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UNFAMILIAR DIMENSIONS OF THE HOLOCAUST

The Italians and the Holocaust:

Persecution, Rescue, Survival

By Susan Zuccotti

Basic Books

Secretaries of Death: Accounts by

Former Prisoners Who Worked

in the Gestapo of Auschwitz

Edited by Lore Shelley

Shengold Publishers, Inc.

A Review essay by
Herbert Hirsch

Twenty months after he was captured by the Nazis and deported to Auschwitz, Primo Levi returned to his home in Italy and described the moment he crossed the border:

... Leonardo and I remained lost in a silence crowded with memories. Of 650, our number when we had left, three of us were returning. And how much had we lost in those twenty months? What should we find at home? How much of ourselves had been eroded, extinguished? (*The Reawakening*, p. 372).

Levi was one of the "lucky" survivors. More than 6,800 of the 45,200 Jews living in Italy did not survive the Holocaust. While this survival rate was one of the highest in occupied Europe, the fact remains that 15 percent of the Italian Jews were murdered. The story of that murder and survival are told in *The Italians and the Holocaust*.

Where Primo Levi writes movingly of his experiences and provides wonderful portrayals of character, Susan Zuccotti describes the history of the Holocaust in Italy. She brings to-

gether historical narrative and stories of individual heroism, brutality, and survival.

The story begins with the history of the Italian Jews. Living in Italy since at least 4 B.C., Jews in Italy "experienced a grim succession of restrictions and persecutions, relieved by brief interludes of calm" (p. 12). Italian Jews were eventually quite assimilated and are described by Zuccotti as looking, dressing, and speaking like everyone else. She goes on to point out that they were educated and ready to be integrated into Italian culture. Italian Jews were an integral part of Italian society including the military. Indeed, there were at least 50 Jewish generals who served in World War I. In addition, Jews made "... significant contributions in business, banking, and insurance, in the professions, and in education and the arts" (p. 18). Italian Jews, Zuccotti notes, "... were Italians through and through, but many remained aware and proud of their Jewishness" (p. 21). While not religious, they were aware of their heritage.

This period of assimilation did not end when the Fascist Party and Benito Mussolini came to power in 1922. In fact, many Jews were "loyal fascists from the start. At least five Jews were included among the 119 Italians who met ... to found the ... Italian Fascist Party" (pp. 23-24). Italian Fascism did not become officially anti-Semitic until Mussolini decided to promulgate the racial laws in 1938.

When Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933, Mussolini, who had already been in power for 11 years, began to get disturbed over German expansionism. Mussolini regarded Austria as being within his sphere of influence and he "had every intention of resisting German expansion here" (p. 29). Mussolini decided that one

way to appease Hitler was to institute an anti-Semitic campaign in Italy. The campaign started in 1934 when Mussolini began to encourage anti-Semitic journalism and halted rather abruptly in July 1934 when, after the assassination of Austrian Chancellor Dolfuss, Mussolini mobilized troops to defend Austria from German attack. It was in September of that year that he made his justly famous comment:

Thirty centuries of history permit us to regard with supreme pity certain doctrines supported beyond the Alps by descendants of people who did not know how to write, and could not hand down documents recording their own lives, at a time when Rome had Caesar, Virgil, and Augustus (p. 30).

Despite the official cessation of the anti-Semitic campaign, anti-Semitic fanatics persisted and waited for their opportunity. Finally, in 1936 Mussolini appointed his pro-German son-in-law, Galeazzo Ciano, as foreign minister and allied Italy with Hitler. As Zuccotti notes, "Anti-Zionism was immediately rekindled with a vengeance. This time, the flames grew into an intense, undisguised anti-semitism" (p. 33). It culminated on November 17, 1938, when the Racial Laws became official policy. These laws were very similar to the Nuremberg Laws in Germany:

Marriage between Jews and non-Jews was prohibited. Jews were not permitted to own or manage companies involved in military production, or factories that employed over one hundred people or exceeded a certain value. They could not own land over a certain value, serve in the armed forces, employ non-Jewish Italian domestics, or belong to the Fascist party. Their employment

in banks, insurance companies, and national and municipal administration was forbidden (p. 360).

To be sure, Italian anti-Semitism lacked the extreme ideological base of German anti-Semitism. Zuccotti argues that "Italian antisemitism had no ideological base, but was the product of mindless and cynical opportunism" (p. 40). Even though the enforcement provisions were never as severe as those in Nazi Germany, the total effect on Italian Jews was quite devastating. Teachers, public employees, and professional people immediately lost their jobs, and students had their education curtailed. Italian Jews reacted with "shock and disbelief" (p. 43). While other segments of the society remained silent, the situation of the Italian Jews progressively deteriorated.

In June 1940 Italy became Hitler's official ally in the war, and Italian police immediately began arresting foreign Jews. They were incarcerated, for the most part, in city prisons in which conditions were quite horrible. In addition to the prisons and internment camps, a system of "enforced residence" was employed as a kind of internal exile whereby individuals or families would be sent to small remote villages. While Italy was officially an anti-Semitic country and did imprison Jews, the Italian government did not "release a single Jew to the Nazis for deportation," until the country was occupied by the Germans in September 1943.

On Saturday, October 16, 1943, German SS security police surrounded an area housing 4,000 of Rome's 12,000 Jews. The account of that event is familiar to anyone acquainted with the dismal and depressing history of the Holocaust. Zuccotti tells the story in all its chilling detail. One of the most interesting aspects was the response of Italian citizens and officials, most of whom remained silent. Of all the responses, that of the Vatican has generated the most controversy. Zuccotti offers a comprehensive and unsparing account.

Noting that the Pope remained silent, she goes on to point out that he "seems to have learned about the

pending roundup by at least October 9, one week before it actually occurred" (p. 126). He also knew, she indicates, that the "orders said that the Jews were to be 'liquidated'" (p. 126). Even though he knew that the Jews were being sent to death camps, he said nothing. Zuccotti then asks "What might the Pope have done before October 16?" She points out that a private threat would certainly not have stopped the SS but would have "placed the Pope on sounder moral ground" (p. 126). He also could have warned the Jewish community about the impending roundup and could have protested the event after it occurred. The Pope's only public comment "appeared in the Vatican Newspaper . . . on October 25-26 after most deportees were dead" (p. 130).

Finally, Zuccotti asks why the Pope remained silent. After dismissing several proposed explanations she points out that Jews were hidden in churches, monasteries, and convents and that it was feared that any vigorous protest would disrupt Vatican-German relationships and jeopardize

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the safety of the hidden Jews. A second possible factor is that "condemnation of the Holocaust might provoke Nazi reprisals against Catholics in German-occupied countries, as well as even more terrifying persecution of the Jews" (p. 133). Third, the Pope was as concerned with protecting the Church as he was about his moral leadership. He was aware that the Church was at the mercy of the Germans.

While all this provides material for thought, Zuccotti points out the moral implications. First, she notes that "The fact that Pope Pious XII did not publicly condemn the Holocaust does not mean that he did nothing to help the Jews" (p. 134). As noted above, Jews were hidden in religious institutions. The Pope, Zuccotti notes, "seems to have chosen not to be involved even with priests inside the Vatican who were helping and

supplying the persecuted. The best that can be said of him is that he allowed others to take great risks and that he fulfilled his institutional mandate at the expense of moral leadership" (p. 135).

The effect of the October roundup was to send Jews into hiding. While most of the Italian population watched passively, others rescued Jews and still others participated in the persecution. "From early December 1943 to mid-February 1944, the Holocaust in Italy was conducted primarily by Italians according to Italian rules. From the very beginning, however, Nazis supervised and tried to interfere" (p. 170). Zuccotti weaves throughout the remainder of the book individual stories and historical narrative. She provides enlightening discussions of "Survival in Italy" (Chapter 10); "Switzerland" (Chapter 11), including personal accounts of attempts to cross the border; "The Best of Their Generation: Italian Jews and Anti-Fascism" (Chapter 12), which examines resistance; and concludes with a summary and the question: "Why, then, did so many Italian Jews survive?"

Zuccotti discusses several hypothetical explanations. First, she notes that the fact that "the Holocaust began late in Italy was helpful," and second, that by September 1943 the German army had been defeated in Russia, North Africa, and Sicily, and the defeat of Hitler was seen as a distinct possibility. Yet, as Zuccotti accurately notes, the occupation of Hungary did not take place until March 1944, and within two months more than 380,000 Hungarian Jews were deported. In a concise and insightful paragraph, Zuccotti summarizes some of the main factors that contributed to a survival rate of 85 percent:

The peculiar combination in Italy of a later and short danger period, the low percentage of Jews, the ability of Jews to pass, and the imaginative daring of Jews as individuals was not enough to insure an 85 percent survival rate. The hunted could never have survived without help. All Jewish survivors owed their lives to their own initiative, to luck,

and to the help of one or several non-Jews (p. 276).

After this summary Zuccotti concludes by pointing out that "The Holocaust in Italy was a twisted legacy—a blend of courage and cowardice, nobility and degradation, self-sacrifice and opportunism. In contrast to other countries, perhaps the worthy behavior outweighed the unworthy, but the horror was nonetheless real" (p. 286).

The Italians and the Holocaust fills a very large gap, because the story of the Holocaust in Italy has not been told in as comprehensive a fashion. Zuccotti has written a book that, when combined with personal accounts such as those of Primo Levi (*Survival in Auschwitz, The Reawakening, Moments of Reprieve*) and Carlo Levi, who tells the story of his internal exile in *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, provides a balanced picture of what Zuccotti refers to as "the central horror of our time" (p. 183).

When the Jews from Italy arrived at the death camps, they were met by a fate common to all victims. The records of those abusers of human dignity were meticulously maintained by the Germans who employed Jews as their record-keepers. Lore Shelley, who was an Auschwitz secretary, tells what Harry James Cargas refers to in his Preface as "the extraordinary stories of ordinary people who were doomed to carry the burden of a humanity gone mad" (p. xiv).

Secretaries of Death recounts the stories of individuals who worked for the Politische Abteilung or Gestapo or Auschwitz. As Shelley notes, it was here that the records were kept. In her introduction she describes the office as

... subdivided into the section of the living and the section of the dead. The former contained the records of prisoners still alive and the latter the files of those who were deceased. Here all new arrivals were registered, "normal" deaths were noted and lists were compiled of everybody who was gassed. The mail for the prisoners passed through this office, and inquiries from the Gestapo and Kripo posts from all over Nazi-occupied Europe were answered and filed

with dossiers. After the death cases were properly documented, the charts were sent to the Standesamt (civil registry), where a large staff was kept busy with nothing but officially recording the names of the deceased (p. XV).

Most of the office work was done by Jewish women who were referred to as the "Himmelfahrtskommando" (on-the-way-to-heaven squad because as bearers of the most terrible secrets it was commonly supposed that we would never leave Auschwitz alive" (p. xv-xvi). The book is a collection of personal accounts of the women who did this work. It also contains information about the SS men who worked in the bureau and supervised the "Secretaries of Death." As with Zuccotti's book, this volume is filled with stories of horror, heroism, and courage.

Together these two books tell stories about unfamiliar aspects of the Holocaust. They describe in detail two additional aspects of what Zuccotti refers to as a "terrifying, inhuman concept beyond reason, argument, or persuasion" (p. 183). They are essential because they contribute to the important task of keeping alive the memories of individuals who were killed, who survived, who resisted, and who helped others to survive, and because they indicate the grave dangers of totalitarianism. One of the secretaries provides a moving conclusion:

When the few survivors tried to speak up in 1945, the world turned a deaf ear. Perhaps—if our reports of 'wholesale murder with a card catalogue' had been heard and heeded then, there would be less terror, violence, intimidation and persecution today. Maybe there would be more widespread realization of the dangers of totalitarian regimes. In any case it is vital that the world hear our voice today (p. 247).

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TWO GIANTS OF THE ZIONIST ENTERPRISE

Chaim Weizman, A Biography
By Norman Rose
Viking Books
Ben-Gurion: The Burning Ground,
1886-1948
By Shabtai Teveth
Houghton Mifflin Company

A Review essay by
Melvin I. Urofsky

There seems to be a constant market for biographies of founding fathers. In the United States, the bicentennial celebrations of the past several years have only augmented a continuous outpouring of books on Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and others of that revolutionary generation. For Israel a similar process seems to be at work. Every year we receive new studies of the founders, and because there are many people still alive who remember Weizman, Ben-Gurion, Meir, and their contemporaries, there is a special flavor to their life stories.

In these two books we are treated to exemplary models of how biography ought to be written about heroic figures—in a heroic style that includes warts and all. It is not that these books are perfect—each has its flaws—but Norman Rose and Shabtai Teveth have approached their subjects with a fine mixture of skepticism and appreciation. For the present, at least, I would consider these two volumes the best studies of Chaim Weizman and David Ben-Gurion available for either the general reader or for those interested in scholarly material.

The stories of these two men are well known, although there are some surprises here. In past biographies, the least known area of both men's lives has been the personal. We only saw or read about the public figure, which in many ways was the image each chose to portray—the aristocratic Chaim, the pioneering David. To be honest, these portraits were not all that wrong. Despite his humble beginnings, Weizmann was an elitist from the start, and after his inventions guaranteed him a comfortable income, he and Vera indulged in all the trappings, including a Rolls, a chic London apartment, regular trips

to swank spas, and expensive clothes. Ben Gurion, on the other hand, although never quite the kibbutznik he made himself out to be, had very simple tastes and, aside from a passion for books, had few material desires. In their later lives, the Weizmanns retired to the palatial "White House" they built in Rehovoth, the Ben-Gurions to a kibbutz in the Negev.

These studies each take a closer look at the private lives of the two men, as well as a detailed examination of their characters. The portraits are far from flattering. Both men were Prima Donnas, convinced that they, and only they, had the right answer to Jewish problems, and they disliked any other Jewish leaders who questioned their views. Weizmann was the worst of the two. His greatest achievement came during World War I with the Balfour Declaration, and from that time on he maintained that only by faithful allegiance to Great Britain could a Jewish state arise in Palestine. To the end of his life, he could not understand that the British had and always would play power politics in the Middle East, and that Jewish interests would only be served if they coincided with British interests—a rare confluence

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after 1919. There was hardly a major Jewish leader of the times who did not come to understand this and in doing so incurred the great Chaim's wrath.

In the early twenties, this faith in British assistance led in part to the split with Brandeis, who urged the Zionists to undertake a rapid program of development in the Yishuv to cement Jewish claims there. In the late thirties and forties, first Zvi Jabotinsky and then Ben-Gurion challenged the Zionist reliance on England. The growing menace of Nazism to the Jews made British perfidy all the more terrible and in the end led

the Zionists to follow Ben-Gurion's independent course.

Weizmann, despite his accomplishments, does not come across as a terribly admirable figure in Rose's study, despite the author's obvious affection and respect for him. There is a pettiness and duplicity, a willingness to use people not only for the sake of Zionism but for his own ends, that leaves a sour taste. That Weizmann was attractive, especially to British political figures, is undeniable, as is his value as a spokesman of the Jewish cause to the Christian world. In his last great contribution to the cause, he helped convince Harry Truman to recognize Israel in May 1948. He had hoped to be the leader of the new state, but Ben-Gurion took that role and finally secured his revenge against Weizmann. He prevented Weizmann's signature from being affixed to the Israeli Declaration of Independence and ensured that the presidency of the state was little more than a ceremonial role.

Ben-Gurion's character is hardly any better. His treatment of Paula and his children may best be characterized as indifferent. (Weizmann also had poor relations with his children, although except for one separation, he and Vera, who shared his aristocratic presumptions, got on well.) Ben-Gurion often sought companionship with younger, intellectual women, and Teveth implies that these relationships, outside of Palestine and hidden from Paula, were sexual as well as intellectual, providing him the mental as well as physical stimulation he did not get at home.

Ben-Gurion, as much as Weizmann, was a driven man. His whole life was the Zionist enterprise, the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Where Weizmann's intellectual abilities had been honed by university training, Ben-Gurion was almost entirely self-taught, and his intellectual horizons actually seemed far broader than Weizmann's. Although both men had great political skills, Ben-Gurion's proved greater, for he had to develop a plan first to build up the yishuv through the Histadrut and then mobilize that power in order to gain control of the Zionist movement.

The title of the Teveth book, *The Burning Ground*, captures well Ben-Gurion's sense of urgency regarding the need for a Jewish state. It is a massive work, based on hitherto unavailable sources, including the diary Ben-Gurion kept for posterity. Although it claims to go to 1948, in fact it peters out at the end of World War II, and we shall have to await a second volume for those heroic years which saw Israel come into existence and then survive so precariously. But if the writing, research, and critical analysis which mark this book are present in its successor, it will be a worthwhile wait.

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MUSLIM AND JEW

*The Jew As An Ally of the Muslim:
Medieval Roots of Anti-Semitism*
By Allan Harris Cutler and
Helen Elmquist Cutler
University of Notre Dame Press

A Review essay by
Husain Mustafa

In this somewhat rambling and repetitive book, the Cutlers set out to revise the traditional explanations of anti-Semitism in Western Europe. They argue that the medieval roots of modern anti-Semitism are to be sought, not in Christian theology, but in other factors, primarily anti-Muslimism and the equation of Jew with Muslim by medieval Christians. It follows that had there been no outburst of Christian hatred against the Muslims during the Crusades, there might well have been no great outburst of anti-Semitism in Europe during the Middle Ages. And, by implication, had there been no such outburst of Christian hatred against the Muslims, anti-Semitism might well have died out altogether in Western society.

The authors find evidence supporting their theses in several Christian medieval documents, and this choice of sources may have predetermined the outcome. For one thing, many of the histories written during the Middle Ages were the works of Christians who were either closely identified with the church or were converts

to Christianity who felt a need to justify their change of faith. Some of them were translations of treatises authored by anti-Muslim Arab Christians such as Al-Kindi's ninth-century anti-Muslim polemic *The Risala*. To cite one example, the book utilizes heavily the works of Petrus Alphonsi, a convert from Judaism to Christianity, whose polemics against the Jews and Moslems were based on the *Risala*.

Whereas the authors cite numerous studies, including those that set forth with ample detail the theological bases of early Christian attitudes toward the Jews, they nevertheless, in the end, conclude that Christian theology has not been responsible primarily for the fate of the Jewish people in Europe. It is clear that their sympathies and concerns are not directed toward acknowledging either the role played by the Church, especially by her hierarchy, in the growing enmity towards the Jews throughout many centuries or the connection between the oppression of Jewish people and the disdain one finds in the catechism, preaching, and teaching of Christian churches from earliest times. The title of the book alone shows where the concern of the authors lies. And their sympathies are indicated by a number of generalizations, sprinkled here and there throughout the book, which are neither supported by these authors nor by any other scholarship (e.g., Jews living in the Christian world theoretically prefer to assimilate and to disappear as Jews; the Roman Catholic religion and Spanish Christian society were both attractive enough spiritually and materially to inspire the enthusiastic devotion of thousands of Jews; both the Jews of Spain and Franco-Germany would have wanted to assimilate completely within the Christian world).

As would be expected, the book dwells on and develops a history of anti-Muslimism in medieval Europe. Of the deep roots of anti-Semitism in Christian Europe we hear very little beyond acknowledging that "no one would deny that patristic anti-Semitism was important"; of the persecution of the Jews prior to the Muslim invasion of Spain, we hear almost nothing. The authors describe the period preceding the High Middle Ages as one in which anti-Semitism was

dormant; yet when, in 711, the Muslims introduced their religion into Spain, they found Catholic Christianity firmly established. Legislation of the Sixth Council of Toledo had required all kings to swear that they would not permit the exercise of any other religion but the Catholic and would vigorously enforce the laws against all dissidents. A subsequent law forbade anyone under pain of confiscation of his property and perpetual imprisonment to call into question the Catholic Church or its

The Jews of Spain were aware that Islam prohibited forced conversion and guaranteed to religious minorities their lives, property, and the right to worship as they chose.

decrees, the evangelical institutions, the definitions of the fathers, and the Holy Sacrament. The church, which had gained controlling influence in the affairs of state as a result of the breakdown of royal authority, harbored anti-Jewish attitudes as part of its battle for the souls of the Iberian peninsula and abused its power to persecute the large Jewish community. The clergy fanned popular hatred of the Jews by such highly publicized anti-Semitic charges as the blood libel (that the Jews required Christian blood for the Passover ritual) and the desecration-of-the-host libel (that the Jews stole and tortured the sacred wafer used in the mass).

Had the West been strong enough to prevent the Islamic conquest of Spain, those restrictive laws and that persecution would have continued. Anti-Semitism entered a dormant phase after the Muslim invasion because of the tolerant Muslim attitude toward "people of the book." The Jews of Spain were aware that Islam prohibited forced conversion and guaranteed to religious minorities their lives, property, and the right to worship as they chose. Consequently, they sided openly with the invaders against the persecutors, as other Jews had done earlier in Palestine, Syria, and Iraq. They hailed the Moslems as deliverers from cruel oppression; they rose up in armed revolt against their Visigothic persecutors, garrisoned captured cities on behalf of the Moslems, and opened the gates of besieged towns. As in

earlier cases, alliance was the result, not of a conspiracy against the Christians, but rather of practical motivations on both sides: The overextended Muslims welcomed the support of a local group, and the Jews sought to end persecution. That period of Spanish history witnessed the development of a relatively open society and a dynamic mercantile economy that provided an environment in which Jewish-Muslim business partnerships, intellectual disciplines, and various forms of cultural cooperation flourished. It also saw the rise of vibrant and increasingly independent centers of Jewish life, which played an important role in the growth of Muslim civilization. Probably at no other time in the 1,300 years of Jewish history under Islam were the Jews as thoroughly assimilated into the cultural milieu of the Arab-speaking world. Indeed, anti-Semitism almost died out completely in Spain between 700 and 1000, and its revival coincided with the beginning of the European reconquest.

It is not difficult to see why the authors argue that medieval Christians associated Jew with Muslim. But their attribution of Christian anti-Semitism entirely to the charge that the Jews were in league with the Muslims is beset with many problems. It ignores the fact that the seventh-century rise of Islam altered the balance of religious power in the Western world and generated the deeply-felt human need to find scapegoats for individual and societal shortcomings. Nor does it acknowledge the role of fear that many had of merchants and bankers who lived by their wits rather than from the soil, especially if they are considered an alien religioethnic group. And it overlooks Christian resentment of Jewish socioeconomic and political ascendance under Arab rule and the rise of some of them to positions of eminence close to the seat of power. These and other factors explain the revival of anti-Semitism after the collapse of the Muslim Empire and its culmination in the Inquisition and the persecution of the Marranos. Contrary to regnant opinion, the Cutlers argue that the Inquisition persecuted the Marranos essentially for political reasons and because of their "race"; that is, their Jewish ethnic background rather than religious

prejudice. But surely, the forcible conversion of the Marranos (Jewish converts to Christianity) and the Moriscos (forced converts from Islam to Christianity) reflects in some measure the religious intolerance of the church. After all, the conversions were precipitated by a series of riots against and massacres of the Jews, which were incited by the fiery preaching of church archdeacons. Indeed, the actions of the Marranos in response to Christian persecution challenge most of the authors' generalizations. Instead of assimilation into Christian society, they mostly chose to emigrate (or were expelled) to friendlier lands in North Africa and Ottoman Turkey where they reverted to Judaism and were able to start life over again.

The roots of anti-Semitism are much deeper than portrayed in this book, which often confuses cause with effect. Since the authors deal with some controversial aspects of the phenomenon for which the available information admits of varying interpretation, some disagreement with them is unavoidable. But much disagreement could have been avoided had they not indulged in historical speculation (e.g., secretly, the Marranos were devoted Christians) and had they not studded their book with unsupported generalizations.

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THE DOCUMENTARY HYPOTHESIS REVISITED

*Before Abraham Was: The Unity of
Genesis 1-11*

By Isaac M. Kikawada
and Arthur Quinn
Abingdon Press

A Review essay by
Frank E. Eakin, Jr.

Isaac M. Kikawada and Arthur Quinn argue that, rather than Genesis and indeed the Torah's being a composite patchwork of traditions and folklore, as suggested by the Documentary Hypothesis, the material is formulated by a single author of "consummate subtlety and skill" (p. 69). It is suggested that not only

does such "unitary analysis" preclude the need to cut, paste, and excise, so too will the approach provide a structural blueprint for understanding later sections of the text, as the Deuteronomistic History (see Chapter V).

The authors contend that Genesis 1-11 has provided the essential proving ground for the Documentary Hypothesis as applied to Genesis, and thus the focus of the book rests in Genesis 1-11 on the proviso that, if it be possible to make the "unitary analysis" claim for Genesis 1-11, then the almost consensus affirmation of the Documentary Hypothesis by biblical scholars must necessarily be reconsidered.

They also argue for "continuity between the Pentateuchal and the 'literary' histories" (p. 107), making their case by emphasizing the "parallels between the Genesis primeval history and reign of David and Solomon as recorded in the books of Samuel and Kings."

Kikawada and Quinn address what they judge a disservice to the text by documentary analysis, that is, that "documentary analysis of the Bible . . . has gone hand-in-hand historically with an ethical condensation to, or even rejection of, the Bible" (p. 127). The authors seek to refute this through the use of passages drawn particularly from the Book of Judges, a particularly problematic book for interpretation. Comment to this section is found below.

While the authors are to be commended for an interesting and often informative book, their case for "unitary analysis" is insufficiently developed to convince this reader. There is an artificiality and often an apparent forced sense of symmetry in the chiasmic structure. Furthermore, the authors simply do not answer the problems addressed by the Documentary Hypothesis as effectively as does source analysis.

Kikawada and Quinn never address the issue of historicity. The Atrahasis epic is held up as the prototypic narrative form, but the degree to which Genesis 1-11 is *Historie* and/or *Geschichte* is simply not addressed. Supposedly Genesis 1-11 must have been formulated well before either the remainder of Torah or the Deuteronomistic History if it were to serve as the literary formula for the later

works. To what degree, therefore, are we to assume Genesis 1-11 to record a rather strict account of *Historie*? The Documentary Hypothesis takes the material with sufficient seriousness so that the *Geschichte* shines forth.

The failure to deal with the historicity finds focus in the narrative's being historically disjointed. Because the material is not set contextually but is permitted to free-float in terms of its ethical orientation, the sense of placement is lost. The argument is made that the grossness of Ehud's slaughter of the king (Judges 3:21-22) is "both literarily sophisticated and ethically admirable" (p. 128). Only by applying twentieth-century ethical sensibilities, however, can one argue as have Kikawada and Quinn. An analogy would be the condemnation of the Canaanites because they participated in ritual prostitution as a part of Baalistic practices. A modern reader should seek to understand this phenomenon and the reasons why Israel-Judah's prophets so condemned the practice rather than wading in with the hatchet of twentieth-century ethical sensibilities.

Almost parenthetically, it should be noted that the authors' attempt to rationalize Israelite actions recorded in the Book of Judges as "literarily sophisticated and ethically admirable" (p. 128) constitutes probably the weakest part of the book. The first four paragraphs of their Epilogue constitute a typical parody on the understanding of the biblical critical methodology, obviously seeking to refute the process by extravagantly overstating one's case. This same approach is found on page 29 where the authors portray the source analysis of the Noah narrative, stating as the historical-critical position: "As God of the cosmos, Elohim gives a cosmic sign of his covenant, the rainbow renews man's status as his image and likeness." This statement mirrors neither the historical-critical method nor the biblical text.

Another example of the problems created by the failure to take sufficiently seriously the historical context is associated with the use of divine names. The authors have used a forced association of "God" and "Trinity" by Thomas Aquinas, as "God the Holy Trinity," to explain the combined use of "Yahweh" and "Elohim" in Genesis 1-11 (pp. 18-19). They further "support" this ar-

gument by pointing to the wisdom literature, “that ancient Near Eastern equivalent of natural theology” (p. 18) where “Elohim” is “consistently used” (p. 18) as compared to the prophets’ use of “Yahweh.” No attention is given to the context of these two literary genres, with the prophets emphasizing the Sinaitic covenantal relationship with the God “Yahweh” as opposed to the sages emphasizing the God responsible for all creation and who is thus the “Elohim” (to avoid the more narrow, Sinaitic covenantal specificity) of all humankind. There is a richness in the wisdom literature, which the authors’ approach totally misses.

Similarly, one of the points of richness associated with the Torah is its remarkable diversity. These were not monolithic thinkers, and gratefully, as the text was gradually molded and edited into its present form, there was no overarching attempt to force a singular focus upon the entire corpus. A major problem raised by “uni-

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tary analysis” is that this is an attempt from a modern perspective to force upon the ancients what they did not espouse. This is found throughout the book, but pages 19 ff. constitute a good example. A basic problem with attempting to force a compatibility of Genesis 1:1–2:4a with 2:4b–3:25 is the simple fact that ancient Israel worked on a mentality that presuppositionally was “both-and” rather than “either-or.” Modern people definitely are more oriented towards an “either-or” mentality—look at students’ research papers for substantiation. On the other hand, the ancient Israelites could place side by side differing creation accounts and could interweave in 1 Samuel the Early and Late Sources without apparent problem. To be sure such “both-andness” enriches our understanding and awareness of antiquity and creates interpretive problems. Nonetheless, the way to respond to these problems is not the route of enforced conformity, or “unitary analysis.” This approach denies the ancient his uniqueness.

It is true that the Documentary Hypothesis finds Genesis 1–11 to be the material most supportive of source analysis on the one hand and to be also potentially the most problematic for source analysis on the other. Attempts such as that offered by Kikawada and Quinn will continue to emerge, and this is precisely as it should be. We are dealing with the Documentary Hypothesis, and the nature of the tool rejects abject dogmatism. If someone can provide a better vehicle for understanding the considerable differences between Genesis 1:1–2:4a and 2:4b–3:24, then let that individual step forth. But such an explanation should address in logical and comprehensive fashion issues such as deity designation, theological perspective, vocabulary, timed- versus non-timed creative process, the view of man within the created order, and so on. The explanation used to clarify these cosmogonic and anthropogonic narratives (Gerhard von Rad’s terminology) should also be applicable to the Noah narrative in Genesis 6–9. Logically and comprehensively, repetitions, contradictions, and differences must be addressed. Just as with these two blocks of material within Genesis 1–11, the schema employed must address adequately not only Genesis 1–11 but also the entire Torah. To this point, this writer has not seen the explanation which better speaks to all of the issues involved than does the Documentary Hypothesis. Imperfect though an application of JEDP may be, with however many refinements one may conjecture, it still responds most adequately to the diversity of issues raised. We may anticipate a suggested resolution that better responds to this diversity of issues, that analyzes, synthesizes, and draws the entire Torah (and beyond as Kikawada and Quinn desire?) into a meaningful construct, but in this reviewer’s judgment, we yet await that suggested resolution. It is not to be found in “unitary analysis.”

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BOOK BRIEFINGS

Inclusion of a book in “Briefings” does not preclude its being reviewed in a future issue of Menorah Review.

Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence. By Jon Levenson. San Francisco: Harper & Row. Is God the omnipotent creator of a perfectly ordered world or a divine force continually in combat with chaos and evil? This is the question explored by the author in this provocative work. He holds that the common view of God as an all-powerful force of good that set the world in motion unopposed is inaccurate. He argues that God’s authority of the world is the result of his victory in the struggle with evil. This struggle is more complex, hard fought, and less certain in outcome than represented in classic doctrines of God’s creation of the universe. Levenson traces a more flexible concept of God in early Hebrew writings.

For the Land and The Lord. By Ian S. Lustick. New York Council on Foreign Relations. In this analysis of the Jewish fundamentalist movement in Israel, it becomes evident that the struggle now unfolding to determine the territorial shape and the meaning of Israel as a contemporary nation will be affected in large part by the activities of the fundamentalists—bent on a rapid achievement of transcendental messianic imperatives through direct political action—and the reaction to their activities by pragmatic, democratically oriented Israelis. The author argues that the 10,000 to 20,000 devotees of Gush Emunim activate the entire panorama of Jewish fundamentalists and secular ultra-nationalists, including some of Israel’s most powerful leaders. The author has written an impressive story.

Jewish Perceptions of Anti-Semitism. By Gary A. Tobin with Sharon L. Sessler. New York: Plenum Press. The author investigated how American Jews view anti-Semitism today. Some believe it is widespread in the U.S. while others attest to never having experienced it. Most Jews remain wary. What is the real picture of the relationship between Jews and Chris-

tians in this country, and how does it compare to Jewish perceptions? How accepted and assimilated do Jews really feel themselves to be? The author probes these and other issues that weigh heavily on the minds of many Jews and tries to determine how Jews view and approach anti-Semitism in a predominantly Christian society.

Paul and the Torah. By Lloyd Gaston. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. The author argues that the terms of Paul's mission must be taken seriously and that it is inappropriate to regard his "conversion" as a transition from one religion to another. Paul's congregations were not made up of Christian Jews; they were exclusively Gentile. Thus he focused on God's promise to Abraham concerning Gentiles which were fulfilled in the faithfulness of Jesus. The inclusion of Gentiles in the elect people of God through their incorporation into Christ thus does not mean a displacement of Israel. Nowhere does Paul speak of the rejection of Israel as God's chosen people, of the Sinai covenant as no longer in effect for Israel, or of the church as the new

and true Israel. He also says nothing against the Jewish understanding of Torah as it applies to Israel when he speaks of "law" in reference to Gentiles. This work presents an imaginatively new way of understanding Paul.

The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth, & Justice. Edited by Norman L. Kleeblatt. University of California Press. The title of this book is the title of an exhibition at the Jewish Museum in New York City, designed by curator Norman Kleeblatt to provide a visual record of responses to the Affair. The exhibition and this volume both reveal the *fin de siècle* in France, especially Paris, as a passionate and contentious battlefield of representations, where morality and aesthetics were inextricably joined. Although many volumes have been published on the Affair, this is the first comprehensive collection of images related to it. To complement the visual materials, the editor has brought together original essays on many aspects of the Affair by noted scholars from a variety of fields.

The Magic We Do Here. By Lawrence Rudner. New York: Houghton Mifflin. This first novel about a young, blond, and blue-eyed Jew who lives by his wits in order to survive the Nazi invasion of Poland is a stirring testimony both to history and to its author's narrative skill. It is a rich book filled with moving and evocative images of a lost world.

Where Are We? The Inner Life of America's Jews. By Leonard Fein. New York: Harper & Row. The author writes about the today that American Jews experience and the tomorrow they remember. The primary purpose of the book is to move beyond the debate over whether Jews can "make it" in America, and instead to ask what Jews, having made it, propose to do with it. The book is also a search for Jewish community, exploring the central problems of Jewish life. It also depicts what American Jews might feel like if they could move beyond their problems to incorporate in their private lives what they defend in the public arena.



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