

Agnon and Germany

The Presence of the German World
in the Writings of S.Y. Agnon

Edited by
Hans-Jürgen Becker ▪ Hillel Weiss



Bar-Ilan University Press, Ramat Gan

The Presence of the Holocaust in Agnon's Writings

Hillel Weiss

The acknowledgement of the Holocaust as a central theme in Agnon's work is the result of an effort aimed at revealing his indirect manner of portraying the Holocaust and its perpetrators, and their connection to his straightforward representations, which are relatively few. The preoccupation with the depiction of the Holocaust is also the result of and parallel to the positioning of the Holocaust and its ramifications in the present, a topic that preoccupies Jewish life and Jewish consciousness today, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, in a way that goes beyond the conventional study of a historical event and its significance. It is a concern for the future that provides the essential justification for this investigation of the subject.

More than forty years have passed since Agnon wrote his last works on the Holocaust which had engaged him since the mid-1960s ("Kissui Hadam" and *Behanuto Shel Mar Lublin*) until close on his death in 1970. Criticism on this subject became more vigorous especially after the publication of "Kissui Hadam" in 1975, but articles on the subject could be found already after the publication of his book *Ha-Esh Ve-ha-etzim* in 1962, and casual references even earlier. Nonetheless, the question as phrased by Dan Laor in 1992 still reverberates: Did Agnon write about the Holocaust? It reflects the impression of the normative reader that in the twenty-four volumes of Agnon's works – the overwhelming majority of which were published after *Kol Sippueri Agnon* in 1931 – his preoccupation with the Holocaust was strikingly minimal. Dan Laor's question remains open-ended despite his fairly comprehensive response. In his article, Laor referred largely either to texts where the presence of the Holocaust was direct, or to what was written as a memorial to the destruction of the city of Buczacz, Agnon's home town, and particularly the book *Ir Umeloa* (1973), or *Korot Batenu* (1962/1978), written as a testimony to the splendor of the family that had been cut down. Our argument is an

addition to that of Dan Laor, and is expanded in two respects. First, no work of Agnon can be found, beginning with the German period (1912-24), that does not foreshadow the Holocaust. In the forefront are the *Sippueri Polin*, since all of them include some reference to pogroms and especially to blood libels that bespeak patterns of behavior. This also is true for later works whose background contains a historiographic and historiosophist perception, especially in *Oreah Nata Lalun*. But even part of Agnon's personal book of nightmares, *Sefer Hama'asim*, is tinged with a general sense of the ground being pulled away from under. Dan Laor points to the story "Leveit Abba" and, in its original version, "Bein Haba'it Lahatzer," which was reworked and anthologized in *Sefer Hama'asim*.

It would seem that, with the passage of time, the subject does not lose its interest for those involved in following and revealing it. Yet, it is, rather, further shown in Agnon's works to represent the patterns of Jewish existence over the thousand-year period of exile in Eastern Europe, especially in a country that lived through waves of pogroms, or in Germany of World War I and afterward, and into the first two decades after the establishment of the State of Israel. This is an era that is saturated with meta-historical rhythmic waves of destruction alongside deliverances that seem to be provisional, such as the Zionist historical process, including the establishment of the State of Israel. In recent times, as apprehension increases as to the possibility of the recurrence of the Holocaust with the increase in new waves of anti-Semitism, especially after the bombing of the Twin Towers, the need to investigate the Holocaust and the previous waves of anti-Semitism has emerged as a more urgent necessity, not just as an investigation of a shocking past but as an eternal rhythm. In parallel, in recent years there has been a universal over-concern with the Holocaust, based on an attempt to blur its unique nature and enormity, and especially to present the Holocaust as a type of Jewish narrative that exists alongside other competing narratives portraying the Holocaust and its context. This obfuscation is grounded in post-modern ideologies or their counterparts, which are represented as politically correct, contemporary literary criticisms that have embraced the concepts of "narrative" and "discourse" as concepts that may be used to cancel out more troublesome meanings. To present the enemy as the "other": this literary-cultural interpretation, the post-modern interpretation, is more suspect than ever for its excessive manipulations, as well as its hyperactive urge to attach Agnon's work *a priori* to a narrative of the Holocaust as an expression of

relative universal chaos, whose main impetus lies in proving the perpetual realization of chaos in history rather than the lamentation of loss of purpose – which is the product of lamentation for meaning that is elusive.

What has ostensibly been created is a paradoxical mutual dependence between the Holocaust as an absolute all-negating event, that becomes the interpreter of a total body of work, and a body of work that has a historiographic and meta-historical dimension: Agnon's work, which almost *a priori* was aimed at offering a trans-historical interpretation of Jewish existence (Yaoz, 1990). In particular, one may consider Agnon's work as interpreting the Holocaust as a culminating event that has an eternal cumulative significance beyond the fact of its occurrence and its impact on actual history, such as the concept of the establishment of the State of Israel in the context of the Holocaust, and the spiritual, cultural, and political consequences that followed in its wake. It is to this idea that the story "Pit'chei Devarim" (which is the continuation of "Ido V'Enam" [*Pit'chei Devarim*, 1977]) is essentially dedicated.

The major conspicuous preoccupation of Agnon's work with the Holocaust revolves around the questions: Who created the Holocaust? Who is guilty of it? What was the sin that caused this punishment? From the very beginning, Agnon's work is torn between the idea that there can be no punishment without sin, and the idea of arbitrariness or an inability to comprehend the acts of God (Schweid, *Bein Hurban Leyeshua* [1994]). Agnon assumes that a catastrophe of such enormity takes place also because of some internal cataclysm, because of how the Jews treat each other, their tradition, and their mission. This also gives rise to the question of the Holocaust continuing into the State of Israel, as reflected in various aspects of Israeli public life, such as the attitude to the survivors. These processes foreshadow another Holocaust. In certain respects, a comparison is drawn between how Jewish society both in the State of Israel and in the diaspora (which is similar, except that in Israel it is worse) treats its brothers, and the German typology and Gentile typology in general. In certain stories, Agnon presents the theological issues associated with the Holocaust and discusses hypothetical issues that arise from being caught up in great doubts regarding existential theological questions such as: How is the Holocaust perceived "from a divine perspective" and how it is seen "on earth," and whether these two perceptions may be united ("Ha'ish Levush Habadim," *Ir Umeloa* [1970], "Hasiman" [1944-62]; "Lefi Hatza'ar Hasahar," *Ha'Esh Veha-etzim* [1962]).

The Artistic and Thematic Dimension Confronts the Holocaust in Agnon's Writing Through the Following Characteristics:

Building transition spaces, chronotype structures for the transition space, psycho-poetic movement that moves through the expanses of time and space and creates an essential connection between the individual's affairs (the auto-biography and meta-biography of the man Shmuel Yosef Agnon and its translation into a symbolic biography as in *Hadam Vekisse* and in *Korot Bateinu*, when the past is streamed using the Holocaust), and the history of the collective, which are interconnected with trivial details, random trifles that accumulate significance that lay the ground for and stream the creation of the catastrophe and its models of representation, for example, in two novellas that deal with World War I and that were written after the Holocaust: *Ad Hena* (1951) and *Behanuto Shel Mar Lublin* (chapters of which were published in the 1960s), and the work in its entirety only after Agnon's death.

The Psychology of Self-accusation and the Connection to National Guilt:

The modern phenomenon of being dragged along, the sense of desertion; abandoning the Torah, abandoning the Land of Israel, forbidden sexual temptations (*Oreah Nata Lalun*, "Kissui Hadam").

Eroticism and Sadism: A Kind of Model of "Sex and Character" following Weininger:

An example of hidden metaphorization on the subject of sadism, the Holocaust, and Eros, which is part of the parable that takes over the work, in the later style of Agnon in "Harofeh U'gerushato" which deals with the pathology of a physician who abuses his wife, a story that was cut from *Oreah Nata Lalun*. Agnon creates a "Nazi" metaphor or exposes it as a metaphor of abuse. (Only from the 1941 version of the story does the sentence appear: "Sardiot Nazi abused him all day," see version A. The Agnon archive H'ב 4.1270; Version A was written 1937-38. Hillel Barzel, *Sippurei Ahava Shel Agnon* [Bar-Ilan, 1975], p. 249, and compare to Version B, p. 254; *ibid.*, p. 255. The version we have is version C.) The elderly professor himself abuses the nurses with his over-strictness, demanding that the beds of the patients be put to order instead of focusing on curing the patients, while the physician, the story's protagonist, abuses the story's female protagonist, the nurse Dina. Agnon is interested in sadism and in irrational abuse as representing human potentials that are embodied in the Nazi sadistic behavior. In *Shira* this paradigm is based

on the nurse Shira, who is a kind of sadistic dominatrix according to Herbst, who derives pleasure from the story of the engineer who abused her, causing her pleasure when he beat her with a whip. The sado-masochistic theme is highly developed in Agnon's writing, as in "Ha'adonit ve'harochel," the story containing the most outstanding parable of an explanation of Jewish-Gentile relations in the context of the Holocaust.

Motifs of Destruction as Generalized Topics: For example "Ha-serefa," "Ha-shehita," "Ha-ud Mutzal Me'esh," "Ha-aharon Shenotar Min Ha-ayara," and in particular in *Ir Umeloa*, but also in "Kissui Hadam" and in "Korot Bateinu." Myths, midrashim, *aggadot*, and verses. See in "Kissui Hadam" how entire infrastructures take over the story in the manner of the legend of the murder of Zachariya, fratricide, the murder of a prophet, Cain and Abel.

Piyutists and Cantors: The subject of self-sacrifice and martyrdom, the victim, the sacrifice and their meaning. The subject of the dance of death, the soul leaving the body in song and dance alongside the subject of poetry, which are basic themes from Agnon's earliest writing, and pass through into the Holocaust stories.

History and Meta-history – Martyrdom and Sanctifying God's Name, Blood Libels, and the Sacrifice of Human Life:

Buczacz, Germany, Jerusalem as symbols and as realia in the context of the Holocaust.

Negative Patterns of National Behavior: disputes between Hasidim and their opponents, rich and poor; the practice of informing and currying favor with government authorities.

German Typology, European Culture, and its Contribution to the Holocaust:

The issue of the scope and unique nature of Agnon's writing in relation to the Holocaust has been raised for discussion more than once, and especially in the comprehensive article written by Dan Laor "Did Agnon write about the Holocaust?" (Laor, *Hebetim Hadashim* [1995]). Indeed it would appear that in only very few works did Agnon deal directly with the Holocaust (Weiss, *Bibliography*, pp. 525-37). The overwhelmingly majority of his stories confront the problem indirectly. However, it is precisely this oblique treatment that gives

the Holocaust its existential, poetic, and theological meaning. The question of “indirectly” is bound up with the general question of what the Holocaust is. Does it all boil down to a matter of mass extermination, a series of events that took place between 1939-45? (Mechman, 1998). Mechman shows that there are different approaches to characterizing the catastrophe called “the Holocaust,” even in terms of the scope of the phenomena that are relevant to its development and which delineate it. He presents two batteries of questions: A. Was the Holocaust an event unto itself – or only part of a more general event? What was the singular feature that distinguishes the Holocaust from other phenomena? [...]; and what is the “Holocaust Period?” [...]; B. Where must one seek the “root” of the Holocaust? For example, Goldhagen in his controversial book considers the essence of the Holocaust, and characterizes it by the widespread willingness of the rank and file Germans (the “simple Germans”) to take part in the murder of Jews and even to initiate it. The murder of Jews, especially in Eastern Europe, was a kind of German national “project.” In his opinion, the reason for this lies with the German political and social culture, whose roots go back to the early nineteenth century, “where the desire to eliminate the Jews in every way first took form.”

This article tries to characterize the set of questions that Mechman presents as questions whose embodiment is found in Agnon’s works that deal indirectly with the Holocaust, using unique disguises to escape into the German past in its encounter with the Jewish past. Such is the case in *Ad Hena* (1952) and *Behanuto Shel Mar Lublin* (1960? 1975), novellas that were written and published after the Holocaust, whose background would seem to be the period of World War I. Yet they evoke German mythologies, the *Nibelungenlied*, Nietzsche’s philosophy, class-based patterns of behavior, built-in anti-Semitism, and the German culture in its encounter with Judaism and the Jews. All of these essentially reveal that Agnon’s attention is actually directed to the materials that form the basis of the powder keg that ignited close upon the Holocaust. Indeed, much of what Agnon wrote, at least following the publication of the novel *Oreah Nata Lalun* (1939), is an oblique yet deliberate articulation, using intricate parables, of his confrontation with the horrors of the Holocaust, its history, and everything that contributed to its formation, both in the European world, especially German but also Slavic, and also in the Jewish world. As a classic example of his elaboration on the subject, one must note in particular his novel *Shira*, which he began to write in 1939, tentatively completing it in 1950, when

the historical and social rift described in it took place mainly between the two world wars. The major focus is on the 1930s in the Land of Israel and Jerusalem. The background reverberates with the horrors of the Nazi regime and the persecution of German Jewry, and their profound and problematic connection between the protagonists of the novel – Professor Manfred Herbst and his wife Henrietta – and their homeland Germany (which includes memories, culture, philosophy, art, and patterns of behavior) and permeates the chapters of the novel that deal with “the Birth of Tragedy,” the title of a famous essay by Nietzsche, a first print of which was found in Jerusalem. “The birth of tragedy” is also a metaphor for the question of “Where was the beginning of the very tragedy that caused the destruction of German Jewry together with all of European Jewry,” and, in effect, the destruction of the whole world. Agnon uses the metaphor of an attempt to escape from the world to a leper colony as a place of privacy befitting a pair of lovers. Ostensibly, the central theme of the novel is a tale of thwarted love, but in fact it is a tragic reading of the human condition, a lamentation over the destruction of the world in the context of the Holocaust, while holding out an absurd hope of redemption.

Herbst finds “The Birth of Tragedy” at a time when he himself is trying to escape his profession and to write a tragedy that is analogous to his own life story. It is professedly only an expression of his flirtation with Shira, but its more profound subject is the love of the slave Bacillus for his mistress. This pattern of ruler-ruled is a prototype of the birth of tragedies – personal, national, and dramatic. The use of this synchrony, combining basic themes with a proto-metaphor, is a style of writing characteristic of Agnon. It gives a multifaceted depth to existential questions, including the phenomenon of the Holocaust and the presence of the destruction and the post-modern breakdown of consciousness, empty of values, that previously has taken over all aspects of life, years before its actual occurrence. The novel *Shira* captures the idea of the demonic woman and the protagonist's enthrallment in a way that is similar to the story of “Ha'adonit Veharochel” (“The Lady and the Peddler”), a work that was written as a consummate allegory of the Holocaust (Besaar, 1943), which delineates and builds up the profound and meticulous regularity of the fatal interdependence of Yosef the Jewish peddler and Hilgi the lady.

This is in parallel to the plot of the novel *Shira*, which lies at the base of the meta-historical plot. The novel raises many episodes that relate to the

relationship with Germans and Germany. A. The intercultural struggle, “that before the war, every German was considered superior” (p. 306); B. The personal early disillusionment regarding Germans by Hemdat, the voice of the author, as a result of his comprehension of German cruelty and anti-Semitism. Hemdat is the name of the young narrator who represents the author in various works connected with Agnon’s Jaffa period. Hemdat comes to a realization of German cruelty as it is expressed in the act of wringing the neck of a chicken done by a beautiful young girl from Dusseldorf (*Hana’ava Medusseldorf*), a kind of Gretchen who is unwittingly contemptuous of the compassion-cowardice displayed by Hemdat. In *Shira*, characteristics of the Nazi regime are depicted alongside the German typology, while on the other hand we are shown unsuccessful attempts to rescue relatives from Germany by means of Mandate-issued certificates: the failure of Jewish compassion in contrast with the ineffective problematics of the Zionist bourgeoisie and its limits – all of these themes are brought together in the context of a general disintegration that preceded the Holocaust in its actual execution.

As the First Ripe Fig before the Summer

Indeed, as the period close after the Holocaust begins to unfold, together with the establishment of the State of Israel from the end of the 1940s onward, Agnon explains retroactively. He presents anew central stories in his oeuvre that had been published in the distant past, marking them as portents presaging the Holocaust. “I remembered one man with whom I spent time in the city where my ancestors are buried between the two wars before the Nazis came to rule over mankind” (“Kissui Hadam,” *Lifnim Min Hahoma*, 1975). Agnon was referring to what he had recounted in his work *Oreah Nata Lalun* and in other works, portraying the disintegration of the *shtetl*. This is how Agnon ends Chapter 4 in “Kissui Hadam.”

For many years I did not think about those things and if anyone had told me that I would reflect upon them again, I would have wondered at it. Living in the land of Israel had pushed out of my mind those things that had occupied me before I came to the country. Now that we have recalled them, they have come back to me more powerfully. [...] Many of the things that have happened to us in our lives are the products of those deeds that we never saw fit to reflect on. (ibid., 65)

Agnon depicts the Holocaust as an ongoing event:

First was the First World War which was the beginning of the Second World War which brought catastrophe upon the world, and first and foremost upon ourselves, for it is only us that God knows of all the nations of the earth; therefore He punishes us for all of their sins. (*Ir Umeloa*, 122)

World War II is but the continuation of World War I, and the social and cultural crises that beset the State of Israel are a continuation of the ills that brought about the Holocaust. In "Kissui Hadam," Agnon explicitly mentions his story *Vehaya Heakov Lemishor* (p. 91) as an example of the hasty release of an *aguna* whose husband, who had been considered dead, later reappears: "And when no one was found from that city, then the *aguna* was released, and many times they were about to release the woman from her status as *aguna* when the husband suddenly came. I seem to have come across a pamphlet, entitled *Vehaya Heakov Lemishor* and I found an appalling story there about the notion of releasing an *aguna*." Agnon wishes to say that one must not despair because of the calamity, even if hope seems totally absurd. The chance of the husband returning to his abandoned wife is the ultimate expression of the possibility of *tikkun* in the oeuvre of Agnon, who gave himself that name when he signed it to his story "Agunot" (1908), his first story in the Land of Israel.

Agnon's work in the context of the Holocaust once again presents, reveals and proves that the status of *agunut* (state of abandonment) is the cosmic exile – the central structure that was present-absent in Agnon's work at least since his story "Agunot" (1908), the first story that the 21-year-old Agnon wrote in the Land of Israel when he arrived in 1908. The *agunut* and the exile operate more powerfully and dynamically in the context of the Holocaust. I am referring to the aesthetic-psychological and theological structure, the structure of *agunut* that expresses the eternal messianic, redemption-driven impulse to overcome the built-in breach between man and God and, in the context of the Holocaust, relates to the question of what the Holocaust is, as a form of *hester panim* (God concealing His involvement in human history), and its significance in the seemingly chaotic historical world; further, what is Agnon's role in this concealment in the role of the narrator, artist, and character operating outside the work of fiction. This question is interwoven also and especially in stories of Jewish religious self-sacrifice, namely the martyrology and its close neighbors, the stories of the "Hazanim" (*Ir Umeloa*, pp. 70-122), which Agnon

dealt with over the entire period of his creation, such as an anecdote, a story of his youth called “Hapinha Hashehora” (Buczacz, 1907), which became a story of identification with Rabbi Amnon of Magentza in its later versions, “Yatom Ve’almana” (1921) (Shaked, 1973). It is striking that Agnon began to deal definitively with the blood libel stories and the tales of martyrology only in the “German period” (1912-24), the years when he lived in Germany. The first story published in Germany in Hebrew was “Be-metzulot” (1917), the story of the sadism of a Gentile landowner who overturned a wagonload of Jews in the river, drowning them. This motif recurs in all of Agnon’s larger works, together with the motif of the dead gathering in the synagogue to pray (“Yatom Ve’almana”). The story “Be-metzulot” became part of the series of *Sippurei Polin* (1925). This story already foreshadows the fate of Polish Jewry, which stands for all European Jewry, and to a certain extent also portrays the patterns of Jewish-Gentile interaction as an eternal cycle. During the German period, Agnon never mentioned Germany explicitly in his writing but, rather, dealt with the perspective essential for Poland, also amending his stories of the Jaffa period.

A primary theme in the motifs of martyrology is associated with the character of the liturgist Rabbi Amnon of Magentza, author of the prayer “U’netana Tokef,” which already appears as a reverie in the story “Halomo Shel Yaakov Nahum” (1913). This story is a development of “Hapinha Hashehora,” a one-paragraph tale written by the youthful Shmuel Yosef Czaczkes while he was still in Buczacz (1906); in its last reworking, it becomes “Yatom Ve’almana” in Germany (1921) (Shaked, 1973). This theme, the martyrdom of Rabbi Amnon, was developed more fully in the “Hazanim” stories that came after the Holocaust (*Ir Umeloa*, pp. 120-70, 1973) and in “Ha-siman” (*Ma’aznaim* 1944), anthologized in *Pit’chei Devarim*, which appears in its entirety in *Ha-esh Ve-ha-etzim* (1944), and is the final story in *Ir Umeloa*, edited by Emuna Yaron (1973) and in “Lefi Hatzar Hasahar” (*Ha-esh Ve-ha-etzim*, 1962). Agnon saw himself as the last of the *hazanim* of Buczacz, for two of his youthful poems were set to music by one of the town’s last *hazanim*. Agnon saw himself as bearing responsibility for passing down the tradition of the tunes and liturgies that were given at Sinai. In the wake of the Holocaust, it devolved upon him to commemorate the “eternal Jewish essence that forever is transformed into only ‘what had been’ but every detail of it is an eternal sacred myth.” To do this, Agnon struggled with the meaning in memory or the meaning in commemoration, for, in the end, who is it that

would remember. He develops ideas and special techniques to challenge the teeth of time that consumes all. One of these is the "Hakika." This poem is about the law that was engraved on the heavens above and can never be erased. Thus, similarly in "Ha-siman," and in *Behanuto Shel Mar Lublin*, where Agnon builds the character of Yaakov Stern, the super-narrator who remembers everything that ever happened in the town for ten generations back, the character who never left the town, not even for family celebrations.

Agnon after the Holocaust continued to re-interpret his own works to himself, as though he finally understood their destiny and meaning.

After the Holocaust, his work is tinted in new shades. He and his readers read backwards, beginning with 1903, the year that he wrote the ballad in Yiddish of Rav Yosef Della Reina, and the year afterwards (1904), when he wrote and published his first poem in Hebrew, "Gibor Katan," works where he accepts his messianic mission to fight Satan. After the Holocaust, this role is conspicuous in the character of Rabbi Hillel Gibor in "Kissui Hadam" and on other megalomaniac occasions such as the revelation of the poet Shlomo Ibn Gevirol to Agnon in the synagogue in Talpiot, telling him to commemorate the Buczacz that was destroyed totally in Sivan 5704 – 1944 ("Hasiman," *ibid.*).

The city of Buczacz is a proto-model of the Jewish world. In its various permutations it embodies a characteristic social reality that splintered the Jewish world from within. This was true not only in Buczacz, but throughout all Eastern Europe, which knew pogroms and extended bouts of killing from time immemorial, and which lived in the constant shadow of blood libels all the way back to the Byzantine era. This was especially true in the cultural domain of Buczacz, with the horrors of the massacre of Bogdan Hmelnitzki, in the slaughter of 1648-49, and all that ensued from that period: the episode of Shabbetai Zvi and the Frankists, as well as the community rifts throughout the clashes of the Hasidim and Mitnagdim, which converge with the pogroms at the time of the Czars in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, such as "Sufot Banegev" ("Storms in the South" = Riots against the Jewish population in southern Russia, 1881-82) and onward, the waves of killing at the beginning of the century, such as the pogroms in Kishinev and Bialistok, the collapse of the *shtetls* before and after World War I; the mass murders of tens of thousands of Jews during Ukraine's period of independence under Simon Petlyura. The forebodings of destruction returned with even greater intensity before the Nazi rise to power. Agnon recalls, for example, a memory of the Hitler youth already from the 1920s: "During Hitler's early

days, I lived in Munich” (*Me’atzmi El Atzmi*, p. 391). The chilling presence of the previous harsh edicts against the Jews is still recalled in the fast of the 20th of Sivan, which was established as a memorial to them. Agnon was one of the last people to scrupulously observe this fast: “In the end there were only ten people who were fasting, and I was one of them” (*Ir Umeloa*, p. 39). In particular, in his story “Ha-siman,” Agnon handles the question of commemoration and its possibilities, claiming in passing that those who do not strictly observe the customs of their forefathers cannot understand the meaning of the Holocaust and its memory.

The date of the 20th of Sivan also recalls the Crusades, the destruction of the three communities in Western Europe beginning in 1096, which Agnon treats in other works where he sees one of the roots of the community of Buczacz. These communities are the expression *par excellence* of the theme of martyrology, of the sacrifice of Isaac, and the blood libels (Weiss, *Kol Hanesama*, on “Hadam Vekisse;” Miron, “Ashkenaz,” *Harofe Hamedume*) as well as the stories “Ba’derech” in the book of tales *Samuch Venireh*, “Merutzat Hasus” in *Karich Shel Sippurim; Left Hatza’ar Hasachar* in *Ha-esh Ve-ha-etzim*, all of them having been written in the context of the Holocaust.

Agnon becomes aware of the meaning of his writing and of himself in frequent glances back into the past, which are made to explain the present by plumbing the depths of the past, whether by means of his individual writings that face the Holocaust head on and his other written responses to the Holocaust: letters, speeches, and eulogies (Agnon, *Me’atzmi El Atzmi, Esterlein Yakirati*). However, as stated, the harshest response – also the most straightforward – is found in the story “Kissui Hadam” as an example of the verse that recounts the selling of Joseph by his brothers: “And Judah said to his brothers: What profit is it if we slay our brother and conceal his blood,” Gen. 37:26 (commentary on “Kissui Hadam” [Weiss, 1976]).

In his story “Kissui Hadam” and in many others of his works that crystallize around the Holocaust, the Holocaust is used as the supreme expression of punishment for patterns of behavior that developed among the Jews, particularly in the diaspora, and which became even worse in the Land of Israel. (“In the land of Israel it is even worse than outside of Israel,” *op. cit.*, p. 66). Alongside this and other stories of blame, such as “Laila Min Haleilot,” “Hetemuna,” “Heilperin and Heilperin’s Brother,” the monumental book *Ir Umeloa* was developing, which was published in 1973 after Agnon’s death in 1970. This is the historiographical story of the town of Buczacz, a memorial

that was twenty years in the development, an anthology of collections and stories and which in part repeats the accusations that appeared in "Kissui Hadam," such as the motif of discord and the motif of fire, of harsh edicts and of informing to the authorities, and illustrates them using many accounts and references, connecting passages both brief and extensive, and interim passages that connect the diachronic history of the community.

The Knife of Controversy

"Because the knife was sharpened, it was sharpened for the purpose of controversy, which led to quarrels and arguments and informing on each other to the authorities and the loss of money as well as of life, because if one group emerged victorious, the opposing one would bring a complaint to the authorities" (p. 495). Throughout the book *Ir Umeloa*, Agnon presents controversy as the source of all evil. He saw the notorious disputes of the ritual slaughterers and butchers during the period of Hasidism also as the dispute of the sharpened knives, which in the diaspora symbolized the source of all evil. It was an expression of the challenge to rabbinical authority or the authority of halakhah, an undermining of the Oral Law and tradition. This subversion contributed to the corruption of Jewish society as it was abetted by the "brave-hearted" community leaders, who at a certain point in history turned over orphans to the Czar's army in order to fill the quota that the community was required to supply.

Another group of stories are those that retrace Agnon's roots and his mythological history as they emerged in the legacy of the Holocaust. Thus it is in the opening of "Korot Batenu" (Laor, 1995), where the family genealogy parallels the vicissitudes of Jewish history in Europe. Thus, too, in "Kisse Vehadam," a meta-biographical story (Weiss, 1985), where, by formulating the trans-historical personality, the character of the super-narrator, Agnon justifies its judgments regarding the Holocaust and the totality of Jewish history in the diaspora and in the Land of Israel. However, this is only part of the sum total of novels and stories that deal indirectly but deliberately with the Holocaust and its surroundings.

These include novellas such as *Ad Hena*, which seem to deal with the autobiographical adventures of the young, single narrator in Germany that appeared in 1951 (Hillel Weiss, *Mavo Lashoa*, 2002) and together with it all of the stories included in the volume *Ad Hena*, which received its title from this story, among them "Tehila," "Shevuat Emunim," "Ido V'Enam," and

“Ad Olam,” which were published from the mid-1940s until the early 1950s. These works deal with the existential and historiosophical questions that were rooted in the challenges presented by the Holocaust to the Jews and to human civilization after Auschwitz (Deleuze and Guattari) as in the story “Ad Olam,” which was excerpted from the novel *Shira* and whose subject is the destruction of Rome, and, in effect, the destruction of all Western culture (Hillel Barzel, 1975), with the real motive for the story being the Holocaust and its circumstances. Particularly noteworthy is *Behanuto Shel Mar Lublin* (1976), the twin novella of *Ad Hena*, which confronts Jewish-Galician assimilation in Germany since the period of the Enlightenment and its disastrous results. We may mention the already much-discussed stories included in *Ha-esh Ve-ha-etzim*, such as “Lefi Hatz’ar Hasachar” and “Ha-siman,” which was published in concise form as an immediate response to the destruction of the city of Buczacz in 1944 (Weiss, 1975). Thus, too, in a considerable share of the stories in the volume *Samuh Venireh* and especially “Ha’adonit Veharochel” (1943), which was written about the Holocaust (Laor, 1995) and which describes a fatal symbiotic relationship between Jews and Gentiles, and, in particular, between Jewish men and Gentile women, an expression of the guilt feelings that especially preoccupied Agnon (Granot, 1993). This is seen, for example, in “Shnei Talmidei Hachamim” (1946), which describes as an allegory in historical contexts the irrational reasons for the trans-historical dispute in the world of Jewish scholarship and the concrete historical background for the collapse of the *shtetl*, such as the Feibush Family (Hafaibushim), who took over the town and destroyed the sources of its authority, and even a giant novel such as *Tmol Shilshom* (1945), which deals ostensibly only with the period of the Second Aliyah but is still tinged with motifs and outlooks that are connected with the period of its writing (Band, 1966), such as the sacrifice of Isaac (Hagar, 1972) and the meaning of the tragism, the absurd reward and punishment, which become doubly powerful as the subject being treated in Agnon’s writing following the Holocaust.

Meta-biography

A striking example of the way Agnon responded to the meaning of the Holocaust, which points to the enmeshment between the biography, the work, and the Holocaust while confusing and mixing the times without concern for chronological order, may be found in Agnon’s speech “Upon Accepting the

Nobel Prize for Literature” in Stockholm in 1966 (*Me'atzmi El Atzmi*, p. 85), where the 79-year-old Agnon sums up the sources of his writing and seems to imply that he professed to have seen in the Holocaust, as in previous events that seemed to portend evil, a fulfillment, or the climax of personal catastrophes that always have a symbolic significance.

I was five years old when I wrote my first poem. I wrote it out of my longings for Father. It happened that my father had to travel for his business. I was overwhelmed by longings and I made a poem. From then on I made many poems. Of all the poems that I made, not one has survived. My father's house where I left a room full of writings was burnt down in World War I and everything that I left there was burned with it. And the young artisans, the tailors and shoemakers, who used to sing my poems as they worked were killed in World War One. Of those who were not killed in the war, some of them were killed with their sisters in a pit that they dug themselves at the enemy's command, and most of them were burned at Auschwitz together with their sisters who had so graced the town with their beauty and who in their sweet voices had sung my poems.

The fate that met those singers, men and women, and my poems, was the same fate that befell the books that I wrote later. All of them without exception went up heavenward in flames in the fire that broke out in my house one night... .” p. 85

Immediately following Auschwitz, Agnon goes back in time and deals with the conflagration and personal catastrophe that befell him when his house was burned down in Germany, in a case of criminal arson, in 1924; with the house, he declared, the fire consumed everything that he had written from the day he arrived in Germany, together with his enormous private library. After the fire, he returned to the Land of Israel, out of a grave feeling of guilt that his living in Germany was a sin that brought on the conflagration.

Agnon mixes chronology, with no regard for what preceded what. One may understand that the expression “The fate that met those singers, men and women, and my poems, was the same fate that befell the books that I made later,” where “later” refers to after Auschwitz. However, “later” in the autobiographical sense is the German period, the period between Jaffa and the fire, and not after the fires of Auschwitz. Agnon ties together his personal catastrophe with the national catastrophes from the very first line of his speech.

“Out of the historical calamity when the Roman Titus destroyed Jerusalem and the people of Israel were exiled from their land, I was born in one of the cities of the diaspora.”

Agnon's confrontation with the presence of the Holocaust and what preceded it, even from pre-World War I days, contributes to the crystallization of the theology and aesthetic characteristic of his work established already in the Jaffa period (1908-12), as in stories such as “Agunot” and *Ve-haya He-akov Lemishor*, which are stories of exile and redemption typical of Agnon, stories that emerge from the tradition of the “Tales of Pious People” (*Sipur Ha-Yereim*) of various types. This theology and aesthetic become intensified during the German Period (1913-24), especially in the stories of Poland. The development of Agnon's writing in the direction of the novel and the confrontation with the greater perspective, the enormous expanses of time and space together with the ability to construct the God who is found in the small details and to transform these into trans-historical symbols, to invite and create national and human mythologies – these give Agnon's insights an ontological status, revealing a meta-historical truth that he constructed over sixty years of writing. As the events of the twentieth century pass before his eyes, he sees the Holocaust as a crossroad, a black hole, which sucks into it previous historical processes that define and explain the Holocaust and its aftermath, as well as the problematic nature of the State of Israel – all of these are brought together in his work, in a critique of the German European cultural world (Orbach, 2000; Weinbaum, 1999) and the Slavic world as an ominous specter. The reference is mainly to the novellas *Ad Hena* and *Behanuto Shel Mar Lublin*, which were written in the 1950s and '60s, and the novel *Shira* as well as other writings that were published after the Holocaust. The conclusion is that there is a continuum, a basic Jewish conceptual sequence that is the response to all the horrors of history. The Holocaust, with all its atrocities unparalleled in terms of the total devastation and brutality it wrought, forces Agnon to use internal primeval materials out of a sense of responsibility toward the splendor and spiritual wealth of his forefathers.

Because in the meanwhile chaos engulfed the world and killed the good people and their children, several million Jews, and I did not hear anything about the survivors, the families of my forefathers outside of the land of Israel. All of those years the manuscripts were in front of me, in my own hand, and it never occurred to me to publish them or even to

show them. Now after all that the enemy has done to us, turning every diaspora into a cemetery, and destroying the graves of our forefathers, I say: I will give life to my fathers using the writings that they themselves wrote. And if there are surprising things here, those who wish to wonder may well wonder. (*Korot Batenu*, p. 64)

In the author's apology at the opening of the book, he seems compelled to explain why the unlikely materials, the family myths and sagas, which on other occasions might not seem legitimate, are transformed perforce because of the Holocaust into principles that must needs be presented in public.

Sometimes it seems that the Holocaust is just a variation on previous negative potentials and is not necessarily its last articulation. There is a rupture that does not seem bridgeable, except by the elusive Final Redemption that is the heartfelt aspiration of Agnon's work, whose despair is grounded in the dread that if there is no continuity, then Jewish history and indeed all of human history is nothing more than disorder and meaninglessness; that it is chaos that was hiding in vain under the artistic mantle of order and discipline that Agnon cultivates with his restrained aesthetics. Agnon's profoundest, most essential inclination is to believe in the existence of continuity even if it seems hopeless and unattainable; however, the possibility that continuity is impossible in terms of human ability alone does not escape him either, and it haunts him as a frightening specter that accompanies all his important works.

Index of Holocaust in Agnon's Work

Subject index

Hitler

Samuch Ve-Nireh, Sefer Hama'asim 246

Shira 171, 137, 181, 230, 267, 282, 321, 401, 404, 417, 429

Ir Umeloa 307

Kissui Hadam 78, 82, 90, 95, 96, 114

Pitchei Devarim 14, 115, 144, 149

Pitchei Devarim, Hatemuna 167-169

Mar Heilperin, Ahiv shel Mar Heilperin 186, 191

Me'aztmi el Atzmi 218, 259, 286, 391

Nazis

Ha-esh Ve-ha-etzim, Ha-siman 306

Shira 75, 135, 136, 169, 172, 356, 363, 460, 465, 524

Lifnim min Hahoma, Kissui Hadam 52, 53, 84

Pitchei Devarim 115, 149

Pitchei Devarim, Hetemuna 168, 169

Pitchei Devarim, Mar Heilperin, Ahiv shel Mar Heilperin 191

Me'atzmi el Atzmi 390, 391, 396

Auschwitz

Ad Hena, Leila min haleilot 211

Lifnim min Hahoma, *Lifnim min Hahoma*, 26

Pitchei Devarim, *Pitchei Devarim*, 108

Lifnim min Hahoma, Hatemuna 168, 169

Me'atzmi el Atzmi 86

The Holocaust

Me'atzmi el Atzmi 285

Key words used for the Holocaust:

אנדלמוסיה – chaos

אנטישמיות – anti-Semitism

רשעות – wickedness

2. Oreah Nata Lalun (1938; 1939; 1950; 1953), p. 59.

6. Ha-esh ve-ha-etzim – Sefer Tachlit Hama'asim, p. 229.

“Regrets after the fact were unable to change anything, that is why he cried out. And they knew that calamity was about to befall them, because all the wickedness in the world comes from the wickedness of Laban. There is a kind of wickedness that if not stifled at its inception can never be corrected, God forbid. And this power comes not from the power of Laban but from the power over him of our forefather Jacob.”

7. Shira (1949) p. 75.

“For they had died in the German war, that is, two percent of the Jews who were living in Germany. Waltfremd began to feel the fist of evil. Students who attended his lectures began to challenge him, friends whom he had helped were cordial to him in private but in public evaded him. Even the newspapers. ...”

8. Shira (1949), p. 219.

“The community of Israel which lived in Germany was still living tranquilly and would amuse themselves by saying that there was no evil in Germany, and the entire Zionist endeavor there was not for their own sakes but for the benefit of their brothers who lived in other countries where the governments would repress them.”

11. Shira (1949), p. 292.

“For Germany was afflicted with a bad quality of Jew-hatred and, thus, of all the Hebrew words that are familiar to the Jews of Germany, there is no doubt that the word ‘*rishut*’ [‘wickedness’] was more widespread than any other word in Hebrew. However [p. 293], he had never considered the change in meaning, that if they say *rishut*, their intent is to warn.”

12. Shira (1949), p. 293.

“It is doubtful whether the word ‘*rishut*’ [wickedness] was more widespread than any other word in Hebrew. However [pp. 293], he had never considered the

change in meaning, that if they say *rishut*, their intent is to warn the Jews that they shouldn't do this or that, that they shouldn't bring the German to a state of *rishut* where he would do harm to the Jews. Now I return. ...”

13. Shira (1949), p. 293.

“...considered the change in meaning, that if they say *rishut*, their intent is to warn the Jews that they shouldn't do this or that, that they shouldn't bring the German to a state of *rishut* where he would do harm to the Jews. Now I return to the matter I began with. When Herbst went back to read those same books, he looked and noticed that even the best of...”

14. Shira (1949), p. 293.

“...of the German. Moreover, on a matter where they condemn the Jews, they praise the Germans. And here it is noteworthy to mention that many books that twittered wickedness and cruelty came to Herbst as bar-mitzva gifts given to him by people in Israel. The spirit of Israel was so enslaved to Germany that they didn't sense the hatred...”

16. Lifnim Min Hahoma – Kissui Hadam (1960), p. 104.

“The rule is that the smaller the person is, the greater he is than his fellow when it comes to wickedness. In the Hebrew that they made up for themselves, they called this courtesy and I call it simply wickedness. Judge for yourself, a old man with a deformity comes into such an office where there are fine chairs and fine sofas for sitting on. Do they say to him, Why don't you have a seat, please. No, instead...”

17. Tachruch Shel Sippurim – Tachruch Shel Sippurim (A), p. 62.

“...us leaving in a Sabbath hat. How does a Jew scoff at his friend when he is in the same predicament himself? That is precisely the power of an evil edict: it's not merely that it causes us humiliation but on top of that, that very humiliation makes a mockery of our fellow Jews when we laugh at each other. Perhaps it is that way with other things as well. I was a young man and also...”

18. Esterlein Yakirati, p. 222.

“... to speak with him and I told him of this 'event.' And he also told me of a similar case, and said, 'And there are more people who say that in Germany there is evil.'”

Bibliography

Stories that deal either directly or indirectly with the Holocaust

- Beit Aba (1941), Im Knisat Hayom (Bein Habayit Lahatzer), *Meoznayim*, XVI, 1 (Nissan 5703 – 1953), pp. 12-15.
- HaMichtav, Samuch VeNir'eh, in Sefer Hama'asim, p. 246.
- Ha-adonit Ve-ha-rochel, *Bas'ar* (anthology presented to the Hebrew men and women soldiers from the writers of Eretz Israel), Hebrew Writers Association (Tel Aviv, 5703 – 1953), pp. 84-93.
- Ha-siman, *Meoznayim*, IX, 5704, p. 104. Included in *Pitchei D'varim* (Schocken, 1977), p. 196.
- Ha-siman (expanded version), *Ha-esh Ve-ha-etzim* (1962), and in *Ir U'meloa* (1970).
- Min Hashamayim (1946), *Elu V'elu* (5713).
- Pitchei D'varim, *Pitchei D'varim* (1977).
- Mar Heilperin, Ahiv shel Mar Heilperin, *Pitchei D'varim* (1977).
- Kissui Hadam, *Lifnim min Hahoma* (1975).
- Lifnim min hahoma, *Lifnim min hahoma* (1975).
- Ha-temuna, *Pitchei D'varim*, pp. 164-69.
- Laila min Halailot, *Ad Hena* (1952), pp. 207-15.
- Mitznefet Shabbat, *Tachrich shel Sippurim* (1984), pp. 211-20.
- Sipurim shel Ashkenaz Veagapeha, *Tachrich shel Sippurim*.

Volumes of Agnon's Works that Deal Largely with the Holocaust or as Background

- Ad Hena (stories volume) 1953
- Bechanuto shel Mar Lublin (novella)
- Ir Umeloa (historiographic anthology)
- Shira (novel)
- Ha-esh Ve-ha-etzim (collection of stories)
- Korot Bateni (story of family genealogy)
- Lifnim Min Hahoma (four novellas)
- Pitchei D'varim (volume of stories)
- Tachrich Shel Sippurim (part of it)
- Me'atzmi El Atzmi "Egrofaha shel Rish'a"
- Esterlein Yakirati (Several letters connected to the German national character and German politics).

Articles in Hebrew that Deal with Agnon's Work, the Holocaust and Around it

Ben-Dov, Nitza. *Ahavot lo Meusharot (Unhappy/unapproved loves)* (1997), pp. 40-41.

Bik, Abraham. "Shai Agnon u'meshalo al Germania," "Hagut u'demut: masot al Yisreal vеха'amim" (*S.Y. Agnon and his Parable on Germany; Philosophy and Image: Essays on Israel and the Nations*) (Tarbut Le'am, 1965), pp. 127-34.

Binyamin, R. "Oreah Nata Lalun," *Meoznayim*, IX (1-5), Iyar 5698-Heshvan 5700 (1938-40): 548.

Granot, Moshe. *Agnon lelo masveh (Agnon without a Mask)* (Yaron Golan Publisher, 1991), pp. 13-22.

Kurzweil, Baruch. *Massot al sippurei Agnon: Dor lelo malbushim u'lelo sefarim (Essays on Agnon's Stories: A Generation without Garments and without Books)* (Schocken, 4th edn., expanded, 1973), p. 182.

Laor, Dan. *Ha'im katav Agnon al hashoah? Hebetim hadashim (Did Agnon Write about the Holocaust – New Aspects)* (Sifriyat Poalim, 1995), pp. 60-97.

— "E'eseh li siman: Shai Agnon le'ahar hashoah" ("I shall make for me a Sign: S.Y. Agnon after the Holocaust") *Ha'arets*, 3 April 1983.

Miron, Dan. "Harofeh hamedumeh," *Ashkenaz*, pp. 281-88.

Miron, Dan. "German Jews in Agnon's Work," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, XXXIII (London, 1978). See also Hillel Weiss, *Aharit Davar: Bi'dmei Yam'eha veod sippurim* (Afterword: 'Bi'dmei Yam'eha' and other Stories) (Schocken), pp.148-49.

This relates to some extent to the German-Jewish mentality and its influence on the heroes of the love stories, such as *Farnheim*, *Panim Aherot*, *Ha-rofeh U'gerushato*, and *Gavriella*.

Peles, Yedidia. "Iyunim: Ha-adonit Ve-ha-rochel" ("Studies on 'Ha-adonit Ve-ha-rochel'") (Nov. 1975): 25-26.

Rabbi Ya'acov. "Hatorah, Ha'emuna, u'mirmat hatzedaka: al Ir Umeloa shel Agnon" ("The Torah, Faith, and Deceitful Charity in Agnon's *Ir Umeloa*"), *Al Hamishmar*, 12 October 1973.

Shaked, Gershon. *Mi Yodea yom Mahar (al "Kissui Hadam") Panim Aherot b'yetzirato shel Agnon (Agnon — A Writer with a Thousand Faces)* (Kibbutz Hameuhad, 1989), pp. 91-14 (first pub. 1977).

She-Lavan, Yosef. *Emey hashoah besippurei Agnon (The Terrors of the Holocaust in Agnon)*, p. 145.

Weiss, Hillel. "Bein evel lehantzaha" ("From Mourning to Commemoration"), *Amudim*, XXII, 9 (Sivan 5732): 34-357, anthologized in *Diyukan halohem* (Bar-Ilan University, 1975), pp. 231-48.

- “Persuh lasippur ‘Kissui Hadam’” (“Interpretation of the Story ‘Kissui Hadam’”), *Bikoret uparshanut*, 9-10 (5736 – 1976): 117-59.
- “Al Archetype Eliyahu be Kissui Hadam,” (“On the Elijah Archetype in ‘Kissui Hadam’”), *Yeda-Am*, XX (47-48) (1980): 29-40.
- “Sippurei Hahazanim l’Agnon” (“Agnon’s Cantor Stories”), *Maariv*, 8 April 1977. A more developed version of the article in “Gam Agnon ratza lihyot hazan-al” [“Agnon also wanted to be a cantor”], in Hillel Weiss, *Amudim* (Tishrei 5755 – 1997), XLVII, 1 (614): 21-25.
- Dissertation: “Mekorot Yehudi'im vetafkidam bsippurei hatima shel Agnon Hadom vekisseh ve'Kissui Hadam” [“Jewish Sources and their Role in the Ending Stories of Agnon ‘Hadam Vekisse’ and ‘Kissui Hadam’”] (1978).
- *Kol Haneshama* (Bar-Ilan University, 1985), pp. 42-56.
- “Agnon vehashoah” (“Agnon and the Holocaust”) (Collection of articles on the Holocaust published by the Finkler Holocaust Research Institute, Bar-Ilan University, 1986).
- “He'arot nosafot lanoseh hashoah b'yetzirat Agnon” (“Additional notes on the Holocaust in Agnon’s writings”), *Netiv* (October 1997): 87-92.
- “Ad Hena – kimavo lashoah” (“*Ad Hena* as an Introduction to the Holocaust”), *Bikoret uparshanut*, 35 (2002): 117-45.

In English:

- Band, J. Arnold. *Nostalgia and Nightmare; A Study in the Fiction of S. Y. Agnon* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), p. 447.
- Ezrahi, Sydra Dekoven. “Agnon Before and After,” *Proof texts*, Vol. 2 (1982): 78-94.
- Kurzweil, Baruch B. “The Image of the Western Jew in Modern Hebrew Literature,” *Year Book VI* (1961), Leo Baeck Institute: 175-82.
- Mintz, Alan. *Hurban Responses to Catastrophe in Hebrew Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

Background Topics to the Article (in Hebrew)

- Mechman, Dan. “Hashoah b'einay hahistorionim; habe'aya shel hamishgeh, tikuf, vehesber” (“The Holocaust in the Eyes of Historians: The Problem of Error, Validation, and Explanation”), *Hashoah vehikra* (Moreshet, 1998), pp. 13-41.
- Orbach-Faler, Susan. “Germania bein zikaron lehashkacha: Vikuah ha-historionim vepulmus Goldenhagen” (“Germany between Memory and Obliteration: The Historians Debate and Goldenhagen”), *Nativ* 4-5 (2000): 28.

Schweid, Eliezer. *Ma'avak ad shahar (Struggle until Dawn)* (Kibbutz Hameuhad, 1991), pp. 171-78.

— *Bein Hurban l'yeshua (From Destruction to Salvation)* (Kibbutz Hameuhad, 1994).

— “Ziduk hadat bemavhena shel hashoah” (“Justifying Faith in the Crucible of the Holocaust”), *Yahadut Zemanenu*, 5 (5749 – 1989): 22.

Weinbaum, Laurence. “Explanation or Exculpation?” – Laurence Weinbaum on Explaining Hitler by Ron Rosenbaum, *Nativ*, 3 (68): 75.

Yaoz, Hana. *Sipporet Hashoah (Sipporet Historit ve'trans-historit) (Holocaust Fiction; Historical and Trans-historical Fiction)* (Aked, 1980), pp. 119-42.

Yerushalmi, Hayim Yosef, Zachor. *Historia Yehudit ve'zikaron yehudi (Jewish History and Jewish Memory)* (Am Oved, 1988). (On Jewish historiography.)