

EJIW

Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World

5 volumes including index

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The goal of the *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World* is to cover an area of Jewish history, religion, and culture which until now has lacked its own cohesive/discreet reference work. The Encyclopedia aims to fill the gap in academic reference literature on the Jews of Muslims lands particularly in the late medieval, early modern and modern periods.

The Encyclopedia is planned as a four-volume bound edition containing approximately 2,750 entries and 1.5 million words. Entries will be organized alphabetically by lemma title (headword) for general ease of access and cross-referenced where appropriate. Additionally the *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World* will contain a special edition of the Index Islamicus with a sole focus on the Jews of Muslim lands. An online edition will follow after the publication of the print edition.

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Australia

Despite the restrictive “whites-only” policy, a Sephardi/Mizrahi community has emerged in Australia through postwar immigration from Asia and the Middle East. The Sephardim have organized themselves as separate congregations, but since they are a minority within the predominantly Ashkenazi community, maintaining a distinctive Sephardi identity may prove problematic for the next generation.

With the implementation of the White Australia policy in 1901, Jews from non-European countries were classified as undesirable immigrants. Nevertheless, a small and ethnically diverse Mizrahi community began to emerge in the post-World War II era. The first wave of Mizrahim came from Asia, predominantly Baghdadis dislodged by the war and postwar independence movements. Following a secret report in 1948 warning that many of the Indian Jews who wished to immigrate were “coloured,” the Immigration Ministry, under Arthur Calwell, decided to prohibit entry to all Jews from Asia and the Middle East, except in special circumstances.

The second wave consisted mainly of Jews from Egypt. Some were able to enter the country in 1948, but after the 1956 Suez crisis, they found it difficult to obtain landing permits. Strong representations by the leader of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, Sydney D. Einfeld, led the government to accept those with relatives or sponsors in Australia. Einfeld also pleaded the case of Iraqi/Indian and Moroccan Jews. From the 1960s, Israeli Sephardim with family connections in the country were granted admission. Some Turkish Jews entered Australia in the early 1970s, following immigration treaties between the two countries. They all called themselves Sephardim.

In Adelaide and Perth, Sephardim have merged with the Ashkenazi community, whereas in Sydney and Melbourne, they have

established separate Sephardi institutions. In Sydney, the New South Wales Association of Sephardim (NAS), created in 1954, opened Australia’s first Sephardi synagogue in 1962, with the aim of preserving Sephardi rituals and cultural identity. Despite ongoing conflicts between religious and secular forces, other Sephardi congregations have been established: the Eastern Jewish Association in 1960, Bet Yosef in 1992, and the Rambam in 1993. Emulating Sydney’s example, the Sephardi Association of Victoria, established in 1965, opened the Sassoon Yehudah Sephardi synagogue in Melbourne in 1975. Its founding members were Egyptian and Iraqi.

Out of a general population of twenty million and an estimated Jewish population of 100,000 to 120,000, the majority Ashkenazi, the Sephardi community of about five to seven thousand represents a fragmented minority, seeking to maintain cohesion within its ranks while making valuable contributions to the host country in every domain. Retaining a distinctive Sephardi identity is becoming increasingly problematic for the younger generation because of the lack of adequate Sephardi educational facilities. The growing socialization of Sephardi youth with the dominant Ashkenazim in synagogues, Jewish day schools, and Zionist organizations, and the subsequent rate of intermarriage will further dilute their sense of identity.

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RACHELINE BARDA

Bābāi b. Farhād

Bābāi b. Farhād was the author of *Kitāb-i Sar-Guzasht-i Kāshān dar bāb-i ‘ibrī va goyimi-yi sānī* (*The Book of Events in Kashan Concerning the Jews; Their Second Conversion*), a Judeo-Persian chronicle in verse covering selected events during the reigns of the Safavid shahs Sultan Ḥusayn (1694–1722) and Ṭahmāsp II (1722–1731).

Bābāi b. Farhād was the author of *Kitāb-i Sar-Guzasht-i Kāshān dar bāb-i ‘ibrī va Goyimi-yi Sānī* (*The Book of Events in Kashan Concerning the Jews; Their Second Conversion*), the second Judeo-Persian chronicle in verse known thus far. It covers selected events between 1721 and 1731 during the reigns of the Safavid shahs (→ Safavid shahs) → Sultan Ḥusayn (1694–1722) and Tahmāsp II (1722–1731). Bābāi b. Farhād acknowledges that his inspiration to record mostly contemporary events, some of which he witnessed, came from → *Kitāb-i Anusī* (*The Book of a Forced Convert*), the first Judeo-Persian chronicle, composed by his grandfather → Bābāi b. Luṭf.

While the emphasis of Bābāi b. Farhād’s chronicle is on the brief (approximately seven-month) period of apostasy of the Jews of → Kashan, his hometown, it also describes the hardships Iranian Jews endured in other towns, notably → Isfahan and → Hamadan, along with a few important events external to the Jewish community.

Bābāi b. Farhād lived in a turbulent period. He witnessed the downfall of the Safavids at the hands of the Afghans (1722), simultane-

ous attacks on Iran by Russia and the Ottomans, and the internecine warfare waged by contenders to the Safavid throne. During the short and incomplete (Sunni) Afghan occupation of Iran (1722–1731), Jews and other non-Shī‘ī minorities seem to have fared better than during the reigns of the increasingly intolerant late Safavid shahs. During this chaotic age, some of the leaders of the Jewish community of Kashan, pressed by rapacious taxes and outright plunder instigated by Ṭahmāsp Qulī Khān (the future → Nādir Shah, r. 1736–1747), decided to convert to Islam in order to preserve their wealth and, perhaps, their lives. They and the rest of the Jewish community, whom they coerced to join them, became → *anusim* (Heb. forced converts), outwardly practicing Islam but secretly faithful to Judaism. Bābāi b. Farhād was caught up in these events. According to his own account, he penned a petition asking Shah Ṭahmāsp II to restore Jewish religious freedom, but the communal leaders did not send it, thinking it better to deal with Ṭahmāsp Qulī Khān, the shah’s general, rather than with the shah himself. This worked out well, because Ṭahmāsp Qulī Khān eventually allowed the Jews to resume their faith upon payment of further “fines.”

Nothing is known about Bābāi b. Farhād beyond the meager information in his chronicle, because no other work of his has surfaced. He clearly came from a relatively well educated family, but his learning, as judged from the literary and analytical features of his chronicle, was inferior to his grandfather’s. His writing of a petition to the shah and its rejection by the community’s leaders suggests that he occupied a low position in the communal hierarchy.

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VERA BASCH MOREEN

Baḥuṣim

The *baḥuṣim* (Heb. outsiders) were semi-nomadic Jews in western Tunisia and eastern Algeria who led a tribal existence like that of the Bedouin and made their living from agriculture, peddling, and smithing. They were relatively numerous in the mid-nineteenth century, but their numbers dwindled considerably by the early twentieth century.

Baḥuṣim (Heb. outsiders), or sometimes *baḥuṣiyya*, a slightly arabized variant of the Hebrew, was the name Jewish townsfolk gave to the semi-nomadic, tent-dwelling Jews who lived in *duwwārs*, or small encampments, in the area extending from the region around Jerid and Le Kef in western → Tunisia to the province of → Constantine across the border in → Algeria, where they could be found between Suq-el-Ahras and → Tébessa and in the southern oases. Muslims referred to them as *Yahūd al-ʿArab* (Ar. Bedouin Jews).

The *baḥuṣim* were often allied with or under the protection of larger Arab tribal confederations, and they themselves often bore the tribal name of *Awlād Maymūn* (Sons of Maimon). Pellissier de Reynaud, writing in 1853, states that "In the region of Sers, there is a rather considerable number of Israelites living exactly the same life as the Arabs, armed and dressed like them, riding horseback like them, and making, when necessary, war like them. These

Jews have so melted into the rest of the population that it is impossible to distinguish them."

In 1852, it was estimated that there were fifteen hundred *baḥuṣim* in Algeria. The Algerian *baḥuṣim* eked out their livelihood from peddling and jewelry smithing; those in Tunisia from agriculture. The *baḥuṣim* were generally illiterate and knew little about Judaism. They swore by *Sidnā Mūsā* (Ar. Our master Moses), as Muslims would do by Muḥammad, and abstained from work on the Sabbath. The Semitist and intrepid traveler Nahum Slouschz recounts that only one aged patriarch in the *baḥuṣim* clan that he visited in Tunisia in the first decade of the twentieth century knew the Jewish prayers by rote.

In 1912, there were still about 150 families of *baḥuṣim* in Tunisia. They all but disappeared after the First World War. Some converted to Islam, while the rest moved into the towns, living at first on the outskirts in huts, but later integrating into the local Jewish communities.

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NORMAN A. STILLMAN

Baṣrī, Me'ir (Mīr)

Me'ir (Mīr) Baṣrī was born in Baghdad in 1911 and died in London in 2006. An economist and director of the Baghdad Chamber of Commerce, he was the first and last Jewish official in the Iraqi Foreign Office. He was also active in Jewish communal, administrative, and educational affairs, was the last president of the Jewish Community in Iraq, and

was a writer of modern Arabic poetry and prose.

Meir (Mir) Baṣrī was born in Baghdad in 1911 and died in London on January 4, 2006. The scion of two distinguished families of rabbis and businessmen, the Baṣrīs and the Dangoors, he was the last president of the Jewish Community in Iraq. As the one of the older generation of Jewish officials and businessmen who considered themselves to be Iraqi patriots, he remained in Iraq until forced into exile in 1974 by the Ba'ath regime.

Baṣrī was educated at the Alliance School in → Baghdad, where he studied French, English, and Hebrew. Later he privately studied economics and contemporary literature. In his youth he composed poetry in French and Hebrew and was influenced by Bialik, Shneor, and Tchernichowsky, as well as by the French and English romantic poets. He then devoted himself to Arabic poetry and became one of the leading romantic poets of Iraq, where he first introduced the form of the English sonnet.

Not long after his graduation from the Alliance school in 1928, Baṣrī's knowledge of European languages enabled him to become a high official in the new Iraqi Foreign Ministry under the British Mandate. Five years later he was transferred to the General Post and Telegram Services under the newly independent government. In 1935 he became deputy secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, and in 1943, its director, and was also founding editor of the monthly *Journal of the Chamber of Commerce* (*Majallat Ghurfat Tijārat Baghdād*) (1938–45). In 1936 he became deputy supervisor of the Stock Exchange. The following year he was sent by to Paris by the government to serve as assistant to the Iraqi general deputy to the International Fair. In October 1944 he joined the Iraqi delegation to the International Congress of Commerce in Rye, New York, and lectured on the Iraqi economy at various institutions in the United States. In 1945, he was appointed director of the Orient Commerce Company, and was elected a member of the General District Committee, and the Administrative Board of the District of

Baghdad. From 1947, he was director of commerce and publicity as well as deputy director of the Dates Association at the Ministry of Economics, but in 1952 left these posts to enter private business.

In addition to government service, Baṣrī played an important role in the Jewish community. He was a member of the board of directors of the Community Council in Baghdad (1945), and its deputy chairman from 1947 to 1950. He chaired the Educational Committee in 1958 and the Jewish Administrative Committee in Iraq (1967). After the death of Chief Rabbi and community head Sassoon → Khadduri (May 24, 1971), Baṣrī was elected president of the Jewish Community and chairman of the Jewish Council of Iraq. During the difficult period from 1967 to 1974, he maintained daily contact with the government, seeking to help Jews who had been arrested or imprisoned and making inquiries into the whereabouts of those who had disappeared. He was himself imprisoned for three months in early 1969. He left Baghdad for Amsterdam in 1974, and the following year moved to London with his family.

Baṣrī published fourteen books in Arabic on topics ranging from history and economics to biographies of politicians, artists, and men of letters. He also wrote poetry and short stories. His later books include *A'lām al-Yahūd fi 'l-'Iraq al-Ḥadīth* (Eminent Jewish Men of Modern Iraq), 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1983–93), *Aghānī al-Ḥubb wa-'l-Khulūd* (Songs of Love and Eternity), an anthology of his poems written over sixty years (Jerusalem, 1991), and *Riḥlat al-'Umr min Ḍifāf Dijla ilā Wādī al-Tāymīs* (Life's Journey from the Banks of the Tigris to the Valley of the Thames: Reminiscences and Thoughts), his memoirs (Jerusalem, 1992). In his memoirs, Baṣrī is sober and practical, expressing no grudges or bitterness in spite of the persecution and calamities that befell him and his community.

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SHMUEL MOREH

Bet El Kabbalists

The Bet El yeshiva is the preeminent school of Lurianic Kabbala, mainly because of the system of prayer intentions (*kavvanot*) instituted by its charismatic founder, Rabbi Shalom Shar'abi. Although founded in the eighteenth century, the school and its offshoots continue to flourish in the twenty-first century.

The Bet El yeshiva was founded in 1737 by Rabbi Gedaliah → Ḥayyun in the Old City of Jerusalem as a part of the general flowering of Kabbala in eighteenth-century Jerusalem. The yeshiva was galvanized by its second leader, the Yemenite kabbalist → Shalom Shar'abi (1720–1780, also known as RaSHaSH). Shar'abi bequeathed a system of contemplative kabbalistic prayer that has been the school's defining system ever since and is responsible for its preeminence among practitioners of the most arcane systems of → Lurianic Kabbala.

The early Bet El group left a number of documents. The most significant of these were four charters, or writs of fellowship (*sheṭarot hitkashsherut*), based on documents of the same type instituted by the Safed kabbalist → Ḥayyim Vital with the object of coalescing the circles that had formed around Isaac Luria under his own leadership. Thus the four charters are evidence that the Bet El kabbalists self-consciously patterned themselves on the Lurianic circles, which in turn were patterned on the kabbalistic fellowships described in the *Zohar*.

The first charter reflects concerns about the continuity of the fellowship and the preservation of its social structure and spiritual intensity. The signatories, like those who signed Vital's charter, committed themselves to act lovingly and with humility toward their

companions in the fellowship. The second charter concerned the community's response to catastrophes affecting members. The signers commit themselves to provide for the education of their companions' children and to take special measures in the event of a companion's illness or death. They also committed themselves to recite the books of Psalms, a common response to catastrophe. In the fourth charter the comrades designated themselves as the Ahavat Shalom group, an appellation that survives to this day.

The pietistic life of the Bet El kabbalists was distinguished by the structure of the fellowship. There were three main areas of study: exoteric, philosophical (*maḥshevet Yisra'el*), and Kabbala. The group was divided into three "watches" (*mishmarot*) that effectively kept the study room populated twenty-four hours a day. The first watch began at the midnight vigil (*tiqqun ḥaṣot*) and concentrated on the study of Lurianic Kabbala, particularly Vital's *Eṣ Ḥayyim*. The second watch commenced after the morning prayers and continued until the afternoon. The third watch ran from the afternoon to the evening service and concentrated on the study of Mishna and Talmud.

The Bet El "school" consists of a specific lineage of sages drawn from a limited set of communities. Shar'abi's teachings circulated among the Jews of the Middle East, from Jerusalem to → Aleppo (Ḥalab) and thence to → Baghdad, with contributions from the "sages of → Tunis." Acolytes of Shar'abi's teachings dominated the Sephardic chief rabbinate of Jerusalem in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Several of the men designated *rishon le-ṣiyyon* (chief rabbi of the Sephardic community) and → *ḥakham bāshī* (official religious liaison to the Ottoman Empire) were theorists of Shar'abi's method, active in the Bet El circle, and even his lineal heirs.

From its founding through the end of the twentieth century, the heads of Bet El were: Gedaliah Ḥayyun (1737–1745), Shalom Sharabi (1745–1780), → Yom Tov Algazi (1780–1802), Hezekiah Isaac Shar'abi (1802–1808), → Abraham Shalom Shar'abi (1808–1827), → Ḥayyim Abraham Gagin (1827–1850), → Yedidya Raphael

Abulafia (1850–1871), → Aaron Azriel (1871–1881), → Shalom Moses Ḥayy Gagin (1881–1883), Sasson Bakher Moses (1883–1903), Mas‘ud ha-Kohen Alḥadad (1903–1927), Shalom Hadaya (1927–1945), Ovadiah Hadaya (1945–1948), Yehudah Meyer Getz (1975–1995). There were periods in which the leadership of the yeshiva was contested or vacant. As of 2008, the Geulah campus is headed by a member of the Hadaya family, whereas leadership of the Old City center remains open.

In 1896, in part because of internal tensions in the community, a breakaway group founded the Reḥovot ha-Nahar yeshiva in the Yissacharoff Synagogue in the Bukharan quarter of Jerusalem’s New City. The group was led by Nissim Nahum of Tripoli, with the assistance of → Ḥayyim Saul Dweck (Duwayk) of Aleppo. Dweck had left Bet El in the midst of a controversy over the proper *kavvanot* to be recited for the Sabbatical year. Reḥovot ha-Nahar was devoted to the practice of *kavvanot*, apparently to the exclusion of Talmud study. Like Bet El, the new institution operated around the clock. The daily schedule began with nightly immersion in the ritual bath (*mikveh*), the midnight vigil (*Tiqqun Ḥaṣot*), and the recitation of prayers with Shar‘abi’s *kavvanot*. Reḥovot ha-Nahar served as a center for Aleppan scholars and came to include other newcomers to Jerusalem from Yemen and the Maghreb, as well as a significant contingent of Ashkenazim. The leaders of the early Ashkenazic pietistic circles in Jerusalem, Moshe Nahum Wallenstein, Aryeh Leib Beharad, and Zevi Pesah Frank, as well as the Hasidic rabbinical court, gave their approbation to Ḥayyim Saul Dweck and Elijah Jacob Legimi’s book of popular penitential rites, *Benayahu ben Yehoyada*.

In recent years there has been renewed enthusiasm for the Bet El form of contemplative prayer, and it is being propagated with a new urgency. Prayer with *kavvanot* is now the province of the wonder-working rabbis who have come to prominence in the last three decades, a line of recently departed sages that included Mordechai Shar‘abi, Israel

Abuḥaṣera (the Baba Sali), the *ḥakham* (sage) Yiṣḥaq Kadduri of the Bukharan community, and his student Shmuel Darsi.

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PINCHAS GILLER

Biton, Erez

Erez Biton (b. 1942) is a gifted Israeli poet of Moroccan origin and a culture hero for an emerging generation of Mizraḥi writers and intellectuals. He is unique for his artistic treatment of his blindness, Moroccan ethnicity in Israeli society, conflicts of identity, and his touching portrayals of family members, and of personal tragedies and joys.

Erez Biton, born in 1942 in → Oran, Algeria, came to Israel in 1948 and was the first Mizraḥi poet to give poignant expression to the inner conflicts of acculturation. A childhood accident from an unexploded grenade while he was playing in a junkyard left Biton blinded and maimed, and added a dimension of rare acuteness, sensitivity, and immediacy to his poetry and persona. Labeled a “cultural icon,” Biton overcame his handi-

caps and poverty to become a social worker with an M.A. in psychology. He founded and edited the literary journal *Apirion*, served as president of the Hebrew Writers Association, and has been an active force in promoting Mediterranean cultural affiliations and activities in Israel.

Biton's poem "First Background Data" recalls his earliest exposure to the sensual experience of Moroccan family life while in his interior life he absorbed the sounds of Bach's Masses through the filter of the Judeo-Moroccan dialect. A much more ironic tone, sometimes subtle sometimes acerbic, is evident in poems such as "Shopping Song on Dizengoff." The poet describes his efforts to open a shop in order "to strike some roots, to buy some roots, / to find a spot [for himself] at the Roval [Café]" and become a true Israeli. At the same time, he resents having to change his identity and accommodate himself by "unsheathing" his ever so proper, "up-to-date" Hebrew to find favor. At night he returns home to the suburbs and "another Hebrew." Biton's "Synopsis of a Conversation" is at once more adamant and more insecure. Trying to be "authentic," he flaunts his Moroccan ethnicity in the Café Roval, but "falls between" the competing dialects and aromas in a jumble of identities.

Biton's remarkable poems about his blindness have given him a unique status in Hebrew poetry. Whether describing his youthful experiences in the excellent Jerusalem School for the Blind, or his parents' reactions on the night following his accident, or his efforts as a father to reach out to his young son, his poetry leaves an indelible impression. His "The Earthquake at Agadir" is an unforgettable poetic lament, while his "Ballad of the Falling Bridge" expresses not only anguish at the human tragedy but disappointment with society's response.

Many of Biton's poems, such as → "Zohra El Fassia's song," expose the tragedy of the displaced, unfulfilled lives of North African Jews in Israel as well as the social disparities inadequately addressed by Israeli social workers and officials. None of this, however, has the ring of strident militancy. Biton's voice is

characterized by subtlety, impassioned spontaneity, and heightened sensory awareness. His books are *Minħa Maroqa'it* (Moroccan Gift, 1976), *Sefer Ha-Na'ana* (The Book of Mint, 1979), and *Šippor Ben Yabbashot* (Intercontinental Bird, 1989).

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STANLEY NASH

Cairo Geniza: General Survey and History of Discovery

More than 200,000 manuscript fragments, mainly in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Judeo-Arabic, and usually written on vellum or paper, were amassed in Fustat (old Cairo) between the eleventh and nineteenth centuries. The vast majority of the texts date from the tenth to the thirteenth century and are now housed in many libraries around the world, with almost 70 percent at Cambridge University Library. Their conservation and

research have revolutionized knowledge of medieval Jewish life, religion, language, and culture in the eastern Mediterranean and have shed light on the interactions of Jews, Muslims, and Christians.

SOURCE

“Geniza” is a convenient one-word title to describe an extensive and unique collection of medieval manuscripts, mainly in Hebrew, → Judeo-Arabic, and Aramaic, and usually written on vellum and paper, that has illuminated virtually every aspect of life in and around the eastern Mediterranean areas of the Islamic world a thousand years ago. The collection, consisting of well in excess of 200,000 items (written on almost half a million folios) was amassed in Fustat (old Cairo) between the eleventh and nineteenth centuries and most of its contents relate to the three-hundred-year period beginning when the Fatimid dynasty came to power (969 C.E.). Though originating in the Jewish communities of Fustat and finally located at the end of the nineteenth century in the Ben Ezra synagogue, the material, which is almost always in fragmentary form, relates not only to Jewish history, religion, and everyday life, but to broader ideas and events that also touch on important developments among Muslims and Christians.

The motivation for the preservation of all these texts did not lie in a desire to build an archive but in a deep, and essentially religious, respect for the written word. The stem from which the Hebrew word *geniza* is derived may be of Persian origin but is widely used in the Semitic languages in the senses of “hiding,” “covering,” and “burying.” The rabbis of the early Christian centuries occasionally used the term to describe special treasures usually stored up by God, but it was most commonly used, as *geniza*, to describe the religious duty of preserving items that could neither continue to be in circulation nor be destroyed, or as *bet geniza* to refer to the place to which they were consigned to await natural disintegration. Such items usually contained the name of God or some scriptural passage but

could no longer be used because they were damaged, worn, or considered heretical.

The system of *geniza* took various forms, some rabbinic communities burying the material in the ground, some placing it in caves or tombs, and others storing it in a designated part of the synagogue. Most *geniza* collections probably did not survive, and it is only due to a remarkable combination of factors that the texts from the Cairo Geniza have given modern historians such a rich source of information. There was a Jewish community in Fustat for at least a thousand years, constituting in the early part of its existence a major hub of Jewish activity, and the dry climate of the Cairo area ensured that texts did not succumb to the ravages of time. Even more important, synagogue officials in the Fustat community did not take the trouble either to sort the written materials to separate items that technically required the process of *geniza* or to take them to the cemetery. They preferred to store everything that was brought to them, so that by the middle of the nineteenth century a huge cache of documents awaited the attentions of those who were on the lookout for precious manuscripts. Perhaps there was also in their approach a conviction that any Hebrew letters or documents written by or about Jews carried an intrinsic holiness or even a magical power and should consequently attract the appropriate degree of veneration.

The incentives for pursuing such treasures were varied. Financial considerations, academic interests, religious identities, and touring activities all played a part, and the central roles were taken by dealers, scholars, communal officials, and visitors. The Karaite leader → Abraham Firkovitch acquired items in the Karaite synagogues of Cairo after 1865 and brought them to Russia (where they are now housed in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg). These items have parallels in the material found in the Ben Ezra synagogue and thus encourage the belief that the latter collection may have originated in a variety of communal locations in Cairo. The material that is probably more directly con-

nected with the Ben Ezra synagogue made its way to a number of major research libraries in the 1880s and early 1890s by way of various visitors but primarily through the efforts of four scholarly personalities.

DISCOVERY AND STUDY

A Jerusalem bookseller, Rabbi Solomon Aaron Wertheimer, saw the significance of many texts and edited some of them for publication. His impecunious circumstances, however, forced him to sell them, and most reached the Bodleian Library in Oxford and the Cambridge University Library. Another source of Geniza material for these two major centers in England was Greville Chester, an Anglican cleric and Egyptologist, who clearly received good advice about what was academically significant, since he passed on more than averagely important pieces to the two libraries. The archimandrite of the Russian Orthodox Church in Jerusalem, Antonin Kapustin, acquired numerous fragments for St. Petersburg, and the son of the British chief rabbi Nathan Marcus Adler, the lawyer and bibliophile Elkan Nathan Adler, himself visited the Ben Ezra Synagogue twice and after his second trip brought away a sackful of many thousands of items.

But it was Solomon Schechter and Charles Taylor who ensured that Cambridge University Library came to possess almost 70 percent of all the Geniza texts in the world. Schechter, a Romanian-born rabbi with extensive periods of traditional as well as critical learning behind him, was reader in talmudic and rabbinic literature at Cambridge, while Taylor, an Anglican priest, mathematician, and Hebraist, was master of St. John's College. Their involvement, for its part, was initially inspired by the widowed Scottish Presbyterian twin sisters, Mrs. Agnes Lewis and Mrs. Margaret Gibson, who had brought back manuscripts from their latest visits to Egypt, Syria, and the Holy Land and showed them to Schechter. He had identified them as of major scholarly importance and, with the encouragement, formal sponsorship, and financial backing of Taylor, had sought the source of such treasures in Cairo.

Having made friends with the chief rabbi of Cairo, Rabbi → Raphael Aaron Ben-Simeon, and with aid of prominent wealthy members of the Cairo Jewish community, Schechter was able to obtain their approval (also with certain financial inducements in the direction of some of the junior officials), and to send back to Cambridge University Library about 140,000 manuscript fragments. He, Taylor, Lewis, and Gibson and a few other scholars worked on them for about a decade and completed some initial sorting of about 20 percent of the collection. Cambridge today also hosts the Westminster College Collection and the Mosseri Collection. Although some research and publication proceeded during the years that saw the two world wars, there was no systematic treatment of any of the Geniza collections, nor any major attention to their importance for medieval social and economic developments, and not exclusively for literary history, until the 1950s.

A change in the situation was primarily due to the efforts of Shelomo Dov Goitein, who had studied in Germany, settled in British Mandatory Palestine, and then taught at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of Pennsylvania. He exploited the material so brilliantly that new interest was kindled. First at Cambridge, with the establishment of the Geniza Research Unit, and then at all the major centers around the world, most recently with the aid of substantial funding provided by the Friedberg Geniza Project, the conservation, description, photography, and accessibility of all the Geniza materials were undertaken and are now being completed. Beginning about fifty years ago, copies were made of all the items by the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, and there are now major projects under way, planned and financed by the Friedberg Geniza Project, to produce digitized images of all the collections. Apart from those in Cambridge, Oxford, and St Petersburg, other major collections are to be found at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, the British Library in London, the John

Rylands University Library at the University of Manchester, the → Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris, and the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. There are smaller collections in Cincinnati, Frankfurt-am-Main, Jerusalem, Kiev, Strasbourg, Vienna, Birmingham, U.K., and Washington D.C.

BIBLE TEXT AND INTERPRETATION

It is not surprising to find that much of the Geniza material relates to the Hebrew Bible. The consonantal texts do not vary significantly from what is found in the major medieval codices, but there are three main systems of pointing Hebrew, rather than the one championed by the Tiberian → Ben Asher that ultimately became the norm for most Jewish communities, all of them developed in the land of Israel or in Babylonia. These two communities also had their own lectionary systems, the former completing the readings prescribed for the Pentateuch and the Prophets over a period of three and a half years, while the latter completed them annually at the end of the Sukkot festival. Interest in the Hebrew Bible was undoubtedly encouraged in the Rabbanite communities by the example of the Karaites, who are also well represented in the Geniza source. It is clear that arguments about the role of the Hebrew Bible in Jewish religious life inspired more attention on the part of both these communities to the more intensive study of grammar, syntax, and masoretic notation. The earliest Geniza manuscripts, dating from a century before the rise of Islam, are palimpsests, the underwriting of which contains a few verses from the Greek Bible translation of Aquila, compiled about five hundred years earlier. These texts raise unresolved questions about which group was using this version in the sixth century C.E.

There is also considerable evidence relating to the exegesis of the Hebrew Bible. Trilingual versions of the biblical texts, offering side-by-side the original Hebrew with Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic renderings, were one method of expounding the scriptural text. → Sa'adya Gaon's Judeo-Arabic rendering

ultimately became the most popular among the Jews of the Islamic world, but others clearly preceded him in this exercise. Much has also been added to knowledge of the rabbinic expansions of the biblical text in Aramaic known as *targumim*. Various compilations have been newly identified and include lengthy elaborations of the text, poetic versions of the narratives, and halakhic interpretations of verses that run counter to what is found in the talmudic sources. For their part, the Karaites created a new linguistic identity for themselves that was at odds with the Rabbanite one by transliterating into Arabic characters the Scripture that the two communities shared. The literary history of midrashim has also gained much from Geniza discoveries. Instead of relying on complete codices that date from the late medieval period, students of this genre of rabbinic interpretation may now look to hundreds of texts that are fragmentary but provide numerous examples of improved readings. In addition, it has become clear that many more corpora of midrashim, both halakhic and aggadic, were recorded in the classical geniza period than had previously been known, and that some of them were much more lively, colorful, and even daring than those that were more centrally transmitted.

Also of interest to biblical scholars are the Geniza texts of apocryphal, pseudepigraphical, and related literature that is not normally associated with rabbinic Judaism or found in standard synagogal texts. Fragments of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus) were located and published by Taylor and Schechter themselves, and later by other scholars, so that most of the Hebrew of the work is now extant, obviously in various levels of originality. One of the Ben Sira manuscripts is particularly close to the version discovered by Yigael Yadin at Masada, and there are also texts of Tobit in Hebrew and the Testament of Levi in Aramaic. Perhaps even more exciting was the discovery of the Damascus Document, the first and most extensive text of which was researched by Schechter and published by

him in his *Documents of Jewish Sectaries* (Cambridge, 1910) with the title “Fragments of a Zadokite Work,” and much of the remainder of which has surfaced among the Dead Sea Scrolls found in Cave 4 near Qumran. Did such material survive among non-rabbinic groups of Jews between the first and eighth centuries, to be adopted and absorbed by the Karaite community when it flourished in the period immediately afterwards? Or were such traditions preserved, despite talmudic objections, by elements of the Rabbanite community that were more broad-minded than Sa’adya and → Maimonides would have wished?

TALMUD AND HALAKHA

Given that the printed texts of the Babylonian Talmud reflect what was written in the codices available in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and that there were few editions or manuscripts of the less well studied Palestinian Talmud, it is hardly surprising that Geniza texts that are almost half a millennium earlier should be contributing to the reconstruction of many talmudic passages. They are especially valuable when a Greek or Persian word, or a long-lost Hebrew or Aramaic usage or expression, can be rescued from the textual corruption it has suffered over the centuries and restored to its pristine form. The distinctions between Eastern and Western Aramaic are better preserved in the Geniza texts, and the Spanish and Portuguese incunables from the fifteenth century often offer better readings than the later Italian and Polish editions. What has also become clearer is the process whereby the talmudic text was not only transmitted but also expounded, via the minor tractates, the statements of gaonic authorities, and compilations of running commentaries. Work done on such commentaries by Hay Gaon in the Babylonian center of Pumbedita, then by → Hananel ben Hushiel in → Qayrawan, Tunisia, and by the latter’s successor, Nissim ben Jacob ibn Shahin, has been reconstructed and illuminated, and numerous treatises have emerged about which little or nothing was known.

The practical application of Jewish religious law was always of central importance to the Jewish communities, and this is reflected in the thousands of items relating to the field of halakha. From the gaonic period onwards, there were tensions between the decisions made in the Babylonian yeshivot and those followed in the land of Israel, and lists of variations, as well as evidence of clashes, are among the texts discovered. There are textual witnesses to the early codes, such as *She’iltot*, *Halakhot Pesuqot*, and *Halakhot Gedolot*, and to their later counterparts, such as the *Mishneh Torah* of Moses Maimonides, which probably has more fragments, including some in Judeo-Arabic translation, than all the others together. There are guides to such topics as testimonies and deeds, as exemplified in the *Sefer ha-Sheṭarot* of Sa’adya Gaon, and large numbers of responsa, particularly from the Maimonides family, that are especially concerned with ritual slaughter, inheritance, and marriage. Marriage and divorce documents testify to a greater concern with the rights of women in the land of Israel than in Babylonia and to the paleographic, linguistic, and legal differences between the Karaite and Rabbanite procedures.

LITURGY AND POETRY

The study of liturgy has benefited greatly from Geniza discoveries. There are novel or otherwise unknown benedictions, later forgotten or rejected. Examples relate to recitations of the *Shema*⁶, psalm collections, the Yom Kippur confession, and Mishna Shabbat 2; and to the kindling of Sabbath lights and the hand-washing during the Passover seder. Discoveries include previously unknown texts of the *Qaddish* and *Qedusha*; the various *Amidot*; the morning benedictions and the grace after meals; and the references to special days on Sabbaths and festivals. Also documented are a varied employment of psalms and other biblical verses, novel ceremonies associated with the synagogal use of the Torah scroll, variations in the order of prayers, and the honorific mention of

living persons. Furthermore, the inclusion of the Ten Commandments and the Song at the Sea (Exodus 15) as integral parts of the liturgy, and of mystical and messianic expansions to the *Qedusha*, *Shema*, *Qiddush*, *Havdala*, and Passover Haggadah, have been identified. It has been possible to trace the influence of the two major rites—those of the land of Israel and of Babylon—on the formation of all later prayer texts. The use of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Judeo-Arabic has been noted not only in prayers and liturgical poems traditionally expressed in one or other of these languages but also in other contexts where the expected language is surprisingly replaced by one of the others.

In the realm of poetry, the numerous folios and authors restored to knowledge have effectively created a greatly expanded field of study. While 40,000 compositions were once available to enthusiasts of medieval Hebrew poetry, today they have some 100,000 items to consult. Earlier texts—some on papyrus, perhaps as early as the eighth century—are now available, authorship is better established, and whole new schools of poets have been added to the history of Hebrew verse. Research has clarified medieval Hebrew poetry's characteristics, aesthetic value, extensive and complicated rules, and how it reflects levels of Jewish literacy. It has become clear how the whole literary genre blossomed in gaonic Palestine, and been suggested that poetry represented the primary Jewish entertainment of the time. It is possible to describe the emergence of a Sa'adian school in Babylon that made daring linguistic and structural innovations. Comparisons may be made between such poems and those composed in Byzantium, Italy, North Africa, and Spain. A most exciting find relates to a married couple, none other than the famous tenth-century linguist and poet → Dunash ibn Labr and his wife.

OTHER AREAS

There is also a whole range of mystical material in the Geniza, including the genre called *hekhlot* literature because it purports

to describe the “celestial palaces,” as well as many items in the realm of → magic that testify to a daily concern with its power and control. This concern is also expressed in the “scientific” areas of medicine, astronomy, → astrology, and mathematics. In addition, there are texts in the areas of philosophy, theology, and polemics which demonstrate internal Jewish divisions as well as the challenges presented by other religious practices and, indeed, by those attacking what they saw as naive faith. Although there are items written in classical Arabic, → Judeo-Spanish, → Judeo-Greek, → Judeo-Persian, Judeo-German, and even medieval French, the main competitor to Hebrew and Aramaic is undoubtedly → Judeo-Arabic. Most of the fragments pertaining to everyday life, rather than to what might be described as the more sacred activities and literature of a religious community, are composed in that vernacular. It is in this language that what is widely known as the documentary rather than the literary Geniza is to be found. The contents range across all the subjects described above but also supply a broad range of letters, documents, reports, lists, accounts, and jottings.

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STEFAN REIF

Homosexuality in Jewish society

Judaism and Islam both strictly forbid sexual relations between males, but they were far from consistent on such matters, and thus there was a sizable gap between mores and theological literature in the premodern Islamic world. Romantic and sexual ties between men were a fairly widespread phenomenon among Muslims, and given the extent of Jewish acculturation, it is not surprising that this was also true of Jews. The Cairo Geniza and the magnificent Hebrew poetry of al-Andalus provide documentary and literary evidence for the Middle Ages, while Hebrew and other sources from the Ottoman Empire, Iran, and North Africa document it for the fifteenth through the nineteenth century. In the later era, the existence of Jewish dancing boys who often engaged in homosexual prostitution was noted from Egypt to Iran.

Human sexual activity is influenced by its surroundings, and whether it is labeled as “normative” or “deviant” depends upon the norms relative to the place and time, the social and cultural contexts, and the standing of the individual. The study of homosexuality among Jews in the Ottoman Empire and in the lands of Islam, and also of the attitude of Jewish society, amply demonstrates this.

Like Judaism (Lev. 18:22 and 20:13), Islam strictly forbids sexual relations between males (Qur’an 7:81, 26:165, 27:55; and even more explicitly in the *ḥadīth*), but in actuality, the official stance on this question was far from consistent. The strict rules of *sharī’a* for establishing proof of adultery and sexual crimes almost entirely prevented such cases from being brought to court, nor is it at all clear to what degree the punishments ordained in *sharī’a* and civil law (Ar.-Turk. *qānūn*) were carried out. Research reveals a noticeable gap between the moral norms of the theological books and the mores current in premodern society. Romantic and sexual ties between men were a fairly widespread phenomenon in

Islamic civilization, where women were almost entirely absent from the public sphere. Desire and mutual erotic attraction between members of the same sex was accepted as a natural emotion and did not awaken feelings of guilt or shame. At the same time, it was not seen as fitting to address this phenomenon in public or to admit to its existence. In these societies, gender was not considered a natural, fixed characteristic. Male or female identity was determined by the sum of social behaviors, including sexual orientation. Dominance and penetration were signs of masculinity, without regard to the biological sex of the object of desire or to the predicate act, and men’s need for the charms of youths did not bear any negative stigma. Nor was there a binary division between heterosexuals and homosexuals, or between normative sexuality and deviant sexuality.

Sexual role was dictated in large measure by social standing. Generally, carnal relations occurred between individuals of unequal standing in terms of class and age, and took the form of sexual intercourse with youths and slaves. The sex belonging to the object of the man’s penetration had no importance: youth, man, or woman, slave or free—all were suitable choices. Since penetration was seen to humiliate and subserviate the passive partner, the latter often became an object of scorn, and a man who continued by choice to engage in anal passivity was indeed cast as a deviant. Prior to their development of facial hair, youths were considered to possess a female sexual identity and therefore were quite legitimate objects for masculine desire—and occasionally were even preferred (from the perspective of aesthetics). The many homoerotic motifs in belles lettres, Islamic mysticism, the popularity of sex manuals, and books of pictures and dream interpretations dealing with sexual relations between members of the same sex all strengthen this impression.

The expression of love between males was an open secret, and European travelers and diplomats who came to the lands of Islam noted this with shock. Stories describing the extent of homoerotic relations in the Orient

identified Islam with “Sodomism” and with immoral and degenerate sexuality and, in doing so, contributed to the demonization and delegitimization of the threatening and hated Muslim enemy (see Daniel, pp. 141–145).

Given the acculturation of Jews in the Islamic world, it is not surprising that the mores and practices of the host society existed in Jewish society. Despite the bond of silence and the intimate manner of the deed, hundreds of accounts detailing the existence of sexual relations between Jewish males have survived (there are no records regarding lesbian relations), and they testify to a largely forgotten phenomenon.

MEDIEVAL MIDDLE EAST AND AL-ANDALUS

The → Cairo Geniza provides some of the earliest evidence for the existence of the phenomenon among Jews in the Muslim East during the Middle Ages. S. D. Goitein theorized that the practice of pederasty filtered down from the ruling elite to broader segments of the population, and that the place of slaves was taken by poor boys. He points to numerous documents from which it may be inferred that relations with youths were not uncommon, even though they were explicitly condemned and measures were taken to prevent sexual encounters of this kind (e.g., the restrictions against men and boys being alone together on the pilgrimage [Ar. *ziyāra*] to the shrine at Dammuh, southwest of → Fustat).

The phenomenon of pederasty achieved unprecedented expression in the magnificent Hebrew poetry that was created out of an intimate familiarity and preoccupation with Arabic poetics in al-Andalus. In particular, the genre of “songs of the gazelle” praised the beauty of the beardless youth (Ar. *amrad*), described as a “gazelle” or “fawn” (Heb. *ševi*), and flaunted the pangs of yearning suffered by the poet enslaved by love for the handsome boy. As Schirmann and Roth have demonstrated, it is difficult to accept the argument of Allony, Pagis, and others that this was merely a literary trope which in no way mirrored a social reality. In addition to the corpus of

homoerotic Hebrew poetry, there is the evidence of halakhic and other literature condemning improper conduct. Huss maintains that medieval Andalusian and Middle Eastern Jewish society permitted positive representations of homoerotic love under certain conditions. He regards this as a result of the characteristic symbiosis with the Islamic milieu. Homoerotic relations among Jews continued to take place in the Iberian Peninsula after the Reconquista, but they were removed from literary discourse and are mentioned only rarely in rabbinic writings.

The Ottoman Empire and the Arab world in Early Modern and Modern Times

Hebrew and foreign sources dating from the fifteenth through the nineteenth century draw a picture clearly showing that sexual affairs between men were so common in the Ottoman Empire and North Africa as to elicit no comparison to similar activities in Europe. The testimony of the sources regarding male sexual activity is supported by the increasing reports throughout the region in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of moral and sexual transgressions and the frequency of relations between members of the same sex. As stated earlier, in the Muslim world attraction to members of the same gender was considered a part of a man’s array of general and normal behaviors. Moreover, the conditions of life, such as the ready availability of youths in a society that enforced a separation between the sexes and the late age of marriage for males, made it an attractive choice for channeling sexual desires.

The activities described in the sources correspond to the pattern of asymmetric relations described above. Most of what we know deals with sexual relations between Jews; however, there is evidence of sexual ties with non-Jews. Meetings took place in private homes, in the bosom of nature, and primarily in the entertainment spots for men of all religions—coffee houses, taverns, and public bathhouses. Of special note were the young male dancers, many of whom were typically Jews, with a significant proportion engaging in homosexual → prostitution. Prepubescent

Jewish dancing boys were found as far east as Iran, and as the anthropologist Laurence Loeb notes, “Homosexuality is constantly implied in discussing the role of the male dancer.” → Alliance Israélite Universelle personnel made considerable efforts to save Jewish boys from what they described as “a life of idleness and debauchery.” Boy companions appear in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in almost all the major urban centers in Yemen, Iraq, Egypt, and Morocco.

The lack of particular attention devoted to sexual relations between men reinforces the position of Michel Foucault, who maintains that until the modern era, homosexual intercourse, like various other sexual practices, was not considered more serious than forbidden sexual activities like adultery and rape. Religious law treated such behavior like any other sin; it was not perceived as a distinct or particularly worrisome moral or social phenomenon. Not until the nineteenth century was homosexuality thought of as a deviation or an act contrary to nature, reviving the view of the transgressor as a deviant belonging to a separate human category distinguished by specific characteristics.

In attending to the issue of relations between genders, the Jewish communities enacted religious ordinances (Heb. *taqqanot*) designed to prevent interactions that had the potential to lead to sexual activity. The restrictions on the movements of youths parallel those on the movements of women in the Muslim city—the object of desire had to disappear from the public eye and avoid arousing the interest of men. These rules strengthened and finalized the official ordinances of consensual agreement (Heb. *haskamot*) and other formal tools for overseeing and supervising public morals through informal means, such as education, sermons and preaching in the synagogues, and the constant fear of gossip and rumors. In spite of the clear biblical prohibition, and despite the bans and communal *taqqanot*, relations between members of the same sex were frequent. A noticeable gap existed between the ethical and moral code enacted by scholars of halakha and jurists and the

realities and norms of society at large, which was well aware of the common incidence of such habits. Indeed, the public preferred to address it by averting the eye or with a certain tolerance to the extent of almost *de facto* legitimization, particularly with regard to youths and bachelors seeking relief. The attitude of Jewish society to the phenomenon of homosexual intercourse was similar, therefore, to that of urban Muslim society, and reflected the influence of the latter culture, as had been the case in Muslim Spain.

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Jacques, Paula

Paula Jacques, born 1949 in Cairo, is an award-winning French writer. Her novels, focusing on Egyptian Jewry under Nasser, portray Jews and Muslims interacting in a period of political volatility and societal fragmentation. Her characters face problems of acculturation exacerbated by ambivalent allegiances and cultural identities.

Paula Jacques (née Abadi), French novelist and journalist, was born in → Cairo in 1949. Her family emigrated to Israel in 1958 during the great expulsion of Egypt's Jews under Nasser. They lived on a kibbutz for three years and then settled in France. Jacques has been involved in French theater, radio, and the press. Her eight novels to date focus on the Jews of Egypt during their final decades in that country, from the late 1940s to the late 1950s. The postcolonial condition of Jews and Muslims is the central preoccupation. At times, Jacques follows her characters out of Egypt and into France, where they face issues of acculturation and trauma. Any security the characters might have had about their relationship to French language and culture slips into uncertainty and is ruthlessly undermined by French standards. Jacques's characters, both Jewish and Muslim, are complex individuals in confrontation with volatile ideologies, political instability, gender subjugation, and class dominance. The crisis of the expulsion of the Jews is explored and dramatized, as are relationships between Jews and Muslims. On the whole, Muslims are shown as suffering from poverty and harboring vindictive feelings toward the Jews, who for their part suffer from anxieties inherent to communities under stress. The narrator casts a harsh eye on them as they face exile, uncertainty, and issues of identity. They are generally portrayed as weak, materialistic, and uncertain about their identity and nationality.

Jacques is a realist writer. Her novelistic universe—depicted to date in *Lumière de l'oeil* (1980), *Un Baiser froid comme la lune* (1983),

L'Héritage de Tante Carlotta (1987), *Déborah et les anges dissipés* (1991), *La Descente au paradis* (1995), *Les Femmes avec leur amour* (1997), *Gilda Stambouli souffre et se plaint* (2002), and *Rachel-Rose et l'officier arabe* (2006)—has historical significance for the way it depicts the cultural milieu and everyday life of the Jewish community of Egypt in Egypt and in the Diaspora. In 1991 Jacques was awarded the prestigious Prix Femina for *Déborah et les anges dissipés*. In 2002 she was awarded the Prix du Livre Europe 1 and the Prix Nice Baie-des-Anges for *Gilda Stambouli souffre et se plaint*.

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AIMEÉ ISRAEL-PELLETIER

Juhūrī (Judeo-Tat or Judeo-Tātī)

Juhūrī (Judeo-Tat, Judeo-Tātī) is the endangered Iranian language of the Mountain Jews of the eastern and northern Caucasus, the majority of whom now live in Israel,

the Russian Federation (mostly in big cities outside the Caucasus), and Azerbaijan.

Juhūrī, also known as Judeo-Tat or Judeo-Tātī (called *zuhūn tātī*, *zuhūn juhūrī* by native speakers), is a Southwest Iranian literary language derived from a spoken form of New Persian and heavily influenced by Āzerī Turkic, then by Russian, and now also by Israeli Hebrew. It was traditionally spoken by the → Mountain Jews (Turk. *dağ-çufut*; Russ. *gorskie yevrei*; Heb. *yehudim harariyim / qavqaziyim*) of the eastern and northern → Caucasus. Juhūrī does not form a dialectal unity with neighboring Tātī dialects spoken in the past by the Muslim population. The Tātī Muslim dialects of → Azerbaijan and → Dagestan, in turn, are to be distinguished from the so-called Southern Tātī dialects of northern Iran (which belong to the Northwest Iranian branch). On the other hand, Juhūrī is a close dialect of the New Persian spoken in the past by a small Armeno-Gregorian community in northwestern Azerbaijan (the Vartashen, or Shirānī, dialect). Three dialects of Juhūrī are known: that of Mahach-Qalah and Nalchik (historically, the Qaytaq dialect), that of Quba (northern Azerbaijan), and that of → Derbend (on which literary Juhūrī is based). During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Juhūrī was adopted by smaller Jewish linguistic minorities in Transcaucasia and the northern Caucasus (→ Neo-Aramaic, Kurdish, Āzerī, and Adyge-Circassian).

Despite the strong impact of Āzerī, the grammar of Juhūrī is basically Iranian. The Āzerī influence on the sound system manifests itself in partial vowel harmony. Phonologically, Juhūrī is characterized by rhotacism (*d > r*: *yehūdī > juhūrī*; *adīna* (Friday) > *orne*; *omodēn* (to come) > *omore*). Juhūrī preserves the original initial *v*: *vāta > vor* (wind); *cmf*. Persian *bād*). The Juhūrī pronunciation of Hebrew words is similar to that of the Jews of Iran; however, there is a group of older Hebrew words in which another (pre-Judeo-Persian?) pronunciation is manifested.

Before 1917 only two books existed in Juhūrī, *Matlab Siyuniho* (The Aim of the

Zionists) and a Sephardi prayerbook, both translated from Hebrew and both printed in Vilna. A Juhūrī newspaper began publishing during World War I. After the Russian Revolution the Soviet regime recognized the Mountain Jews as one of the nationalities of the Republic of Dagestan. In 1929, as a secularization measure, the Latin alphabet was imposed on Juhūrī in place of the Hebrew as part of the general “Latinization politics” of the Soviet Union. In 1938, designated Tātī, it became one of the ten official languages of Dagestan, but as Soviet language politics had changed by then, the Latin script was replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet. Although withering away, Juhūrī is still one of Dagestan’s literary and official languages. It is an endangered language, because the Mountain Jews now speak Russian and/or Hebrew. The publishing activities of Mountain Jews in Israel and Russia are currently either in Russian or in Hebrew.

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DAN SHAPIRA

Music

Music is a field in which Jews and the peoples of Islam achieved one of their closest and most fertile cultural exchanges. This entry traces the major points of musical contact between Judaism and Islam, stressing the role of Jewish musicians in Muslim societies and the impact of Islamic music on Jewish musical culture through the ages. Discrete geographical variants of this musical interaction are reviewed from a historical and social perspective.

Music is the field of cultural productivity in which Jews and the peoples of Islam (Arabs, Persians, Turks, Berbers, Kurds, Tajiks, Afghans, etc.) converged in the closest and most prolific manner. Jews have played a major role as composers and performers of music, mostly in urban genres, since the inception of Islam and throughout its vast territorial domains, under the Arab, Persian, and Ottoman empires as well as in the modern nation-states that emerged from them. At the same time, the musical cultures that developed within the Islamicate Jewish communities show the clear imprint of their co-territorial non-Jewish soundscape. The multiple reasons for these phenomena of wide scope and geographical spread (from the Maghreb to Central Asia) and the historical, social, and aesthetic backgrounds against which they took place are still to be fully assessed.

The complex musical interaction between Judaism and Islam is best described and interpreted in terms of “convergence” because this term has the advantage of avoiding the conceptual pitfalls associated with such ideas as influence, synthesis, hybridization, and majority-minority that were used in the past to define this twelve-hundred-year-old musical rapport. Convergence refers to the sharing of a cultural capital, in this case music, that results from extended and close physical contact. At the same time, it implies the development of a network of mutual interests deriving both from the diversity of social and aesthetic attitudes to and needs for music and from

the system of supply and demand of musical performance emerging from such attitudes and needs.

Present perceptions about the music of the Jews of the Islamic world are based on studies of the music of immigrant Jewish societies in other regions that came into being in the late nineteenth century and as a result of the massive exodus of Jews from North Africa and the Middle East that followed the establishment of the State of Israel. The final stages of this emigration included the dissolution of Algerian Jewry following the independence of Algeria (1962), the departure of much of the remaining Jewish community of Iran in the aftermath of the Islamic Revolution (1979), and the exodus of Jews from the Caucasus and Central Asia after the collapse of the Soviet Union (early 1990s). Thus, recent studies of the music of Syrian Jews have been carried out in Brooklyn (New York) and Mexico City, of Bukharan Jews in Queens (New York) and Tel Aviv, of Iranian Jews in Los Angeles, of Moroccan Jews in Jerusalem or Montreal, of Iraqi Jews in London or Ramat Gan, and of Algerian Jews in Paris or Marseille. In short, scholarly access to tangible sources for the music of the Jews of Islam became possible only after the uprooting of these communities from the lands of their upbringing. Research, therefore, relies on musical memories constructed in a state of upheaval, with representations of musical identity negotiated in multicultural settings and under the constraints of modern nation-states (American, British, French, Israeli, etc.).

Assessments of the impact of these recent social contexts on the study of the music of the Jews of Islam have to be added to serious consideration of the complexities characterizing their musical experiences immediately prior to emigration. The Jews of Islam, facing modernity since the mid-nineteenth century, underwent a triple crisis that had far-reaching musical implications: the traditional Jewish community governed by religious law was weakened, Western European colonialism posed powerful real and imagined challenges, and emerging secular Arabic, Turkish,

Iranian, Soviet, and other national identities posed difficult tests for Jews. All these historical and social factors had musical repercussions affecting traditional repertoires, performance styles, and modes of transmission.

The impact of these early experiences of modernity prior to emigration and of the post-emigration predicament render the study of the music of the Jews of Islam in premodern periods extremely conjectural. Much of what is represented today as “old” or “authentic” musical traditions of the Jews of Islam consists of modern elaborations encroached by narratives of antiquity. A sketchy glimpse into the more distant, premodern past of the Jewish musical experience under Islam can only be gleaned from careful scrutiny of surviving oral traditions coupled with cautious reading of older literary and iconographic sources depicting musical life.

In addition, it is necessary to distinguish between the music made by the Jews of Islamic lands for their internal needs, especially music related to the synagogue liturgy, and the music produced by Jewish musicians on behalf of the surrounding society. Distinguishing between these spaces and contexts of performance, referred to in this article as “internal” and “external,” does not necessarily imply differences in musical content (for example, the same modal systems apply to both internal and external repertoires). Rather, this mapping of the Jewish musical experience under Islam helps us to configure the variety of spaces for music-making and the dialectic relations between them.

Language is another factor through which Jewish musical traditions within the Islamic sphere can be approached. Hebrew was the lingua franca in matters of religion, and therefore was the basis for liturgical music, but in all other contexts, external or internal, musical repertoires emanated from the major Jewish linguistic areas of Islam: → Arabic, → Judeo-Spanish, → Persian, → Berber, Kurdish, → Judeo-Tat, → Tajik, and more. Each of these languages (and especially Arabic) has a plethora of dialects, and each dialect is associated with specific musical traditions. The

gender of performers and audiences is also closely associated with the language of songs and contexts of performance. Although segregation of men and women based on religious rulings was a strong factor in determining and characterizing musical repertoires and styles, the binary polarities based on gender were not rigid. Crossing gender-determined musical boundaries was not unheard of in traditional Jewish society and became more frequent under the impact of modernity. Gender, context, and language each had an undeniable weight in defining musical performances. For example, instrumental music was more substantial in external than internal contexts, while the use of local dialects was more characteristic of Jewish women’s repertoires.

Class stratification is another variable that is rarely considered in studying the music of the Jews under Islam. Jewish communities were not classless, as sometimes is assumed in musical studies, and access to music, which entails a certain financial power to acquire it, differed among Jews from diverse economic strata. In medieval → al-Andalus, listening to refined courtly music was the privilege of Jewish courtiers, while in the late → Ottoman Empire, access to phonographs and early commercial recordings was limited to the Westernized Jewish bourgeoisie.

Another factor problematizing the intricacies of musical identity among the Jews of Islam is geographical location. Too frequently, musical traditions are designated by the names of the modern nation-states from which Jews emigrated during the twentieth century, without enough attention being given to local sensibilities and self-perceptions. The case of → Yemen is exemplary. Modern conceptions of “Yemenite Jewish music” are challenged by the contrasts between Jewish musical traditions from northern Yemen (Sa’ada in the Haydan area), central Yemen (Sana’a and Manakhah), southeastern Yemen (Aden, a center of Ottoman rule and a British outpost since 1839), the Habban region in eastern Yemen (modern Shabwah Governorate), and the remote rural areas in the southwestern

Hadramawt. The notion of a Yemenite Jewish music emerged in Israel, the destination of most modern Yemenite Jewish emigration, starting with the pioneering work of the great musicologist A. Z. Idelsohn (1882–1938) in the small Yemenite enclave in Palestine in the first two decades of the twentieth century. It can be justified today only in reference to a syncretic music that developed in Israel on the basis of diverse Yemenite Jewish traditions, real or imagined, traditional or newly composed.

The Yemenite case is also illustrative of the differences between Jewish musical cultures from rural and urban settings. Although Jews throughout the Islamic world underwent extensive urbanization following European colonization, rural enclaves remained intact in many places until the mid-twentieth-century emigration—to cite a few examples, in the Anti-Atlas of → Morocco, the Saharan areas of → Algeria and → Libya, and in → Kurdistan and Yemen. Rural musical traditions differed in genre, language, and instruments from urban ones, although the level of musical contact between Jews and Muslims was not necessarily dependent on the geographical setting. A Jewish community assumed to have been isolated, such as the one on the island of → Jerba in southern → Tunisia, had close contacts with the local Muslim population, absorbed Sephardic traditions from the sixteenth century on, and was open to modern Jewish music from → Tunis in the first half of the twentieth century. Therefore, rural Jewish traditions are no more authentic than urban ones, and myths about their musical isolation should be discarded.

Finally, not all of the Jews who lived under Islam were ethnically Sephardi or *musta'arabim* (indigenous Arabic-speaking Jews). Enclaves of Ashkenazi Jews existed in the Islamic world in the remote past as well as in the modern period. When the Ottoman Empire at its zenith absorbed Hungary and Romania, many Ashkenazi Jews found themselves under the flag of an Islamic power. In sixteenth-century → Salonica and Jerusalem, where Ashkenazi Jews were a small minority,

they were eventually absorbed by their Sephardic brethren. However, the newer Ashkenazi communities established in Palestine following the late eighteenth-century migrations to the Holy Land and ending with the influx of refugees from Eastern Europe fleeing the pogroms in nineteenth-century Russia, the Bolshevik revolution, and the Nazi persecutions, remained relatively intact. While the internal music of these Ashkenazi communities under Islam was not affected by the non-Jewish surroundings, their instrumental music (known nowadays as *klezmer* music), imported from Eastern Europe to Palestine and → Istanbul, absorbed Turkish and Arabic tunes, a process that began even earlier in Ottoman → Moldavia and → Greece. Not surprisingly, the earliest recordings of *klezmer* music were produced at the turn of the twentieth century in Ottoman Istanbul. Ashkenazi Jews also served as agents of modernization for non-Ashkenazi Jewish liturgical music during the first decades of the twentieth century when they established modern synagogues in major cities like Istanbul (where there were once three Ashkenazi synagogues; the one still functioning was founded in 1900) and → Cairo (especially after 1917).

Following these general observations, four major issues frame this entry. First, Islamic attitudes to music modeled Jewish musical cultures under Islam. Second, the Jewish music of premodern Islamic societies differed substantially from that of modern times. Third, Jewish involvement in the music of Islamic cultures peaked in the modern period, due particularly to colonialism, nationalism, and the industrialization of musical production. This “contemporary” music is a rich tapestry of the most diverse geographical origins. Finally, time and space are crucial coordinates determining the discrete identities of the musical cultures of the Jews of Islam in different geographical locales and historical periods. Thus, treating in one entry the music of both a nineteenth-century Yemenite Jewish village and the Jewish bourgeoisie of 1930s Cairo is, at best, an intellectual exercise generated by modern conceptions of Jewish nationhood.

**JEWES AND ISLAMIC MUSIC THEORY,
PHILOSOPHY, AND RESEARCH
SINCE THE MIDDLE AGES**

The Jews of the Islamic lands were no less active as contributors to the theory, philosophy, and ethics of music, and as researchers, than in the concrete practice of music. In fact, their participation in these fields is better documented because it is embedded in written texts. These speculative modes of thinking about music eventually had an impact on Jewish musical performances under Islam in both internal and external contexts.

Jewish thinkers were acquainted with medieval Arabic music theory, which emerged as a branch of the Greek legacy of speculative knowledge. Theoretical discussions of music by Jews can be traced back at least to Sa'adya Gaon's (d. 942) passage on the rhythmic cycles in his *Book of Doctrines and Beliefs* (Ar. *Kit āb al-Amānāt wa 'l-Itiqādāt*; Heb. *Emunot ve-De'ot*), which is apparently indebted to the Arab philosopher Al-Kindī (d. ca. 866). More intensive involvement in music theory is found in Islamic Spain. For example, → Judah ibn Tibbon's (d. ca. 1190) Arabic translation of → Judah ha-Levi's discussion of singing in the *Kuzari* is indebted to the terminology of the Arab philosopher al-Fārābī's (d. 950) *Kitāb al-Mūsīqī al-Kabīr* (Great Book of Music). The passage on music in the *Sefer ha-Mevaqqesh* (Book of the Seeker) by → Shem Tov ben Joseph ibn Falaqera (1225–1295) appears to be informed by the "Epistle of Music" emanating from the Brethren of Purity (Ar. *ikhwān al-ṣafā*), a group of Muslim philosophers in tenth-century → Basra under the Abbasid caliphate.

On the basis of these theoretical and philosophical appraisals of the function and influence of music in respect to the human soul, the celestial bodies, and the Divinity, Islamic thinkers developed contrasting attitudes toward music. While the approach of the *Sharī'a* (Islamic religious law) was, in general, austere, especially toward instrumental music and women singing, Sufi sources were much more benign, encouraging the development of a rich religious musical heritage.

Traces of the restrained and even negative approach to music of mainstream Islam can be found in medieval Jewish writings, although similar attitudes in the Talmud, antedating Islam, also informed the thinking of medieval Jewish sages living under Islam. The responsum of → Hay Gaon (939–1038) to the Jewish community of → Gabès on the performance of Arabic music at Jewish weddings is illustrative. Hay states that songs and hymns praising God are acceptable, and "no one from the People of Israel in the whole world abstains from them." However, "songs of love of a person for a person, to praise human beauty for its beauty, to laud the hero for his heroism, etc., such as those called by the Arabs *ash'ar al-ghazl* [songs of love], and . . . women who play drums and dance, there is nothing worse than this, and even [worse] if it occurs at a drinking party of men, they are totally prohibited." Clear echoes of this strict antagonism to instrumental music, women singing, and music associated with drinking reverberated throughout Islamic Spain and North Africa, most notably in → Maimonides' influential and widely quoted responsum on music.

A contrast to this disapproving approach to music can be found in the mystical strains of Islam and Judaism. Sufism generally advocated the use of vocal and/or instrumental music as a profound and effective component in the mystic's "path." The mystical Kabbala and other modes of Jewish pietism held similar views. Jews were influenced by the Sufi approach to music thanks to the direct and ongoing access to the teachings of Sufi masters which had been open to them since at least the time of al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). The writings of → Abraham Abulafia from Spain (13th century) and his disciples are evidence of this trend. *Sha'are Šedeq* (Gates of Righteousness), a Hebrew tractate probably written in Palestine by one of Abulafia's disciples, includes a detailed description of the Sufi path. Sufi influence is also evident in fourteenth-century → Egypt, where → Abraham Maimonides believed that the Sufis preserved the traditions of the biblical prophets, and held

that their musical practices could be equated to those of the Levites and King David.

While speculative music theory disappeared from Jewish writings in parallel with its decline among Muslims, theoretical concerns about the power of music did not dwindle. Sixteenth-century Palestinian Jewish mystics of all types, Lurianic and non-Lurianic, living in the flourishing and multicultural music scene of the Ottoman Empire at its height, perpetuated and expanded Sufi approaches to music. Jewish mystics held nightly assemblies similar to the Sufi *sama'* in which vocal music, ultimately stemming from secular sources, had a crucial role in framing the religious experience of the participants. Such assemblies, dedicated to the singing of religious songs with high-quality musical panache and variously called *baqqashot*, *shevaḥot*, or *ashmorot* (vigils), persisted until modernity in the Maghreb, Turkey, Syria, and Iraq. Through their use in these mystical assemblies, more elaborate musical genres eventually became a major factor in the performance of the normative Jewish liturgy in the Middle East and North Africa after the seventeenth century.

Finally, the Jews of Islam played a modest role in a modern mode of knowledge about music: scholarly research. This approach to music knowledge derives from the expansion of European colonialism and the contribution of Jews and European settlers in the shaping of new “musical mentalities” under colonial rule. Jewish scholars of music, usually motivated by a sincere identification with local and modern Arabic cultural aspirations, contributed to the early efforts to document, publish, and institutionalize the “classical” music of the Islamic world. Jews were instrumental in conceptualizing the value of studying venerable music traditions, such as the “Andalusian” ones in North Africa, in consolidating modern nationhood. The works of assimilated Jews like → Edmond Nathan Yafil (d. 1928) in Algeria and Baron Rodolphe d’Erlanger (d. 1932) in Tunisia exemplify this trend. The participation of Jews in the international Congress of Arabic Music held in Cairo in 1932 was

symptomatic of their role in music research in the emerging Arab countries under the French and British protectorates. One can add to these research efforts the influential work of A. Z. Idelsohn (d. 1938), an Ashkenazi Jew who settled in Palestine in 1907 and pioneered the modern ethnography of Arabic music in the Middle East (including phonograph recordings) in its Islamic and Jewish modes.

THE SYNAGOGUE AS A MUSICAL MICROCOSM

After the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, Judaism replaced its rituals with liturgical events. These developed slowly on the basis of communitarian learning sessions in the synagogue, a house of assembly, study, and prayer. The synagogue became the focus of Jewish socialization. As in the rest of the Jewish world, so too in the lands of Islam the musical component of the Jewish liturgy grew from simple psalmodic formulae and recitation patterns. Traditional performances were vocal and in one voice, with intermittent and nonsystematic splits of voices. The sole exception was the Jewish liturgy in central Yemen, which used several types of systematic plurivocality, i.e., combinations of different voices singing at the same time.

A precentor called the *hazzan* (cantor) or *sheliaḥ ṣibbur* (representative of the congregation) performed the liturgy in alternation with the congregation. Individual members took turns reciting sections of the order of prayers that were not executed by the precentor, such as the introductory psalms, or chanting the weekly Torah portion from the scroll on Sabbaths and holy days according to the Masoretic accentuation. Performances were improvised on the basis of traditional patterns that were orally transmitted from generation to generation.

The musicalization of the liturgy followed upon the fixing, more or less in its present form, of a prescribed order of texts of different genres and origins performed at fixed hours of the day by a quorum of ten adult men. The → *piyyuṭ* (liturgical poetry), which first emerged in Byzantine Palestine in the

fifth or sixth century but surged after the rise of Islam in contact with classical Arabic and Persian poetry, was crucial in this process. Hebrew manuscripts of *piyyuṭim* from the Abbasid era provide testimony that choral singing burst out in the synagogues of → Baghdad in the ninth century. The position of the *hazzan*, which developed in relation to the recitation or singing of *piyyuṭim*, now took on more importance, and in the Jewish communities of many Islamic countries it became a hereditary post. Nonetheless, even after the surge of the *piyyuṭ*, some texts of the Jewish liturgy were not performed in what can be conceptualized as “music,” but continued to be recited with nonmusical sound patterns that differed from ordinary speech.

Synagogue services became the main internal musical events of the Jewish communities in the lands of Islam. Styles of liturgical music differed drastically, reflecting different degrees of musicalization, the musical style of the local area, and diverse aesthetic sensibilities. The music of the synagogue became a contested issue between Jewish religious authorities and their flocks, as is attested by sources from Muslim Spain and the → Cairo Geniza. At stake were the desired attributes of the *hazzan* (musical skill vs. level of religious observance) and the measure of musicalization (favoring or rejecting synagogue use of music associated with the surrounding Muslim society).

After the sixteenth century, Jewish liturgical music in Ottoman lands became even more specialized as it gradually and overtly adopted the principle of *maqām* (mode). This system of musical modes regulated the performance of a growing number of liturgical texts beyond the poetical ones. It also enhanced the need for the *hazzan* to have musical skills and an implicit theoretical knowledge of music. The first appearance of the Ottoman *maqām* system occurred in 1587, when *Zemiroṭ Yisra'el* (Songs of Israel), a collection of paraliturgical poetry by → Israel Najjara (ca. 1550–1625), was published by the recently established Hebrew press in Safed. The poems in this collection were classified according to the modes of the Ottoman *maqām* system.

These musical developments in the synagogue were intimately related to the rise of a professional caste of Ottoman Jewish musicians, such as Israel Najjara. The aforementioned growth of Sufi-oriented paraliturgical mystical devotions separate from the prescribed synagogue services, first in the Galilee and thereafter throughout the lands of Islam, added new musical impetus to the Jewish liturgy. Developments of this kind took place in the synagogues of the major Ottoman urban centers, such as Salonica, Istanbul (Constantinople), → Damascus, → Aleppo, and Baghdad.

These developments in the Ottoman Empire were supported by religious doctrines of long standing regarding the theurgical and transformational power of music. Texts justifying the use of music in religious services on the basis of these doctrines circulated among Ottoman Jewish cantors and poets as late as the nineteenth century. Several examples of this genre of texts are extant. One is a sermon in → Ladino, “The Reason for Singing in the Synagogue,” by Isaac Abraham Jacob Bekhor Moshe, cantor of the Turkish Jewish community of Vienna, that appeared as an appendix to a prayerbook printed in 1810. Cantor Bekhor Moshe maintained that chanting liturgical texts to the “silly” secular tunes of Judeo-Spanish folksongs distracted Satan from interfering in the transmission of the Day of Atonement prayers to God. *Sha'ar ha-Shir* (Heb. Gate of Song or Virtue of Song) is a short tractate by the poet → Mordechai Abbadi (1826–1884) of Aleppo included in the poetical anthology *Miqra' Qodesh* (Holy Convocation) that he edited with other scholars (3rd ed., Aleppo, 1872/73; the earlier editions are not extant). In this text Rabbi Abbadi, a kabbalist with ties to Eastern European Ḥasidic circles, justifies the use in the synagogue of the secular Arabic melodies so avidly consumed by Jews in the cafes of Aleppo in his time. At the end of the collection of his poetry, *Divrey Mordekhay* (Aleppo, 1872/73), he argues that Israel's use in its prayers of the tunes of the oppressor nation awakens God and makes Him aware of the enslavement of

His people. Hebrew poets past and present, he says, have each in their own way sanctified these tunes to reach God by turning the original Arabic texts of the songs into Hebrew praises for the Lord.

In the Maghreb, the Jewish liturgy was less musical than in the Middle East, although melodies from local Andalusian traditions made inroads into Jewish prayer through the *piyyuṭ* and local Sufi influences. The Jewish liturgy in rural or remote eastern areas of Islam, such as Kurdistan, Persia, and the emirate of → Bukhara, was substantially less musical.

Modernization and emigration made a deep imprint on the liturgical music of the Jews of Islam. Encounters between different local traditions led to homogenization, while the spread of the Western idea of music as art further enhanced the aesthetic aspect of liturgical performance. Examples of the impact of European colonialism on liturgical music are found in Algeria, Tunisia, and Egypt, where “modern” patterns of synagogue music emerged under the influence of Parisian models. The music of the Great Synagogue of → Oran, the largest one ever built in an Arab country and inaugurated in 1918, was accompanied by an organ and included a trained choir that used written scores. Modernizing trends were also promoted by Joseph Cohen in the synagogue of → Sfax (Tunisia). Cohen, trained in the rabbinical seminary in Paris and a teacher at the → Alliance Israélite Universelle school, edited a prayerbook entitled *Sefer Tefillot Yisra’el* (Tunis, 1905) that includes a musical appendix with Hebrew prayers adapted to music by Beethoven, Rossini, and Meyerbeer. Similar processes, under Italian influence, occurred in the 1930s at the magnificent Eliyahu Hanavi synagogue in → Alexandria, Egypt, under the baton of the Turkish-born and Italian-educated composer and ethnographer → Alberto Hemsî (1898–1975). French, Turkish, and Ashkenazi influences were felt even in the more conservative Moroccan synagogue in the emerging colonial metropolis of → Casablanca. Events as diverse as the establishment of schools by the Alliance

Israélite Universelle in Morocco (starting in the late 1860s), the crumbling of the Ottoman Empire, which brought Turkish Jews to Morocco (1920s), the landing of American Jewish soldiers in Morocco in World War II, and the spread of the Ḥabad movement to Morocco (1950) all influenced the synagogue soundscape of Casablanca.

However, the lasting musical consequence of the disruption in the continuity of the Jewish communities of Islam that began in the late nineteenth century was the intensification of the “*maqāmization*” of the Jewish liturgy that had begun earlier on in the large Ottoman cities. Of special interest in this respect is the tradition of Aleppo, a renowned center of Arabic music, where the local Jews developed a rich paraliturgical and liturgical tradition following their exposure to Turkish instrumental music and Arabic song as well as to some elements of French and Italian music. Following emigration to Palestine, and especially to Jerusalem, the liturgical and paraliturgical *maqam* practices of the prestigious Syrian communities cast an everlasting imprint on cantors of the most diverse origins (Persian, Baghdadi, Bukharan, Yemenite, Kurdish, etc.) who settled in the new neighborhoods of the Holy City. Jewish composers and singers from Aleppo who moved to Jerusalem in the early twentieth century, among them → Raphael Antebi, known as Tabush (1830–1919), became models for these cantors. Around the same time the Aleppo liturgical tradition was also brought to the United States by → Moses Ashear (1877–1940), a disciple of Tabush, who moved to Brooklyn in 1912.

The canonization and globalization of the *maqam*-oriented liturgy from Jerusalem is indebted to the prestige of the city as a center of learning as well as to the arrival of distinguished cantors from Jerusalem in North Africa, the Americas, and Europe starting in the early decades of the twentieth century. A well-documented case of the geographical spread of the Jerusalemite *maqām* liturgy is the city of Tunis, where the renowned cantor → Asher Mizraḥi from Jerusalem (1890–1967) settled, first from 1914 until 1918 and later on

from 1927 to 1967. Mizraḥi brought to Tunis a liturgical style that by then was called “Jerusalem-Sephardi,” and he implanted it among the city’s younger cantors in place of the older local practices.

Recording technology intensified the expansion and dissemination of the hegemonic Jerusalem-Sephardi style, which leaned mostly on the popular repertoires of mainstream, twentieth-century Egyptian-Syrian *maqām* practice. These developments also led to the emergence of the “star cantor” in contemporary Sephardic and oriental communities. A prominent figure in the consolidation of this style was Cantor Ḥayyim Saul Abboud (1906–1977), a native of Aleppo and disciple of Tabush, who went to South America as a young man and then returned to Jerusalem, where he was an undisputed leader of the Jerusalem-Sephardi style. The *maqām*ic liturgy of Abud’s generation grew even more by taking into its repertoire the most elaborate songs of the mainstream Egyptian style that had dominated the Arab world since the 1930s. Tunes by celebrated composers like Farīd al-Aṭrash (d. 1974), Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1991), and Riyāḍ Al-Sunbaṭī (d. 1981) entered the synagogue on the wings of their wide dissemination in recordings and films and their aesthetic appeal to Jews acculturated in Arabic musical sensibilities throughout the Arab world. Their appeal did not decline after the massive twentieth-century exodus of Jews from the Arab countries, continuing to nourish memories of

their centuries-old culture through the ample availability in America, Europe, and Israel of popular Arabic music in recordings and broadcasts.

Despite the hegemonic preeminence of the Jerusalem-Sephardic style (and its appealing contemporary popular Arabic backdrop) among the Jews of Islam in their new diasporas, other liturgical traditions strive to preserve their unique identities. Moroccan Jews remain attached to their liturgical music traditions, continuing the local practices of their communities in Israel, France, Canada, and Venezuela. Following the pattern of the *maqāmized* Jerusalem-Sephardic style, namely the drive to musicalize the liturgy with the prestigious art music of the surrounding culture, Moroccan Jews have also adopted into their liturgy melodies from the Andalusian repertoire associated with the singing of *piyyuṭim*. Traditional Yemenite Jewish liturgical traditions persist in Israel in local “ethnic” synagogues—congregations whose members predominantly belong to one ethnicity. Descendants of Iraqi Jews in Israel also strive to maintain their specific liturgical traditions under the pressure of Jerusalem-Sephardic influence.

EDWIN SEROUSSI

This is the first part of the entry Music. The complete article will appear in the EJIW.