpetual curse, and the third a discussion of the play *Procès à Jésus* by Diego Fabbri. It is based on the work of Thierry Maulnier, which Isaac finds to be much too much a revival of the Christian misrepresentation, expressed with the greatest dramatic skill in a new guise, but without the 'theological myths' corrected.

JAMES PARKES

IGNAZ MAYBAUM, *The Faith of the Jewish Diaspora*, 222 pp., Vision Press, London, 1962, 21*s*.

Dr. Maybaum has now followed up his *Jewish Existence* with a volume of sermons and Synagogue addresses delivered during the past five years. As sermons they seem to me of high quality: firm in grasp, terse in style and—what is even more rare—of definite content, each one expounding and developing an important idea. They are each and all worthy of attention; and if I make special mention of such passages as that on youth movements (p. 57), the difference between the conversionist activity of Christianity and Judaism (p. 104), Jewish living as a factual, not a symbolic,

enjoyment of reality (p. 105), the State of Jews and a Jewish State (p. 210), the Kingdom of God and false Messiahs (p. 214), it is because these seem to me to show that even on such conventional topics there is much to be said to promote fresh thinking. Whether the total assemblage of the ideas presented amounts to '*The* Faith of the Diaspora' is another question. Personally, I should have preferred to see in Dr. Maybaum's title '*A*' faith rather than '*The*', and '*for*' the Diaspora rather than '*of*'. But whether 'A' or 'The', 'for' or 'of', the volume embodies valuable suggestions 'towards' such a faith, and its appearance is warmly to be welcomed.

Dr. Maybaum sees and shows clearly many things which have been obscured by current enthusiasms and controversies. The most important for present-day Jewry is that the Diaspora exists, and not only exists but has the right to exist, and to exist as such. It follows that, however much we may admire the State of Israel and its achievements, and however much we may call upon ourselves (and allow ourselves to be called upon) to help it, yet for all that our duty to the Diaspora remains and demands urgent fulfilment. It is not true, as current theory would seem to have it, that Diaspora life, even if grudgingly allowed to continue, is necessarily parasitic on the State. The Diaspora is a value on its own; and it has created, and maintains, values which are important in themselves and which in the long run may be of greater importance for the world at large than the emergence of another political entity.

This is the kernel of Dr. Maybaum's outlook, and he returns to it again and again. For him it is primary. He maintains stoutly (and two and a half millennia of history are at his side) that the importance of Jewry, both for itself and for the world, is not political; it is religious. We are a Messianic people, and whether we like it or not we are in this world God's witness.

This is theology, and theology at a high level. It is tempered by a wide experience of the modern Jewish scene at its moment of crisis, and illumined by literature and philosophy. But it is theology all the same and we should not be frightened at the word. We should learn that here too Judaism has something of its own; and when we try to find out what this is, we should bear in mind that Dr. Maybaum is one of the few, the very few, theologians we Jews have anywhere, and turn to his *Jewish Existence*. Not that this book is final or would be claimed by its author as final. It is not yet that coherent synthesis of vital ideas which is required by a philosophy of Judaism. But it is on the way, and we must hope that Dr. Maybaum will be encouraged to carry it further and deeper. If we are to survive as intelligent beings, this searching has to continue.

LEON ROTH

ERWIN J. ROSENTHAL, *Judaism and Islam*, Popular Jewish Library, Thomas Yoseloff, London, 1961, 7*s*. 6*d*. (paperback), 15*s*. (cloth-bound).

RUDI PARET, ed., *Die Welt des Islam und die Gegenwart*, W. Kohlhammer Verlag, Stuttgart.

Dr. Rosenthal's book is divided into two parts. The first, and shorter one, deals with Jewish elements in Islam which came in as a result either of Muhammad's acquaintance with Jewish ideas, or of the influence of Jewish practices in Arabia and beyond. The second part describes the reaction of Judaism to life within an Islamic state and culture. Both parts, and particularly the second, are concerned with the history of ideas. In it the author attempts to give some idea of the mutual influences of Islamic and Jewish theology and law, and of the extent of Jewish achievements in learning, poetry, and literature within the realm of Islam.

The book seems designed for the common reader, but cannot be said to succeed in its aim. The common reader is not likely to profit much from this book. It is discontinuous in the treatment of its themes, in places too allusive and in others too hurried, nowhere supplying that general sweep, that eagle's-eye view of things which the historian of ideas can attempt much more easily than the historian of events. A work of *vulgarisation* should be more than the abridgement of a collection of monographs.

The last section of the book is entitled 'What of the Future?', and expresses the view that only if Muslim ideals permeate and invigorate Arab national life can there be a good prospect of a dialogue between Jews and Arabs which, the author 'fervently' hopes, will lead to an end of the present dangerous impasse. This is a curiously academic illusion; if Islam were to be rejuvenated and invigorated, the more likely outcome would be an increase and not a decrease of hostility between the State of Israel and the Arab States. This section also discusses the recent fortunes of Jewish communities in Arab countries. The author here states that of eight hundred and fifty-six thousand Jews to be found in the Middle East and North Africa in 1950, only one hundred and fifty thousand were still living in their native countries in 1959. This is occasion for him to remark on 'the important and beneficial part' which the State of Israel has played in relation to these communities, for where could such numbers have gone, if Israel had not been there to harbour them? The author should have added that but for the State of Israel these people might not have had to get up and go.

The book edited by Professor Paret contains twelve papers, all but one of which were discussed at a symposium held in the University of Tübingen in the winter semester of 1960–1. The writers are in the main concerned with economic and social problems in the contemporary Middle East. Papers deal with economic underdevelopment, oil, agriculture and climate, and nomads and peasants in their historical relation to the Islamic State. Among the others which deal with cultural subjects, noteworthy is a paper by von Grunebaum which continues the series of studies he has been publishing on the process of spiritual 'acculturation' to the West by the Arab Islamic East.

ELIE KEDOURIE

SAMUEL UMEN, *The World of Isaac Lamdan*, 103 pp., Philosophical Library Inc., New York, $3.75.

Enough books have been written about the events leading up to the establishment of the State of Israel; fewer about the literary figures and thinkers who participated in them. It should be both possible and rewarding to focus them through the sensitive vision of a leading poet as the title of this book suggests we may expect. Isaac Lamdan, the author observes, is not a universal poet; his themes are 'limited to the world of the Jew' and he is 'steeped in the history of his people. . . . His people's plight is his paramount concern.'

But although the dates of Lamdan are mentioned as 1900 to 1954, the author makes no attempt to cover this period. Instead the first part of the book summarizes the rise of early Zionism and the ideas of leading Zionist thinkers until the third Aliyah (i.e. before Lamdan came of age). Thereafter we are given but hints of Lamdan's own life as glimpsed through his poems, which are well translated, although it is a pity that the Hebrew words are always transliterated in the Ashkenazi pronunciation.

Rabbi Umen presents Lamdan's philosophical development from shining faith in the rebuilding of Zion, exemplified in his dramatic poem 'Masada', to disillusionment in the Jews who came later and were inspired by self-seeking. His faith in God's goodness turns to rebellion against the injustices of this life, especially those endured by the Jews:

'That is why you have extinguished everything, to conceal my coming and going;
That is why your hand stretched at my feet a web of horrors,
And night erects its screen of fears about me . . .'

There is, however, no proper conclusion to this book; no clear idea about Lamdan's life or what fate held in store for him emerges. It is neither a biography of Lamdan, a full assessment of his work, nor a picture of the times in which he moved. There is here some Zionist history, some observations on Lamdan's work and the author's own philosophical answers to some questions Lamdan poses.

Y. E. PERRY

RAPHAEL STRAUS, ed., *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Juden in Regensburg, 1453–1738*, with a foreword by Friedrich Baethgen, *Quellen und Erörterungen zur Bayerischen Geschichte*, Neue Folge, Band XVIII, xiii + 544 pp., C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich, 1960.

Raphael Straus had this collection of documents ready for publication in 1934, but died in 1947, thirteen years before it appeared in print. Few better examples can be found of the tragic blow struck at German-Jewish scholarship by the senseless Nazi censorship, which in the early years almost exceeded in intensity the actual physical attacks on Jews. A number of German scholars have now co-operated to issue the fruit of Dr. Straus's labours by way of restitution and have been supported financially in this venture by the Leo Baeck Institute of New York and several German institutions. Minor corrections have been made and omissions repaired, but the intention of the original editor to provide simplified summaries and extracts of the documents he had unearthed in the archives, so as to make them comprehensible to anyone not fully versed in the languages of the sources, has been respected. The volume does not therefore correspond to modern standards for the editing of texts, but it serves fully the dual purpose of bringing documentary evidence to support Raphael Straus's own monograph on the history of the Jews in Regensburg at the end of the middle ages, which was published in 1932, and to reveal some of the wealth of material on German-Jewish history in this period which still remains to be exploited. Most of the items belong to the years before the expulsion of 1519 and show clearly how the economic decline of the city during the previous half-century had embittered Christian-Jewish relations, until in the end the Jews were persecuted as scapegoats, just as they were to be four centuries later.

H. J. COHN

YAEL DAYAN, ed., *The Promised Land*, Memoirs of Shmuel Dayan, 170 pp., Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1961, 25*s*.

Every society, even a Republican one, must establish its own aristocracy. In the United States the descendants of the founding fathers are at the top of the social tree. In France the Bourbon titles are honorarily retained. Israel has its own élite. Those who pioneered the communal settlements in Palestine at the turn of the century, when the hope of a Jewish State seemed only a hazy promise, are, with their families, at the top of Israel's social tree by dint of hard labour to reclaim a waste land and make it a State.

Of such families, perhaps the most outstanding is that of Dayan, of whom Shmuel, the founder, is today an honoured member of the Knesset, his own son, Moshe, the leader of a victorious army at Sinai and a member of the present Government, and his own talented daughter a writer of some renown who has, herself, edited this collection of Shmuel Dayan's reminiscences of half-a-century's endeavour in the 'promised land'. This book gives a picture of how a new society was created in the Middle East, of how a dream became a reality, and of the way in which one family became part of a new nation.

J. H. BARNETT