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VI. Obituaries

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From the editors

We are very pleased to bring you the second issue of the *Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies*. Our annual journal is dedicated to analyzing the interactions and affinities between Indic and Judaic civilizations, from ancient through contemporary times.

This issue contains three articles. The first, by Miriam Dean-Otting of Oberlin College, examines three 20th century Jewish thinkers' views of Hinduism and Buddhism. Asian religions played an important role in the Jewish history of ideas during the early 20th century. Cultural Zionists such as Bergman, Baeck and Buber (Rosenzweig's views were explored in our first issue) developed serious and sustained encounters with Hinduism and Buddhism, seeking as they did a non-Eurocentric understanding of Judaism.

Diane M. Sharon of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America compares autobiographies of mystics from distinct cultures and eras: Swami Muktananda, a 20th century Hindu guru, and Abraham Abulafia, an ecstatic Kabbalist of the 13th century. In so doing, she elicits from her texts patterns of spiritual evolution.

Howard University historian Brian Weinstein returns us to a more empirical study, one which focuses on the literary history of Judaeo-Arabic in India. Judaeo-Arabic was the *lingua franca* of Jews from the Middle East, and was used by the Baghdadi communities of Mumbai and Calcutta as well as by foreign Jewish merchants and traders.

Our translation for this issue is of a Hebrew version of the *Romance of Alexander*, a popular account of the Macedonian's encounters in India. The text is introduced and translated by Steven Bowman of the University of Cincinnati.

This issue brings a new column. A bibliography of publications in the field between 1993 and 1997 is presented as a resource for the study of Indian Jewry. Compilers Nathan Katz of Florida International University and Frank Joseph Shulman of the University of Maryland plan to update their bibliography in each forthcoming issue of this journal.

Our feature review article is by L. N. Sharma, professor emeritus at Benares Hindu University. It evaluates a seminal book in the field of Indo-Judaic Studies, *Between Jerusalem and Benares*, edited by Hananya Goodman.

There are three shorter book reviews. Demographer Ira M. Sheskin of the University of Miami reports on a recent study of Indian Jewish demographics; Steven Bowman considers the important post-modernist historical novel, *In An Antique Land* by Amitav Ghosh; and Abraham D. Lavender, a sociologist at Florida International University, reviews a popular book published by KULANU, *Jews in Places You Never Thought Of.*

Finally, we note the passing of three important figures in the field: Ashin Das Gupta, Flora Samuel, and David I. Sargon.

The *Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies* invites manuscripts which address issues such as: the image of the Jew in modern Indian literature or of Hinduism in traditional Judaic texts; economic, political and strategic relations between India and Israel; interfaces between Jewish Americans and Indian Americans; comparisons of Hinduism and/or Buddhism and Judaism; Jews who practice an eastern spiritual discipline; the history, religion and culture of Indian Jewish communities; etc.

The editors wish to thank their institutions, Florida International University and the University of Saskatchewan, for support which makes this journal possible.

"HUGO BERGMAN, LEO BAECK AND MARTIN BUBER: JEWISH PERSPECTIVES ON HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM"

Miriam Dean-Otting

In memory of Baba, Alak Kumar Ghose, Calcutta, (May 8, 1920 - April 1, 1998), who, although he never read Martin Buber, lived life in relationship and knew that "when you consecrate life you encounter the living God." (*I and Thou*, p. 128)

In the first half of the twentieth century it was fashionable among educated Europeans to delve into the philosophies of south and east Asia. Two literary pieces, Hermann Hesse's *Siddhartha* (1922) and Thomas Mann's *The Transposed Heads* (1940), bear witness to this fascination with the East, in this case, with India. Many found the mysteries of the East both alluring and problematic. Jewish thinkers were tempted to explore Asian religions as points of comparison and contrast for Judaism. In a salient essay, "Fin de Siècle Orientalism, the *Ostjuden*, and the Aesthetics of Jewish Self-Affirmation",[1] Paul Mendes-Flohr carefully characterized the mix of feelings with which Western European Jews viewed the Orient, noting how some dismissed any connection to Eastern European Jews because of their "Asiatic manners and appearance."[2] Mendes-Flohr describes the way Western European Jews played into the hands of anti-Semites who pointed to Jewish origins in the Middle East as one reason to withhold civil rights from Jews.[3] However, by the turn of the century, Western European Jews, moved by the dominant culture's fascination with and esteem of Asia, began to cultivate an image of themselves as "oriental".[4] Mendes-Flohr explores this movement in great detail. He points to Martin Buber's central role in the *Bar Kochbah* Association of Prague at the beginning of this century as well as Buber's work on Hasidism as two important manifestations of this Jewish affinity for the East.[5] Aptly, Mendes-Flohr chose as one of his mottoes for this article a significant statement by Buber: "For the Jew has remained an Oriental."[6]

All three men presented in this study approached Asian religions for different reasons and applied their various knowledge in distinct ways. Leo Baeck (1873-1956), a rabbi and leader of liberal German Jewry, utilized Buddhism as a comparison to Judaism in order to highlight the superiority of Judaism. Martin Buber (1878-1965), a philosopher and cultural Zionist leader, studied Taoism, Hinduism and Buddhism, and was particularly drawn to the mystical expressions of these traditions. The philosopher Schmuel Hugo Bergman (1883-1975) dabbled in eastern thought for much of his adult life and

was moved by a visit to India in 1947 to study the thought of Sri Aurobindo. Bergman discovered a richness in both Hinduism and Buddhism which spoke to him as a Jew. While Bergman discerned affinities between Judaism and Hinduism particularly, Martin Buber and Leo Baeck had distinctly different views. Buber drew on both Hinduism and Buddhism in the third part of his *I and Thou* in order to reject, for the most part, their mystical expressions, yet even in his rejection he wrote of them with sympathy. Baeck, on the other hand, used Buddhism for the sole purpose of proving Judaism to be superior, a tone he struck for the whole of his apologetic work, *The Essence of Judaism.*

In this examination of these three Jewish thinkers' understanding of Hinduism and Buddhism, I am drawing on *The Essence of Judaism, I and Thou* and, primarily, Bergman's letters and journals. Bergman's personal sources can be placed in a context with Buber's and Baeck's philosophical works because of the highly personal nature of their books. Buber focuses on relationship in *I and Thou*[7] and no reader can overlook this aspect of the book, which is written as a dialogue between Buber and his reader. Baeck's *Essence of Judaism* can almost be seen as half of what was no dialogue. The book stands as Baeck's personal defense of Judaism. While Buber writes from a position that is informed, if somehow superficial by today's standards, Baeck writes from misinformation at best and ignorance at worst. Both writers are limited by inadequate knowledge and the biases of their period. Bergman, on the other hand, does not use the Eastern traditions to demonstrate an opposing truth, but, rather, seeks to cite similarities and accept differences. If anything, Bergman errs on the side of seeing too many similarities between Judaism and Eastern traditions.

Leo Baeck's 1905 publication of *The Essence of Judaism*[8] was a direct outgrowth of an essay in response to A. Harnack's *The Essence of Christianity.* A characterization of Baeck's thought might prove instructive as a backdrop to looking at *The Essence of Judaism.* Baeck's thought was largely organized in polarities as is clearly demonstrated in his treatment of Christianity as the religion of dogma and sacrament as opposed to Judaism, a dynamic tradition which is never fixed in any creedal form. In the same manner, he juxtaposed what he saw as two types of religion: Judaism, the "classical" religion, and Buddhism, the "romantic" or contemplative type of religion.

Baeck devoted a large section of his third chapter, "Revelation and World Religion", to a discussion of Buddhism. Beginning with the assertion that monotheism is a direct outgrowth of "the absolute character of the moral law".[9] In keeping with other 19th century Jewish theologians, Baeck underscored the connection between ethics and monotheism, and proclaimed that Israel alone gave the world monotheism. Defining religion's essential character as "man's attitude to the world," Baeck wrote, "There are two fundamental and determining forms of religion, that of Israel and that of the Buddha."[10] The contrasts Baeck posits are simplifications, but they do yield a

rich harvest of points for discussion. His contrasts illustrate how Baeck characterized Buddhism to make his main points about Judaism:

> The former [Judaism] declares the world to be the field of life's tasks and offers a moral affirmation of the value of man's relationship to the world by deed and will; the latter [Buddhism] declares that man's task is to devote himself to self-meditation without the exercise of his volition. The one is the expression of the command to work and create, the other the need to rest. Judaism leads to the desire to work for the kingdom of God in which all men may unite, while Buddhism leads to the desire to sink into the One, into nothingness, there to find deliverance and salvation for the ego. Judaism calls for ascent, development, the long march toward the future, while Buddhism preaches return, cessation, futureless existence in silence. Judaism seeks to reconcile the world with God while Buddhism tries to escape the world. Judaism demands creation, new men and a new world; Buddhism seeks "extinction," departure from humanity and from the world. Thus Judaism is a world of altruism, since it declares that man to be striving toward perfection who has found his way to God by seeking his brethren and who serves God by loving and being just to them. Buddhism, on the other hand, is the religion of egotism, since it attributes perfection to the man who retreats from mankind in order to discover the only true approach to himself.[11]

For the sake of contrast, Baeck simplifies dramatically. Some of his statements about Judaism could also apply to Buddhism. Certainly Buddhism affirms a "relationship to the world by deed" while emphasizing a loving justice toward other beings; indeed, it prescribes compassion for all living beings. It is hardly "the religion of egotism," for a fundamental teaching is that of *anatta* (no-self). Buddhism emphasizes the teachings of no-self and impermanence (*anicca*), two ideas which are sharply incompatible with Judaism, which values God's plan in history and the resurrection of the individual in a messianic era. Clearly, Baeck was not interested in clarifying Buddhism in any meaningful way, but rather that his interest lay in underscoring the strengths of Judaism. He uses other misrepresentations for the sake of contrast. Baeck contrasts the "one master", that is, the Buddha, to the "train of masters" (rabbis) of Judaism, overlooking the myriad of Buddhist teachers throughout the ages. He views the *sangha* (community of monks) as totally separate from the lay people and states that both the monk and the Buddha are ideals unavailable to the masses.[12] In actuality, monks both derive from and return to

the lay people. Monks and lay people share vows, the Five Precepts, while monks (and nuns) take on additional vows. That Buddha-hood is not an unobtainable ideal can be summed up in the well-known Buddhist teaching: "Attain perfection through diligence!"[13] Baeck states that Buddhism (along with other religions) is limited nationally, a view which is untenable in light of the distinct forms that Buddhism, a religion which developed on the continent of India, has taken in China, Japan and elsewhere.

In his fourth chapter, "Faith in God," Baeck ascribes to Judaism a fundamental optimism which he finds in its emphasis on the world having value and meaning.[14] Baeck diminishes the ethical content of Buddhism, stating that, due to both its failure to focus on God and what he sees as its consequent pessimism, it lacks a basis for ethical monotheism. "It is therefore a necessary consequence of those religions which, like Buddhism, are consistently pessimistic that they are religions without God and that their ethical element is merely a contingent aspect of man's activity."[15] Later, in demonstrating that faith in God gives rise to faith in humans, Baeck rejects the Buddhist view of redemption because it teaches no doctrine of forgiveness or atonement. Buddhism "finds its ideal in the man 'who does not blame himself,' and who 'like a beautiful lotus which is not attached to the water, is not attached to either good or evil,' but has 'detached himself from the good as well as the evil deed'."[16] Baeck fails to see Buddhism as a religion of ethical action. He ascribes to Buddhism an "inner core...of sentimentality and melancholy," a lack of "reverence for fellow man," and lack of "the great 'Thou shalt,' the imperative force and urgency."[17] In sum, Baeck states, "That is why Buddhism has been termed the religion of inertia...a religion of feeling without activity."[18] Baeck thus overlooks the teachings of the Eightfold Path which describe the core of Buddhist practice and lay a foundation for deeds built on attitudes: right views, right aspiration, right speech, right conduct (e.g., refrain from murder, stealing, wrong sexual actions...), right livelihood (e.g., one's work can not harm others), right effort, right mindfulness, and right contemplation. Baeck links his view of Buddhist ethics to Buddhism's failure to teach messianic expectation[19] and builds this, in turn, on a false assumption that Buddhists lead a life of resignation and, therefore, "acquiesce in suffering."[20] Quite the contrary, the Buddha taught an end to suffering in his third Noble Truth: the cessation of suffering comes about through the cessation of craving. This can be accomplished through the Eightfold Path. In addition, the teachings on *Maitreya*, the Buddha of the future, fulfill Baeck's need for a messianic expectation.[21] Baeck's treatment of Buddhism is unsatisfactory. This may simply be because he fails to fully understand it and only views it through a limited comparative lens which is focused entirely by a Jewish perspective. Or, it could be that he edited his portrait of Buddhism to fit the picture he needed to highlight Judaism as a superior tradition.[22]

While Leo Baeck focused on Buddhism only as a contrast to Judaism to demonstrate the superiority of Judaism, early in his career Martin Buber demonstrated a fascination with eastern traditions apart from comparative study. Some of Buber's first work focused on Taoism. Jonathan Herman, in his recent translation and analysis of Buber's 1910 study, *Reden und Gleichnisse des Tschuang-tse* [*Talks and Parables of Chuang Tzu*],[23] writes:

> The volume represents a fresh voice in the long-standing sinological task of interpreting Chuang Tzu, it represents a turning point in Buber's philosophical development, and it represents a concrete example of what we in the academy call "comparative mysticism".[24]

While acknowledging Buber's ignorance of Chinese and of the historical approach to Chuang Tzu, Herman views as unfortunate the fact that Buber's work has been largely overlooked by Taoism scholars. Herman cautiously proposes that,

> ... the general spirit of Buber's argument on the teaching and the parable is certainly plausible, and that his linguistic and historical limitations do not prevent him from evincing a tremendous sensitivity to the subtleties of Chinese thought.[25]

One of the more intriguing links Herman demonstrates between Buber and Chuang Tzu is manifested in Buber's 1923 publication, *Ich und Du* [*I and Thou*]. Herman traces the origins of Buber's well-known and much discussed section on the tree to the Chinese sage. Opening with, "I contemplate a tree," Buber delineates the various ways a tree can be objectified, through art as impression and expression, and through the tools of botanical science, physics and mathematics.[26] Relation and reciprocity, however, are only possible, "if will and grace are joined" and "the power of exclusivity has seized"[27] and the tree ceases to be an object. Herman proposes that two passages in Buber's text of Chuang Tzu lie at the root of his tree meditation, "The Useless Tree" and "The Holy Tree:" "...there can be little doubt that these passages provided the inspiration for the unforgettable segment which appears toward the beginning of *I and Thou*..."[28] Herman's work is a fresh study of Buber which offers an unusual perspective. Interested readers can look directly at his work as the focus here moves now to the two traditions which are the focus of this study, Hinduism and Buddhism.

In "The Spirit of the Orient and Judaism", Buber contemplated the east-west divide. Bringing together the Chinese, Indian and Jew as a triad representing "the Oriental type of being",[29] Buber described the Oriental as the "motor-type" in contrast to the Occidental as "sensory type".[30] Many differences exist among Chinese, Indian and Jew, yet Buber finds complement between Indian

and Jew: "Just as the Indian brings the world to unity by his insight, so the Jew brings the world to unity by his decision."[31] Buber cites the Jewish concept of *teshuvah*, "return" and "repentance", as the highest development of "decision" and describes Judaism as the teacher of the Orient to the Occident:

> Through the fervor of its demand for return, and the fervor of its belief in the power and the glory of return, through its new magic, the magic of decision, Judaism won the Occident for the teaching of the Orient. By means of this teaching Judaism became the representative of the Orient at its best.[32]

In the context of 19th and 20th century colonialism, Buber saw the Jews as having a particular role in healing the east-west divide. Jewish roots could be traced to the east, but Jews had spent millennia in the west: "The Jew is not the same person he once was; he has passed through every heaven and hell of the Occident, and his soul has come to grief."[33] Of course, this is a call for return to Zion,[34] but Buber links that return to an important role Jews would play bridging east and west:

> For this world-historical mission Europe has at its disposal a mediating people that has acquired all the wisdom and all the skills of the Occident without losing its original Oriental character, a people called to link Orient and Occident in fruitful reciprocity, just as it is perhaps called to fuse the spirit of the East and West in a new teaching.[35]

Buber did not turn to the east exclusively for political or cultural expression. His cautious empathy for both Buddhism and Hinduism is demonstrated in a finely tuned study of *unio mystica* in the third part of *I and Thou*. In keeping with his strict view of the I-You relationship, Buber rejects both the Buddhist teaching of no-self (*anatta*) and the Hindu doctrine of the self (*atman*) merging with the Universe (*Brahman*).

> What has to be given up is not the I, as most mystics suppose: the I is indispensable for any relationship...[36]
>
> Against this stands the claim of the other doctrine of immersion that at heart the universe and the self are identical and hence no You-saying can ever grant any ultimate actuality.[37]
>
> The formula of the coronation of the self in the Upanishads—'That is the actual, it is the self, and that you are' [*Tat Tvam Asi*] takes us far more quickly to the Buddhist

> formula of deposition: 'A self and what pertains to the self are not to be found in truth and actuality.'[38]

Even so, Buber offers a sympathetic view of both traditions. While rejecting outright the Hindu teaching of *maya* or appearance,[39] he embraces an idea which could be wholly Hindu for it reflects Hindu teachings on the oneness of all things:

> 'World here, God there'—that is It-talk; and 'God in the world'—that, too, is It-talk; but leaving out nothing, leaving nothing behind, to comprehend all—all the world—in comprehending the You, giving the world its due and truth, to have nothing besides God but to grasp everything in him, that is the perfect relationship.[40]

In a rich passage, Buber draws on Hindu scripture to demonstrate his doctrine of reciprocity:

> The Brahmana of the hundred paths relates that the gods and the demons were once engaged in a contest. Then the demons said, 'To whom shall we offer our sacrifices?' They placed all offerings in their own mouths. But the gods placed the offerings in one another's mouth. Then Prajapati, the primal spirit, bestowed himself upon the gods.[41]

Here Buber penetrates to the details of the story, undeterred by the Hindu orientation towards multiple deities. Elsewhere Buber critiques a tale from the Upanishads which teaches the immersion of the self (*atman*) in order to sustain his own philosophy of lived actuality.[42]

Buber offers an even more detailed analysis of Buddhism, focusing on the teachings of the Buddha and accepting what is consonant with his I-You schema.[43] He describes how the Buddha avoided reducing the dichotomies of existence to the It-world:

> "When, O monk, the view prevails that soul and body are identical, there is no salvation; when, O monk, the view prevails that the soul is one and the body another, then also there is no salvation." In the envisaged mystery, even as in lived actuality, neither "thus it is" nor "thus it is not" prevails, neither being nor not-being, but rather thus-and-otherwise, being and not-being, the indissoluble. To confront the undivided mystery undivided, that is the primal condition of salvation. That the Buddha belongs to those who recognize this, is certain.[44]

Buber is willing to follow the Buddha thus far. He is unable to accept the Buddhist teachings on suffering in that they lead to a release from the wheel of rebirth. For, according to Buber, if rebirth is a fact of existence, then one must embrace the opportunity "to speak in every existence, in its appropriate manner and language, the eternal I of the destructible and the eternal You of the indestructible."[45] Buber further proclaims that the Buddha demonstrates the ability to say You and to stand in relation to the other; at the same time, his goal is to annihilate the ability and even the need to say You.[46] Ultimately, a Buddhist seeks detachment from the world in order to annihilate self and world; Buber seeks to detach from the world in order to relate the self to it.[47]

Finally, Buber drifts from explicit references to the Buddha and Buddhist teachings and, yet, he very subtly returns to a precept of the Eightfold Path in concluding his treatment of Buddhism:

> I know nothing of a "world" and of a "worldly life" that separate us from God. What is designated that way is life with an alienated It-world, the life of experience and use. Whoever goes forth in truth to the world, goes forth to God. Concentration and going forth, both in truth, the one-and-the-other which is the One, are what is needful.[48]

In using the word "concentration" (*Sammlung*; other relevant meanings include: "collectedness" and "composure"), Buber hearkens back to the seventh precept of the Eightfold Path, right mindfulness or focused thought, and it with his own teaching on relationship.

Buber embraces neither Hinduism nor Buddhism. Yet, if Jonathan Herman is correct in assessing the Taoist strain in *I and Thou*, it is also quite possible that Buber playfully inserted the Hindu and Buddhist traditions into his final paragraphs, subtly infusing his philosophy of dialogue with oblique references to the *Kali Yuga* (a Hindu designation of the last of four ages, an age of chaos and decay), yet giving the upper hand to Jewish eschatological ideas:

> But the path is not a circle. It is the way (Hebrew: *derek*). Doom becomes more oppressive in every new eon, and the return more explosive...Every spiral of its path leads us into deeper corruption and at the same time into more fundamental return [Hebrew: *teshuvah*]. But the God-side of the event whose worldside is called return is called redemption.[49]

To a greater degree than Buber, Schmuel Hugo Bergman was particularly interested in the traditions of Asia. Highly assimilated, Bergman was a philosopher of the so-called Prague school and heir to the thought of Anton Marty and Franz Brentano. Until he heard Martin Buber's lecture series on

Judaism given in Prague between 1909 and 1911,[50] his Judaism may have been more or less political and social rather than spiritual.[51]

Bergman's foray into Asian traditions allowed him to grasp more deeply both Jewish teachings and broader philosophical ideas. On Bergman's 80th birthday, his friend Robert Weltsch described him as "firmly grounded in Judaism and at the same time open to the world."[52] "Bergman had continually sustained close ties [to religious persons] with [the goal of] reciprocal understanding,"[53] he writes. More specifically, as Weltsch pointed out in his 1968 piece celebrating Bergman's 85th birthday, the Jewish philosopher was a "man of profound religiosity, concerned with deeper meaning in life, whose interest extended to anthropology and Indian philosophy."[54] A review of Bergman's history of philosophy, *Toldoth ha-filosofyah ha-chadashah mi Nicolaus Cusanus ad t'kufath ha-Haskalah*, underscores one theme found in his work: a dialogue between traditional Judaism and world philosophy.[55] In these brief citations, major themes are laid out which will guide the following discussion.

In his essay, "The Need for Courageous Philosophy",[56] Bergman uses Karl Jaspers as his starting point, calling for the need to re-establish the spiritual dimension of philosophy and dismissing the designation of philosophy as pure science. In the midst of discussion of the Kabbalah, which he connects to the Quantum theory of modern physics, Bergman rejects a strictly material theory of evolution and cites Sri Aurobindo as his support:

> Every ascent in evolution depends on the proper descent from above. This was pungently demonstrated in our time by the Indian philosopher, Sri Aurobindo, who made the theory of mutual ascent from below and descent from above the core of his doctrine.[57]

This apparently facile unifying of two disparate philosophies and religious traditions, Jewish mysticism and modern Hindu thought, developed over time with Bergman's increased awareness and study of Hinduism. Bergman had his reasons for delving into Hindu philosophy, as Yirmiyahu Yovel correctly discerned:

> It is possible...that Bergman is viewing eastern culture through his own conceptual framework, but at the same time he is deviating from it, so as to uncover anew the common spiritual motives underlying all cultures.[58]

Bergman went to India in 1947 as a representative of the *Va'ad Le'ummi*[59] and thereafter he systematically studied Hindu thought, including modern Hindu philosophy. His reading list in 1948 included both *The Bhagavad Gita*

and the writings of Sri Aurobindo.[60] Study of Hindu texts became an occupation which informed both his life and thought. Bergman did not limit himself to an interest in Hinduism. Journal entries dating back to 1917 reveal a lifelong interest, particularly in the mystical aspects of Hinduism, Buddhism and Taoism. Examples are too many to record here except for one which demonstrates Buber's influence on Bergman. In a 1927 letter to Robert Weltsch, Bergman describes as sublime Martin Buber's discussion in *Daniel* of the Taoist philosopher Chuang Tzu. Taking his cue from Buber's writing on Chuang Tzu, Bergman ruminates on the need to inject some Taoist harmony into the Palestine of his day:

> Especially here when we live in such a politically agitated and nervous, hysterical atmosphere, the teachings of the Tao free one and it is certainly the deepest truth. We ourselves, dear Robert, have it [the Tao, or the truth]; though we preach it [we] too little observe it and finally slip back into the bustle, in one way or another. If we only now had more hours of peace in our lives to give the right consideration to where we were going. The things in Palestine certainly have their significance but I believe what Rabbi Nachman said is true for the present circumstances, that, 'the hand held in front of the eyes can eclipse the sun.'[61]

This passage significantly captures a common thought pattern in Bergman, demonstrating how he moved comfortably from Chinese religion to the Hasidic rebbe, Nachman of Bratislava. For Bergman, the two disparate religious systems, Taoism and Judaism, are easily linked by a fundamental recognition of the idea that a human being often becomes mired in the immediate to the exclusion of the eternal.

Hugo Bergman's Jewish identity developed in young adulthood and was deepened through intense personal study. A strong mystical bent, which left Bergman open to a variety of religious experiences, is in evidence as well. Bergman flirted with Theosophy but it was not a consolation in the midst of his personal difficulties in London in the 1920's. At that time, he expressed the need for a *guru* (a Hindu term for teacher), a quest which drove him throughout his life.[62] Theosophy did not offer him clarity; he knew he needed religious expression, not simply a political life.[63] For Bergman a religious life was absolute, one lived in absolute surrender or devotion to something.[64] He had this in his Zionist work, but he needed spiritual depth as well.

He finally found useful mystical expression in the Hindu philosopher, Sri Aurobindo. Bergman probably came to the writings of Sri Aurobindo sometime in the 1940's, when he was incorporating modern scientific theories into his conception of the world and struggling with the relationship of both religion and belief to that conception.

Sri Aurobindo Ghose was born in Calcutta in 1872[65] and was educated in England from age seven through college. Like Bergman, he came to an understanding of his own culture—the languages, literature, religions and history of India—as a young adult. Like Bergman, he was deeply interested in politics. He became active in the anti-British movement in the first decade of this century. Imprisoned on bombing charges in 1908, he spent the year in prison studying yoga and, after his acquittal, withdrew from all political involvement to found a contemplative community in Pondicherry. Aurobindo developed a system which he called Integral Yoga, combining the old *yoga's*, or Hindu disciplines, with a view to seeking an integral or total change of consciousness both for the individual and for all of humanity. Bergman was drawn to Aurobindo's ideas because he believed that they would lead to a transformation of all life and thus had both a mystical expression and a practical application.

The first reference to Aurobindo in Bergman's journals is made in the context of his participation in a symposium on the thought of Elieser Yellin at the end of 1946. Bergman's lecture, "Miracle in the TANAKH as a Philosophical and Pedagogical Problem," focused on science and belief. Having begun with the problem of a Jewish position as a problem of synthesis, he "...allowed something of the power of the spirit in that which I had read about Aurobindo recently, to weave in [...]"[66] While it appears that at this time Bergman had read *about* Aurobindo rather than the work of Aurobindo himself, this is a good example of how he turned to Hindu thought to express something about Judaism. Unfortunately the reference is too cryptic to allow for fuller conclusions.

Bergman made a habit of summing up his intellectual pursuits, listing his current reading at the beginning of each year. Thus it is that we have confirmation that he had begun to seriously engage in the thought of Aurobindo in the winter of 1946/47:

> New views on a fundamental metaphysical orientation through the writings of Aurobindo, which I have just begun to read. I know yet too little of it in order to be able to say whether it will give me lasting claim or whether I will lay it aside after some time, nevertheless in the little that I have read in the *Involution and Revolution*, hope of a new humanity lies above all in a solidification of metaphysical ideas so that they do not remain in the free air and in emptiness, but bind themselves with reality.[67]

Because Bergman was in constant quest for a religious expression which would find absolute application in life and because he demanded that Jewish political life be consonant with Jewish religious ideal, he was drawn to

Aurobindo, believing that Aurobindo's thought supported his own synthesis. A 1957 entry exemplifies this synthesis of faith and deed:

> The objective and subjective sides of the divine presence contain in them human greatness and human tragedy: God is always there, the question is only whether I am there for God. Whether I manifest this openly. Here is the whole eternal possibility of a human; one's need to understand a dialogue with God, all the more not to understand but to do. This is it, what Aurobindo always evermore emphasized, to dedicate deeds to God.[68]

In Sweden, Bergman held a series of lectures on contemporary religious thinkers. Reflecting on this work in his journal entry, Bergman compared Rav Kook, Aurobindo and Max Brod:

> ...Rav Kook...His thoughts are very bold, but always in the most severe way, limited and burdened with Jewish exclusivity. I have drawn the most profit from study of Aurobindo. I have now read through both volumes of Brod's book [*Diesseits und Jenseits*] for the most part and am writing for *Davar* on it, but measured against Kook or Aurobindo, what he can give remains very backwards. He settles always with Materialism and Positivism, but this is too low of a springboard in order to come very high. In contrast Aurobindo opens a whole world.[69]

Bergman rejected exclusivity even as he confirmed the particular covenant between Jews and God.

From the moment he arrived in India in 1947, Bergman seemed prepared to see Judaism in light of Indian thought. During a Shabbat visit to a Bombay synagogue of the Bene Israel, someone asked him a question "concerning the religious mission of Israel as a mission of holiness of life," an expression which he described parenthetically as springing from Indian language usage.[70] Curiously, Bergman understood this question as an Indian expression when it seems, rather, to be drawn directly out of the Torah, and specifically out of Exodus 19 and Leviticus 17. Of all the ties between Jews and the Far East—political, social, and economic, to name a few which could be developed—Bergman underscored Judaism's religious contact with Indian culture.[71]

For Bergman, a clear point of connection between Judaism and Hinduism lay in mystical expression wedded to practical deed. He always searched for resolution and thus it is that the late evening visit of a mysterious white-clad man to his room in Delhi provoked deep thought. The man, who remains

anonymous, invited Bergman to an international religious service to which he said he had also invited the King of England, President Harry Truman and Joseph Stalin. Although Bergman speculated that the man might be crazy(!), he saw clarity in his discussion of religious ideas. The man expressed himself to Bergman in the following way:

> The religious goal of a human is to make oneself free from the wheel of rebirth. A human brings about his own *karma* in the next life. When one saves oneself, one returns to God. God does not affect the fate of humans, this a human being does alone.
>
> His talk excited me so much, above all his strong insistence that the human and only the human forges one's own fate and so no influence of God is to be expected. A view which is heroic but, however, makes God fully unnecessary to the world.[72]

Another strange encounter left Bergman with a contrasting message. He visited a Jain community where he experienced, in spite of the friendliness, "a fearfully depressing feeling of complete estrangement".[73] He was taken to a house where Jain nuns dwelt and was struck by their contentment. Just as he was about to leave, one nun asked the guide to tell Bergman's group the following: "If you have come into life, then you should use it for the service of God. If not, it is as if you had a diamond in hand and threw it away."[74] Quite possibly, this proverb stuck in Bergman's mind because of its affinity to Jewish folktales. At any rate, the passage once again demonstrates Bergman's willingness to find universal wisdom in disparate encounters.

The ideas of Aurobindo appealed to Bergman because of the latitude they afforded the rational person of faith. They offered him guidance but not rigidity and encouraged him to continue on his religious journey, using Jewish teachings as his guide, yet not being hemmed in by them. No text has absolute power, an idea he conveys in a 1967 reaction to reading Aurobindo's *Synthesis of Yoga*:

> ...no written scripture can be more than a partial expression of eternal knowledge. My thought of the arsenal of *mitzvoth*. 'Finally must the yogi take his own point of view. He is not the student of a book. He is the student of the eternal.' Vivakananda: 'the unity of all reactions must express itself through a growing variety in its forms.' (Just as each Jew has his own *Shulchan Arukh*!) 'The final law and the last ceiling is freedom.'[75]

Bergman's announcement that "each Jew has his own *Shulchan Arukh*," an idea many would clearly find unacceptable, particularly indicates his personal

interpretation of Judaism. Yet this assertion also demonstrates Bergman's flexibility, a lack of rigidity which carried him into the exploration of Asian traditions. According to the passage above, for Bergman, as for Aurobindo, searching is part of the process of spiritual growth. When asked whether the inner voice is clear, according to the Indian thinkers, Bergman's answer is drawn from Aurobindo's *Synthesis of Yoga*:

> Aurobindo names God in this connection "the Mother" and says, apparently to a question of a student: "You converse with the Mother who is always with you and in you. It is only important that you listen carefully, so that no other voice can ape her voice or can wedge itself between you and her." In another place one reads: "This opposition against divine power is for an eternity experienced not as a temptation or belief(?), but as a compulsion, to seek greater power, a complete self-knowledge, a thoroughly compelling purity and power of inspiration, a belief which nothing can shake, a mighty ascension of divine grace." "The Mother will not try you, but will help you in that moment in which you overcome the necessity of tests and difficulties which belong to another consciousness."
>
> Of significance is also the following quote: "To say that every light is good, would be the same as saying that all water is good; this would not be true. One must examine what is the nature of the light or from whence it comes, and what it has in it, before one can say that it is the true light. There are false lights and misleading lights. One must be wary and decide; the true distinction must come through the washing of the psychological feelings and through purified spirit and experience."
>
> I believe, to be able to answer your questions in this sense, that Aurobindo means that there is no "how" which one could understand as an objective criterion or an etiquette, whether God speaks or is it a mirror image of one's own essence. One will need, as Aurobindo says, many years of practice of listening carefully and probably also many failures. Aurobindo says ever again, one should let oneself be exhausted by stumbling and tripping.[76]

Bergman noted the death of Aurobindo in 1950 with an expression of gratefulness: "Today the news of Aurobindo's death came. With deep gratitude I think of his blessing on me."[77] He remarked upon a 1951 celebration of Aurobindo at Hebrew University, that Aurobindo was the one to whom he owed the most in recent years.[78]

Strong evidence of the lasting influence which Aurobindo had on Hugo Bergman is found in the final entry in his published letters. On February 6, 1975, just four months before his death, Bergman wrote enthusiastically to his son Martin:

> [...]I write this letter to New York, without knowing whether you are there or on the way to India. I recommend to you urgently a visit to Pondicherry, to the Ashram of Sri Aurobindo.[79]

Bergman's contact with India and Hindu philosophy shook the foundations of Western philosophy for him. He described himself as somehow falling between two stools in his quest to widen the borders of human knowledge.[80] Perhaps his greatest contribution resulted from his ability to see similarities in Asian and Western thought. For instance, he developed an opinion about death in accordance with the writings of Rav Kook, Leonard Ragaz and Aurobindo, describing it not as an endpoint but as a point of transition, as a new beginning.[81]

Was Bergman uncritical in his absorption of Aurobindo's ideas? Perhaps, he was so deeply impressed by Aurobindo's integration of the spiritual with the deed and found the affinities to his own thought so great that he could not gain critical distance on Aurobindo. Even so, Bergman could not bridge one fundamental difference: Aurobindo's identification of humans with God. This was a step which Bergman, like Buber, did not make.[82] He drew the line at the mystical connection between human deeds and devotion to God and this primarily was, for him, the intersection between God and humans as well as the meeting ground of Judaism and Hinduism.

The stark differences among Baeck, Buber and Bergman are partly a function of their orientations. Baeck had the clear goal of defending Judaism and quite sharply distinguishing it from all other religious expressions. Buber, on the other hand, lost nothing in acknowledging the strengths of Buddhism and Hinduism, for he could draw on them in his philosophy of dialogue and dismiss them when they were not useful to him. Bergman, above all, sought some kind of meaningful exchange between Judaism and Hinduism. Yet his embracing of Hindu thought was significantly limited, for he focused primarily on one modern, relatively westernized voice, Sri Aurobindo. In some ways, Buber went further in his exploration of Eastern traditions; for example, in addition to his study of Chinese texts, he read the Upanishads and incorporated some of the teachings of classical Hinduism into *I and Thou*. Ultimately, none of these men was able to fully appreciate the subtleties of the Asian traditions which they explored. At worst, Baeck dismissed all but a Jewish religious expression and, at best, Bergman was too narrowly focused on the modern mystic-philosopher Sri Aurobindo Ghose.

Scholars today can only speculate as to why Baeck, Buber and Bergman were moved to dabble in Asian traditions. Even though each of the three came to his studies of Hinduism and Buddhism for different reasons and each drew distinct conclusions, they are unified in seeking to establish a place for Judaism in the context of world religions. Each seems to have sought to transcend the pattern typical of their times, one in which Judaism was viewed simply as the cradle of Christianity. Although we must conclude that each writer had limitations in approaching the traditions of Asia, their contributions were ground-breaking in that they offered a new approach to addressing Judaism in the modern world. A second conclusion, which is alluded to at the outset of this study, may be even more instructive: part of the explanation certainly lies in the times and the reasons delineated by Mendes-Flohr in the essay discussed above. For distinct purposes, these men (possibly with the exception of Leo Baeck) were drawn to trace Jewish origins to Asia and to re-establish ties with non-European culture. This move toward Asia is manifest to some extent in Buber's work on Hasidism and in Bergman's identification with Zionism. It bore real fruit in their studies of Hindu and Buddhist texts.[83]

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NOTES

1 Paul Mendes-Flohr, *Divided Passions, Jewish Intellectuals and the Experience of Modernity* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), pp. 77-132.

2 Mendes-Flohr, p. 82.

3 Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World, a Documentary History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 322a. An illustration of this is to be found in Bruno Bauer's *Die Judenfrage*, published in 1843. Bauer argues that the Jews have been unable to develop with history due to their "oriental nature".

4 Mendes-Flohr, p. 83. In the 19th century Jews began to build their synagogues in a style much influenced by Muslim architectural motifs as a way of separating themselves from European church architecture, while at the same time making a statement about Jewish origins in the middle east. See Hannelore Künzl, *Islamische Stilelemente im Synagogogenbaudes 19. und frühen 20.* Jahrhunderts (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag, 1984).

5 Mendes-Flohr, pp. 83ff.

6 Mendes-Flohr, p. 81. The original is found in "The Spirit of the Orient and Judaism," in *On Judaism*, Nahum Glatzer, ed., (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), p. 75.

7 Martin Buber, *I and Thou* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p. 171. "When I drafted the first sketch of this book (more than 40 years ago), I felt impelled by an inner necessity."

8 *Das Wesen des Judentums*; the English translation was published in 1936.

9 Leo Baeck, *The Essence of Judaism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1961), p. 59.

10 Baeck, p. 60.

11 Baeck, pp. 60-61.

12 Baeck, p. 45ff.

13 Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 27.

14 Baeck, p. 84.

15 Baeck, p. 84.

16 Baeck, p. 172.

17 Baeck, p. 222.

18 Baeck, p. 223.

19 Baeck, p. 251.

20 Baeck, p. 206; The Bodhisattva ideal in Mahayana Buddhism is based on the teaching that those who have attained enlightenment will remain in the world, engaged in a life of compassion aimed at alleviating the suffering of others. Harvey, pp. 122-24.

[21] Daniel L. Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 25ff. Overmyer describes a variety of Chinese "messianic" movements in which claims concerning the advent of *Maitreya* were made. Incidentally, Buber makes an oblique reference to *Maitreya* in his *I and Thou*: "And they expect as the coming Buddha, the last one of his eon, him that shall fulfill love." p. 141.

[22] Fritz Rothschild, ed., *Jewish Perspectives on Christianity: Leo Baeck, Martin Buber, Franz Rosenzweig, Will Herberg and Abraham Heschel*, (New York: Crossroad, 1990). See the introduction to the section on Leo Baeck by Lou Martyn. I am grateful to Robert Schine of Middlebury College for pointing me toward this source.

[23] Jonathan R. Herman, *I and Tao, Martin Buber's Encounter with Chuang-Tzu* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996).

[24] Herman, p. 1.

[25] Herman, pp. 127-8.

[26] Buber, pp. 57-8.

[27] Buber, p. 58.

[28] Herman, p. 164.

[29] Martin Buber, "The Spirit of Orient and Judaism," in *On Judaism*, Nahum Glatzer, ed., (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), p. 57.

[30] Buber, p. 58. Mendes-Flohr explores this dichotomy in his "Fin de Siècle Orientalism," pp. 86-87.

[31] Buber, p. 65.

[32] Buber, p. 68. It is noteworthy that Buber's language echoes the Hindu view that life, and indeed the universe, is cyclical.

[33] Buber, p. 77.

[34] Martin Buber, "A Conversation with Tagore," *A Believing Humanism, Gleanings*, Ruth Nanda Anshen, ed., (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), pp. 183-85. Buber later recalled a conversation he had with the Bengali sage Rabindranath Tagore regarding the right of Jews to settle in Palestine. Nahum Glatzer and Paul Mendes-Flohr, eds., *Letters of Martin Buber, A Life of Dialogue*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1991). Richard and Clara Winston, and Harry Zohn, trans., pp. 476ff. Dialogue with Mohandas Gandhi on this subject during the Holocaust was brief and inconclusive.

[35] Buber, "The Spirit of the Orient and Judaism," p. 78.

[36] Buber, *I and Thou*, p. 126.

[37] Buber, p. 136.

[38] Buber, p. 133. (Bracketed Sanskrit words are my addition.)

[39] Buber, p. 125.

[40] Buber, p. 127.

[41] Buber, pp. 110-111.

[42] Buber, p. 136.

[43] Buber, pp. 138-143.
[44] Buber, p. 138.
[45] Buber, p. 139.
[46] Buber, p. 140.
[47] Buber, p. 141.
[48] Buber, p. 143.
[49] Buber, p. 168. (Bracketed translation is my own suggestion.)
[50] These lectures were given under the auspices of the Bar Kochbah Association and at the invitation of Hugo Bergman.
[51] *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 4.16.71, p. 3; Leo Baeck Institute Archives (B9, F1). Bergman arranged the early relationship between Bar Kochbah and Buber. The lectures given to the Association have been published as the first three addresses in *On Judaism*.
[52] *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 12.6.63, p. 3; Leo Baeck Institute Archives (B7, F1).
[53] *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, p. 3.
[54] Jewish Affairs (December, 1968), "Grand Old Man of Jewish Philosophers: HB at 85," Leo Baeck Institute Archives (B9, F3).
[55] *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 4.16.71, p. 3; Leo Baeck Institute Archives (B9, F1).
[56] *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, Vol. 6, *Studies in Philosophy*, S. H. Bergman, ed., (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, HU, 1960).
[57] *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, p. 116.
[58] Yirmiyahu Yovel, "Reason as the Necessary and Insufficient—Bergman Between Philosophy and Faith," *On Schmuel Hugo Bergman's Philosophy*, A. Zvie Bar- On, ed., (Amsterdam: Rodophie, 1986), p. 78.
[59] Hebrew: "National Committee." This group functioned as the provisional Jewish government in Palestine from 1920-1948.
[60] Hugo Bergman, *Tagebücher und Briefe, Bnd. I* (Königstein/Ts: Athenäum Verlag GMBH, 1985), p. 749. All translations from this collection are my own.
[61] Bergman, p. 227.
[62] Bergman, p. 157. In 1947, when he was called to Sweden as a religious leader, he lamented: "I feel so insecure and weak in all things vis-à-vis God; and now should I be a leader in Stockholm, when I myself so much need a leader?"
[63] Bergman, p. 166.
[64] Bergman, p. 173.
[65] Pether Heehs, *Sri Aurobindo, A Brief Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). This biographical data is drawn from this source.
[66] Bergman, p. 707.
[67] Bergman, p. 710.
[68] Bergman, *Bnd. II*, p. 244.

69 Bergman, *Bnd. I*, p. 739.
70 Bergman, p. 718.
71 Bergman, pp. 732-3.
72 Bergman, p. 719.
73 Bergman, p. 725.
74 Bergman, p. 725.
75 Bergman, *Bnd. II*, p. 536.
76 Bergman, *Bnd. I*, p. 738.
77 Bergman, *Bnd. II*, p. 72.
78 Bergman, p. 77.
79 Bergman, p. 708.
80 Bergman, p. 247.
81 Bergman, p. 92.
82 Bergman, p. 242.
83 Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), particularly Ch. 5, "The Invention of the Authentic Jew." Robert Schine has kindly pointed out that a name has been given to this phenomenon: "exoticism".

MYSTIC AUTOBIOGRAPHY: A CASE STUDY IN COMPARATIVE LITERARY ANALYSIS

Diane M. Sharon

I. INTRODUCTION:

A. Methodology:

This study is a textual analysis comparing the autobiographical accounts of two ecstatic masters—Abraham Abulafia, a Jew born in Saragossa, Spain, at the end of the 13th century, and Swami Muktananda, a Kashmir Shaivite who lived and taught in mid-20th century India.

The question must be raised: why compare two such disparate mystics, from such widely separated cultural and temporal milieus, and from religious traditions differing so radically in theology—what can be gained from such an analysis?

Phenomenological criticism, which evolved from the philosophy articulated by the German Edmund Husserl, suggests that the most chronologically disparate, thematically different texts may be compared for their unity and universality.[1] Phenomenological analysis confirms that the objective of Abulafia's ecstatic Kabbalah is highly anthropocentric; the mystical experience of unity with the divine is the ultimate goal.[2] Muktananda's goal is also mystical union with the divine.[3] This common goal of the mystical path is the first basis for a comparison.

Phenomenology is based upon the experiential, presuming that subjective experience reveals the deep structures of mind itself. Phenomenological criticism rests upon the belief that these deep structures are reflected in the artifact of text.[4] Both masters wrote autobiographical accounts of their progress on the ecstatic path in order to instruct and encourage their disciples. These common objectives and literary genres are a second basis for comparison. Both mystics describe their subjective experience as they progress upon the mystical paths they have chosen. These descriptions are a third basis for comparison.

Phenomenological analysis is historical and subjective.[5] Considered phenomenologically, the 'world' of any literary work is not an objective reality. The texts under examination are presumed to constitute an organic whole, each reflecting the author's expressed experience of time or space, the perception of material objects, or the relationship between the self and others.[6] The literary critical methods of reader response and reception theory grow out of the philosophy of phenomenology and are heavily influenced by

its subjective premises.[7] As a reader who brings texts of such disparate origins together, I do so first in my own mind, and only secondarily on paper to be read by others. This study will reflect these methodological considerations.

B. Mystic Autobiography:

The mystic's experience of the divine has always been received with ambivalence by established religion.[8] As a subjective phenomenon, ecstatic accounts are suspect: where does God end and madness begin?[9] Ecstatic insight into the nature of the divine also implies unmediated access by individuals to the divine source, thereby bypassing established cultic channels. Mystical experiences threaten the foundations of religions based on ancient revelation even as they offer the potential of infusing savory spiritual juices into desiccated ritual and *dogma*.[10]

Aside from threatening contemporary institutions founded upon ancient revelation, the ecstatic experience also threatens the uniqueness of any particular religious philosophy. If anyone can achieve a glimpse of the divine by means of specific techniques, then why practice the exoteric prescriptions and proscriptions of any particular religion? If all people experience the ecstatic similarly, progressing through similar stages and achieving levels commensurate with their innate capacity for the mystical rather than with their relative devotion to a creed, then why bother with a creed at all?

Thus, personal accounts of ecstatic experiences, and explicit descriptions of powerful techniques for attaining such experiences, are rare in every culture, surrounded by taboo, consigned to an esoteric in-group, or whispered privately from master to disciple.[11] Examination of even a single such account may reveal much about the process of spiritual development, the evolution of philosophical ideas, and the use of symbolic images.

This paper proposes to compare two schools of mystical practice, representing widely differing cultural backgrounds, religious philosophies, and temporal milieus. The first is the ecstatic Kabbalistic school of Abraham Abulafia, and the second is the Kashmir Shaivite practice of Swami Muktananda. Abulafia's school is represented by Abulafia's own works, and by the autobiographical account of an anonymous disciple, in Hebrew. Muktananda is represented by his own works as translated from Hindi into English by his disciples, primarily by Swami Chidvilasananda, who succeeded him.

My approach is a text-based literary analysis of these writings, exploring the similarities and differences in their accounts of their respective religious backgrounds and life journeys. I focus especially on their reports of their personal ecstatic experiences of the divine. Such an examination may cast some light upon the nature of the human experience of the divine and upon the stages of mystical development that are independent of *dogma* and creed.

II. BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW:

Abraham Abulafia, who was born in Spain and died sometime after 1291, is among the most prolific of Jewish Ecstatic Kabbalists. His work, some of which was translated into Latin and Italian, was a major influence upon Christian Kabbalah.[12] As he wandered across Europe and the Levant, he wrote numerous manuals of mystical technique which serve as instructions for achieving ecstatic mystical experiences, guiding his students upward through the various levels. Many of these works still exist today, and although most of these are in manuscript form, Gershom Scholem and Moshe Idel, among others, have published many lengthy segments that are available for study.[13] One of the most important of these guides is *Ozar Eden Ganuz*, written in Hebrew by Abulafia in 1285.[14] Ten years later, in 1295, one of Abulafia's disciples, known to us only by his personal name, Sa'adia, wrote an account of his ecstatic experiences as he followed Abulafia's guidance in a manuscript entitled *Sha'are Zedeq*.[15] These two accounts are especially compelling because they represent the mystical experiences and philosophical development of both teacher and student.

Writing almost seven hundred years later, and continents removed from Abulafia and his disciple, an Indic yogi also handed down a written legacy for the mystical development of his disciples. Swami Muktananda Paramahansa was a yogi in the *Siddha* tradition[16] who claims to have achieved God-realization in 1956 at the hands of his Guru, Bhagavan Nityananda,[17] and who died in 1982 after he had established an international following. He left behind him a significant number of written works describing his own spiritual evolution, his mystical experiences, and his instructions to his students, as well as explications of his theological and cosmogonic philosophies. These have been translated into English by his disciples and published by the foundation that he established.

In spite of vast cultural, philosophical, and temporal gulfs, the stages of the medieval Kabbalists' ecstatic development and experiences of mystical union are remarkably analogous to accounts we have of the contemporary yogic master's. These similarities are paralleled in the broad outlines of their respective lives.

Abraham Abulafia was born in 1240 C.E. in Saragossa, Spain, and studied Torah and Gemara with his father until the elder's death when his son was eighteen.[18] Two years later he left home to begin his temporal wanderings and spiritual search, which are documented in his autobiography. This work, *Ozar Eden Ganuz*, was composed for edifying and instructing one of his disciples.[19]

Abulafia's seeking took him from the study of the sciences and mathematics, through philosophy, to Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed*, which was to be one of the central pillars of his spiritual life. The second pillar was the mystical work *Sefer Yetzirah*, which he studied, wrote commentaries upon, and taught, along with Maimonides' *Guide*, during the remainder of his life. At about the

time of his introduction to the *Sefer Yetzirah* Abulafia experienced a major ecstatic vision which was the beginning of his development as a master of Kabbalah. Among his students were R. Joseph Gikatilla and R. Moses b. Simeon of Burgos, leading Spanish Kabbalists in the late 13th century.[20]

Swami Muktananda was born in 1908 in Mangalore, India. At the age of fifteen he left home to practice the spiritual discipline of the wandering mendicant, seeking wisdom from holy men and saints throughout his native land, and studying *Vedanta* and other systems of Indian philosophy, yoga, *Ayurvedic* medicine, horticulture, music, and the martial arts.[21]

Muktananda received initiation, or shaktipat, from his master in 1947. This resulted in a protracted period of ecstatic experiences, including nine years of intense meditation.[22] He describes these experiences in his autobiography, *Play of Consciousness*. Muktananda toured the world three times, teaching *Siddha* meditation and initiating disciples. Before his death, he passed the power of the *Siddha* lineage on to his disciple Swami Chidvilasananda who continues as a Guru in her own right.[23]

III. LITERARY GOALS, STRUCTURE AND STYLE:

From a stylistic point of view, each account is autobiographical within the context of illustrating for the reader a model of spiritual evolution, a sampling of the kinds of experiences produced by specific mystical techniques, and a warning of potential dangers.

A. Goals:

Abulafia begins: "My intention was, in all that I wrote until here in this book, to come to what I will reveal to you in it here."[24] The anonymous disciple similarly presents as his objective to share the findings of his spiritual search: "I, John Doe, very unworthy,[25] and searching in the chambers of my heart to find desirable ways of expansion, found three kinds of expansion."[26] Later in the work he, too, specifies his reasons: "And God knows that on my part I intended this for the sake of heaven,...and I couldn't tolerate not pouring out to others what God poured out for me."[27]

Muktananda's intention is analogous. In the introduction to his book *Play of Consciousness*, Muktananda's amanuensis describes the process by which he came to dictate the book, and its purpose: "When our compassionate Gurudev[28] saw the young school and college boys and girls who had accompanied us to Mahableshwar meditating so earnestly, he was moved to write this work on *Siddha Vidya*, the Science of the Perfected Ones. His purpose was to encourage and help them to progress and feel satisfied with their *sadhana*[29] and to promote their true happiness and welfare. This book is chiefly meant for all those seekers, young and old, who follow the *Siddha* path...It is for the guidance of such *Siddha* students that *Chitshakti Vilas* has been written."[30] Each author intends to use his own personal experiences as didactic tools in instructing others who will read their words.

B. Structure:

Abulafia proceeds to describe his peripatetic education from the time of his birth. Less concerned with chronological development, Abulafia seems to structure his account by topic. He begins with the subject of his education, proceeding from his first Torah study under the tutelage of his father, to study of Mishnah and Talmud which he apparently continued to learn from his father until the elder Abulafia's death. From then on, his wanderings and his education are bound together, a survey of his own studies and teachers giving way to a catalog of his students in each milieu. Once he has cited the external facts "for the record," Abulafia is then free to describe his inner development as an example for students and readers, and as a "teacher's guide" for the use of his pupil Sa'adia in instructing his companions. To do this, he returns to his earlier initial mystical experience at the age of thirty-one, and describes its impact upon him during the same period he has just surveyed.[31]

Sa'adia is equally unconcerned with sketching a complete picture of his life. The task at hand is a description of a spiritual and intellectual process, not an autobiographical exercise. He precedes his autobiographical information with a brief survey of the three spiritual paths he has identified in his introductory remarks: Sufism, philosophy and Kabbalah. That these paths represent the student's own spiritual development becomes clear in the next section of his account in which he, too, surveys his travels and his education. Unlike Abulafia, however, the disciple describes verbatim his dialogues with his teacher, his practice of specific meditative techniques, and his mystical experiences. He closes this excerpt with a lengthy summary of Abulafian concepts and practices, and justifies his attempt to disclose these secret matters in such explicit detail.[32]

The structure of Muktananda's work is also topical rather than chronological. It begins in Part 1 with the importance of God-Realization, the significance of meditation and basics of practice, and goes on in Part 2 to describe the author's initiation into mystical experience and his subsequent progress from confusion to realization, including his physical, visual and emotional symptoms. The book concludes with a summary of the teachings of the *Siddhas* and testimonials from his students.

C. Autobiographical Parallels:

Both Abulafia and Sa'adia proceed through similar stages of intellectual and spiritual development. Both start with the study of Torah; Abulafia with his father whom he clearly recalls with fondness. The disciple also studies Torah at home, but he must leave his beloved parents in order to begin his Talmud studies. Not surprisingly, the disciple proceeds through his studies in a sequence similar to his teacher's.[33] It is probably worth noting that neither Abulafia nor his student describes an intensive grounding in *Halacha* (law) and traditional sources.

Muktananda also leaves home as a teenager. He dedicates *Play of Consciousness* to his mother, remembering the grief his departure caused her: "My mother loved me very much, for I was her only son...But I could not give any happiness to my mother, nor could I make her contented. Instead, I left home when I was young and so caused her a lot of pain. She wasted away in grief for her lost son and finally died, remembering me all the time."[34]

The initial uprooting from the natal home is a significant turning point for each master. It is as though the willingness to explore new climes is an externalization of the willingness in each case to explore new intellectual and spiritual terrain.[35] They each express the significance of this initial departure, as Abulafia, Sa'adia, and Muktananda each apprehend the work of a divine plan in their initial moves away from home.

Abulafia writes of this first transition: "I remained in the land of my birth for two years after my father passed away. At the age of twenty, God's spirit moved me, and I left, heading straight for the land of Israel by sea and by land."[36] Sa'adia hints that his ties to his home initially keep him from finding an appropriate teacher, but finally he breaks away: "I found no one to guide me in the study of the Talmud, not so much because of the lack of teachers, but rather because of my longing for my home, and my love for father and mother. At last, however, God gave me strength to search for the Torah. I went out and sought and found, and for several years I stayed abroad studying Talmud."[37]

Muktananda similarly attributes his abandonment of his natal home to destiny: "I was slightly over fifteen when one day I left the love of my mother and father far behind. I should not have done such a thing. But what could I do? I was destined to behave so callously. It was supposed to happen, so it did."[38]

IV. PHILOSOPHY AND APPROACH:

A. Philosophical Background:

Abraham Abulafia and his disciple stand in the tradition of the Merkava mystics whose roots are based in the visions of Ezekiel,[39] and were profoundly influenced by the Ashkenazic Hasidim of the twelfth century.[40] Abulafia's ecstatic approach differs significantly from that of the better-known *Sefirotic* or *Lurianic* Kabbalah, which he studied and commented upon.[41] Moshe Idel distinguishes between these two Kabbalistic streams, terming the *Sefirotic* Kabbalah and its concern with the redemptive effect of properly-performed mitzvoth as "theosophical-theurgical." The "ecstatic" Kabbalah, on the other hand, focuses exclusively on the individual's mystical experience of the divine, and concerns itself with techniques for achieving ecstatic experience.[42]

The author of *Sha'are Zedeq* exhibits strong Sufi influence in his thought and experience, an influence which is not explicitly present in his teacher's work.[43] He refers, initially, to the "Ishmaelite" practices as the first and lowest of the three paths with which he has come into contact, and he

describes their practices briefly. Significantly, he remarks on their use of the name of God, "In the Ishmaelite language, '*Allah*'," which they repeat in order to empty their minds, and which induces an altered state of consciousness.[44] He implicitly acknowledges some similarity between this practice and Abulafia's method when he criticizes their practice as not being associated with a Kabbalah and states that thus the practitioners "do not understand what they experience."[45]

B. Mystical Union:

The goal of Abulafia's "Path of Names" is a prophetic encounter with the divine. As Idel writes, "...the ecstatic Kabbalah of Abraham Abulafia regarded the attainment of ecstatic experiences as the *summum bonum* of human spirituality and at times described these experiences in unitive terms."[46]

Muktananda also expresses the goal of his practice, *Siddha Yoga*, in similar terms: "*Siddha Yoga* is a broad stream through the forest of the world. This stream leads to the realm of oneness, where the individual soul and the Absolute merge."[47]

Muktananda professes the philosophy of *Kashmir Shaivism*.[48] Briefly, this philosophy teaches that everything in the universe is the play of the Supreme Power, and an embodiment of the Supreme Deity, or Shiva. The main duty of a seeker who pursues the Truth is to recognize the Supreme Principle, which is the source of everything. It is not possible to recognize this Supreme Principle through the senses, but only through purified willpower.

C. Mystical Techniques:

The process of purifying one's willpower and realizing this Supreme Principle is facilitated by one's Guru, or master, and takes the form of meditation, or inwardly contemplating the *Siddha's* (seeker's) identity with the Supreme Principle. Meditation is facilitated by the repetition of the *mantra*, which consists of the name of God and/or a verse from scripture. This repetition is thought to purify the mind. Hand movements, body postures, and breathing exercises are part of Muktananda's technique.[49]

Abulafia's technique employs oral and written combinations of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet and of God's name to achieve mystical states. He also prescribes hand movements, head movements, breathing techniques, and chanting techniques reminiscent of various practices in Eastern yoga.[50]

Scholem and Idel differ on the psychological and physiological effects of Abulafia's elaborate methods of letter combinations and permutations of the name of God, and whether this practice is analogous or in contrast to the yogic recitation of the *mantra*. According to Scholem, "By immersing himself in various combinations of letters and names, the Kabbalist emptied his mind of all natural forms that might prevent his concentrating on divine matters. In this way he freed his soul of its natural restraints and opened it to

the divine influx with whose aid he might even attain prophecy."[51] Idel agrees that *mantra* repetition achieves this emptying of the mind:

> Ongoing recitations of letters and divine names are well-known techniques for the attainment of paranormal states of consciousness; they are used alike by Christian, Muslim, Hindu, and Japanese mystics. Most, if not all, of these techniques seem to operate upon the consciousness of the mystic by enabling him to focus his attention upon a short phrase or sentence—"There is no God but Allah," "Jesus Christ," "*Namou Amida Boutso*"—or even a few letters, as in the Hindu *Aum*. This relatively simple device is comparable to fixing one's vision upon a point; the mystic must escape the impact of external factors, and in this respect his activity is similar to that of someone undergoing sensory deprivation.[52]

However, Idel makes a sharp distinction between these repetitions of short phrases and the complexities of the elaborate technique espoused by Abulafia:

> Instead of the simple formulas of non-Jewish techniques, the Jewish texts evince elaborate combinations of letters with hundreds of components. Moreover...according to Jewish practice the mystic had not only to pronounce them according to strict, fixed patterns but had also actively to construct these combinations as part of the mystical practice...(The mystic) thus achieved not a calmness or stillness of the mind but rather a high excitation of the mental processes, triggered by the unceasing need to combine letters, their vocalizations, and various bodily acts—movements of the head or hands or respiratory devices.[53]

Both Scholem and Idel agree, however, that the breathing techniques and body movements are reminiscent of Eastern yogic practices.[54]

V. PARALLELS OF PRACTICE:

A. Techniques:

Among the major elements of Muktananda's spiritual practice are meditation, mantra, and discipleship expressed as devotion to the Guru. Central to Abulafia's spiritual practice are isolation, combination and permutation of letters, and the importance of the master or teacher.

Abulafia cites a few simple preparations:[55]

> ...Cleanse the body and choose a lonely house where none shall hear thy voice...It is best if thou completes it during the night...Be careful to abstract all thy thought from the vanities of this world. Cover thyself with thy prayer shawl and put *Tefillin* on thy head and hands...if possible, let all thy garments be white. If it be night, kindle many lights...Then take ink, pen and a table to thy hand...Now begin to combine a few or many letters, to permute and to combine them until thy heart be warm.[56]

Muktananda also prescribes meditative practices to his disciples, and also prefers a time of darkness:

> One-pointed meditation on your favorite object is a very important aspect of *Siddha Yoga*. The Guru has awakened the inner *Shakti* [that is, meditative energy awakened at initiation], given a *mantra*, and taught you a meditation posture. Get up before sunrise, bathe, and sit quietly for meditation. Face east, or any direction, understanding the direction to be God, become quiet, and sit in the posture...Remember your mantra and synchronize it with the incoming and outgoing breath. Let the *mantra* fill the mind. If the mind starts to wander, bring it back and concentrate.[57]

B. Primary Importance of Master/Disciple Relationship:

Muktananda cites the importance of focusing one's attention on the Guru:

> "To fix your mind on your beloved Guru in meditation is the life-breath of Siddha Yoga." Why? Because "a man becomes like the object on which he meditates. He becomes permeated by whatever object he holds in his heart with love...When we set someone in our heart with love, we cannot remove him, even if we try...This is the fruit of meditation united with love."[58] The Guru, as a God-realized being, is an appropriate object for meditation, for the disciple can hope to become God-realized like the Guru.

The need for a master's guidance, and the importance of master/disciple relationships, in fact the whole concept of a master's obligation to disseminate to disciples what has been divinely received, is central to both accounts.

Scholem summarizes Abulafia's manifesto for the obligations of master and disciple.[59] Briefly, the teacher's responsibility to the student, if he is worthy, is to teach him everything the teacher knows, holding back nothing.

The master must repeat the material to his disciple once orally, once in outline, and once with full explication. The student must be tested. The teacher's will ought to be to help the student truly until he understands, with a minimum of anger, much tolerance and compassion on all human beings, even on one's enemies if they are not enemies of God. The evil impulse must be conquered. After the student has been tested substantively, the teacher must also examine his *kavanah*, to make sure that his intention is for the sake of heaven.[60] Abulafia is critical of teachers whose goal is domination of students.

It is clear both from Abulafia's survey of his own teachers and students, and from his disciple's description of his relationship with his master, that Abulafia takes his own principles very much to heart: "When accepting disciples to his Kabbalah he is extremely fastidious in his requirements as to a high morality and steadiness of character and it may be concluded from his writings even in their ecstatic parts that he himself possessed many of the qualities he asked for in others."[61] He is careful to educate his disciple at a pace consistent with the disciple's will and understanding.

These principles are similar to those described by Muktananda:

> *Siddha Yoga* is not a guru cult. But in every field, one needs a guide. On the spiritual path, too, a Guru is necessary. At certain times in one's life, healers, psychologists, psychics, and professors may all be necessary. In the same way, in spiritual life, one needs a guide who is wise and compassionate, who observes good conduct, who has studied the scriptures and spiritual philosophies, and who has understood the Truth.

On the *Siddha* Path, one needs a Guru who has been chosen by another *Siddha* of the true lineage of *Siddhas*. He must have complete knowledge and be proficient at transmitting energy and removing all obstacles. He should always be pure, simple, and straightforward, capable of bestowing wisdom and making love flow. He must know that true Principle just as it is. He must have become one with that. He should be content with whatever comes to him and free of addictions. He must also be a master of diplomacy. One needs a Guru who can point out the path to attain the Self, but in addition one has to put forth self-effort:

> ...O friend! A person may claim to be a great being, a *Siddha*, or a leader. He may be a performer of miracles. He may claim to hold the degree of God. But if he does not behave properly, he will lead people astray. The behavior of a great being is the greatest example for others, and they follow it.[62]

C. Secondary Importance of Sacred Texts:

Both Muktananda and Abulafia refer to sacred texts but the study of these is supportive of, and helpful in, rather than central to, spiritual practice. Abulafia begins with the study of *Torah, Mishnah* and *Talmud* with his father, but Abulafia does not describe intensive grounding in either *Halacha* or traditional sources once he has left home. He focuses instead on Maimonides whose works he discovers in the course of his travels:

> It was here that I found a distinguished man, wise, understanding, a philosopher and expert physician by the name of Rabbi Hillel, of blessed memory. I joined him in study, and it was from him that I learned a little of the wisdom of philosophy, which seemed sweet to me from the start. I worked hard to learn this discipline with all my strength and with all my might. I kept at it day and night, and didn't take my mind off it until I had gone through the entire *Guide to the Perplexed* many times...[63]

Abulafia's student follows a similar path:

> "I returned to my native land and God brought me together with a Jewish philosopher with whom I studied some of Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed* and this only added to my desire. I acquired a little of the science of logic and a little of natural science, and this was very sweet to me for, as you know, 'nature attracts nature.'[64]"

Muktananda wanders for many years across India, seeking the wise men and saints to learn what he can. He strêsses repeatedly that the teachings of a living master are the most significant teaching there is.[65] His knowledge of the scriptures is informal, and he does his reading on his own with little guidance.[66] Natural sciences and Western philosophy find no place in Muktananda's development.

For Abulafia and his disciple, study of the sciences tries the faith of both. Contact with the natural sciences and philosophy sorely tries the disciple's commitment to observance of the commandments, and signals another transitional crisis, but his strong faith prevails: "And God is my witness: If I had not previously acquired strength of faith by what little I had learned of the *Torah* and the *Talmud*, the impulse to keep many of the religious commands would have left me although the fire of pure intention was ablaze in my heart."[67] Abulafia, too, suffers a crisis of faith as a result of his development, although his occurs not when he is introduced to natural philosophy but after his initial mystical experience at the age of thirty-one.

Abulafia also appears to remain faithful to the commandments in spite of temptation.[68]

In fact, the focus of all three ecstatics is on mystical experience rather than on intellectual study. Muktananda is delighted that his experiences confirm the sacred writings and, as a result of his ecstatic visions, his faith in the scriptures is strengthened:

> Before, I had believed that the only truth was Self-realization and had not believed in heaven, hell, the world of the gods, and other such things. Now I was convinced that what the scriptures said was perfectly true and that it was we who were unable to understand. The ancient sages could see deeply into areas that we cannot see and had composed the scriptures with the omniscience acquired through yoga. This is why their words are true.[69]

VI. PARALLELS OF EXPERIENCE:

Abulafia and Muktananda both experience their spiritual enlightenment in stages over the course of many years, and in both cases anguish, fear, the threat of madness and the threat of death characterize progression through the lower stages. Repeatedly they employ similar descriptions of these experiences, beginning with initiation into the mystical experience. Abulafia implies that his awakening to mystical experience was at the hand of God. He does not mention here by name the master who introduced him to *Sefer Yetzirah*,[70] and no element of his own personal willingness or resistance is present:

> When I was thirty-one years old, in Barcelona, God awakened me from my sleep, and I learned the *Sefer Yetzirah* with its commentaries. God's hand was upon me, and I wrote books of wisdom and also some wondrous prophetic books. My soul awakened within me, and a spirit of God touched my mouth. A spirit of holiness fluttered through me, and I saw many fearsome sights and wonders, through signs and miracles.
>
> But at the same time, spirits of jealousy gathered around me, and I was confronted with fantasy and error. My mind was totally confused, since I could not find anyone else like me, who would teach me the correct path. I was therefore like a blind man, groping around at noon. For fifteen years, the Satan was at my right hand to mislead me.
>
> All this time, I was driven mad from what my eyes saw. But I was able to keep the *Torah*, and seal in the second curse for fifteen years, until God granted me wisdom and counsel.[71]

A. Initiation:

Muktananda's initiation is a profound experience, both euphoric and devastating. Although his initiation is at the hands of his master, whom Abulafia lacked, his experience is nonetheless similar. Muktananda's Guru fixes him with a piercing gaze, and thereby transmits the "divine ray, full of *Chiti*, which grants all powers...In this way he gave me his divine initiation."[72] Muktananda also receives from his Guru a "highly charged *mantra*" containing the name of God. Muktananda is to repeat this *mantra* in his daily meditation. He experiences his initiation as an identification with his Guru and with the One:

> I slowly made my way homeward. Love for the Guru and a feeling of oneness with him rose within me again and again. And once more I followed the prescribed method for worshipping the Guru and became drunk, repeating, "The Guru is inside, the Guru is outside." I felt waves of emotion, and on these waves I felt my identification with Nityananda grow and grow.[73]

Soon his love for his Guru becomes love for the Absolute:

> For a moment I had an intuition of the One in the many, and I lost the ordinary mind that differentiates between the inner and the outer world, that sees the many in the One...I repeatedly opened and closed my eyes. When I shut them I saw innumerable clusters of sparkling rays, and millions of tiny twinkling sparks bursting within me...I was overcome with awe and ecstasy. This was something completely new unfolding, not on a screen, but all around me. I was moving so slowly that I did not know whether I was following the road or the road was following me...Even today I can remember that experience of oneness. I still see those tiny blue dots.[74]

1. Bliss...:

According to Idel, Abulafia, like Muktananda, refers to the bliss of ecstatic adventure: "Abulafia makes it quite clear that this pleasure is in fact the aim of mystical experience:"[75]

> And you shall feel in yourself an additional spirit arousing you and passing over your entire body and causing you pleasure, and it shall seem to you as if balm has been placed upon you, from your head to your feet, one or more times, and

> you shall rejoice and enjoy it very much, with gladness and trembling; gladness to your soul and trembling of your body, like one who rides rapidly on a horse, who is happy and joyful, while the horse trembles beneath him.

Other sensuous images abound in Abulafia, the most significant being the feeling that "his entire body, from his head to his feet, had been anointed with anointing oil...[76] Muktananda describes the mystical experience with a similar image:

> When the sun of knowledge rises in the heart and a person experiences the essence of the Self, the universe of diversity with its countless beings and objects is dissolved for him. Duality perishes. The radiant sun of the Self blazes in his eyes. Its flame radiates through every pore of his body. As it flashes, his entire body is filled with the nectar of love. Drops of nectar from the stream of love flow from his eyes.[77]

Muktananda also describes fragrances,[78] tastes,[79] sounds[80] and visions, which bring him exquisite pleasure in meditation:

> I meditated constantly and always saw the sweet, radiant Blue Pearl in its infinite variations. Its luster was more dazzling at each moment, and my enjoyment was forever growing. I...was also hearing the divine *nada* (sound, music) of thunder. As I listened to this thundering, my meditation became so joyful that the desires which remained in my mind were smashed by the thunder and just disappeared. As I listened to this sound for a while I experienced complete union with the taintless *Parabrahman*.[81]

3. ...and Torment:

But Muktananda the initiate cannot yet stabilize himself in this blissful state. By the next day, restlessness, torment, and anxiety replace his rapture. "My peace of mind had been destroyed, and all my thoughts were leading me into a deep melancholy. My state of mind was just the opposite of what it had been before...torture and anguish returned and grew. I cannot write the horrible thoughts that filled my mind, but, it's true, I had them. I was obsessed with impure, hateful, and sinful thoughts."[82]

Even though his initiation is received through the intermediacy of his Guru, still, Muktananda describes the intense agitation, visions, and physical discomfort, which follow his initial euphoria in terms strikingly similar to Abulafia's:

> My limbs and body got hotter and hotter. My head felt heavy, and every pore in me began to ache...Something told me that I would die at any moment...Someone had seated himself in my eyes and was making me see things. ...It seemed that I was being controlled by some power...I no longer had a will of my own. My madness was growing all the time. My intellect was completely unstable...[83]

Muktananda begins to have dramatic visions:

> The world on fire; the world submerged under water. He is convinced his apocalyptic visions are of reality and is disoriented when he discovers the world is undamaged. He also begins to experience *kriyas*, or involuntary body movements. Abulafia, too, warns of the emergence of fear and trembling, hair standing on end, and convulsion of limbs in his instructions to the disciple.[84] Mystic disciples in both traditions fear these involuntary effects. Idel writes, "Once the power of the imagination grew, there existed the danger that there would appear before the eyes of the mystic visions which have no connection whatsoever with the intellect. These images, which constitute the primary source of danger in mysticism, are understood as 'messengers of Satan.'"[85]

Muktananda writes for the benefit of his disciples:

> When *shaktipat* takes place, some people experience it instantly in the form of visions of light, heaviness of the body, intoxication, bodily tremors, sweating, shivers of joy, and so on. These are the first signs of *Siddha Yoga*.
>
> When the *Shakti* is awakened, various yogic movements take place. A person may utter different sounds. He may experience ecstasy, agitation, negativity, apathy, fear, loss of faith, and other feelings. But though the *kriyas* may differ due to people's temperaments, the final experience is the same for everyone. There is only one experience of perfection.[86]

Abulafia's description of his own prophetic experience in *'Ozar 'Eden Ganuz* is not specific with regard to physical, spiritual, or psychological phenomena, although we know that he produced many manuscripts, both prophetic and intellectual, while in an altered state, and that he spent the fifteen years subsequent to that initial experience tormented by Satan at his right hand.[87] In order to compare his student's experience with his own, I will look

at one other excerpt from Abulafia's work, a section from *Hayye Ha 'Olam Haba'*.[88] Although the preparation for prophecy and the description of physical and metaphysical effects is presented here as a manual of praxis written in the second person as a guide to what may be expected, the details are too specific for us not to conclude that we have here a veiled description of Abulafia's own experience:

> ...All this will happen to thee after having flung away tablet and quill...because of the intensity of thy thought. And know, the stronger the intellectual influx within thee, the weaker will become thy outer and thy inner parts. Thy whole body will be seized by an extremely strong trembling, so that thou wilt think that surely thou art about to die...And be thou ready at this moment consciously to choose death.[89]

The disciple follows Abulafia's instructions, and experiences the anticipated phenomena. After two months of working with Abulafia, he finds his thoughts disengaging from the world, and sets himself the task at night, taking a quill and tablet to hand, of permuting and combining letters and pondering them in meditation. His initial experience is of light emanating from his body,[90] which he does not anticipate and which occurs as a result of manipulating the letters.[91] His teacher is delighted, and tempts him with the enthusiastic comment that even greater things would occur if the student manipulated holy names.[92] Two weeks later the pupil is rewarded with another success, and he is so overcome with the effects of his meditation at "midnight, when this power especially expands and gains strength whereas the body weakens,"[93] that he starts to work with holy names. The effect this time is different, but equally dramatic. The student experiences physical phenomena specifically described by Abulafia,[94] and receives images and impressions that reflect forms Abulafia discusses:

> ...The letters took on in my eyes the shape of great mountains,[95] strong trembling seized me and I could summon no strength, my hair stood on end, and it was as if I were not in this world. At once I fell down, for I no longer felt the least strength in any of my limbs. And behold, something resembling speech emerged from my heart and came to my lips and forced them to move. I thought, perhaps this is, God forbid, a spirit of madness that has entered into me? But behold, I saw it uttering wisdom.[96]

The trembling body, hair standing on end,[97] weakness of limbs, are all anticipated by the teacher from his own experience. The "something resembling speech" which emerges involuntarily is also well-known to Abulafia.[98] Idel

comments, "Unlike light, which is the source of 'personal' prophecy, speech is the source of true prophecy, that is, that prophecy which is directed both to the prophet himself and to his fellow man."[99] Abulafia's disciple, so new to the experience of prophecy, has this time attained a higher level than the first experience of light, but not yet the true prophetic experience of dialogue with the divine.[100] Like his teacher, in his initial reaction to prophecy, the disciple fears that this involuntary voice is madness or worse. Idel writes, "Once the power of the imagination grew, there existed the danger that there would appear before the eyes of the mystic visions which have no connection whatsoever with the intellect. These images, which constitute the primary source of danger in mysticism, are understood as 'messengers of Satan'."[101] But the disciple has the advantage of his teacher, who had no guidance through the initial phases of prophetic experience and spent so many years dogged by the devil. The disciple has been well prepared by Abulafia and by his studies of Maimonides. The voice is speaking wisdom, so it must be divine and not Satanic.[102]

When he reports to Abulafia in the morning, the student is questioned about his use of the divine name without specific authorization, but his teacher acknowledges that his disciple has attained to a high level.[103] The pupil articulates a feeling he experienced at the moment of divine influx, and asks for protection from his fear of drowning in the waters of the divine flow. Abulafia compassionately answers that only God's grace can protect him, and indeed this loss of self in the divine ocean is a danger of the prophetic experience.[104]

Abulafia, as a master of ecstatic experience, warns his disciples of what they can expect from their own initiation into his mystical technique. They, like Muktananda, will experience involuntary physical effects and the fear of death. Death, and the fear of dying are, in fact, intimately bound up with the ecstatic encounter. As Abulafia notes in his instructions, an initiate must be prepared to surrender to death at the moment of divine contact.[105]

Another of the effects of following an ecstatic spiritual path is apparently the acquisition of magical powers. Both authors allude to a variety of these supernatural abilities, including levitation, clairvoyance, and clairaudience, among others, and both counsel caution in succumbing to the trap of believing these magical abilities to be the goal of the spiritual path.[106]

VII. SYMBOLS AND IMAGES:

In addition to the importance of the master-disciple relationship, and to the parallels of subjective experience on the mystical path in both traditions, many similar symbols and images occur in both Abulafian writings and Muktananda's. For the purposes of this paper, a simple listing must suffice to indicate their scope.

Both masters refer to metaphysical knots that must be cut or loosened for ecstatic union to occur;[107] both refer to the ocean as an analogy of God, and the

individual as a drop or a cup in the ocean, although Abulafia describes a fear of drowning, while Muktananda embraces a merging into the All;[108] both recognize a hierarchy of ecstatic experience, striving to reach the highest point themselves and encouraging their disciples to do the same.[109] Both Abulafia and Muktananda counsel the practice of sexual restraint as part of their prescribed mystical practice, although both use sensuous sexual imagery to describe the unitive experience.[110] Mystics of both schools experience visions and hear voices and sounds, but Muktananda emphasizes the value of visual experiences while Abulafia is most comfortable with aural encounters with the divine.[111] Both counsel moderation, and even austerities as part of the spiritual path.[112] And both describe a special kind of meditative sleep that overtakes the seeker at some stages.[113]

This listing is more indicative than inclusive, but it does offer some idea of the variety of parallels in expression and concept of the ecstatic experience between the two mystics.

While the theological and religious frameworks of Abraham Abulafia and Swami Muktananda are very different, and their temporal and cultural milieus could not be further apart, their specific techniques and their descriptions of the stages of mystical growth are remarkably analogous.

Among the many themes in common: Progression through various phases of philosophy and systems of thought; extreme geographic mobility; the importance of the master/disciple relationship in spiritual growth for each; an intimate relationship with God and awareness of divine guidance in the unfolding of spiritual development; focus upon the individual's achievement of ecstatic experience as a major transformative experience; awareness of and exposure to the dangers inherent in these practices; similarity of imagery in descriptions of ecstatic encounters; and the importance of disseminating the received wisdom in order to lead their students to ecstatic experience.

From a stylistic point of view, the works of both are primarily autobiographical within the context of illustrating for the reader a model of spiritual evolution, a sampling of the kinds of experiences produced by specific mystical techniques, and a warning of potential dangers. These dangers are specified, and are remarkably alike for each master. Both authors use their own personal experiences as didactic tools in instructing others who will read their words.

The purpose of a comparative exercise like this one is to find common ground where none was suspected before. Comparisons made in this study of similarities in objective, genre, and experience do not eliminate the vast differences between the two cultures represented by Abulafia and Muktananda. They do, however, highlight the common ground of human experience expressed in these texts. My goal in this study is simply to put on the table a literary analysis informed by phenomenology and reception theory. It is enough for me here to suggest commonalties in the recounting of mystical experience in two

very different times and places. Further study may account for these. Perhaps other scholars will be stimulated by the similarities noted here to ask more questions of the material, and to raise other methodological issues, opening inquiry, for example, into whether there might be direct or indirect cultural contact,[114] or a biological experience,[115] or alternate avenues of historical, literary, biological or social scientific inquiry.

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Notes

1 Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: an Introduction*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), pp. 58-60. See also Edmund Husserl, "The Idea of Phenomenology," The Hague, 1964.

2 For comments on phenomenology as Idel applies it to Abulafia's ecstatic Kabbalah, cf. Moshe Idel, "The Contribution of Abraham Abulafia's Kabbalah to the Understanding of Jewish Mysticism," in Peter Schafer and Joseph Dan ed.,Gershom Scholem's *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism 50 Years After*, in "Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on the History of Jewish Mysticism," Tyuubingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1993, pp. 117-143, especially pp. 126, 141; Louis Jacobs, "[Review of] Moshe Idel, Kabbalah: New Perspectives, Moshe Idel, Studies in Ecstatic Kabbalah, Moshe Idel, Language, Torah and Hermeneutics in Abraham Abulafia," in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 40 (1989), pp. 251-252; Ivan G. Marcus, "[Review of] Moshe Idel, Kabbalah: New Perspectives, The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia, Studies in Ecstatic Kabbalah, Language, Torah and Hermeneutics in Abraham Abulafia," in

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3 Cf. Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), xi and passim, and Muktananda, *Secret of the Siddhas*, (South Fallsburg, NY: SYDA Foundation, 1980), pp. 58 and passim.

4 Eagleton, p. 56.

5 Eagleton, pp. 56, 58-59.

6 Eagleton, pp. 58-59.

7 Eagleton, pp. 76-88. For reception theory and reader-response criticism, cf. Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1979); Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretative Communities*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980); Elizabeth Freund, *The Return of the Reader: Reader-response Criticism*, (London & New York: Methuen, 1987); E. D. Hirsch, Jr., "In Defense of the Author," in *Intention & Interpretation*, Gary Iseminger, ed., pp. 11-23, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); and Wolfgang Iser, "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach," in *Reader-response Criticism*, Jane P. Tompkins, ed., (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), pp. 50-69.

8 B. Schatz-Uffenheimer, "Prolegomenon of the Problem of Prophecy and Ecstasy," in *Annual of Bar-Ilan University: Moshe Schwarcz Memorial Vol.*, Ramat Gan, 1987, p. iii.

9 W. James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1958), pp. 7-9.

10 See G. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism*, (New York: Schocken Press, 1965), pp. 15-21.

11 Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, (New York: Schocken Press, 1967), pp. 119-22.

12 Cf. M. Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, (Albany: SUNY Press, 1987), p. 10, note 23, pp. 11-12.

13 For references, see M. Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, (Albany: SUNY Press, 1987), pp. 4-5.

14 Cf. Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah Shel Sefer Hatemunah Veshel Abraham Abul' afiah*, (Jerusalem: Academon, 1969), p. 101, and M. Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, (Albany: SUNY Press, 1987), p. 4.

15 Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, (New York: Schocken Press, 1967), p. 146.

16 There are six schools of Indian philosophy which base their teachings on the authority of the Vedas, the four ancient Hindu scriptures. Muktananda's *Siddha Yoga* and the philosophy of *Kashmir Shaivism* belong to one of these schools.

17 Muktananda, *Play of Consciousness*, see biographical note on back cover.
18 Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, p. 193, where Scholem publishes significant segments from Abulafia's autobiographical work *Ozar Eden Ganuz*.
19 Scholem, p. 193.
20 Idel, pp. 2-3.
21 Muktananda, *I Have Become Alive: Secrets of the Inner Journey*, (South Fallsburg, NY: SYDA Foundation, 1985), biographical note.
22 Muktananda, *Play of Consciousness*, (Oakland, CA: SYDA Foundation, 1978), biographical note.
23 Muktananda, *Alive!*, biographical note.
24 Scholem, p. 195.
25 Literally, "walking at the heels of the horses."
26 Scholem, p. 245.
27 Scholem, p. 251.
28 "A term of address for the Guru, signifying the Guru as an embodiment of God." See Muktananda, *Play of Consciousness*, p. 299.
29 "The practice of spiritual discipline." See Muktananda, *Play of Consciousness*, p. 305.
30 Muktananda, *Play of Consciousness*, pp. xvii-xix. *Chitshakti Vilas* is the title of the book in the original.
31 Scholem, pp. 193-5.
32 Scholem, pp. 245-253.
33 Scholem, pp. 193-4, and idem, *Major Trends*, p. 148.
34 Muktananda, *Play of Consciousness*, p. xxvi.
35 Muktananda, p. xxvi.
36 Kaplan, p. 66, Scholem, p. 193.
37 Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 148; Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, p. 246.
38 Muktananda, p. xxviii.
39 Muktananda experiences an elaborate chariot vision as part of his spiritual journey. See Muktananda, *Consciousness*, pp. 131-3, 139, 149, 154. Even though the chariot is not one of Abulafia's visions, it figures strongly in the mystical experience of his predecessors. See Idel, *New Perspectives*, pp. 49-63, 77-95, 122-5, 140-153, 232-239.
40 Scholem, p. 81, and Idel, *Abulafia*, p. 5.
41 Idel, pp. 78-9.
42 Idel, pp. xi, 62.
43 Cf. Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, p. 188.
44 Idel, p. 97.
45 Scholem, p. 245. See also, Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 147, notes 105, 384 for Abulafia and Sufi ideas.
46 Idel, p. 62. Unlike Scholem, who claims in *Major Trends*, p. 141, that in Abulafia, as in Kabbalist writings in general, "complete identification is neither achieved nor intended," Idel writes in *New Perspectives*, p. 60, that

"far from being absent, unitive descriptions recur in Kabbalistic literature," and in Abulafian thought in particular (*Abulafia*, p. 124).

47 Muktananda, *Secret*, p. 58.

48 Paul Zweig, in the introduction to Muktananda, *Secret*, p. 15.

49 Muktananda, *Consciousness*, pp. 32-36, 66-68.

50 Idel, *Abulafia*, pp. 22-40.

51 Scholem, *Kabbalah*, p. 180.

52 Idel, *New Perspectives*, p. 97.

53 Idel, p. 97.

54 Scholem, pp. 180-1; Idel, *Abulafia*, p. 24 and *New Perspectives*, p. 108. Interestingly, Muktananda recognizes the power in a technique of manipulation of groups of letters and syllables that appears to be different from the practice of *mantra* repetition. Muktananda's cryptic references to this technique are evocative of the power that Abulafia ascribes to his "Path of the Names." Muktananda refers to *shakta upaya* as "the process by which the mind and intellect completely merge into the inner Self." (Muktananda, *Secret*, pp. 85-6):

> The *shakta upaya* is a means of transcending worldly existence. It is a technique for pursuing a particular mental awareness arising from the groups of syllables. Groups of syllables contain letters, words, and sentences and are forever ready to conceal a seeker's true nature. Opinions and thoughts arise from groups of letters; attachment and aversion spring from groups of thoughts. But thoughts can also lead to the thought-free state.
>
> Limitless powers are created by groups of letters. Bondage is the failure to realize the influence of the...powers of the groups of letters. To understand the powers of the letters is to attain everything...Through the means of dualistic knowledge, knowledge of unity is attained."

Unfortunately, he is not more specific than that. But this comment is certainly provocative in light of other parallels of praxis and experience between Abulafia and Muktananda.

55 Scholem, *Major Trends*, pp. 136-7; Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, pp. 210-11.

56 See B. Uffenheimer's third type of ecstatic experience, in *Prolegomenon*, pp. 59-61, which he terms, loosely translated, as the ecstasy of inner apathy. Both Abulafia and Muktananda fit this category, in which the initiate, individually and in isolation, engages in specific activities or techniques to induce a state of the mind separating from the body, which the initiate hopes will result in revelations or unitive experiences.

57 Muktananda, p. 44.

[58] Muktananda, pp. 44-5.
[59] Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, pp. 168-9.
[60] See Muktananda, *Alive!*, pp. 45-6, for a similar attitude toward the need to test disciples.
[61] Cf. Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 130 where he cites Jellinek.
[62] Muktananda, *Secret*, pp. 59-62.
[63] Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, pp. 193-4. For Abulafia's great admiration for Maimonides, see Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 126.
[64] Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 148. In the original Hebrew the final phrase reads literally,..."because nature redeems nature, and like does not cease from like," (Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, p. 246), which has Neoplatonic overtones and which Scholem in *Ha-Kabbalah*, p. 189, also identifies as being a dictum of ancient alchemy. On page 133 of the same work he cites Abulafia's related Neoplatonic idea that when spirit and energy are released, they run to their source in the infinite.
[65] Muktananda, *Alive!*, pp. 29, 58.
[66] Muktananda, *Consciousness*, p. 81.
[67] Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 149; idem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, p. 246.
[68] On the subject of keeping the commandments, see also Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, p. 189.
[69] Muktananda, p. 133.
[70] Probably *Baruch Togarmi*, see Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 127, and Kaplan, p. 63.
[71] This is a difficult passage, and my own reading is equivocal (Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, p. 195). I quote here Kaplan's reading, p. 67.
[72] Muktananda, p. 67.
[73] Muktananda, p. 69.
[74] Muktananda, pp. 69-70.
[75] Idel, *Abulafia*, p. 188.
[76] Idel, p. 129.
[77] Muktananda, *Secret*, p. 61.
[78] Muktananda, *Consciousness*, pp. 113, 119, 147, 174.
[79] Muktananda, pp. 164, 173.
[80] Muktananda, pp. 138, 162-5, 173.
[81] Muktananda, pp. 173.
[82] Muktananda, pp. 72-3.
[83] Muktananda, pp. 75-7.
[84] Idel, p. 15.
[85] Idel, p. 121.
[86] Muktananda, *Secret*, p. 15.
[87] Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, p. 195.
[88] Scholem, pp. 210-11. Cited by Scholem, *Major Trends*, with portions translated on pp. 136-7.

[89] Scholem, *Major Trends*, 136-7; Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, pp. 210-11.

[90] Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, pp. 247-8.

[91] Idel discusses this phenomenon as a product of Abulafian techniques in *Abulafia*, p. 82.

[92] Idel notes in *Abulafia*, p. 41, that critics of Abulafia raised no objection to the apparently counter-halachic manipulation of holy names. Nevertheless, it appears from the interchanges described here between Abulafia and his student that use of divine names even among his disciples was reserved for the very advanced.

[93] Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 150 and Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, p. 248. Note especially the emphasis for Abulafia and his disciple on the need for the body to weaken as a condition for the intellect to strengthen.

[94] Note that Scholem, in *On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism*, pp. 15-21, suggests that the master molds the disciple's mystical experience with his own conceptions; on p. 18: "How does he accomplish this? By preparing his student for what he may expect along the way and at the goal." If this is so, perhaps it is not surprising that teacher and pupil here share so many similarities of language and image. This does not explain the many similarities between Abulafia and Muktananda's ecstatic development, however.

[95] See Idel, *Abulafia*, pp. 156-7, note 128 for discussion of mountain imagery in *Abulafia*, especially as an indication of level of prophecy. See also Idel, *Abulafia*, pp. 102-103 for related mountain imagery in other works.

[96] Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 151, and Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, p. 248.

[97] Idel cites another section of this work in *Abulafia*, p. 15, in which Abulafia predicts, "the emergence of fear and trembling upon him, the hairs of his head will stand up whereas his limbs will convulse."

[98] See B. Schatz-Uffenheimer, p. 111, on the emergence in Hasidism of this idea of the divine entering a person who has emptied himself of thought, and speaking from his throat. Here she quotes the *Maggid*, but for a larger discussion of divine speech through the human throat. Cf. Schatz-Uffenheimer, pp. 110-120.

[99] Idel, *Abulafia*, p. 83. For a discussion of the relationship of speech to prophetic experience, see Idel, *Abulafia*, pp. 83-86.

[100] Idel, *Abulafia*, pp. 86-7. Idel, *New Perspectives*, p. 44, writes that "the experience of union can be regarded as a series of intermittent acts that...enable the person to remain alive and active in this world." See Idel, *Abulafia*, pp. 91-92, 93-94, on the hierarchy of prophetic experiences. This student recognizes that he has not yet achieved the highest level. On p. 92, Idel cites this disciple as writing, for example, "But I did not merit to see the form of myself standing before me, and this I was unable to do."

[101] Idel, *Abulafia*, p. 121.

[102] Idel, p. 121. See also Idel, *New Perspectives*, pp. 38-40 for discussion of this concept.

[103] Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, p. 248.

[104] Scholem, p. 248. See Idel, *New Perspectives*, pp. 67-68, and Idel, *Abulafia*, p. 123, for discussion of these images of drowning, and Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, p. 173, for overview of dangers inherent in the path of seeking contact with the divine.

[105] Scholem, *Major Trends*, pp. 136-7; idem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, pp. 210-11.

[106] Muktananda, *Secret*, pp. 83, 90, and idem, *Consciousness*, pp. 108, 137-8, 165, 308; Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, pp. 178-81. For the existence of and attitude towards magic among Abulafia's predecessors, see idem, *Major Trends*, pp. 277, 348-9, idem, *Kabbalah*, p. 182, and Idel, *Abulafia*, p. 74.

[107] Muktananda, *Consciousness*, 310; Idel, *Abulafia*, 135-7.

[108] Muktananda, *Alive!*, pp. 8-9; Idel, *New Perspectives*, pp. 67-8, and idem, *Abulafia*, p. 123.

[109] Muktananda, Secret, pp. 85, 88-9, 96-7; idem, *Consciousness*, pp. 11-12, 81. Idel, *Abulafia*, pp. 86-7. Idel, *New Perspectives*, p. 44, see note 100 above. See Idel, *Abulafia*, pp. 91-92, 93-94, on the hierarchy of prophetic experiences.

[110] Muktananda, Company, p. 43; idem, Consciousness, pp. 91, 145; Idel, *Abulafia*, pp. 203-5.

[111] Muktananda, *Consciousness*, pp. 138-9; Idel, *Abulafia*, pp. 86-7; idem, *New Perspectives*, pp. 78-9.

[112] Muktananda, *Alive!*, p. 65; Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 150, and idem, *Ha-Kabbalah*, p. 248.

[113] Muktananda, *Consciousness*, p. 104; Idel, *Abulafia*, p. 79.

[114] See, for example, P. S. Alexander, "Comparing Merkevah Mysticism and Gnosticism: An Essay in Method," in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 35, 1, Spring 1984, pp. 1-18.

[115] See, for example, Evan Fales, "Scientific Explanations of Mystical Experiences, Part 1: The Case of St. Teresa," in *Religious Studies*, 32, pp. 143-164.

JUDAEO-ARABIC IN INDIA*

Brian Weinstein

Jewish minorities in the Muslim empire, extending from Spain through the Mediterranean to Mesopotamia and Yemen, created Judaeo-Arabic in the eighth century of the Common Era (C.E.) out of the contact of Arabic, Aramaic and Hebrew. Its closeness to other varieties of spoken Arabic facilitated communication with the surrounding population; its differences from Arabic made it one guarantor of community identity and solidarity, as well as an instrument for the exchange of secret business information within and between populations along the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. Carried to South Asia by the 12th century and used there in its written and oral forms for 800 years, it is no more an Indian language than are Armenian, Chinese or Judaeo-Persian, the tongues of other merchant colonies on the subcontinent. Nonetheless, it affected India by facilitating commerce and social intercourse with the inhabitants of China and of the Mediterranean, Red Sea, and Persian Gulf regions.

Language Contact

According to Uriel Weinreich, "languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternatively by the same persons."[1] Stable bilingualism, as a result of contact, is very rare. The usual results are interference, language shift, the emergence of a new language,[2] or language planning to allocate the languages to different functions. The language spoken and written by the powerful, the rich and the prestigious usually dominates, particularly after outright territorial conquest. Several factors maintain the language of the weak or conquered. Rene Appel and Pieter Muysken list government support, education, mass media and institutional use.[3] Another factor is language loyalty, that is speaking and/or writing a language because of intangible beliefs about its intrinsic merits or about its usefulness as an intra-community means of communication. Use of Judaeo-Arabic is an example of such loyalty.

Judaeo-Arabic, defined for the moment as a variety of Arabic written in Hebrew letters and used by Jews for Jews, belongs to a group of many Jewish versions of "co-territorial languages" such as Judaeo-Greek or *Yavanic*, Judaeo-

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Spanish or *Judezmo*, Judaeo-German or *Yiddish*, Judaeo-Italian or *Latino*, and Judaeo-Persian, names given by linguists rather than by the speakers who call them *lashon*, the Hebrew word for "language."[4] D. Cohen denies the existence of a distinguishable Judaeo-Arabic; instead, he says, there are several Jewish ways of speaking Arabic which differ only superficially from the way Muslims and Christians speak Arabic except in pre-1951 Baghdad.[5] B. Hary disagrees and asserts that the differences among Judaeo-Arabic and other forms of Arabic are so significant—the script, inclusion of Aramaic and Hebrew expressions and grammatical forms, plus pronunciation—that it is a separate variety of language.[6] Joshua A. Fishman calls it a "fusion language," which he differentiates from Creole.[7] Whatever one's conclusions may be about a label, Judaeo-Arabic is distinguishable by linguists and non-linguists; it has served important communication functions for Jews from Spain through North Africa, Egypt, Yemen, Palestine, Babylonia and India; and it has served as a symbol of Jewish identity in the Diaspora.

By the beginning of the seventh century C.E., this Diaspora extended along the littoral of the Mediterranean Sea, into the Arabian peninsula as far south as present-day Yemen, then followed a crescent from Palestine north and east into Syria and south along the Tigris River to the Persian Gulf. There were also Jews in Persia, in Ethiopia and, as indicated below, probably in India as well.[8] (Jews also lived to the north in the Frankish kingdom, but they are not being studied here.) By 637 C.E., Arabs carrying Islam, their new religion, conquered Palestine, Egypt, and Babylonia or Mesopotamia; by 711 C.E., they took control of northwest Africa and the Iberian Peninsula.

Some Jews converted to Islam and were fully assimilated into the dominant group. However, the majority of Jews found it easier to practice their religion under Muslim rule than under the Byzantine Christians in the east and the Visigoth Christians in the west, and remained loyal to it. Although they lacked some rights and privileges that Muslims enjoyed, they benefited from freer access to other Jews, particularly those in the intellectual centers of Mesopotamia and Palestine. Assis states unambiguously that the "conquests of Islam brought unity and uniformity to Jewish religious life."[9] Jewish and other minority merchants benefited from the stability Muslim rule brought to a large area, just as they earlier benefited from the Roman empire and much later from the British empire. Because they had considerable intercourse with Arabs and because they felt part of their new societies, they switched their spoken language from Aramaic to Arabic in the east and from Greek to Arabic in the west. Centuries before Hebrew, the ancestral language, had been given up as the language of daily, secular communication; well before the advent of the Arabs, Hebrew had been reserved for synagogue liturgy, private prayers and inspirational writing. Paradoxically, as Jewish intellectuals learned Arabic better, they wrote more Hebrew, as indicated below. In any case, fluency in Hebrew was not required for Jewish identity, and throughout history Jews have

shifted easily to the languages of the majority among whom they lived if they felt accepted and knew that the language would be useful. Nonetheless, a strong loyalty to the Hebrew script (adopted from Aramaic) persisted, partly because of the identification of the Arabic script with the Koran and Islam. Similarly, as many have noted, the Roman script was identified with Christianity.

Facility with Arabic, particularly in the two centuries following Arab expansion, had its material rewards. It permitted Jews to serve as intermediaries between Muslims and Christians whose mutual antagonism was quite intense because of the recent Muslim victories. During the eighth and ninth centuries Jewish traders called Radhanites linked Western Europe with the East possibly as far as China.[10] The Christian Reconquista of Iberia gradually reversed the trend toward Arabic, and Jews in the west began to speak Spanish and Judaeo-Spanish.

Spanish-speaking Jews fled Spain after anti-Jewish riots there in the 14th century, and the expulsion decree of 1492. They carried Judaeo-Spanish to the Ottoman Empire and to Morocco, where Jews were still speaking Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber. In Morocco, each of the three communities remained loyal to their particular language to the 20th century: Judaeo-Spanish in the north, Judaeo-Arabic in the center and Judaeo-Berber in the mountains.

To the east, particularly in Syria, Yemen, and Iraq, Jews continued to speak Arabic exclusively. When some of them moved to India, they explicitly identified themselves as Jewish Arabs in order to differentiate themselves from the Jews they found already living there, notably the Marathi-speaking Bene Israel. For example, in a petition to the Governor of Bombay in 1836, Jews from Baghdad requested the construction of a wall in the Jewish cemetery to separate the Bene Israel dead from their own. They explained that there were two very different Jewish communities: "one, in a great measure as having adopted the customs, etc. of the Natives of India and the other faithful to their Arabian fathers, which is that of the Petitioners."[11]

Judaeo-Arabic Characteristics

The language of these "Arab Jews" or "Baghdadis" (as they were called) belongs to a group of varieties of Arabic called Middle Arabic, also used by Muslims and Christians. S. D. Goitein described it as follows: "not classical Arabic, nor simply a vernacular, but a semi-literary language of rather regular usage and considerable expressiveness."[12] Joshua Blau, who has written extensively on this subject, said that Middle Arabic is the "missing link between Classical Arabic and the modern Arabic dialects."[13] Benjamin Hary lists eight linguistic characteristics of Judaeo-Arabic: 1. Classical Arabic; 2. Mixed with dialectical Arabic; 3. Pseudo-corrected features; 4. Standardization of the pseudo-corrected features; 5. Use of Hebrew characters in its written form; 6. Has its own orthography; 7. Some Hebrew and Aramaic words and grammar; 8. Some literal translation of Hebrew sacred texts.[14] These eight

characteristics are the natural result of the language's social purpose; it is a "community" language written and spoken by Jews for other Jews living in or coming from lands where they have been strongly marked by Arab language and culture.[15]

Scholars believe that some Jews were writing Judaeo-Arabic as early as the eighth century C.E., but the earliest extant serious text seems to be a theological treatise by David ben Marwan al-Rakki of the ninth century.[16] By about the year 1000, most Jews in Arab lands could speak it, but due to the great distances and variations in the Arabic spoken by their neighbors, dialects of Judaeo-Arabic emerged. Major dialects existed in Iraq, Yemen, Egypt and the Maghreb. Further differentiation occurred centuries later with the arrival of the Italians in Tunis and the French in Morocco.[17] Nonetheless, Jewish traders were sailing throughout the Mediterranean and doing business among themselves south to the port of Aden, then east to the Persian Gulf and beyond. Clearly they were able to understand each other. Facilitating the development of an educated standard was the mobility of scholars under Muslim rule. They moved because they found patrons or because they were themselves traders. Standardization was in their intellectual and economic interest although there was bound to be interference from surrounding languages.

A model for a written standard was available for all Jews because of the literature produced, particularly in the 10th and 11th centuries, from the acrimonious debate between Karaites and Rabbanites concerning the authority of the Talmud. Sa'adya ibn Yosef al-Fayyumi (882-942) or Sa'adya Gaon, as he is usually called, made the most important contribution to the debate and to the Judaeo-Arabic language. He was born in Upper Egypt from where he moved to Palestine before settling in Mesopotamia, the center of Jewish intellectual life at the time. By 926, he joined the Jewish academy at Sura and rose quickly to head it, becoming the "Gaon" in 928. Sa'adya Gaon's prodigious literary output and great erudition helped promote the *Talmud* against Karaite criticisms, and he had a very strong influence on providing a standard for Judaeo-Arabic. His *Book of Philosophic Doctrines and Religious Beliefs* "gave the world...a complete philosophic system of the Jewish religion."[18] Jewish intellectuals from Baghdad to Cordoba read his studies of the Hebrew language (in Judaeo-Arabic); his translation of the *Bible* into Arabic, called the *Tafsir*; his liturgy or "order of prayers;" his poetry in Hebrew (not Judaeo-Arabic); his writings about the *Talmud*; his Responsa or answers to questions posed about correct behavior and religious practice by Jews; and his polemical works.[19]

Sa'adya's many students also disseminated his ideas and his language as far west as the Iberian peninsula where increasingly prosperous members of the Jewish community could support scholars and rabbis. The Muslim regime there, alienated from the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad, facilitated Jewish scholarship to lessen Jews' dependence on Baghdad. One interesting result

of Sa'adya's and his students' influence was the proliferation of Hebrew poets. Their research into and writing about Hebrew—in Judaeo-Arabic—encouraged intellectuals elsewhere to experiment with Hebrew. R. Brann has written that they "paved the way for the Andalusian school of poets."[20] Through the poetry, strongly influenced in its prosody by Arabic poetry, Jews were provided with yet another link unifying them culturally over a vast area.[21] Yehuda Halevi, Solomon Ibn Gabirol, and Moses Ibn Ezra were the most famous poets of the time.

One hundred fifty years after Sa'adya's death, Maimonides (1135-1204), the greatest Jewish philosopher—a native of Andalusia who settled in Egypt after living in Morocco—finished his book, *Guide to the Perplexed.* This important work, read by Jews and non-Jews to the present day, was written in Arabic with a Hebrew script, thus providing another model for Arabic-speaking Jews. Maimonides also neatly bridged the world of scholarship and business, as well as the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, because he lived off the family business which traded with India. He corresponded with his brother David, who traveled to India, in Judaeo-Arabic. Many other Jewish traders were highly educated and enjoyed writing poetry, for example, Abraham Ben Yiju, about whom the Indian novelist Amitav Ghosh has written in his *In an Ancient Land.*

Their language naturally evolved over the centuries. Blau and S. Hopkins write that the model, Sa'adya Gaon's translation of the Bible, reflected educated Jews' increasing proficiency in Arabic. They call this spelling Classical Judaeo-Arabic or CJAS. "CJAS transferred classical Arabic orthography into Hebrew letters."[22] There still must have been considerable variation depending on one's origins and interference from languages spoken by the surrounding population such as Hindi in India,[23] but the written form had to be fairly standard at any given time so that Jews trading from Spain to Egypt to Aden and to India could understand one another. Research into this subject is needed. Surely, without some standard they would not have survived competition from non-Jewish traders.

Jews in South Asia

Evidence about the presence of Jews in South Asia is very eclectic and dates from before the creation of Judaeo-Arabic. If it is true that the Biblical Ophir, a destination of King Solomon's ships in the tenth century Before the Common Era (B.C.E.), was India, as some believe, the Jews on board spoke Hebrew and probably a variety of Phoenician. Perhaps that trade explains the Tamil words in Biblical Hebrew[24] and the many references to Indian products in holy texts. A different kind of evidence comes from Josephus' account of the Masada martyrs in the first century C.E. This Jewish historian puts the following words in the mouth of Eleazar justifying the Jews' decision to commit collective suicide rather than to submit to the Romans:

> We, therefore, who have been brought up in a discipline of our own ought to become an example to others of our readiness to die; yet if we do not stand in need of foreigners to support us in the matter, let us regard those Indians who profess the exercise of philosophy; for those good men do but unwillingly undergo the time of life, and look upon it as a necessary servitude and make haste to let their souls loose from their bodies...[25]

Whether Eleazar actually said these words is not important. Noteworthy is the fact that the historian Josephus had a certain vision of India and Hindu beliefs which he must have learned from Indians or Indian literature during the First Century. Furthermore, the author assumed that his Jewish, Greek and Roman readers already knew enough about India so that he did not have to explain who they were and where they lived.

Circumstantial evidence also exists that Jews were trading with India by the First Century C.E. At that time, Jews and Greeks lived throughout the Roman Empire and participated in all commercial activities, including, it is logical to assume, the more than 100 ships per year that left Roman Egypt for India. The Indians called these foreigners *Yavanas*, which is very close to the Hebrew word for Greeks, namely,*Yevanim*. The *Talmud*, completed in about 500 C.E., has another bit of evidence: these rabbinical commentaries on the Bible contain specific references to trade with India, notably pepper. For pepper, cotton, silk and jewels the "Yavanas" exchanged wine and metals such as bronze, tin and gold.[26]

A different kind of evidence comes from the oral traditions of the Bene Israel of Mumbai and the Konkan coast, and of the *Malabaris* or black Jews of Cochin. They both assert the antiquity of their arrival in India—more or less 2,000 years ago. (Christian missionaries reported the Malabari belief that they came to India even earlier—in the sixth century B.C.E. after the Babylonian conquest. Christians also believed that the Jews of Malabar possessed what would have been the first biblical texts.[27]) They would not have spoken Arabic; over the centuries they integrated themselves into the majority population, and today they speak the Marathi and Malayalam of their Hindu, Christian, and Muslim neighbors. The Malabaris were joined by traders and migrants from the very ancient Jewish settlement in Aden or Yemen and also by refugees from Spain and West Asia who were labeled *Paradesis*, or foreigners. The fairer Spanish, Yemenite and Syrian Jews tended to segregate themselves from the Malabaris, a habit consistently condemned by rabbinical authorities in Egypt at least since 1540 as an aberration from Jewish law.[28] These Paradesis were well versed in Jewish customs and Torah, and because they communicated with Jewish centers in Egypt and elsewhere, they helped maintain Jewish life close to what would be considered a "norm" or mainstream Judaism, while the

isolated Bene Israel only kept a few prayers and customs. Yemenite traders from Aden were probably the first Jews to use Arabic in India.

Aden, on the sea route from the Mediterranean to India, became a major entrepot or storage and exchange port for traders coming from Muziris or Cranganore, Calicut and Mangalore in the east and for those coming from Egypt in the west. Jews prospered, and a Jewish convert ruled the Himyarites there in the early sixth century C.E. Traders in Aden knew about the products available in India and they exchanged information with other Jewish traders concerning market conditions. They also harassed and killed Byzantine silk traders traveling south through the Red Sea and then eastwards toward India in order to eliminate competitors, but it was the Byzantines who won by supporting the Ethiopian invasion and conquest of Himyar in 525 C.E.[29] It is quite possible that after the Christian victory some Jews fled to India.

The desire to monopolize trade with India is understandable. The subcontinent's reputation for very valuable goods, particularly spices from Malabar, and for talented entrepreneurs was well established. India was also a place to go to make one's fortune, a description that one hears even today from elderly Jews whose ancestors went to India for trade or even jobs with the Sassoons in Bombay during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Even if they never went to India, many were involved in shipping to or receiving goods from there via the port of Basra at the northern tip of the Persian Gulf.

Artifacts are another important source of information about the Jewish presence. The famous copper plates granting privileges from the Maharajah to Joseph Rabban may date from the year 1000; the oldest extant Jewish tombstone is dated 1269 (at Cochin);[30] the *Torah* ark from Parur, now in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, is dated 1164;[31] the Paradesi synagogue of Mattancherri was built in 1568. Portuguese explorers report meeting Jews soon after they arrived on the Indian coast. Cabral, for example, met a Castillian-speaking Jewish woman at Cranganore in 1500.[32]

All this evidence pales alongside the gigantic collection of documents found in the Cairo Geniza. A *geniza* is a storage facility in a synagogue or a cemetery for damaged books, *Torah* scrolls and any other written material imprinted with the word "God". Jews are not allowed to destroy such material, and since they often invoked God's name—e.g. "with the help of God"—they put such documents inside the geniza. In the 19th century, scholars discovered 250,000 documents in the geniza of the synagogue in Old Cairo or Fustat. These documents, most of which dated from the 11th to the 13th centuries, consisted of private correspondence among businessmen and scholars, contracts, court cases and other materials in Judaeo-Arabic. Some of it was left by Jews trading between Egypt and India.

These materials housed at Cambridge, England, and elsewhere are the basis of one of the most famous books that has, as yet, not been published, namely, Professor Shlomo Dov Goitein's *India Book*. Goitein chose almost

400 letters and other documents by traders living in India, Aden, Tunisia, Spain, and, of course, Egypt. All were involved in some way with India, and all used Judaeo-Arabic. The documents show commercial links between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. Many of the merchants, such as Abraham Ben Yiju, came from Tunisia, Morocco or Spain, and they seemed to spend most of their adult lives traveling to and fro. Merchants who lived in Egypt or in Aden had an easier time because they were in the middle of the trade sited between the two bodies of water.

A 1964 bibliography of geniza documents provides some details about people and their interests although nothing takes the place of the unpublished *India Book*. There are letters between the scholar Maimonides and his brother David, and documents covering the affairs of merchants Joseph Lebdi, Halfon ben Nethaneel, Madmun ben Japheth of Aden, and many others, particularly from the 11th to the 13th centuries. The following are some examples from the collection at Cambridge University:[33]

#169 "Legal questions addressed to Abraham Maimonides concerning the rights of the wife of an absent India merchant."

#245 "Letter of Madmun b. Japheth of Aden to Ben Yiju in India."

#163 Power of attorney against Ibn al-Raqqi who disappeared in India with merchandise specified. (about 1050 C.E.)

#29/64 Business letter from Madmun in Aden to Ben Yiju in India and various accounts of Ben Yiju with regard to the goods he shipped to Indian ports, and assets and liabilities in Indian coins.

#33 Memo to Halfon b. Nethaneel "while on his way to India" from his partner Abu Zikri.

#61 Petition by Musa b. Sedaqa, "The Jewish merchant," to the Fatimid Caliph al Amir with regard to merchandise brought from India and Yemen.

#81 Statement by Kalaf b. Isaac in Aden about the yearly balance of Halfon b. Nethaneel's business with India.

#293 Letter from Aden: prices and arrival of a ship from the Coromandel Coast.

These Jews were trading in almost everything, but they were particularly interested in textiles, spices and iron; they used Judaeo-Arabic to protect their secrets. For example, the Hebrew word for iron was written in correspondence "probably because the writer assumed that the iron, if discovered, would be seized by the government (the secret police was believed to know the Hebrew characters but not the language)."[34] Other scholars have noted what at first glance seem to be strange alterations in the way merchants wrote orders to colleagues and have concluded that the purpose was added protection against someone who might have learned the Hebrew script but who did not recognize changes based on Hebrew grammar. Armenians and other traders also used codes to protect prices and markets. This desire to keep secrets extended to scholarship and theology: Maimonides wrote his *Guide to the Perplexed* in Judaeo-Arabic partly so that Muslims could not understand it.[35]

A second collection of documents shows later links between Judaeo-Arabic speakers from India and Baghdad, Aleppo, Basra, and Aden. It is *Ohel Dawid*, the catalogue of the personal collection of old documents, books, and manuscripts belonging to David Solomon Sassoon, scion of the Sassoon merchant and manufacturing family of Bombay and Shanghai.[36] As a young man, he traveled around India and elsewhere collecting secular and religious materials by and about Jews of the East. Many of these items are written in Judaeo-Arabic, which he sometimes called Jewish-Arabic or Hebrew-Arabic. For example:

> Catalogue number 211(H), p. 388: "A letter in Hebrew-Arabic written by the Rabbinate of Baghdad to the Community of Bombay concerning the houses which were bought in the year 5588 (=1828) by Sliman Ben Yaakov."
>
> 488, p. 233: "The Penitential Prayer for the Day of Atonement according to the Rite of Baghdad...ed. Livorno, 1832...The text agrees with the lithographed ed...Bombay 1855-6?...printed by Simeon Isaac Yulkar at the Education Society's Press, Byculla."
>
> 538(Q), p. 402: "An Appeal addressed by the Jewish community of Kirkuk...to...Sassoon as head of the Jews in India for help...1884"
>
> 587(E), p. 405: "A letter written by Shalom b. Aaron...Hakkohen in Calcutta to Joshua b. Ezekiel b. Elijah in Basra, in Jewish-Arabic. The letter is dated Monday 25 Tebeth, 5571 (=1811). There is a reference to Jacob Semah with whom the writer had had some business differences..."

459, p. 406: "Volume of letters dealing with the affairs and transactions of the Society for the Rescue of the Chinese Jews in Shanghai...[continuing] correspondence between Sason b. Jacob b. Sliman in Shanghai and Saul b. Abdallah b. Joseph in Hong Kong. The correspondence is in Jewish-Arabic and deals on one side with the characteristics of the scrolls of Chinese origin, and on the other hand with the creation of a Society for the rescue of the Chinese Jews."

882(K), p. 547: "Letter written in Jewish-Arabic by Sliman b. Jacob b. Sliman b. David, the first Baghdad Jew who settled in Bombay, to Joseph b. Abraham Madai at Cochin...1824."

519(A), p. 205: "Letters interchanged between the Maghen David Community in Bombay on one side, and the Sephardic Rabbinate in Jerusalem, and the Beth Din in Baghdad, on the other side...The second letter is dated, Bombay, 17 Tebeth, 5674 (=1914)...refers to the intermarriage with the Bene Israel..."

1055(G), p. 992: "Letter addressed to Yahya b. Joseph Saleh by Abraham Zakkai about the printing of the words on Shehitah and the Responsa of the addressee...The letter proves that there existed frequent communications between Cochin and Yemen...1784."

The Jews who wrote these letters and documents belonged to the last wave of Judaeo-Arabic speakers to arrive in India. They came from Syria, Iraq and Yemen, and were drawn to Surat, Bombay, Calcutta and Cochin in the period from the 18th century to the early 20th; their importance waxed and waned. For example, the Rahabi family, originally from Aleppo, made and lost a great fortune working as agents for the Dutch East India Company before 1795. They supplied pepper, the principal reason the Dutch held on to their south Indian possessions. After the advent of the British, this family continued trading although they were less important and went bankrupt mainly because the Rajah would not pay back their loan to him, as documents in the Tamil Nadu Archives show.[37] Isaac Surgun, a Jew from Constantinople, resided principally at Calicut, where he traded in pepper, of course, plus textiles, metal, sugar and other items. He was well known for his language skills, including Judaeo-Arabic, and for his gifts as a diplomat. The Dutch East India Company engaged him to negotiate on their behalf with Haydar Ali Khan at Mysore in 1766.[38]

Other Judaeo-Arabic speakers, who arrived later than the Rahabis and Surgun, made significant contributions to the economic history of Surat, Bombay and Calcutta. Documents in various Indian archives show their presence. Thirty years ago, Professor Walter Fischel of the University of California found a lot of material, particularly in the Maharashtra State Archives. Since 1994, I have read petitions and other documents in these archives and in the Tamil Nadu Archives, adding to the information about these traders and merchants. For example, Shalom b. Aaron b. Obadiah HaKohen (1762-1836) arrived in Bombay in 1790 from Aleppo. He moved to Surat, where Jews had already lived, as a 1769 tombstone of Moses Toobi shows;[39] he settled in Calcutta in 1797 or 1798 while his brother Abraham stayed in Bombay.

As the East India Company's control over trade declined, as oppression of Jews in Baghdad and Persia increased, and as China was forced to open itself to traders, many of whom were based in India, Jews arrived in India in greater numbers. The most important single arrival was David Sassoon, who saw Bombay for the first time in 1832 and settled there the following year. He encouraged others to follow him and, by 1837, there were 350 compared with 300 in Calcutta. The maximum number—reached just before India's independence—was about 4,000.[40] Copying the English and Parsees, Sassoon entered the opium export business with China. He received tea from China and exported cotton from India. He and his sons entered the textile manufacturing business and, at one point, were probably the most important private employers in Bombay, if not all of India. In both Bombay and Calcutta, the Jews were major traders, then landowners and finally manufacturers. Family memoirs such as Rabbi Ezekiel N. Musleah's *On the Banks of the Ganga*, add much to our understanding of these communities.

Taking advantage of the forced opening of China, the Jewish traders, alongside the Parsees, British and others such as Gujaratis, sent representatives to Canton, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Singapore. The pattern was to send one of many sons or a very trusted Baghdadi. David Sassoon sent his son Elyahu to Shanghai in 1844 and later the family sent a young dynamic native of Baghdad, Silas Hardoon, to manage their affairs. Hardoon became fabulously wealthy and famous after he left the Sassoons by purchasing land and buildings in the Chinese city. Other Jewish families included the Kadoories in Hong Kong. They traded, bought land and set up banks often linked with firms in India.[41]

Certainly they communicated among themselves in Judaeo-Arabic, and there is some evidence that their most important account books were kept in Judaeo-Arabic.[42] Some documents in the Hardoon files in Chinese archives are in Judaeo-Arabic, according to Chiara Betta, who completed a Ph.D. thesis on Silas Hardoon at the School of Oriental and African Studies.[43]

Note that other Jews had arrived in China centuries before these Sassoons, Hardoons and Kadoories. They traveled overland by the silk routes; by the 12th

century, the northern inland city of Kaifeng had a synagogue. These Jews spoke and wrote the Tadjik variety of Persian with Hebrew characters, according to Tirza Moussaieff, who is writing a history of her family which traded in jewels and textiles from their base in Bokhara.[44] Tombstones with inscriptions in Persian or Judaeo-Persian or Judaeo-Tadjik, as well as Chinese archives, offer further evidence of the Jewish presence and importance. By the time the Baghdadis arrived on the coast of China, the Persian-speakers had almost disappeared through assimilation, and the former set up an organization to help them preserve their identities. It was too late, and what remains are memories in some Chinese families of their Jewish ancestors.

Baghdadis were more concerned, of course, about their fellow Jews in Iraq and Syria and Yemen. From Bombay and Calcutta they kept in contact, as the Sassoon collection of documents clearly shows. The immense wealth of some Indian Jewish families permitted them to help communities in Kirkuk, Baghdad, Jerusalem and Persia. Surprisingly, the Jews of Baghdad depended on their kin in India for some printed materials; they had no Hebrew printing press, but the Jews of Calcutta began using such a press in 1841. Books printed on that press in Judaeo-Arabic or Hebrew were sent to communities in Iraq. At least from 1855, the Jews of Bombay were producing newspapers and other materials by lithograph. In 1882, they had a modern press, and the Baghdadis of Pune set up their press in 1887.

These three presses printed liturgical books and pamphlets, the *Bible*, prayer books, calendars and secular works, (including *The Book of the Thousand And One Nights*) in Judaeo-Arabic. The presses accepted orders from Baghdad and, like the Armenian press in Madras, produced a periodical for co-religionists in Iraq.[45] For this reason, they had to take care to remove any Indian words which must have entered their verbal discourse.

David Sassoon founded a newspaper, *Doresh Tov l'Ammo or The Hebrew Gazette*, and it was regularly printed from 1856 to 1866. *Mevasser, The Jewish Gazette*, was published from 1873 to 1877. The printing activity was so intense and of such high quality that Professor Fischel could write about the "creation of a new genre of Hebrew literature, namely Judaeo-Arabic literature in India...The literary output by the Arabian Jews in India exceeded 350 publications." Altogether this literature helped educate Judaeo-Arabic-speaking Jews and promoted the homogeneity of language and religious belief in "the far-flung Arabian Diaspora," at least for those living in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[46]

In short, the Judaeo-Arabic-speaking Jews of India belonged to the category of traders that economic historians call "Middleman Minorities" about whom Edna Bonacich, Johathan Turner and Walter Zenner have written. Unlike the Bene Israel and the Malabaris, they never set down roots in India; theirs was a sojourn. As soon as the Arabic-speaking Jews, particularly in Bombay and Calcutta, were admitted into polite English company, they

adapted quickly by changing their clothing styles and speaking English. (The Jews of Cochin were not under direct British rule; they lived in the princely states of Cochin and Travancore and had less direct contact with the British.) Their love for and faith in the British pulled them to London as soon as their fortunes were made. Once settled there or further afield, they shifted to the language of their non-Jewish neighbors and did not write in their mother tongue. As far as Naim Dangoor knows, there never was a Judaeo-Arabic newspaper in England,[47] but Judaeo-Arabic is still spoken. I know of no great effort to preserve this language similar to the current promotion of Yiddish, although the Babylonian Jewry Heritage Center in Or Yehudah, Israel, provides important resources for the study, preservation and cultivation of the culture and history of Jews from Mesopotamia.

Judaeo-Arabic, which is probably older than Yiddish, played its role as an important language of scholarship, commerce, and identity; these functions are now filled in large part by English and Hebrew. It evolved as languages do, but so far there are no in-depth studies of the Indian variety to permit comparisons and to trace changes. A 20th century speaker would presumably be unable to understand easily a 13th century speaker or a 13th century text. Those who spoke and wrote Judaeo-Arabic—Baghdadis in Bombay and Calcutta, Cochin Jews who traced their origins to Yemen and Syria-Mesopotamia—were traders who contributed to the vitality and utility of the language by using it in commerce and in their publications. Thus, they helped modernize the language; they also supported religious authorities and scholars who used Judaeo-Arabic. They facilitated trade between India and other parts of the world in their own quest for safe haven and wealth, both of which they found in a welcoming India. Just as most of the "Arabians" or "Baghdadis" or "Paradesis" were never truly Indian, Judaeo-Arabic was "in" but not "of" India. This language, born of the contact between non-Indian languages, then brought to India, and now absent from India, should at least be remembered as a very interesting example of linguistic contact and as a part of the rich linguistic history of India.

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ALEXANDER AND THE MYSTERIES OF INDIA

Steven Bowman

The charismatic appeal of the conquering Alexander survives in the plethora of translated versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes' early (third-fourth century C.E.) Greek romance of Alexander.[1] It is also evidenced in the fulfillment of the legendary promise (according to the author of *Yosippon*) made by the high priest in Jerusalem to magnify Alexander's name among new born Jewish males, a practice followed through the millennia by myriads of Jews from the steppes of Asia to the plains of America.[2] Alexander's reputation, according to Hebrew sources, is enhanced as the one who conquered "all the kingdoms of India and opened all the mysteries of India .."[3]

It is not only in the realm of names that the influence of Alexander permeates Jewish culture. More importantly he becomes one of the focal points through which the myth and legend of India enters into Jewish literature and folklore during the Hellenistic period and the middle ages. Already in the Hellenistic period, Alexander's travels to India became wrapped in legends that emphasized the sensational and fantastic aspects of that fabeled land. Greek-reading Jews absorbed this material and transformed it in their varied literatures, perhaps even the biblical apocalypse of Daniel.[4] David Flusser has argued, for example, that the *odontotyrannos* (tooth tyrant) mentioned in the *Life of Apollonius of Tyre* by Philostratus and the apocryphal letter of Alexander to Aristotle is actually an Indian rhinoceros described by some Greek historian of Alexander's travels to India. This postulated Greek text, he suggests, was known to the author of Daniel who reworked the description to produce his 'fourth beast'. The original *odontotyrannos* entered the literary tradition of Pseudo-Callisthenes and appears in Ch. 10 of our translation simply as the "huge animal that attacked us and roared and 26 of my veterans died..." [cf. Armenian version pp. 126-7 where it is translated as 'unicorn' by A. M. Wolohojian (above note 1)].[5]

Alexander's teacher Aristotle introduces another topos of Jewish-Indian overlap. The well-known passage of Clearchus of Soli as cited by Josephus (*Contra Apionem*, I, 22), has Aristotle relate his encounter with a Greek-speaking Jew in (Coele) Syria who apparently out-philosophized the philosophers; indeed, according to Aristotle, he was a Greek not only in language but also in soul.[6] More to our interest is Aristotle's identification of the Jews as descendents of the Indian philosophers, a tradition continued by his disciples and exploited by Jewish apologetes.[7] We may therefore assume that the Jewish-Indian connection, both direct and indirect in literature and intercourse, was at least four centuries established by the time that Josephus recorded it in his oeuvre. It is therefore not surprising that Alexander and the

Jews overlap in rabbinic literature whose creators made adroit use of contemporary material to illuminate their teachings and discussions. This material has been studied by scholars for more than a century and need not be rehearsed here, except insofar as it pertains to related contents in the interpolation translated below, particularly the lesson in the *Babylonian Talmud, Tamid*, 32a (see below).[8]

During the middle ages, numerous tales derived from Indian tradition entered medieval Hebrew literature, the most popular being *The Tales of Sendebar*.[9] These tales, as well as others which were no doubt part of the varied cargo transferred by the Rhadanites during their intercontinental commerce, have their counterpart in the documentary and historical literature that links medieval Jewry to India. S. D. Goitein has left us a volume of documents from the Cairo Geniza including the vicissitudes of the Jewish role in the medieval Mediterranean trade with India.[10] Those texts interestingly provided one strand of the multi-dimensional scholarly journey of Amitav Ghosh *In An Antique Land*. (The even more recent *The Moor's Last Sigh* by Salmon Rushdie presents a postmodern smorgesbord of Jewish and Indian traditions that will keep literary critics and other scholars busy for some time.) But the most popular literary memory of India was contained in the various versions of the Hebrew Alexander Romance.

There are a number of medieval Hebrew romances about Alexander, many derived from vernacular versions of pseudo-Callisthenes. Kazis lists six Hebrew sources: (1) The Book of *Yosippon*; (2) Ms. Cod. Heb. 671.5 Bibl. Natl., Paris; (3) Ms. 145, Jews' College, London; (4) Ms. LIII, Bibl. Estense, Modena; Ms. Cod. Heb. 2797.10, Bodleian Oxford; Ms. Damascus; (5) Ms. Cod Heb. 1087, Bibl. I. B. de Rossi, Parma; (6) Ms. Cod. Heb. 750.3, Bibl. Natl., Paris.[11] Some of these have been interpolated into different versions of *Sefer Yosippon*; others are extant as independent treatises.[12] Since the version offered below is that of the only Hebrew text still untranslated—the Parma manuscript (#5), which is the earliest Hebrew translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes, the justification for its presentation is obvious. Flusser has shown the text to be translated from the Greek of an early version of Pseudo-Callisthenes. Studies of the other Hebrew versions show them to be based either on the Latin *Historia de Preliis Alexandri* or its Arabic translations, and hence at present of little use in elucidating the problems of the Parma version.[13] Two other factors, one historical and the other philological, also support the translation of this Alexander Romance and the entire interpolation of which it is part.

The text presented below is based on an interpolation into *Sefer Yosippon* that is preserved in a 14th century Italian manuscript. This interpolation, however, had already been inserted in *Sefer Yosippon* by the 11th century in a more literary and altered fashion. Thus it represents one of the earliest expansions (i.e., interpolations) of *Yosippon*, and itself is the earliest Alexander Romance extant in Hebrew (Chs. 1-12). Also, the complete interpolation

includes the translation of a lost Byzantine chronicle ultimately derived from Eusebius, yet preserving several unique historical data (Ch. 13).[14] The first detail is that Pompey "took the king Aristobulus(II) alone as captive because he had rebelled against the Romans, for he had trusted in Mithridatos after the death of his father." The second is that "In 192 of Olympiados, Tiberios, commander of the army of Roma, built the city of Tavromini (Tauromenion) and Tyndarin (Tyndaris)." This new data clarifies the position of these two cities which scholars have previously identified as *colonia augusta* established by Augustus Caesar in 21 B.C.E. However, since Tiberius was made consul for the first time in 13 B.C.E. and during the 192nd Olympiad (12-9 B.C.E.) he fought numerous battles, it is rather more likely that Tiberius founded these two colonies in Sicily to settle his veterans. This latter contribution to our historical knowledge alone would justify the translation of the Hebrew chronicle in the interpolation.[15] Finally, this important interpolation includes a fragment from the end of Palladias' "On the Brahmans" and a variant version of the Talmudic story of Alexander located in *Tractate Tamid* 32b (Ch. 14).[16] The components of our interpolation raise the possibility that the Alexander material was perhaps linked with the India material by the individual who commissioned the translation, if not the copyist who prepared the manuscript. Since Shabbatai Donnolo (10th century Oria) lists his knowledge of Persian and Indian wisdom, the possibility exists of a wider interest in India than has been hitherto suspected among Grecophone Jews in Byzantine areas during the 10th-11th centuries. Here we should recall the Rhadanites of the previous centuries and the later genizae texts outlining the India trade, both of which bracket southern Italy during its Byzantine phase. The philological importance of this interpolation is as interesting as its historical contributions. A close examination of the Hebrew text reveals that the Hebrew author translated his text directly from a Greek original. This literal dependence has been preserved in the following English translation (including the transliteration of the names) for comparative purposes with other Greek versions. More of value for deeper scholarly research is the contention of its modern editor, David Flusser, that the Alexander Romance before us is a direct translation from a very early Greek copy of Pseudo-Callisthenes, perhaps one as early as that used by the Armenian translation (alpha version). Thus it preserves the structure and tone of the original. Moreover, since it is so literal (even to the detriment of Hebrew style and, at times, of comprehension), it is of immense importance in any scholarly attempt to restore the original text of Pseudo-Callisthenes. The Parma interpolation then supersedes in value the later more corrupted interpolations that appear in subsequent versions of *Yosippon*.[17]

Yet, the Hebrew translation is not merely a slavish translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes. The anonymous author of the Parma text has attempted through omissions and additions to make it acceptable to his Jewish intellectual and religious audience. Pseudo-Callisthenes, for example, begins his Alexander

Romance with the wonderful story of Nectabenus, Pharaoh of Egypt and master magician, who seduces Olympias, the wife of Phillip of Macedon, and thus sires Alexander the Great; a muted version of this story appears in Kazis' edition.[18] Given the author of *Yosippon's* brilliant satirical pun on Paulina (a version of which seems to appear in the Bodleian Hebrew fabulae edited by Reich: above note 7 #4, pp. 74-77), the absence of this salacious story suggests that the author and editors of *Yosippon* did not know the entire text of Pseudo-Callisthenes or did not care to add such material to *Yosippon*. According to Flusser, the translator of Pseudo-Callisthenes, on the other hand, does not see any historical value in this folk story which itself is but an elaboration of Alexander's recognition as a god by the priesthood of the Siwa Oasis who identified the conqueror of Egypt as the son of Ammon and Olympias. Therefore he omitted it from his translation. Such a story, according to Flusser, bordered on the ridiculous to his more sophisticated and intellectually trained Jewish audience in Italy.[19]

The rest of the marvels of Pseudo-Callisthenes follow his summary of Alexander's successful wars. Finally Alexander reaches the land of impenetrable darkness (Ch. 6). There he meets inter alia the descendents of Yonadav ben Rachav, better known to posterity as the Rechabites. Later he encounters two fowl in that foul land who predict the ensuing conquest of India and the victory over its King Poros (Ch. 7), whereupon Alexander decides to return to his camp. He is able to do so by following the dam that he took with him to her colt which was tethered at the entrance to that land of impenetrable darkness.[20]

A text which sheds some light on this passage is the *History of the Rechabites* which was in wide circulation during the Middle Ages in Greek, Ethiopic and Syriac.[21] In retrospect it seems difficult to assume that such a text was not known to our translator of Pseudo-Callisthenes. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the translator had before him a Greek text in which the identification of the "Blessed Ones" had already been made by a previous editor.[22] In either case, this Hebrew edition of Pseudo-Callisthenes, which includes the reference to the Rechabites and which stemmed from the hand of a Greek-speaking Byzantine Jew who lived before the eleventh century, is our first linkage of these two in the extant literature.

Elements of the *History of the Rechabites* are relevant to a commentary on this interpolation into Pseudo-Callisthenes. Chs. 8-10 of the Syriac version strongly suggest a lost Hebrew apocryphan which would predate both the undated *History of the Rechabites* (tentatively ascribed to the first-fourth century) and very possibly the original of Pseudo-Callisthenes (third-fourth century). Our Hebrew text, as we should recall here, is based on a very early rendition of Pseudo-Callisthenes' Alexander Romance.[23]

The parallels between the *History of the Rechabites* and the *History of the Brahmans* should also be noted. While the Hebrew interpolation is clearly based upon a Greek edition, the *History of the Rechabites* emphasizes the

unique intercourse between a man and his wife. Also, in Ch. 8 of our Alexander Romance, the sages of India are called *Gymnosophists* while in the *History of the Rechabites* the inhabitants are also naked. (This might be an extreme interpretation of the Nazirite laws of Leviticus not to cut hair, drink wine, or come into contact with anything that has died, e.g., linen or leather clothing.)

How the tradition that attributes immortality to the descendents of Yonadav ben Rechav developed has yet to be resolved. While based on the passage in Jeremiah (35, 19), the tradition is not extant in Hebrew literature until its appearance in the *Alphabet of Ben Sira*, a midrash that may be tentatively dated to the eighth-ninth century from unknown Jewish circles in Babylonia.[24] While the Christians had inserted this material into their traditions about Zosimus (or the *History of the Rechabites*), none of the early lists of Jewish immortals from the Talmudic period (second-fifth centuries) include the Rechabites. Therefore one should ask why the tradition surfaces in the *Alphabet of Ben Sira*, whenever that midrash was finally edited.

This late list of immortals includes the following:[25]

Enoch	Servant of the Ethiopian King
Serah	Daughter of Asher
Rabbi Judah's servant	
Batya	Daughter of Pharaoh
Yabetz Hiram	King of Tyre
Rabbi Joshua ben Levi	
Eliezer	Servant of Abraham
Milhom the bird and its seed	
Yonadav ben Rechav and his descendents	

Of these, the final two, Milhom and Yonadav ben Rechav, are later additions.[26] The former, Milhom, appears to be the rabbinic equivalent of the Phoenix tradition which had become a symbol of resurrection and immortality to the Christians.[27] On the other hand, the inclusion of Yonadav ben Rechav in this list may be connected to his appearance in the Alexander Romance translated below, although the date of that translation has a *terminus post quem* of the 11th century manuscript within which it appears. Further studies of the Rechabites will have to clarify the relationship of these two texts, one from Arabic-speaking Babylonia and the other from the Greek-speaking environment of southern Italy. Since both the Rechabites and the Phoenix were already longtime symbols of immortality in Christian lands, it may be that the *Alphabet of Ben Sira* additions are indebted to western sources.

Given the state of the sources and scholarly research to date, it is not yet possible to unravel the connection between the popular Muslim and Jewish traditions about the descendents of Moses and their probable identification with the Rechabites. What is certain is that so far as our extant sources indicate,

the medieval traditions of the Rechabites appeared (or reappeared) in the context of immortality by the ninth-tenth centuries, and it is very likely then that the translator of the Alexander Romance before us drew from this contemporary phenomenon. In that case, we should like to place him in the context of the renaissance of medieval Hebrew literature connected with Italian Jewry in the 10th-11th century.[28]

GESTA ALEXANDROS[29]

[1. Death of Philipos]

I begin the romance of Alexandros: Philipos, father of Alexandros, the Macedonian, ruled over Makedon and Yavan for six years; and, through his great force and valor, he subdued and enslaved all the inhabitants surrounding his territory, and he subdued the Yavanim under his hand. Then Piltinos the king died[30] when Philipos was fighting against the city Byzantion,[31] and he sent Alexandros his son against the city Thrakis[32] with a great force to fight against her. Then Pausanios Salonikon,[33] a valiant and rich man, desired and lusted to whore with Olympiada,[34] mother of Alexandros; and he sent to her dolceurs to seduce her to leave her husband, but she did not accept. When Pausanios saw that Alexandros was off fighting, he took hold of his weapons, he and other veterans with him,[35] and he went to kill Philipos and take his wife; he smote Philipos a serious blow in his ribs[36] but he did not die, and the land moaned.

On that day Alexandros came from a victory in battle and he beheld a great upheaval in the city and asked what this was. When he heard the matter, he entered his father's palace and beheld his mother caught in Pausanios' hand, and he longed to smite him with his sword, but he feared lest he kill his mother. His mother said to him: "Smite him!" So he smote him a great blow. Then Alexander saw that his father still lived, so he took the sword and gave it to his father and said to him: "Take the sword and avenge your death!" Whereupon his father smote him and Pausanios died. Then Philipos also died and his son Alexandros buried him.

Alexandros at twenty succeeded his father and he was wise[37] in every wisdom and astronomy and in every matter; he was a warrior, and his teacher who taught him wisdom was Aristoteles the sage.[38] And this Alexandros, his image resembled neither his father nor his mother Olympiada, for the form of his face was that of a lion and his eyes were disfigured, his right eye was black and looked down[39] while his left eye was white like a cat's eye,[40] and his teeth were sharp like dog fangs[41] and he was quick as a lion from his childhood.

[2. Beginning of his wars]

His first battles[42] are recounted and considered as his father's wars: he found the Macedonians 25,000[43] and the fighting men 8700 and Thrakes[44]

2500, and the nation of Iskytos[45] passing before him[46] 800, and the rest of the peoples constituting the army 60,600; all these constituted the army. Then he brought forth 5000 talents of gold and gave this outlay for a very fine fleet of ships. He laid out another 1000 talents of gold and gave [it] to his army in Sikiliah [Sicily] and enslaved them under him.[47]

He crossed again into Italiah[48] and the nobles of Romi heard and sent to him a crown made with pearls and gold[49] and he accepted it with joy. From there he crossed by sea[50] and went against Afrikiyah, and the leaders of the army of the land went forth to confront him, and he set a tax over the land. He crossed from them into the land of Lybiah[51] and subdued it under him. Then he crossed into the land of Barbari[52] and went unto the river Okynus;[53] he beheld its waters pure and fresh[54] and craved to swim and bathe in the river, so he stripped off his clothes and washed in the river. After he went out from the river, he felt ill and his head pained and he became very sick,[55] and Philipos the physician cured him with potions and ointments.[56] From there he crossed[57] into the land of Medai and the land of Paras[58] and the land of Great Ararat[59] and enslaved them under him. Then he crossed the river Phrat[60] and went into the land of Baktriani;[61] he stood there and seized that place.

[3. War with Darius]

When Darius[62] king of Medai[63] heard, he sent letters to him: "I am Darius king of kings and lord over all nations of the earth, know ye Alexandros my great name! Don't you know my name that even the God has honored me and established my throne?[64] How did you dare to cross the sea without my permission? And how were you enthroned over the nation of Makedon? Was this not enough for you and you took locales from my territory, should you not have taken permission from me like a slave from his lord? Therefore I have written to you that you should come to me and prostrate yourself before Darius your god[65] —and if you disobey, I will imprison you unto death,[66] while if you come I swear to you by the life of my father[67] that I will have compassion upon you for everything you have done."

Alexandros read[68] the letter but did not take the words seriously, rather he trembled and was filled with anger,[69] and he mustered an army in the field of his camp in the land of Arav to do battle with Darius. Darius too brought forth a great army, and a major battle ensued and each side smote many from the other. The sun darkened on that day[70] and there was a great and powerful thunder and the Persians fled from its noise. Darius left his chariot and mounted a horse and fled; Alexandros pursued him for 60 miles[71] and captured the mother of Darius and his wife and sons and his chariot. Darius fled during the night, and Alexandros seized Darius' house[72] and stayed there. He commanded to bury all the officers and veterans of the Persians;[73] the number of Macedonian dead was 500 infantry and 109 cavalry, and of the barbari[74] 120,000 were killed and 40,000 were captured alive and of the Macedonians were wounded 180 men.

After Darius fled,[75] he went and brought forth another army greater than the first, and Alexandros sent spies to reconnoiter the army.

[4. Alexandros in Yavan and in other places]

Alexandros sent again[76] to Iskamandros,[77] general of his army, that he, too, assemble a great army and that the general of his army come to him with a great force and they go together into the land of Achaea. From there[78] he passed into the land of Bottia and seized the land of Olynthon all of it, and he crossed into the land of Canaan[79] and subdued all that land first. Then he crossed to the spring of Maiotin[80] and he found that land starving; there was no food for the army of Macedonians and many died from the hunger until the king commanded them to eat from the horses. The king saw that they ate all the horses; then he passed[81] from place to place until he arrived in the city of Lokris[82] which is Kyriakin;[83] he entered into the temple of Apolonios[84] and stayed there with his army for one day.[85]

Then he crossed into the land of Agrakantos[86] in Sikiliah[87] to go into the land of Mitsrayim[88] with his army; he commanded his ships called *liverna*[89] to go by sea and cross unto the city of Tripoli and wait for him there, and he too crossed after them. He crossed to the city of Kartagini[90] which is a large city[91] in the land of Afrikiyah, and the measure of the city is 24 miles and 305 feet; he crossed from there to the river Tigris which is Hidekel,[92] and he crossed into land of Mitsrayim[93] with all his army.

[5. Alexandros spies out Darius and Darius' death]

All the officers of Darius heard[94] and sent letters to Darius to inform him of the fact; he read the letters and worried much. And it came to pass when Alexandros[95] approached the land of Paras[96] and he saw the walls of the city exceedingly high, then he commanded and they seized the sheep and cattle which were in that land and bound to their carcasses field shrubs and grasses and stampeded them, and the brush and grasses were dragged in the earth and threw up dust until the dust rose on high. The Persians saw the dust from afar and said that this dust is from the multitude of horses and from the numerousness of his force, and they were terribly afraid.

And it came to pass when he had approached to within five days[97] march of Darius' city that he desired to send messengers to Darius to muster for battle, and he said in his heart:[98] "If I were to send messengers I should fear lest Darius might tempt them and they would hand over my army and myself." So he convinced himself to go alone. He took with him[99] one officer[100] and his name was Eumilon,[101] a battle veteran, and three horses with him and crossed the river Istrangan.[102] This river was frozen from the ice and the frost was like stone;[103] wagons, horses and cattle crossed over the ice and after (some) days it would melt from the heat. He found it frozen,[104] he donned Macedonian garb[105] with a hat upon his head like the Macedonian

hats[106] and crossed the river;[107] and the breadth of the river was about a mile.[108]

He came unto the gates of Paras[109] and the gatekeeper asked him: "Who are you?" He said: "I am a messenger from Alexandros; bring me to him and I shall speak with him." So he brought him to him. When he saw Darius dressed in royal clothing with precious stones and gold from his feet to the crown of his head and the golden scepter in his hand,[110] Alexandros was frightened before him. Darius asked him, saying to him: "Who are you?" He said: "I am a messenger from Alexandros and he sent me to you that you should muster for battle with him—and if you tarry not to fight, know that you have a sickness of the heart[111] because you are not able to fight with my lord." Darius became angry and said to him: "Perhaps you are Alexandros because you speak to me in insult?"[112] He said: "No!" Darius took him for the night to eat and drink with him. And it came to pass when the chief butler[113] gave him to drink in a golden goblet, each time he poured it in his lap. Darius asked him: "What are you doing?" He said: "Thus do all those summoned to eat with my lord Alexandros." And it came to pass when one of the lords of Darius who stands before him heard the voice of Alexandros, he recognized it and said to his comrade: "This is that Alexandros." Alexandros understood the whisper that they were murmuring in each other's ears because they were speaking about him, so he beguiled them with words and fled from them suddenly with the golden goblet in his bosom during the night and rode upon his horse. He found the gatekeeper of the city sitting before the gate and in his hand a lit olive branch called *daida*;[114] he killed him, went out and left.

The Persians pursued him to capture him, but that night was dark, and they could not see him. He came to the river Istrangan,[115] and, after he had crossed the river, the horse could not get its four legs out of the river, for the waters of the river were melting, so he jumped and dismounted from the horse onto the dry land, and the river took the horse. The Persians saw that the river had melted and Alexandros was saved and they could not cross the river, for no man could cross that river, neither by ship nor by any kind of trick until it were frozen from ice, for it poured out from the mountains.[116] Alexandros went on foot for a bit[117] until he found his officer whom he had stationed there with two horses across the river, and he rode and went to his army.[118]

He mustered his army for battle,[119] counted them, and found them 120,000, and they came unto that river. Darius too came unto that river, and they found it frozen; Darius crossed it with his army. Alexandros rode on his horse Boukaiphalon;[120] this was the horse that had a head of a bull,[121] and no other horse could draw near to him.

They drew up for a great battle, and many of the Persians fell; Darius fled with his men and crossed the river. And it came to pass when the remainder of his army who survived, a remnant[122] from the battle, came to cross after him; the waters of the river melted and engulfed[123] all of them.

Darius entered the palace of his kingdom, fell upon the ground, and wept in a loud voice. Then he rose[124] and wrote a letter to Alexandros, saying: "Pity me, pity me, and return my wife and sons; do not destroy my palace;[125] and I will give you gold aplenty and treasures and seventy of my concubines[126] who are in Shushan."[127]

Alexandros read out the letter unto the ears of all his army; he laughed over the letter and said: "If he had been victorious over me, his gold would not be worth anything to me—and if I am victorious over him, all of his gold will come into my hands." He remained in the land of Paras[128] all that flourishing autumn;[129] he sacrificed to other gods;[130] and he burned all the kingdoms of Kserksos.[131]

Darius thought in his heart[132] to muster for battle again with Alexandros and sent to Poros king of Hodu[133] to assist him. When Alexandros heard, he went to the land of Medai, for he had heard that Darius had gone to Batanin,[134] and pursued him. When Darius' lords heard[135] that Alexandros had arrived, they killed Darius. And it came to pass when Alexandros came, those who murdered Darius fled until they could learn what Alexandros would do to them.[136] When Alexandros came, he found Darius between life and death,[137] and he wept over him in a loud voice,[138] and his spirit went forth in Alexandros' hands.[139] He commanded to bury him in the tombs[140] of kings;[141] Alexandros bore the corpse of Darius, he and his officers; they wept for him and lamented him. And he commanded that they kill the men who had murdered him.

[6. Alexandros' travels in the lands of marvels]

And it came to pass when he had subjected all that land under him,[142] Alexandros thought to cross from there to the land's end and through the desert;[143] he crossed through the land of Medai[144] with many inhabitants and went forth with a great army.

He came to one place and found a road through a really deep ravine;[145] he went through it for eight days and saw animals of every variety. He came to another place toward evening and found trees similar to apples;[146] he saw there men called *pithiki*, their neck was long and their hands and arms in the shape of a large saw; he commanded to catch them[147] and they fled; they killed 162[148] while they killed of his men 163;[149] he rested the night there and ate of those fruits.

He went from there[150] to the land of Kloikin;[151] and there were men similar to giants,[152] hairy and red: their faces were like lions,[153] a girdle of skins around their loins, valiant men; and they came against him without weapons[154] and killed of his men 152;[155] he commanded to fire the forest, and the giants fled from the fire.

On the second day, Alexandros went to the caves of the giants and found huge animals[156] similar to dogs bound at the mouths of the caves: their height was four cubits; they were spotted and striped with three eyes. And in the caves were fleas like *frascilona*.[157]

From there he passed to another place and saw a hairy man, and he desired to catch him but could not: he commanded to disrobe one woman to send her out to him, perhaps he could be caught through lust; the man took her and led her away at a distance and ate her.[158] They went to catch him by force, and he spoke in his language. Many men like him went forth from the forest without number; Alexandros commanded, they fired the forest, and they fled from the fire. Alexandros captured 500[159] of them; they had no wisdom like other men and barked like dogs.

From there he crossed[160] to another place and found there trees; they sprouted from the ground from the rising of the sun until the sixth hour of the day, and from the sixth hour of the day until sunset the trees hid themselves[161] and continued to diminish until nothing of them was seen; and the sap[162] of the trees was *istaktin*[163] of Paras[164] that they burn as incense, and it had an exceedingly wonderful fragrance. He commanded to cut the trees and collect all of the sap[165] —suddenly the men who were cutting the trees were struck with whips by devils;[166] the sound of the blows was audible and the blows were visible, but the beaters were not visible though the voice was audible: "Don't cut the trees and don't collect from them!" And there was there in the midst of the waters crocodiles[167] and fish of many varieties,[168] and the fish could not be cooked save in fresh and cold water.[169] There were in that river roosters[170] like our roosters; and everyone that went out to catch them, the roosters would send forth fire from their body upon him, and the man would burn.

On the following day,[171] he walked for the whole day and found many beasts with five legs[172] and three eyes, and their height was six cubits. He went to another place and found that entire land sand;[173] and he saw beasts like a wild ass,[174] this is an *'arod* and its length was five cubits,[175] and they had six eyes but could only see with two eyes. He went to another place and found men without heads; their eyes and mouth were in their chest,[176] and they spoke in the language of man[177] and ate fish;[178] they collected from the sand and from the earth itna[179] which are eaten in our locales, the weight of each one was 30 lit.,[180] and they saw crabs as big as ships.[181]

He went from there[182] by way of the desert and came unto a sea and did not see either bird or beast, only earth and sky alone. He went in a ship and came to an island, the island was close to the land, and heard them speaking in the language of man; they were Yavanim[183] but the speakers he could not see. He sent some of his men swimming in the river to go to the island; a crab[184] went forth, jumped, and shook off[185] 54 men[186] of his men; he became afraid and went from that place a journey of two days.

He arrived in a place of darkness[187] into which the sun did not give light; he desired to enter there to see the generation called *makari*,[188] these are the generations of Yonadav 325 ben Rachab,[189] and he had taken council with his friends to go there with 1300 valiant men. He took with him an ass nursing a foal and tied the foal at the entrance to the place; he set up his camp there and

began to enter that place. He found the atmosphere of the place cloudy with darkness and vapor, a man could not see his comrade, and the land was filthy and full of mud.[190] Two great fowl struck him:[191] their faces were the faces of man;[192] they were winged; and they spoke in the language of Yavanim and said to him: "Alexandros, why are you trespassing in the land of God? You cannot see the House of God and the house of his servants! Return, for you cannot walk among the islands where the holy ones of God dwell![193] Do not compete to ascend to the height of the heavens!" Alexandros trembled[194] before the fowl. Then one bird spoke to him and said to him in the language of Yavanim: "Know ye, Alexandros, that you shall rule in the east and over the kingdom of Poros king of Hodu." And the fowl went their way. And the ass hastened to return to her son the foal.

He went from there a full twenty days[195] and found his camp which he had set at the entrance of the place; he built gates[196] at the spot, closed up the entrance to the place, and wrote upon stones all that he saw.

[7. The War with Poros]

He went from there[197] to the land of Hodu. When Poros the king heard, he sent him letters: "Get out of my land lest I kill you by sword!" But Alexandros did not deign to heed him.

Poros assembled a huge force[198] with ivory tuskers aplenty[199] and many beasts to fight with the Yavanim.[200] Alexandros was afraid of the beasts because he was not accustomed to fight against beasts. So Alexandros went by himself to reconnoiter in the land of Prasiakin;[201] he disguised himself like an ex-soldier and as a merchant who buys food; they seized him and brought him to King Poros. He said to him: "Who are you?" And he said: "I am a former soldier in the army of Alexandros and he sent me here." And he asked him further: "What will Alexandros do[202] and why does he crave to fight with a great king like me?" And he permitted him to go on his way.

And it came to pass when Alexandros went forth that he saw the beasts that Poros had prepared to fight against him; and he paid attention and made images of copper[203] and commanded to light them with fire until they became like a burning flame, and he teased them skillfully with bronze instruments against the beasts; the beasts jumped upon the copper images to bite them and to seize them, and their mouths and bodies[204] were burned before the fire. Then the beasts rested; they quieted from fighting with the Yavanim, and the Persians were victorious over the Indians. During the battle, Alexandros' horse with the head of a bull[205] fell by a sly ruse of the king of Hodu; and Alexandros was sore grieved over that horse.

The battle lasted[206] for twenty days, and Alexandros' men plotted to hand Alexandros over to the king of Hodu. Alexandros understood and sent to Poros, saying: "Come, you and I will fight while the entire army sits in peace." Poros was happy at this prospect for Alexandros' height did not have any importance to him, since the height of Poros was five cubits tall and Alexandros' height

was three cubits. And the two of them prepared for battle one against the other. And there was a great cry within the camp of Hodu, and Poros turned about to face his camp to see what was the shout; Alexandros hastened and smote with his sword toward the enemy[207] and killed him.

[8. Sages of Hodu]

Alexandros[208] desired to go from there to Oksidrakas[209]—not to fight with the inhabitants but to see the sages living there; they were exceedingly wise and were naked without clothes; for this reason they were called in the language of the Greeks *Gymnosophists*;[210] they lived in booths and in caves of dust.[211]

And it came to pass when the inhabitants of the place heard, they sent to him sages with letters,[212] saying: "If you come to fight with us, you will not succeed at all[213] for we have nothing for you to loot—and if you desire to enjoy of that which we have, don't come with force or in strength, but with soft words and gentle language come among us and you will understand who we are, for unto you fighting is proper while unto us wisdom is fitting."[214]

Alexandros went unto them[215] and saw all of them naked without clothes, and the women and children in the open field like sheep.[216] He asked one of them and said to him: "Don't you have graves?"217 He answered and said: "My dwelling[218] is my grave." He asked one and said to him: "Who number more, the living or the dead?" And he said to him: "The dead are more numerous, for the poor[219] and the dead are more numerous than the rich[220] and the living." He asked another and said: "Between man and beast who is more wise and clever?"[221] He answered: "Man." He asked another and said: "What is the kingdom?" He answered: "Extortion and robbery." He asked another and said: "Which was first, night or day?" And he said: "Night, for the fetus in the mother's intestines is in darkness." He asked another and said: "To whom can a man not lie?" And he said: "To the god of truth who knows the truth."[222] He asked another: "Which is better, the right side or the left?" He answered: "The left, for the woman nurses her son first from the left side,[223] and even kings take the scepter of royalty[224] in the left hand."

After he asked them many questions, he said to them: "Ask of me what I can give to you!" All of them shouted and said: "Eternal life!"[225] And he said to them: "I do not have authority."[226] They said to him: "If you do not have authority to give eternal life, why do you fight to pillage and loot and subdue the world under you?[227] And after your death you do not know to whom you will leave it and all your honor!" And Alexandros said to them: "This is from the authority of heaven[228] that we be as servants to those who come after us, for this is the reason that we have been created: for the sea will not move without wind and the trees will not billow if the wind does not blow in them; and man will not succeed without the permission of heaven.[229] And I myself desired to be quiet, but the lord of all in whose hand is the soul of all the living did not permit me."[230] And with these words, Alexandros went on his way.

[9. Marvels of Hodu]

He wrote a letter[231] to his teacher Aristoteles; he wrote to him all that had happened to him in the land of Hodu, saying: "When I arrived in the land of Prasiakin,[232] this is a city in the land of Hodu, I found the land strong and hard, and it is in the midst of the sea; I went there and beheld men seeming like women, and they were eating fish,[233] speaking the Yavani language.[234] I asked them about the place, and they said to me: 'Look, this island in the midst of the sea is the burial of an ancestral king[235] and there is much gold aplenty.' After they related this fact to me, they went and beached[236] their twelve boats. And I saw there huge beasts in the sea; we shouted at them and they fled and caused my men to sink in the sea. And from much worry, I remained there for eight days.

"After I had conquered Darius and had subdued all the land, I marched about until I came to a city in the midst of the river; there were there reeds[237] three hundred cubits long, and the city was established upon the reeds, and the waters of the river were bitter. Some of my men entered the river to go into the city, and beasts called ippopotami[238] went forth from the river and snatched 44[239] of my men.

"I went from there and toward evening came unto a place and found there a spring of water, sweet as honey, and I spent that night there. My men burned a fire, and all the beasts from the forest came to drink water: there were among them scorpions about a cubit,[240] white and red and black and horned,[241] also crocodiles and lions and tigers and buffalo[242] and pigs and ivory tuskers[243] and men with six hands; they killed many of my men. And my men burned the forest with fire, and the creeping things[244] ran to the fire. There came against us one huge beast; the beast roared and killed of my men 26 veterans: others of my veterans killed the beast, and with strength 300[245] of my men dragged and pulled the beast. And there were there bats[246] huge as doves and possessing teeth like a man. We hunted and ate ravens[247] to sustain us.

"From there we went into the land of Kaspiakin[248] and, at the ninth[249] hour of the day, a great and very strong wind blew so that we could not stand on our feet; immediately we fell upon our faces to the ground until the wind abated.

"After this I conquered the city of Kaspiakin;[250] it is a city in the kingdom of Hodu. The inhabitants of the land said to me: 'We can show you wonder and wisdom befitting your honor;[251] come and see for yourself trees speaking like men.'[252] They led me to a certain garden, and there was sun and moon; I saw there trees like the trees of Mitsrayim called *mirobalanon*[253] and their fruit was like *mirobalanon*, and they were male and female: the male tree had the sense[254] of a male and the female tree had the sense of a female, and the name of the male was sun and the name of the female was moon, and the trees were saying: 'MUTU EMAN OUSAH.'[255] And at the time that the sun arrives, a voice went forth from the tree in the language of Hodu, and those who knew the language of Hodu did not wish to interpret for me, for they were afraid of me

until I swore to them that I would not harm them. And they said: "Know ye Alexandros that you will be quickly destroyed by your men and your relatives!" At the time that the moon arrives, I prayed if I would hence see my mother, my brothers, and my loyal friends in the land of Makedonia. And with the setting of the sun, a voice went forth from the tree in the Yavani language: 'Know that you, Alexandros, will die in Bavel by the hand of your men and your relatives, and you shall not see your mother nor the land of Makedonia!' With the setting of the sun, I prayed again if I would hence see my wife and my mother in the land of Makedonia and if the days of my life would finish and end. And a voice went forth from the tree: 'Your years have finished and the days of your life have ended, and finally you shall die in Bavel! And after your death, your mother will be destroyed[256] and your sister and brothers in a wicked and harsh destruction by the hand of their relatives. Do not question further, for you shall hear nothing.'"

[10. Alexandros at the side of Kandaki the Queen]

"I went from there and left at evening time from the land of Prasiakin;[257] I went into the land of Paras and went into the kingdom of the land of Semiramis. And there[258] was there a woman of exceeding beauty:[259] she was a queen and her name was Kandaki; I sent letters to her, saying: 'Send me my god Amon[260] and I shall sacrifice before him, for I have heard that during the years that you subdued the land of Mitsrayim, you took my god Amon from there—and if you do not send him to me, I will come against you to fight.' And she too sent a letter to him, saying: 'We cannot send to you my god Amon, rather his priests[261] are sending to you 100 bricks[262] of gold and 500 Ethiopian youths without beard[263] and 200 fine pearls, and the crown of my god Amon made of precious stones valued at 100 liters of gold and four pierced pearls, 80 giant ones and 80 unpierced pearls, 30 boxes of ivory bone filled with elephants' tusk,[264] 13 leopards[265] and buffalo,[266] 14 panthers which are beasts, 90 man-eating dogs,[267] 40 bullocks who know to quarrel and strive,[268] 4 tusks of *pilim* which are elephantim,[269] 300 tiger skins, 8000 branches of the tree *ebanos*[270] which is a tree black like the horn of goats and pure.[271] Send messengers and they will bring you this gift, for I, too, know that you have conquered every bit of the world.'"

Then Alexandros turned to go to her[272] and whereas Kandaki had heard of his habit of acting in theft and deceit to capture kings, she sent forth to sketch and engrave in secret[273] the image of Alexandros so that it be in her hand, and she took the image and put it in her room.[274]

Kandavlis[275] ben Kandaki the queen went to Alexandros' camp, whereupon the guards took him and brought him to Iphtolomaios[276] King Alexandros' second in command.[277] He said: "Son of Kandaki the Queen and I have come with my wife and a small army, for I had an important secret[278] from the women called Amazones; a prince[279] seized me and killed many of my men."

Then Iphtolomaios went and reported to Alexandros all these things. When Alexandros had listened, he said to Iphtolomaios: "Take the crown of my kingdom[280] and my clothes[281] and become king in my stead and act cleverly and call me by another name and say: 'Call to me Antigonos, a loyal messenger like me!'[282] And when I come, pretend to tell me the words of the youth before you and say to me: 'What do you suggest to me that we do concerning the matter of this queen's son?'"

Then Iphtolomaios donned garb in the image of Alexandros and Kandavlis beheld him and feared lest he command to kill him. And Iphtolomaios said: "Summon to me Antigonos my loyal messenger!" And in deceit they summoned Alexandros to him, and Iphtolomaios related to him all the words that he had put in his mouth. And Alexandros called out and said: "Give me an army and I will go and rescue the woman from that prince."

When Kandavlis heard, he rejoiced over his words.[283] He went into the tent[284] and embraced Alexandros and said to him: "If you trust me[285] and come with me to my mother, I will give you great gifts." Then Alexandros said to him: "Go and ask for me from the king for I, too, crave to see your mother." Whereupon Kandavlis went to Iphtolomaios and requested him from him. Iphtolomaios said to him: "Look Kandavlis, I will send my messenger with you with a letter to your mother. See to it that you honor him and restore him to me whole just as he will restore you and your wife to your mother." Whereupon Kandavlis said: "I take upon myself the responsibility to honor this man."

They went together,[286] and he approached the queen;[287] his mother and brother met him and ran to kiss Kandavlis. Then Kandavlis said to them: "Don't kiss me! First kiss this man who delivered me and my wife, for this one is Antigonos, he is a loyal messenger[288] of King Alexandros." When they asked him how, he related to them all that had happened to him. Whereupon his mother and brother kissed him; and they led Alexandros to eat bread in the evening.

In the morning,[289] Kandaki donned royal garb, took Alexandros and brought him to the room which was built of precious stones and gold, and its tiles were gold; and beds were there covered with Shin'ar spreads woven with gold and silken thread,[290] and the beds were of onyx and diamonds[291] with serpents of onyx[292] and arts of precious stone—porphyry[293] with horses and weapons of war; and at the feet of the chariot were horses—elephants[294] of precious stone; and facing them was a river of gold and golden trees with their fruit. And they ate there together with Kandavlis' brother.

On the following day, she took Alexandros and showed him rooms built of chalk stone which is *aeritos*,[295] and it appeared like the sun from the brightness of the stone within the room. Alexandros said to her: "All this glory is more fitting to Yavanim than to you." She replied and said in anger: "What's with you, Alexandros?" And it came to pass when Alexandros heard

his name from her mouth, he answered her: "My name is not Alexandros but rather Antigonos, and I am a messenger sent from Alexandros."[296] Whereupon she said to him: "You are Alexandros!" Then she took him, brought him into the room, showed him his image, and said: "Do you not recognize the image of your face?[297] Why are you frightened and shaking? Are you not the subduer of the land of Paras and Hodu, the one who ends the wars of Medai and Paras[298] and all the nations—and now by neither sword nor battle you are in the hand of a woman so that you may know no matter how wise a man be there is another like him who is wiser than he."

Then Alexandros got angry, gnashed his teeth[299] and desired to kill himself and her. And she said to him: "Don't gnash your teeth, for what can you do? Only because you rescued my son and daughter-in-law will I save you, too, from the hand of the barbaron,[300] and I will summon you before them by the name of Antigonos. Know that you killed Poros king of Hodu, and this one, the wife of my youngest son, she is the daughter of Poros, and I will not expose you that you are Alexandros."

Then Kandaki went out[301] and said to her son Kandavlis and his wife: "If Alexandros had not saved you through his messenger, I would not be seeing your faces. Now we shall honor him and give him gifts." And her son, son-in-law to Poros, said to her: "It is true that Alexandros saved my brother and his wife; yet my wife wanted to make Alexandros worry[302] and be sad by killing this messenger of his in atonement for the blood of her father." Whereupon his mother answered: "For what benefit?[303] If this one were to die, she would not be victorious over Alexandros."

Then his brother Kandavlis said: "I will send forth his messenger whole in his body and you and I will fight." And the two brothers began to strive and quarrel[304] with each other. Then Kandaki took Alexandros and brought him to her room and said to him in private: "Where indeed is your wisdom? It's up to you to give advice and speak suitably, for it is because of you that my sons desire to kill one another!"

Alexandros went forth and said to them: "If you should kill me, it will not grieve Alexandros,[305] for my lord has men greater and better than me; and if you desire to fight Alexandros, give me gifts and I will go and bring him to you, and you may do unto him according to your will." And they heeded him and allowed him (to live).

When Kandaki heard, she said: "True it is that from an abundance of wisdom you did conquer all the lands!" And they gave him a crown of emery worth many talents of gold[306] and a breastplate studded with onyx and diamond[307] —and onyx is called in the language of Yavan *ounion* and diamond is called *berylon*—and a cloak of purple and gold,[308] and sent him off in peace with his men. And Alexandros went to his army;[309] they put the crown of his kingdom upon his head and dressed him in the garb of his royalty.

[11. Alexandros' journeys of marvel]

He went to the Amazones,[310] the women, and he sent them a letter, saying: "Have you not heard that I have conquered all the land; if you desire, give me a tax and pray for me before the god and I shall leave you alone in your place; but if not, I shall come and destroy you!"

She sent him a letter in return saying: "Don't you know that we too are trained in fighting; and we live on the river Amazonikon;[311] in the midst of the river is a large island and a circumambulation of the island is a full year; and around the island is a great river surrounding (it) on every side, and the river has no source.[312] There is one pathway; 270,000 virgins bearing arms[313] garrison it. There are no males among us for the males live across the river with the cattle and sheep they herd. And we sacrifice horses for 30 days annually to Zeus and Poseidon;[314] and only once in every seven years the males come to us to ravish his wife, and when the woman becomes pregnant the males go their way. And when they come against us to fight, 120,000 of us ride horses; the rest stand to guard the island, and our males as infantry pursue after us. If we win the battle, we get praise and a great reputation—but if our enemies defeat us, they get no praise for this at all, for the one who defeats women, what praise does he get? You look out, Alexandros, that such things don't happen to you! If you want peace, we shall give you a tax as you wish. As you desire, send us back a reply. If you do not wish peace, be informed that you will find us ordered for battle in the mountains."

When Alexandros had read the letters,[315] he laughed a lot and then sent them another letter, saying: "If you desire that I destroy you and your country, stand in the mountains, drawn up in an army—and if you desire that I have mercy on you, cross the river and come to me, and I shall not destroy you. And send me some of you riding on horses; I will give to each one five jars full of gold."[316]

They sent him another letter, saying: "Come with our permission[317] and behold our country, and we shall give you 100 talents of gold;[318] we have sent 500 young girls bringing you gold and 100 horses. And if the young girls take husbands for themselves from among your men, let them be with you; and we shall send you others in their stead."

Alexandros went to them[319] and beheld them very, very beautiful; and their clothes were like the garb of Yavanim, like the daughters of Evyeines;[320] and he took a tax from them[321] and went unto the Red Sea.[322]

From there he went to the river Atlanta;[323] and many nations of many varieties live there; and he saw there *kynokephalous* who have a head like a dog[324] and others without a head, and their eyes and mouth are in their chest.

From there he went to another land, and that land was seven miles in the midst of the sea; he came there and found the city Ilios[325] which is 'city of the sun';[326] the measure of the city was 120 miles[327] and her citadels 14, studded with gold and precious stone which are *ismargos*;[328] the priest of the temple was an Ethiopian,[329] and Alexandros sacrificed there to the sun.

He went from there a journey of three days and found darkness: he did not find light; therefore he went on to the kingdom of Koresh and Kserkses,[330] kings of Paras; he seized there many houses full of gold and silver and precious things.[331]

[12. Death of Alexandros]

And it came to pass after all these things[332] that Alexandros did and saw, that Antipatros his general then thought to himself to kill Alexandros with a drink of deadly poison; and Antipatros concocted the poison in Bavel and put it in a lead vessel for, from the poison's intensity of potency, he was not able to put it into a glass vessel or a copper vessel or bronze or clay—for all of them would split from the pungency of the poison, and outside the lead he put a bronze vessel to protect it well. He sent the poison to his brother Ioulos[333] who was Alexander's chief butler.

The day came when Alexandros was angry at his chief butler and struck him on the head with his stick. The chief butler bore a grudge, a hatred in his heart toward Alexandros. After a few days, Alexandros made a feast for all his friends, and during the feast the chief butler served him the poison in a cup of wine; and after a long time a huge pain seized him in the liver; suddenly he shouted a great cry like a man struck by a bow's centerpiece[334] and commanded (to bring him) to his home; and he died in Bavel.

Iphtolomaios, his second-in-command, took[335] the corpse of Alexandros and placed him in carts with mules and brought him there to the city of Alexandria which he had built in Mitsrayim; the years of his life[336] were 32 years: at 18 he began to fight; and until he was 25 he conquered 22 kings and subdued all the nations under him. The day of his birth was like the rising of the sun; and he died in the month called Pharmouthi in the language of Mitsrayim, which is the month Iyar,[337] on the fourth day with the setting of the sun. And the rest of the deeds of Alexandros and all the days of his kingdom were 12 years.[338]

Antipatros went[339] to Elada340 in the land of Yevanim,[341] and after his name is called Patras,[342] and he became their lord. And Iphtolomaios, called Ologos,[343] became lord of Mitsrayim, and Seleukos Odikator[344] (ruled) from Aram unto Bavel. And Roksanin,[345] daughter of Darius wife of Alexandros, bore a son, and the Makedonim called his name Alexandros after his father's name.

[13. From Alexandros to Agustos]

When Iphtolomaios Ologos died,[346] Demetrius Polioketes[347] —and its meaning is warrior[348] —ruled, and he conquered the city of Shomron.[349] When Demetrios died, he was buried in his city Demetriah[350] which he had built. Then Iphtolomaios, called Philadelphos son of Iphtolomaios Ologos, ruled for 38 years, and he built Pharo[351] which is in Alexandriah. And this one[352]

brought the books of the Jews into the land of Elada and put them in Alexandriah;[353] and then Elazar brother of Shimon was made high priest. Then the Jews who were captives in the land of Mitsrayim went forth free. Then this king sent to Jerusalem and took Elazar the priest to translate and interpret for him all the books of the Jews into the language of the Yavanim.

And 26 years of Olympiados[354] the Romans subdued Kalabriah and seized the city of Messene; this was the fourth exile of Messene.[355] In that year arose Ieron the lord who was in Sikiliah,[356] and he seized Sarakusa.[357] At that time Valerianos Ipatos[358] acted to make Sikiliah subject to the Romans. In those days was Aratos the sage; then was Phainomena;[359] and then they first counted silver coins[360] in Rome. In 129 of Ilympiados,[361] the Romans fought in Sarakusah, and Karkhedonin[362] came against the Romans in Sikiliah. And Iphtolomaios, called Evergetes, ruled in Mitsrayim for 26 years. Then the king Nikodemon[363] built the city of Bithynin from its beginning and called its name Nikomediah. Then[364] the Romans fought in Sarakusah and conquered the city Karkhedoni and returned[365] 100 cities. Then[366] Antigonos let the sons of Athenes[367] free and built the city Kalamagnos which is on the river Orontin.[368]

In 134 of Olympiados[369] was Yosiphos the Jew and he wrote books.[370] And then Romans killed 40,000 of Galatiah.[371] In 135 of Ilympiados was Yehoshua ben Sirakh[372] the Jew among Jews. In 140 of Ilympiados ruled Iphtolomaios, called Philopator, in Mitsrayim and he ruled 17 years. In 141 of Olympiados ruled Markilos king[373] of the Romans; they captured Sarakusa and Kapuah a large city[374] and subdued Sikiliah under them. And Antiochus the Great,[375] King of Aram, conquered Philopator and captured him. In 144 of Olympiados[376] Antiochus Epiphanes ruled 36 years.[377] This one instigated the Jews to lead them from their faith to believe in the faith of Yavanim, but the Jews did not want to obey him. Antiochus got angry at them and brought forth against them a great army; and he killed many Jews and destroyed Jerusalem; this was the third galut.[378] He took the wealth of the Temple and conquered Jews, and he killed of its men 88,000.[379] Then he went from there to the land of Plishtim to enslave them under him.[380]

In 150 of Olympiados,[381] fighting erupted in Sikiliah by their slaves; the Romans sent there Lukhkulos,[382] general of the army; he conquered and enslaved them under him, and the fighting quieted. In that year,[383] Horkanos high priest fought the city of Shomron,[384] called in the language of Yavan Sebastin,[385] and destroyed her to the foundation; afterwards it was rebuilt by the hand of Herodos and called Sebastin; and then Kapitoleon in Roma was burned.[386] Then Digranes[387] king of Armeniakon took the daughter of Mithridatos[388] as his wife; he brought forth a great army and conquered Antiochus the Great of Aram,[389] forced him from his kingdom, and subdued all the land as far as the land of the Plishtim.[390] And from that year, Armenoi[391] began to give tax to the Romans. In 177 of the Olympiados,[392] the

city of Pompeia was built by Pompeios. In that year,[393] Romans enslaved[394] Albania and Iberiah and Kolosos and the sons of Arav under them. And Romans conquered Jerusalem through Pompeios their king without fighting, for he had compassion on the Jews;[395] he took the king Aristobulos[396] alone[397] as captive because he had rebelled[398] against the Romans, for he had trusted in Mithridatos after the death of his father,[399] and because of this the kingdom of Aristobulos was transformed; this was the fourth exile of Jerusalem.[400]

In the year 5470[401] from the creation of the world, in the calculation of the gentiles in 184 of Olympiados,[402] Kleopatra, daughter of Antiochus king of Aram,[403] ruled for 22 years in Mitsrayim. In those days,[404] Kasios king of Romans destroyed the cities of Asiah,[405] fought the Jews, captured Jerusalem, and looted the Temple; this was the fifth exile of Jerusalem.[406] He also destroyed[407] the island called Rodos and many other islands and many cities.[408] And when Iphtolomaios who was king of Karenen died,[409] he willed his kingdom to the Romans.

In 185 of Olympiados[410] Antonios loved Kleopatra, and Antonios ruled in the land of Paras; and as he approached Kleopatra, Kleopatra heard and went out to greet him; they went to the land of Tarsos, and he married Kleopatra in Alexandriah; from there he took her to Rome; and he banished his first wife Octaviah, sister of Kaisar, with her sons from his house. And they made war between them, Agustos and this Antonios, because he was angry about his sister; Agustos Kaisar killed Antonios and Kleopatra and her sons Gaios and Kaisaros.[411] And this Agustos set[412] Kornelios over Mitsrayim and sent Galos[413] to Rome.[414] Then occurred the battle of Kritim, that is the island.[415] And the kings of Mitsrayim 295 years.[416]

In 190 of Olympiados,[417] Hirodis ben Antipatros the Askeloni became king over the Jews; Agustos seized him,[418] imprisoned him, and sent him to Rome. Agustos went out and seized the land of Kantabros.[419] In 192 of Olympiados,[420] Tiberios, commander of the army of Roma, built the city of Tavromani and Tyndarin.

The first king[421] who ruled in Roma was Ioulios, and he was Gaios; from this one the Romans were strengthened in their kingdom to be mistress of kingdoms.[422] And from this one all the kings of Romi were called Kaisaroi, for Romi was a kingdom twice:[423] once in the days of Latinos and a second time[424] in the days of Ioulios king of Romi; and Ioulios the king made the calendar of gentiles.[425] And this one[426] called (the month) Ab (by) a new name, Ioulios, after his name; and he ruled four years and four months.[427] Agustos Kaisar ruled 56 years[428] and Hirodis ruled[429] at Agustos' command for 37 years; he built the Temple[430] which was in Jerusalem which Antiochus Epiphanes had destroyed; and Hirodis built it twofold in its beauty, in width, breadth, and height. He also built the city of Shomron anew[431] and called its name Sibastin,[432] and its meaning is Kaisaria.[433]

[14. (Fragment from a treatise on Hodu and a passage from the Talmud)]

...knows her[434] in the bedding of women. And if a woman is barren, her husband visits her for five years;[435] after five years he sends her out if she has not conceived. For this reason, the nation of Bragmanoi[436] are not so numerous. When the time comes for them to pass over, in great fear and trembling they pass over, for they say that in the same river are creatures so huge that the elephant can enter their throats and also huge crocodiles[437] whose length is sixty cubits,[438] and I saw one with my eyes, and also ants as huge as a man's hand and scorpions almost a cubit. From fear of these animals, they tremble in their crossing, but in the same place they are not seen, rather in other places. Many elephants are found there. And this is the way of the Bragmanoi and their homeland and their creatures according to the words of Alexandros via Thebaios.[439]

And again Alexandros said:[440] "As I was going, I arrived at a certain spring, ate bread, and had with me salted *gildana* (fish); and, as they were being washed, a sweet smell emanated from them. I said: "This shows that this well comes from Eden." Some say he took some of the water and washed his face. Others say he went with that spring until he came to the opening of Gan Eden and raised his voice: "Open the gate for me." They said to him: "This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter into it." He said: I, too, am a king and am considered of some account." They gave him a skull (eyeball). He went and weighed all his gold and silver against this but it was not equal to it. He said to the rabbis: "How is this?" They said to him: "A skull of flesh and blood (a man) is never sated as long as it lives." He said to them: "And how do you know this?" They took a little dust and covered it (so it could not see), and immediately it was weighed down by this weight as it is written: "The Netherworld and Destruction are never satisfied, so the eyes of man are never satiated."[441]

DONE

Blessed is the One who gives strength to the weary; and to him without might he increases strength.[442]

COMPLETED

NOTES

1 Cf. Introductions to Albert Mugrdich Wolohojian, *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes* (New York, 1979) [in Armenian]. Israel J. Kazis, *The Book of the Gests of Alexander of Macedon* (Cambridge, MA, 1962) [in Hebrew]. E.A.W. Budge, *The History of*

Alexander the Great (Cambridge, England, 1889) [in Syriac]. Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* (London, 1896) [in Ethiopic]. E. H. Haight, *The Life of Alexander of Macedon by Pseudo-Callisthenes* (New York, 1955); trans. of Greek *alpha* text, ed. by W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, 1 (Berlin, 1926; reprint 1958).

2 *Yosippon*, Ch. 10.

3 *Sefer Yosippon*, Ch. 60, lines 58-60, D. Flusser, ed., Vol. I, (Jerusalem, 1978), p. 280. (The Jewish mysteries of pre-modern India are apparently still to be opened as a quick look at the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, sub: India, Cochin, Benei Israel, would indicate.)

4 On the absorption and reuse of Hellenistic materials, see Erich S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism. The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley, CA, 1998).

5 David Flusser, "The Fourth Empire - An Indian Rhinoceros?", in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 345-54. This collection of essays expands Flusser's reading of Indian and Persian sources on hellenistic and medieval Jewish texts. Van Bekkum's edition of the Jews' College ms preserves the Greek as *odonteron* (p. 130) and in the Paris ms as *iro nterokhen* (p. 90).

Both mss are translated from an Arabic *Vorlage* and in each the word is prefaced by "in the language of the men of India". This suggests that the translators did not recognize the Greek original of the term and gives support to my suggestion that these two translations were controlled exercises by youthful translators in training; cf. my review in *JJS* (Spring, 1997).

6 Hans Lewy, "Aristotle and the Jewish Sage according to Clearchus of Soli," *The Harvard Theological Review*, XXXI (1938).

7 Luitpold Wallach, "Alexander the Great and the Indian Gymnosophists in Hebrew Tradition," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XI (1941), pp. 60ff. Kazis, *The Book of the Gests of Alexander of Macedon*, p. 14. John Gager's two works on Hellenistic-Roman attitudes toward the Jews: *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville, TN, 1972) and *The Origins of Anti-Semitism.*

8 The most convenient summary of the Talmudic and Midrashic material and its scholarly discussion is contained in Israel Kazis's 1962 edition and translation of *The Book of the Gests of Alexander of Macedon* with additional and updated discussion by Wout Van Bekkum in his introduction to *A Hebrew Alexander Romance According To MS London, Jews' College*, 145 (Leuven, 1992). For earlier scholarship cf. Wallach, *op.cit.*

9 Morris Epstein, ed. and trans., (Philadelphia, 1967). In the collection of rabbinic and medieval lore contained in *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (Moses Gaster, trans., with Prolegomenon by Haim Schwarzbaum, New York, 1971), there are hardly any references to India of note save for the odd renaming of Eldad HaDani as Elhanan the Merchant from India.

10 *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 62-71, 175-229, 335-38. Goitein also lists there a more complete collection called the *India Book* (*non vidi*). India continued to be a source for wisdom during the middle ages, and Shabbatai Donnolo (10th century southern Italy) lists Indian astronomy among his accomplishments.

11 Wout Van Bekkum, ed. and trans., *A Hebrew Alexander Romance According to MS Héb.* 671.5 *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale*, (Groningen, 1994) [#2]; idem, *A Hebrew Alexander Romance according to MS London, Jews' College*, 145 (Louven, 1992) [#3]; Rosalie Reich, ed. and trans., *Tales of Alexander The Macedonian* (New York, 1972) [#4]; Flusser, ed., Parma de Rossi ms. in *Sefer Yosippon*, I (Jerusalem, 1978) [#5]; Kazis, ed. and trans., Paris, BN, Ms. Heb. 750 Cambridge, MA, 1962) [#6]. The complex literary tradition and scholarly discussion of the Alexander Romance in *Yosippon* as summarized by Kazis is now superseded by recent scholarly editions of these manuscripts and Flusser's edition of *Yosippon* (1978); cf. Van Bekkum's introduction to his edition of MS London, Jews' College, no. 145 [#3], 16-21 for latest guide to the literature and its problems.

12 Discussed by Kazis (note 7), Ch. II and Van Bekkum (see previous note).

13 Cf. Van Bekkum (Leuven, 1992), pp 15ff. For this reason, it is not necessary in this study to compare the text to the other translations. That task can be reserved for a fuller study of the Alexander Hebrew tradition. Rather the Parma text is more properly to be compared with the Armenian version. The importance of the Parma version, as Van Bekkum emphasizes following Flusser, is "for the reconstruction of the Alexander text in *Sefer Yosippon*." The *Historia de Preliis*, is a 10th century translation of a Greek text found and transcribed in *Constantinople*, by Leo Archpresbyter of Naples. A comparison of the Latin *Historia* to the Hebrew translation presented below is now possible. One question is immediately obvious: Do the Hebrew and the Latin translations go back to the same or similar Greek text? This question has not been addressed directly in the scholarly literature, but the proximity in date (10th-11th centuries southern Italy) is not of little interest in this respect. What has hindered pursuit of this question is the argument that the *Historia* is derived from a postulated *delta* rescension of Pseudo-Callisthenes (which represents an elaboration of the *alpha* tradition), while the Parma version is derived from a version of the *alpha* rescension which underlays the *delta* rescension. As yet no detailed analysis of the two texts has been made. The present translation may stimulate such a project.

14 *The Byzantine Chronicle* was copied independently and included by Immanuel Bonfils in his mid fourteenth-century Alexander Romance (Kazis, ed., pp. 107-9, Hebrew section).

15 Cf. RE *sub* Tauromenion, Tyndaris. Flusser argues that Tiberius resettled his veterans from the Dalmatian and Panonian campaigns in these two

colonies (*Tarbiz*, p. 184). Kazis includes the Hebrew version of the chronicle in his edition with no translation or discussion.

16 Cf. David Flusser, "An "Alexander Geste" in a Parma MS," *Tarbiz* 26 (1956-57), pp. 165-184, English summary V; this is summarized in Kazis, pp. 35-37; David Flusser, *The Yosippon* [Josephus Gorionides], Vol. II (Jerusalem, 1980), pp. 215-260. Cf. Van Bekkum (Louven, 1992), pp. 17f.

17 Since the Parma ms has never been translated, the literalness is justified for scholarly purposes. Cf. Flusser's discussion of the text and its language [*The Yosippon*, Vol. II (Jerusalem, 1980), pp. 233ff]. Flusser gives the following example to show that the manuscript used by the translator already contained scribal corrections from the text on which the Armenian version was based as well as the *alpha* version: "the beasts...their mouths and bodies were burned" (Ch. 7 before note 9). The *alpha* version has "bodies" while the Armenian translation and the *beta* version have "mouths" while the Hebrew translator's text has both.

18 A comparison of the Hebrew version in Kazis with that of the Armenian in Wolohojian displays the tendency of the Hebrew tradition to tone down the miraculous sensualness of this episode.

19 Cf. Flusser in *The Josippon* II, 248ff. Immanuel Bonfils, on the other hand, does include the story of Nectabenus and Olympias in his Alexander Romance, but he lived some three to four centuries later in Catholic France with its high medieval literary tastes which included such themes. The two texts edited by Van Bekkum also include the Nectabenus episodes, while Reich's edition of the Bodleian ms is an imaginative *arabesque* whose details are far removed from the original Greek tradition.

20 This is not in the Armenian version (Wolohojian, p. 116) or the Hebrew version (apud Kazis) and differs from the legends in *Talmud Bavli*, *Tamid* 32 a-b (for trans. and discussion, cf. Van Bekkum (Louven, 1992), pp. 8ff). In the *Talmud*, the Mountains of Darkness are in Africa which here is geographically out of place. In *Yosippon* (Ch. 10, line 76 in Flusser's edition) the Mountains of Darkness are listed just after India which may suggest why the translator gathered all his material at this location.

21 Most recently translated by J. H. Charlesworth, "History of the Rechabite" in James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 2 (Garden City, NY, 1985), pp. 450-461. The core of this text (Chs. 8-10) hss been assigned to the first century prior to the destruction of the Temple; cf. Elbert Garrett Martin, "The Account of the Blessed Ones. A Study of the Development of an Apocryphon on the Rechabites and Zosimus (The Abode of the Rechabites)," Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University 1979, especially pp. 205ff.

22 This question can only be resolved by further scholarly investigation based upon a more thorough edition of the Pseudo-Callisthenes than was available to the editor or translator of the present editon.

[23] See above note 16.

[24] Eli Yassif, *The Tales of Ben Sira in the Middle Ages. A Critical Text and Literary Studies* (Jerusalem, 1984) in Hebrew, suggests that the Rechabites in Christian sources parallel the descendents of Moses in the tradition of Eldad ha-Dani and Muslim legend. The *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, Moses Gaster, trans., with Prolegomenon by Haim Schwarzbaum (New York, 1971), Ch. LXIff and pp. 69ff. In a teasing aside, Cecil Roth, *The History of The Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 61 suggests an Italian provenance for the text.

[25] Cf. text in J. D. Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim* I (New York, 1956), p. 50 and comments in Yassif (previous note), pp. 104ff; cf. *Yalkut Shimoni*, Ezekiel 28.

[26] Cf. Discussion in Yassif (note 11), pp. 109f.

[27] Cf. Ben Zion Wacholder and Steven Bowman, "Ezechielus the Dramatist and Ezechiel the Prophet: The Identification of the mysterious *Zoon* in Ezechielus' *Exagoge*," *The Harvard Theological Review* 78:3-4 (1985), pp. 253-87.

[28] Cf. Flusser, *The Yosippon* II, pp. 248ff.

Notes to Ch. 1

[29] This text is preserved in MS de Rossi 1087 in Parma which contains three translations, most likely from the Greek: a) the Greek romance on Alexander of Macedon; b) an unknown Byzantine chronicle from Alexander to Augustus; c) the end of Palladius' Book on the Brahmans.
The later interpolations of the first two translations are somewhat confused; thus the following translation is from the original in the Parma ms with occasional corrections from *Yosippon*. Also folio five of the Parma ms has been lost and its translation has been supplied from *Yosippon*. Cf. David Flusser, "An 'Alexander Geste' in a Parma MS," *Tarbiz* 26 (1956-7), pp. 165-184, Eng. sum. V. (The original text occasionally has the form Alexandros which seems to be a local tradition; the name has been standardized for this edition.)

[30] The Romance (I,23) speaks of Mothone (SW Peloponnesos) against which Alexander fought. The confusion perhaps stems from this name.

[31] Medieval Constantinople which Philip besieged in 340 B.C.E.

[32] Romance I,23 has Philip send Alexander against a city in Thrace.

[33] Romance I,24 has Pausanias of Salonika.

[34] Olympias.

[35] Follows Greek word order.

[36] So in source.

[37] Follows Romance I,13.

[38] Source names other teachers.

[39] Renders Greek *katophere*.

40 Not in other versions.
41 Comparison varies in other versions.

Notes to Ch. 2

42 Romance I,26.
43 Figures vary in different versions.
44 Also in source.
45 Scythians also in source.
46 Renders Greek *prodromous*.
47 Romance I,29.
48 Romance I,29.
49 Renders Greek *stephanon ek chrysou kai margariton kataskeuasmenon*.
50 Romance I,30.
51 Tranliterates Greek *Lybie*.
52 Romance II,7 has barbarians which the translator understood as Berber Land in North Africa. Thus he connects this story with the above on Libya.
53 Romance II,8 has *Okinios* instead of *Kyndos* which flows in Anatolian Cilicia.
54 Renders Greek *ou to hydor katharon esti kai diaugestaton*.
55 Renders Greek *elgese ten kephale kai chalepos diekeito*.
56 Renders Greek *to posimon pharmakon*. The Hebrew formulation also appears in Shabbetai Donnolo, *Sepher ha-yakar* (Muntner, ed., Jerusalem, 1949, I,7).
57 Romance II,9.
58 Added by author.
59 On Great Armenia, cf. *Yosippon*, Ch. 88, note 66.
60 Euphrates.
61 Romance II,10 has *Baktriani chorȧ*; var. *Baktrianon chora* (Land of the Baktrians).

Notes to Ch. 3

62 Romance I,40.
63 Cf. Daniel 6,1; 11,1.
64 Renders Greek *oi theoi tetimekasin kai synthronon eauton ekrinan*.
65 Renders Greek literally.
66 Renders Greek *kolasomai se thanato aneklateto*.
67 Renders Greek *omnumi de soi Dia megiston patera*.
68 Romance I,41.
69 Renders Greek *paroxynthe*.
70 Not in sources.
71 Source has 60 stades.
72 Renders Greek *ten Dareiou skenen* (tent).

[73] Renders Greek *tous androdestatous kai eugeneis ton Person.*
[74] See above Ch. 2, note 11.
[75] Romance I,42.

Notes to Ch. 4

[76] Romance I,42.
[77] Greek Skamandros.
[78] Romance I,44. Greek has, 'And he arrived in two days at Bottia and Olynthon and destroyed all the land of the Chaldaians.' Bottia and Olynthos are two cities in Greece.
[79] The source has 'land of the Chaldaians' (Hebrew '*eretz ha-Kasdim*'), but there it is a confusion for 'land of the men of Chalkis' which is in Greece. The Hebrew translator rendered Kasdim as Canaan.
[80] Greek has *pros Maiotida limen* (Maiotis harbor is the Sea of Azov today). Author's ms had Maiotin.
[81] Romance I,45.
[82] Greek has *eis Lokrous* (to the men of Lokris).
[83] In one of the sources, the scribe must have written instead of 'one day' perhaps 'day 1' which is Sunday in Hebrew or *kyriakin* in Greek. The Hebrew author in turn saw *kyriakin* and understood it to be another name for Lokris.
[84] Renders Greek *hieron Apollonis.*
[85] See note 8.
[86] Renders Greek *tous Akragantinous* (to the men of Akragas); the latter is Agrigento in Sicily. Cf. A. Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman*, p. 57.
[87] Added by author who knew this perhaps because he came from southern Italy; see below Ch. 13, note 29.
[88] Romance I,34 has him go to Egypt at this point.
[89] Greek has *ta liverna*, a type of boat.
[90] Source refers to Tripolis in Syria but the author was thinking of Tripolis in North Africa and so added the data from his source (Romance I,31) on Carthage.
[91] See Romance I,31; figures differ in various mss.
[92] Author follows Romance I,39 where Alexander reaches Tyre. His ms mistakenly had *eis Tigrin* for *eis Tyron* perhaps.
[93] Romance I,39 has him in Syria; Ausfeld (note 11) suggests an error in the Greek version. Perhaps this had already been corrected in the ms which the author used since Alexander passed from Tyre to Egypt at this point.

Notes to Ch. 5

[94] Cf. Romance I,39 and II,11-12.
[95] Romance II,13.

96 Variant ms for 'city of Persis'.
97 So text which reads *emeris e* (for five days); see above Ch. 4, note 8.
98 Source has the god Amon give him this advice in a nocturnal dream.
99 Romance II,14.
100 *Satrapan.*
101 Greek accusative form of Eumilos; author uses the accusative form either through the influence of his source or through the Greek-speaking Jewish tradition of rendering names in the accusative; cf. D. Flusser, "Author of the Book *Yosippon*," *Zion* 18, p. 109, note 3.
102 Greek has *epi ton Straggan potamon*; the river called Stanga. Here too the author uses the accusative form (see previous note). The author also adds the prefix 'I' as was customary in the *Talmud* which reflects demotic Greek usage.
103 Not in sources.
104 Following Romance II,14.
105 Source does not identify provenance.
106 Following Romance II,13.
107 Romance II,14.
108 Source has one stade.
109 Source has 'to the gates of Persidos' (i.e., Persis); possibly the error was already in the author's ms; see above note 3.
110 Following the version in *Yosippon.*
111 Renders *asthene echein ten psychychen.*
112 Renders *meta thrasous.*
113 Scene follows Romance II,15.
114 Source has *daida* (a torch). This is vocalized in the text which means either the author or his Greek-speaking copyist vocalized this transliteration according to the medieval pronunciation since neither could translate this word; hence he added 'olive branch' following *Mishnah, Rosh ha-shanah* II,3 even though he did not understand the mishnaic usage.
115 See above note 9.
116 Not in sources.
117 Greek has *oligon.*
118 Romance II,16.
119 Romance II,16.
120 Greek has *Boukephalon* but vocalized in Hebrew which indicates that the author's ms had *Boukaiphalon.* The horse was called *Boukephalos*, but was written in the accusative case; see above note 8.
121 Author translates the name literally: *bous kephalos*; see below Ch. 7.
122 Greek has *to allo plethos* which recalls the Hebrew *plitah.*
123 Greek *erpase.*
124 Romance II,17.
125 Not in sources.

126 Not in sources but Romance II,19 has Darius promise 80 concubines to Poros if he were to assist him in battle.
127 Greek has *en Sousois*.
128 Added by author based on note 16.
129 Greek has *ton akmaiotaton cheimona*.
130 Greek has *tois enchoriois theois*.
131 Greek has *ta Xerxou basileia*; the Hebrew translator understood *basileia* as 'kingdoms' and assumed the nominative of Xerxou to be Xerxos.
132 Romance II,19.
133 Hebrew for Hind, later India.
134 Greek has *ekouse gar ton Dareion einai en Ekbatanois*. MS A of the Romance has *embatanois*; apparently the author's ms had *en batanois* which resulted in the above BTNIN which is vocalized in the Hebrew ms as Batanin by none other than the author!
135 Romance II,20.
136 Greek has *mechris ou mathosin poian gnomen echei par'auton ho Alexandros*.
137 Greek has *emipnoon*.
138 Greek has *epistas auto panu edakrusen*.
139 Greek has *eleipse to pneuma en chersin Alexandrou*.
140 Romance II,21.
141 Greek has adverb *basilikos*.

Notes to Ch. 6

142 Romance II,23.
143 Romance II,32.
144 Also in the Armenian translation.
145 Greek has *pharangx bathytate*.
146 Greek has *euren ulyn pollen dendron...karpon echonton melois paremphere*.
147 Greek has *ekeleusen oun syllephthenai ex auton*.
148 Variants have 332 or 432.
149 Also in Version C of the Romance.
150 Romance II,33.
151 Greek has *eis ten chloiken choran*; Greek *chloiken* (green) was confused in the author's ms as *chlauken* (= *chloaken* of the Byzantine song).
152 Follows Greek literally.
153 Follows Greek literally (*pyrroi* for *adumim*).
154 Greek has *aneu logchon kai belon*.
155 Variants have 120.
156 Greek has *theria prosdedemena tais thyrais ton eisodon. esan de os kynes megaloi*.
157 Source has: *os tous par'emin batrachous pedontas*. Thus the word *frascilona* is author's dialect since all ms of *Yosippon* have *bene yonah*. Only the

Constantinople printings have '*shilona* and these are *bene yonah*'. This then is a diminutive of the word *frosc* (frog), i.e., *froscelin*. Apparently then we have a Lombard dialect which the author learned from his contemporary Italian. Since we cannot prove this, our identification is but a supposition.

158 Greek has *ho de arpasas auten kai dromaios tauten katesthien.*

159 Romance has 300 or 400.

160 Romance II,36.

161 Greek has *exeleipon oste me phaneisthai olos.*

162 The word for sap (*ziah*), is a Hebrew medical term in Asaf the Physician and Shabbetai Donnolo. Also it appears in Syriac, but there it renders the Greek *idros*. There is thus no indication whether the term *ziah* comes to the Hebrew via the Greek or Syriac.

163 Hebrew for Greek *strakten.*

164 Greek has *dakrya de eichon os Persiken strakten.*

165 Follows the Greek literally.

166 Follows the Greek literally.

167 Greek has *drakontes.*

168 Literal translation of the Greek.

169 Greek has *en hydati psychro pegaino.*

170 Greek has birds; the Syriac also has roosters and the Aramaic of the *Talmud* as well.

171 Romance II,37.

172 Source has six legs.

173 Renders Greek *eis ammode tina topon.*

174 Greek *onagros*; Hebrew *arod* from Job 39,5; Septuagint has *onos agrios.*

175 Source has 20 cubits.

176 Thus in the Armenian and Syriac translations.

177 Follows the Greek.

178 Greek has *ichthyophagoi.*

179 Renders Greek *hydna* and may reflect local dialect; see above Ch. 1, note 1 reference to Alexandros.

180 Source has 20.

181 Also in the Armenian translation.

182 Romance II,38.

183 Variation of the Greek: *ekouen lalias anthropon hellenikon dialekto lalounton.*

184 Plural in Greek.

185 Cf. Exodus 14,27.

186 Same number in Armenian translation.

187 Romance II,39.

188 Transliterates Greek *makaroi* meaning 'blessed'; cf. introduction. Flusser suggests this means 'spirits of the dead'.

189 This identification is based on the medieval legend that the angel of death has no effect on the descendents of Yonadav ben Rechab who are eternal; cf. L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, V, 95 and the source in Jeremiah 35,19.
190 As with the Armenian translation, so the Hebrew skips over the end of this chapter and the beginning of the next. Each follows a similar Greek ms which left out II,39 - II,40.
191 Romance II,40.
192 Follows Greek.
193 I.e., the Isles of the Blessed of Greek legend; this phrase is not in the versions of the Romance.
194 Renders Greek *Syntromos de genomenos Alexandros.*
195 Follows source.
196 Also in Armenian version.

Notes to Ch. 7

197 Romance III,2.
198 Romance III,3.
199 Renders *kai pleistous elephantas*; the Hebrew translator did not remember the Hebrew word for elephant, *pil.*
200 Source has 'who fought together with the Indians'.
201 Source has 'in the Praisikian city'.
202 Greek has *pos echei Alexandros'*; perhaps the writer's ms had *pos prattei Alexandros.*
203 Renders Greek *chalkeous andriantas.*
204 The translator or his ms unites two versions: *ta stomata* (mouths) and *ta somata* (bodies).
205 See above Ch. 5, note 27.
206 Romance III,4.
207 Renders Greek *upo ton boubona.*

Notes to Ch. 8

208 Romance III,5
209 Greek has *pros Oxydrakas.*
210 Greek accusative of *gymnosophistai* (naked sages).
211 Greek has *eis kalybas kai eis katagaia katamenontes.*
212 Greek has *meta grammaton.*
213 Greek has *ouden onese.*
214 Greek has *soi gar epetai polemein, emin de philosophein.*
215 Romance III,6.
216 Greek has *os poimnia probaton nemomena.*
217 Greek has *Taphous ouk echete.*
218 Renders Greek *chorema.*
219 'Poor' is not in any of the variants.

[220] 'Rich' is not in any of the variants.
[221] Greek has *panourgoteron*.
[222] Cf. I Esdras IV,40; *Yosippon* Ch. 6 (middle) last lines of Zerubabel's riddle.
[223] Greek has *thelazi de gyne proton didousa to paide ton euonymon maston*.
[224] Greek has *to tes arches skeptron*.
[225] Greek has *athanasian*.
[226] Greek has *Tauten ego ouk echo exousian*.
[227] From here to the end of Ch. 9 the text is from *Yosippon* since one page is lacking in the Parma ms.
[228] Greek has *tauta ek tes anothen pronoias dioikountai*.
[229] Permission and authority (notes 20 and 21) render the Hebrew *reshut*; Greek has here *ouk energeitai anthropos ei me ek tes anothen pronoias*.
[230] Greek has *k' ago de pausasthai thelo tou polemein, all' ouk ea me o tes gnomes mou despotes*.

Notes to Ch. 9

[231] Romance III,17.
[232] Greek has *eis ten Prasiaken polin*.
[233] Greek has *euromen...thelyomorphous ichthyophagous anthropous*.
[234] Source actually has them speaking a barbarian language.
[235] Greek has *pany archaiou basileos taphos*.
[236] Greek has *katalipontes*.
[237] Hebrew *kanim*; Greek *kalamoi*.
[238] I.e., river horses; Hebrew drops the aspirate which is characteristic of spoken Greek. Greek Jews generally could not articulate h or het, and this is reflected in their transliterations of Greek.
[239] Variants have other figures.
[240] Greek has *skorpioi pechyaioi*.
[241] Greek has *kerastai* which the author took as an adjective.
[242] Greek has *rinokerontes*.
[243] See above Ch. 7, note 3.
[244] Hebrew *sheratzim* renders Greek *ta erpeta*.
[245] Source has 1000.
[246] Greek has *nykterides*.
[247] Greek has *nyktikorakes*.
[248] Greek has *eis ten Prasiakin gen*; author's ms was corrupt.
[249] Source has sixth hour.
[250] See above note 18.
[251] Greek has *echomen soi deixai ti paradoxan axion sou*.
[252] Renders Greek *anthropisti*.
[253] Greek accusative case; Shabbatai Donnolo also speaks of this in his *Book of Remedies*.

254 Hebrew *da'at* renders Greek *logismos*.

255 *Yosippon* has here *mot mot emah hoshekh*. The text is corrupt in the Greek versions and their translations, including our author's. MS A has *mouthou emausai*; the Armenian translator's text had *mouthouam auousa*; our Hebrew translator's text likely had *mouthou ema ousa*. Ausfeld (Ch. 4, note 9), p. 94 suggests that the Greek perhaps rendered 'in the name of the gods of the sun and moon'.

256 From this point we return to the Parma ms (see Ch. 8, note 19).

Notes to Ch. 10

257 Greek has *apo tes Prasiakes*.

258 Romance III,18.

259 Greek has *gyne echousa kallos ypepephanon*.

260 Author writes 'Amon rather than Amon since he was certain that there was a relationship between the Canaanite and the Egyptian god.

261 Greek has *presbeis*.

262 Greek has *plinthous*.

263 Greek has *Aithiopas anebous*.

264 Source has ivory boxes.

265 Greek has *pardaleis*.

266 Greek has *rinokerates*.

267 Greek has *kynes anthropophagoi*.

268 Greek has *tauroi maximoi*.

269 Greek has *odontes elephanton*; here the author remembers the Hebrew word for elephant (*pil*).

270 Greek has *rabdoi ebeninai*.

271 Author's gloss.

272 Romance III,19.

273 Greek has *zographesai*.

274 Greek has *en apokrypho topo*.

275 Reflects author's contemporary dialect for Kandaules.

276 Renders Greek *Ptolemaios*.

277 Renders Greek *echon ta deutera tes basileias*.

278 Greek has *telesai mysterion para tas Amazonas* (to fulfill the holiday of the mystery with the Amazons); the author misunderstood *mysterion* as the Hebrew *sod* (secret) which resulted in his mistaken and unclear translation.

279 Greek has *tyrannos* (biblical *seren*).

280 Greek has *diadema*.

281 Greek has *ten chlanida*.

282 Source has *paraspistes* which the author understood as *presbeus pistis*; possibly because his ms was so corrupt.

283 See note 25; the author skips over the story of the rescue of Kandavlis' wife byAlexander either through his error or because it was lacking in his ms.

[284] Romance III,20.
[285] Greek has *pisteuson seauton emoi.*
[286] Romance III,20.
[287] Greek has *eis ta basileia* (to the queen's palace); the author errs.
[288] Here the source has *angelos*; see above note 25.
[289] Romance III,21.
[290] Source has *serike techne.*
[291] Greek has *klinteres de ounionon kai beryllon tas baseis echontas*; one version has onyx. See below text following note 48.
[292] Greek text was apparently quite corrupt.
[293] Greek has *ek porphyritou.*
[294] Greek has *elephantes.*
[295] Greek has *koitonas ex aeritou lithou*; author did not understand the Greek *aerites* (color of air) and transliterated word.
[296] Greek has *angelos Alexandrou.*
[297] Greek has *epiginoskeis ton seautou charaktera.*
[298] Greek has *o kathelon tropaia Medon kai Parthon.*
[299] Greek has *kai etrixe tous odontas.*
[300] Greek has *k'ago se phylaxo pros tous barbarous*; 'from the hand of' (*mi-yad*) added from *Yosippon.*
[301] Romance III,23.
[302] Greek has *lupsesai thelei ton Alexandron.*
[303] Greek has *kai ti soi ophelos.*
[304] See above text to note 11a; also cf. *Yosippon* Ch. 57.
[305] Greek has *ouden melei Alexandro*; the Hebrew translation undoubtably preserves a local expression.
[306] Greek has *stephanon adamantinon polytalanton.*
[307] Greek has *kai thotaki di' ounionon kai beryllon*; see above note 33.
[308] Greek has *chlamyda...olopophyron dia chrysou.*
[309] Romance III,25.

Notes to Ch. 11

[310] Romance III,25; Greek has *epi Amazonas.*
[311] Greek has 'across the river Amazonikon'.
[312] Follows Greek literally.
[313] Greek has *parthenoi enoploi.*
[314] Greek has *Dii kai Poseidoni*; author knew the term Zeus.
[315] Romance III,26.
[316] Greek has *chrysou mnas é*(*psilon*).
[317] Greek has *didoamen soi exousian elthein.*
[318] Greek has *chrysou talata r*(*ho*).
[319] Romance III,27.

320 Greek has *estheta de phorousin anthinen*; apparently the author's ms had *eugeneis* (nobles) instead of *anthinen* which he transliterated according to his local demotic dialect.
321 Romance III,28.
322 Greek has *epi ten Erythran thalassan*.
323 Author follows Greek literally.
324 Author's gloss to the Greek word.
325 Nominative case whereas the Greek is in the genitive case.
326 Author's gloss.
327 Source has 120 stades.
328 Greek has *smaragdos* (a precious stone of green color).
329 The term here is probably generic for 'dark', rather than 'ethnic'.
330 Xerxes who is Ahasuerus of the biblical Esther.
331 Greek has *kai alla spoudaia*.

Notes to Ch. 12

332 Romance III,31.
333 Greek *Ioullos*.
334 Greek has *os toxo peplegos*; Greek *toxon* refers to an Oriental bow which is two pieces of horn joined by a centerpiece (*pechos*); the image is of such a bow snapping the centerpiece back at the archer.
335 Romance III,34; Iphtolomaios is Hebrew translation of Ptolemy.
336 Romance III,35.
337 Source has April.
338 Flusser's conjecture.
339 From this point the author uses unknown sources.
340 Accusative form for Hellas.
341 Author's gloss.
342 *Yevanim* is vocalized in text. This is a unique etymology for the name Patras which is also vocalized in the text. Benjamin of Tudela repeats this etymology from his text of *Yosippon*.
343 Greek has *o Lagou* (son of Logos).
344 Greek has *o Nikator*; author's text corrupt.
345 Greek accusative form.

Notes to Ch. 13

346 The following is based on an unknown Byzantine chronicle which relies ultimately on Eusebius.
347 Greek for 'conqueror of cities'.
348 Author's gloss based on his understanding of the word *polemos*.
349 Greek has *ten polin Samareon*.
350 Not in extant sources.
351 Pharos is the famous lighthouse in Alexandria.

352 Source has *tas Ioudaion graphas ek tes Hebraion phones eis ten Hellada metablethenai espoudase* (*Chronicon Paschale* 173a); author misunderstood the convoluted Greek and translated *eis ten Hellada metablethenai* as the following.

353 Source has translation done in Alexandria; see *Yosippon* Ch. 12. Hebrew spells (H)ellas with one 'l' and preserves the accusative case in Greek.

354 Source has 126th Olympiad; author did not understood this reckoning.

355 Not in extant sources; author uses *galut* (exile) for conquest.

356 I.e., Sicily; Syncellus 275d has *Hieron tyrannos Sikelias.*

357 Greek has *Syrakousai.*

358 Synkellos has *Oualerios hypateuon*; author's ms had *Oualerianos hypatos* (consul).

359 The translator left a space in his ms; above restored from Greek.

360 Source has *argyroun nomisma.*

361 Eusebius has 124th Olympiad.

362 Men of Carthage.

363 Follows source based on Eusebius; source perhaps from Anonymous, 40, 3: *Nikodemes o Bythinon basileus ten polin epiktesas Nikomedeian phnomase*; perhaps there is here a hint to the city Bithynion (cf. A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 151).

364 Source has this in the 130th Olympiad.

365 Greek has *elabon.*

366 Source has 131st Olympiad.

367 Athens.

368 The Byzantine chronicle upon which the author relied merged the previous data on Antigonas Gonatas with the information on the founding of the city Antigonia (on the Orontes, cf. Synkellos 273c). The city mentioned in our translation may represent the original name of the site and might be conjectured as a corruption of something like *kalligonos.*

369 Source has 133rd Olympiad.

370 Eusebius writes of one Joseph ben Tubia. Either the Byzantine source or the author errs here by identifying this Joseph as Josephus Flavius. *Yosippon* further emphasizes this identification.

371 In Asia Minor.

372 This is Ben Sira; the author transliterates his source.

373 Source has 137th Olympiad; Markellos was a consul.

374 Perhaps this is a hint to his south Italian origin; see above Ch. 4, note 12. For this phraseology in a later Byzantine period, see Peter Charanis, "A Note on the Population and Cities of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century," *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (New York, 1953), pp. 135-48.

375 Eusebius lists this under the 142nd Olympiad.

376 Source has 151st Olympiad.

377 This belongs to Antiochus the Great and not to Epiphanes.

378 Not in sources.

379 Not in sources.

380 Reference is to Antiochus Epiphanes' march to *Paras* (Persia). Author may have read *eretz plishtim* for source's *eretz ha-Partim*; possibly the Byzantine source already included this error.

381 Eusebius gives two dates: the slave war in Sicily began in the 161st Olympiad, and the slave revolt in Sicily was put down by Aquilius in the 171st Olympiad.

382 Who is this Lukhkulos? Eusebius (note 35) mentions Aquilius; perhaps the Byzantine chronicle intends L. Licinius Lucullus who was sent in 103 B.C.E. to put down the slave revolt in Sicily but did not know how to take advantage of his victory. Author's spelling is interesting.

383 Eusebius has the 165th Olympiad.

384 Hebrew for Hyrcanus; Greek Samaria.

385 Greek Sebasten in the accusative case.

386 Eusebius has the 165th Olympiad.

387 King Tigranes of Armenia; Heraclius in the sixth century had reorganized Byzantine Anatolia and created the Armeniakon theme (*pace* Theophanes the Confessor, but cf. *Armeniakon* in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, I, p. 177). Perhaps the author is calling the kingdom by his contemporary name for the area.

388 Justinus (1, 3, 38) identifies her name as Cleopatra.

389 This is not Antiochus III the Great but rather Antiochus X Pius.

390 The Greek version of the chronicle had, no doubt, *mexri Palaistines*. The version in *Yosippon* glosses here: "called in Arabic Falastin." It is likely that these words were original to the text and the author of the Parma ms skipped them in error. Flusser suggests that this may shed light on the author's provenance in south Italy which neighbored on Arabophones.

391 This is inexact; Eusebius lists Lucullus' conquest of Armenia in the 176th Olympiad. *Yosippon* glosses after Armeni: 'these are Amalek'. This designation is still current among Turkish Sephardi Jews and the Jews of Georgia and eastern Galicia. *Yosippon's* hostility to the Armenians may reflect Jewish reaction to the tenth century Byzantine persecution of the Jews attributed to the Armenian emperors.

392 The datum which the author found in the Byzantine chronicle is not in Eusebius. Pompeiopolis (here called *Pompeia*) is the city Soli in Cilicia which was renamed after its conqueror who took it after his defeat of the pirates in 67 or 66 (cf. *CAH*, p. 394) which was in the 176th Olympiad.

393 Eusebius writes that Pompey subdued all Hiberia in the 177th Olympiad. The author adds further data that corresponds to Eutropius VI,14.

394 These are the Albani whom Eutropius also lists as conquered by Pompey during his eastern march toward Jerusalem. Kolosos may refer to Kolosai

in Phrygia or perhaps one should correct to Colchis which is mentioned by Eutropius (VI,14).

395 Eusebius lists this under the 178th Olympiad; the Byzantine chronicle added a Roman perspective from an unknown source. This is not in Eusebius. Jerusalem was taken without a fight (Eutropius has 12,000 Jews die in the fighting and the rest allowed to surrender on terms) as is well known.

396 These words are lacking in the Parma ms but are preserved in *Yosippon's* version; the author skipped over them.

397 This word is not in Eusebius; there is no reason to assume from this that Pompey did not also take Aristobulus' family.

398 Also not in Eusebius. This information clarifies his captivity to be a result of his alliance with Mithridates king of Pontus.

399 This datum brings up the question of dating Aristobulus' alliance with Mithridates: a) the latter's father died in 75-74 and there was no reason for any alliance; b) in 68, however, Pompey threatened Pontus which would impel Mithridates to seek alliances. Therefore we should adjust the text to read 'after the death of his mother' as Flusser argued in his *Tarbiz* article (1957), pp. 18-19.

400 The word *galut* here means 'conquest'; the third *galut* was by Antiochus Epiphanes (above text to note 32).

401 Synkellos dates this in the year 5446 of the Byzantine era.

402 Eusebius has this under the 182nd Olympiad.

403 She was the daughter of King Ptolemy of Egypt, and the Byzantine chronicle confused her with Kleopatra I who was in fact the daughter of Antiochus the Seleucid king of Syria.

404 According to Eusebius, Cassius looted the temple in the 184th Olympiad.

405 This is not in Eusebius.

406 This is not in Eusebius.

407 Eusebius has this under the 184th Olympiad.

408 This is not in Eusebius.

409 Eusebius has this under the 171st Olympiad.

410 Synkellos (588) has the same date whereas Jerome has this in the 186th Olympiad. The story however follows the particulars in Synkellos.

411 Neither in Eusebius nor Synkellos; however, the information is substantially correct if we acknowledge that the author mistakenly read his source which contained *Gaios Kaisaros uios*. Augustus did order that Gaius, Caesar's son byKleopatra, be killed.

412 According to Eusebius, 187th and 188th Olympiad.

413 Author's error; Cornelius Gallus was the first Roman governor over Egypt and he committed suicide when Augustus exiled him.

414 Not in sources; perhaps the chronicle suggested that he was recalled to Rome to give an account of his tenure in Egypt.

415 Not so in sources; perhaps this refers to the incorporation of Crete as a Roman province which happened about this time.

416 This is in Eusebius under the 187th Olympiad.

417 Eusebius has this in the 186th Olympiad.

418 Eusebius writes that Herod received his kingship from the Romans; the author was influenced by the exile of Archelous son of Herod to Vienna in Gaul.

419 The 190th Olympiad of Eusebius has "the rebelling Kantabroi were subdued."

420 This is not in Eusebius and is an addition to our knowledge. The Hebrew reflects possibly the following of the Byzantine chronicle: *te de rsb' olympiadi Tiberios o ton Romaion strategos Tauromenion kai Tyndarin okodomeson*. This source informs us of the establishment of Colonia Augusta by Tiberius, the Roman general, in two Sicilian cities: Taurominion and Tyndaris. This occurred in the 192nd Olympiad or 12-9 B.C.E. Cf. Flusser's article in *Tarbiz* (English summary).

421 Based on Eusebius under the 183rd Olympiad.

422 Synkellos (305) has *Epi toutou ta Romaika ekmase*; the Greek chronicle had apparently *apo toutou*.

423 Not in Eusebius.

424 The Parma ms does not preserve the end of the chronicle and has: 'here much is missing'. It continues with the section from Palladius which is below Ch. 14. The remainder of the chronicle has been taken from the version in *Yosippon*.

425 This is correct, cf. *Chronicon Pascale* 187c.

426 Cf. Eusebius 184th Olympiad.

427 Eusebius, 183rd Olympiad, has four years and seven months.

428 Jerome, who translated Eusebius' chronicle into Latin, has 56 years and six months under the 184th Olympiad. Both Synkellos and Malalas have 56 years.

429 Eusebius, 186th Olympiad.

430 Cf. Synkellos 314c; *Erodes ton Hierosolymon naon diploun anokodomesen*.

431 Eusebius, 109th Olympiad.

432 Accusative for Sebaste which is the Greek name for Samaria (Hebrew *Shomron*).

433 Eusebius speaks about the founding of Caesarea (which is not identified with Shomron-Sebaste) by Herod under the 192nd Olympiad. This mistake could have been made either by the Byzantine chronicle or the Hebrew translator or even the interpolator of this chronicle into *Yosippon*.

Notes to Ch. 14

434 The author leaves a space before these words to indicate that his ms was missing a considerable amount, both the end of the Byzantine chronicle

(see Ch. 13, note 76) and the beginning of Palladius' little text entitled: *Peri ton tes Indias ethnon kai ton Bragmanon*. The translation was made either from the Greek or from one of the Latin translations (cf. Flusser's *Tarbiz* article, pp. 5-6).

435 Ambrose's and the Bamberg translations have *ad eam transit*.

436 Greek *Bragmanoi* (Brahmans).

437 Greek *drakontes*; Latin *dracones*.

438 Both the Greek and Ambrose's translation have 70 cubits, but the Bamberg translation has 60 as in our text.

439 Greek *Thebaios*; Latin *Thebaeus*. I.e, Theban.

440 Cf. *Talmud Bavli, Tamid 32b* in an interesting version.

441 *Proverbs* 27,20.

442 *Isaiah* 40,29.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ABOUT INDIAN JEWRY PART I: PUBLICATIONS FROM 1993-1997

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About This Bibliographical Column:

This bibliographical column constitutes the beginning of what we hope will be an ongoing effort to keep readers of this journal informed of some of the writings—both academic and popular works—that have appeared in recent years about the Jews and Jewish communities of India. It supplements the article by Nathan Katz entitled "An Annotated Bibliography About Indian Jewry (Revised)" that was published early in 1994 by Congregation Bina of New York City on behalf of an audience of both scholars and general readers.

The entries within the column are organized by community. First are general works on Indian Jewry, followed by sections on the Cochin Jews, the Bene Israel, the little-known Mughal Jews, the Baghdadi communities of Indian port cities, the Ashkenazim (many of whom—but not all—were refugees to India from Nazi-dominated Europe), and finally the mysterious tribal Jews. Excluded from this bibliography are items pertaining to Indo-Israeli diplomacy, except insofar as they bear on the religious and cultural life of Indian Jews.

Each section, wherever appropriate, is subdivided as follows:

- First are listed sources of incidental bearing on Indian Jewry—for example, a work on Indian history which makes mention of it, or a study of Jewish commerce of the middle ages which mentions the India trade, etc.

- Second are primary sources such as liturgical texts, indigenous historical writings and memoirs.

- Third are reprints of accounts by Jewish travelers from years past, many of which make for charming reading.

- Fourth are works of modern scholarship, followed by the fifth category, general interest works. There is a good deal of overlap between the fourth and

fifth categories, and the reader is advised that in assigning a classification, no judgment is implied as to the value of a given work. The difference between a scholarly and a general interest piece is purely stylistic. Furthermore, some could just as easily be considered "primary documents," since they present their communities' historical self-understanding uncritically or defensively.

- Finally, documentary films and sound recordings are listed.

Despite the column's obvious shortcomings and incompleteness, we believe that it will facilitate some of the work being undertaken by our colleagues in the small field of Indian-Jewish studies. Indian Jews themselves are avid historians and enjoy reading about themselves—as we all do—and this bibliographical column therefore is also for them.

While copies of some of the items in this bibliography are difficult to obtain, and newspaper articles may at times be even harder to locate, scholarly studies are generally accessible. As this column should always be regarded as a work in progress, readers are invited to communicate additional items, as well as corrections, to the compiler-editors.

I. INDIAN JEWRY IN GENERAL

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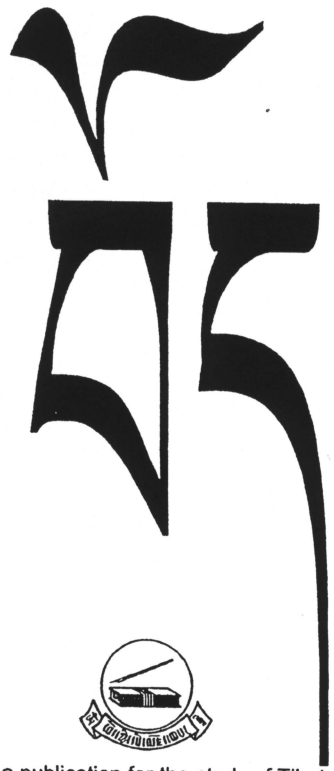

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FEATURE REVIEW ARTICLE

Hananya Goodman (ed.), *Between Jerusalem and Benares: Comparative Studies in Judaism and Hinduism* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), 344 pages, 24 cm, ISBN 0-7914-1715-8 (hardcover).

L. N. Sharma

The world as a global village calls for understanding among religions. The study of different religions should be useful in establishing peace and harmony in the world. The present volume makes a significant contribution in this direction. It gives serious attention to the religious traditions of India and Israel, the two main sources of world-culture and spirituality. The title of the book is remarkably appropriate. Jerusalem and Benares truly represent the spirit of the two traditions. The importance of these two cities was revealed to David Schulman (preface) by the old men in Varanasi who rightly said: these two sisters are truly alike and share a continuous passion for the holy. Pope Urban II declared, while launching one crusade, that Jerusalem is the center of the earth. Similarly, Indian classics depict Benares as the center of the universe, where the footprints of the creator are still preserved and worshipped by devout Hindus.

Although the essays can be read independently, a continuous theme runs through the volume, which is divided in two parts dealing with historical encounter and cultural resonances. There is a valuable and exhaustive introduction by the editor. The essays provide a fertile ground for further study. As David Schulman suggests in the preface, more than making comparisons they help a certain kind of listening, letting us hear the echoes that connect two ancient civilizations.

The contact between India and Israel is very old. Western discussions centering on religion, culture, language etc., have generally involved reference to Judaism and Hinduism. Wendy Doniger's somewhat personal essay "The Love and Hate of Hinduism in the Work of Jewish Scholars" provides a panoramic view of the Jewish attitude towards Hinduism. The Jewish interest in other cultures is remarkable. Since Jewish history is characterized by 'exile' and 'survival on the periphery' of other civilizations, it became necessary for the Jews to assimilate and be assimilated by 'others.' This gave rise to the 'culture of questions' among the Jews who were ever inclined to raise questions. According to Hananya Goodman, this makes the Jews 'Meta-rabbis', always breaking new ground. It also enables them to become 'frequent travelers between Jerusalem and Benares.' A similar culture of questions dominates Indian thought. Hinduism has encouraged the spirit of free and open inquiry since Vedic times. Attainment of knowledge was regarded as the

greatest virtue. This led the Indians to make equally significant contributions in different fields of learning.

Both Judaism and Hinduism discouraged dogmatism and orthodoxy, and provided greater scope for free thinking and critical inquiry. While giving the individual unlimited freedom in thinking, both demand strict adherence to duty. The editor rightly suggests that this characteristic provides a sound basis for an encounter between them. Being alike in many ways, they simultaneously attract and repel each other. If there are many Jews who admire Hinduism, there are others who strongly criticize and condemn it. Wendy Doniger believes that Jews like her have taken Hinduism as a source of personal meaning because they find in it the repressed side of their own religion. She has found, like the hidden treasure of the Rabbi in the Hasidic tale, her native treasure abroad in India. In this context, it is not remarkable how the scientist J. R. Oppenheimer recalled the verses of the Gita when witnessing the explosion of the atom bomb.

Shalva Weil's essay, "Yom Kippur: The festival of closing the doors," gives an insight into the Jewish capacity for adaptation in India's alien hierarchical caste system and brings out the nature of complementarity in Indian society. The relationship between the Hindu social structure and the worship enacted by the Bene Israel Jews settled in the Marathi-speaking areas of India is quite interesting. Nathan Katz and Ellen S. Goldberg have also done pioneering work in this field and have explored the significant role played by various Jewish groups settled in India.

Bene Israel, incorporated in the caste-system as Sanvar Telis, or "Saturday oil-men," reinforced the complex mentality inherent in Indian society. On the day of Yom Kippur, they closed their doors, completely abstained from work and maintained silence. Their Hindu neighbors took care of their work. After milking their cows, the Hindus would leave the milk and silently go away, respecting the Jewish customs and observances, a remarkable gesture of accommodating a minority way of life. Instead of forcing Bene Israel to change its ways and adopt the ways of the majority, the Hindus admired the Jews and encouraged them to follow their own religion. The Bene Israel, on their part, would try to imitate the upper caste by abstaining from food, wearing white clothes and observing chastity. Thus they would legitimize the caste system and perpetuate the status of absolute purity of the Brahmins. The caste-system, in spite of its weaknesses, has helped India's minorities maintain their identity and resist assimilation.

Francis Schmidt highlights Jewish admiration of the 'ideal Brahmin' in the essay "Between Jews and Greeks: The Indian Model." Early Jews formed romantic notions about India based upon the narratives of the Greek historians. These related to the first contact between Greece and India, especially the interview between Alexander and the Brahmins. Most of the Brahmins rejected the threats and inducements of Alexander. But one Brahmin, Calanus, agreed to accompany Alexander to Greece. Finally he, too, chose a voluntary death by

burning himself on a pyre before the very eyes of the king. These Brahmins subsequently became models of the highest virtue and came to represent that spirit which could not be subdued or enslaved by brute force. The Sikh Gurus in medieval India also became the models of such heroism through self-sacrifice.

The Brahmins who maintained their freedom in the face of oppression, and preferred death to slavery, represented the true spirit of the Gita. These heroic people were superior even to fire which could not really consume them. Philo sets Calanus as a paradigm of the Indian rejection of Hellinism. When the Jews began following the Brahmanic ideal, some Greek philosophers described them as the true descendants of the Brahmins. The Essenes among the Syrians conducted themselves as free in the face of cruelty, deceit and threats by the enemy and became the heirs and torch bearers of Brahmanism. It is remarkable how the Jews and Hindus maintained their identity in the face of continuous oppression and deprivation. The agony and anguish of their people when their places of worship were being destroyed repeatedly, their honor trampled and their women humiliated, are beyond description. Yet, centuries of such horrors failed to subjugate these heroic people. The way in which they survived 'Holocausts' is really admirable. Perhaps it was possible because of their adherence to the values and ideals of Calanus.

Chaim Rabin explores the contact between the two cultures at the level of language. His essay brings out the ancient link between Israel and India. Many loan words from Indo-Aryan tradition are found in the Hebrew Bible. Ships used to bring cargo from India during Solomon's reign. The Tamil poem describing a maiden's complaint against her long absent lover in foreign lands bears a similarity to the "Song of Songs" of the Bible. Indian names of wares also passed into the Aramaic and Hebrew through trade connections. Moral stories translated into Hebrew from Arabic were later found to have originated in India.

The essay "Abraham and the Upanishads" by David Flusser highlights the influence of the Upanishads on Abraham's discovery of monotheism. The Jewish "legend of light" and the Indian tale of the "mouse maiden" bear a close resemblance to each other. Abraham's search is also central to the Upanishads, and has its parallel in the dialogue between Janaka and Yajñavalkya. Flusser admits that the recognition of this similarity constituted the first steps in his journey to India.

Bernard S. Jackson explores the relation between Dharma, custom and law in his essay "From Dharma to Law." Dharma, unlike custom which is changeable according to the locale, is eternal and unitary and not legally binding. According to Jackson, the Indian model has significant parallels in the ancient Near East and in Jewish law.

The essay "Vedas and Torah: The Word Embodied in Scripture" by Barbara A. Holdrege is the most original and stimulating, and provides an

interesting ground for further dialogue. Employing the method of comparative historical analysis, the author explores the structural affiliates in the symbol systems associated with the two traditions and also highlights their differences. It would be gross over-simplification to regard them as totally different. Hinduism and Judaism both contain diverse sects, beliefs and practices. Though there is conglomeration of heterogeneous tendencies, they may be described as two species of the same genus and represent a model of religious tradition which is different from the Christian model. The Christian emphasis on categories like belief, doctrine, dogma etc., gives it missionary character. The Judaic-Hindu traditions, however, give priority to ritual, practice and law etc., and emphasize ethnical and cultural categories. As such, there is no scope for orthodoxy or missionary spirit in these religions of orthopraxy.

Holdrege questions the category of scripture as conceptualized in the Western tradition. The scriptures according to the Hindu-Judaic traditions represent multi-dimensional reality encompassing all other dimensions. They are the embodiment of the Word which has cosmological status. Their representations function as living, activating symbols. Each level of the creation corresponds to the level of the Word. The scriptures represent the blueprint of creation, containing names, forms and functions of all living beings. Writing or reciting them has cosmic ramifications and is tantamount to making God himself.

However, there are significant differences with regard to the theory of language. The oral and auditory aspects of the word are important in the Brahmanic tradition. But the rabbinical tradition gives primacy to the written and visual aspects. While the phonic dimension and the vowels play key roles in the Brahmanic approach, the rabbinical tradition emphasizes the cognitive aspect and assigns special status to the script, shape and significance of the letter. The Torah contains only consonants and no vowels.

The two essays by Elizabeth C. Visuvalingam and Charles Mopsik provide a sound basis for comparative study of the ritual sex in the Tantra and Kabbalah. The Tantric concept of concrete union does not exclude difference, but represents complete harmony of the opposites, the male and the female. The Tantras do not subscribe to the notion of pure/impure. They regard the dichotomy of the pure and impure itself as the ultimate impurity. The experience of integral unity by the Yogi during the Kula ritual of sex-union is realized within the body itself. Scholars incorrectly tend to over-emphasize the notion of 'transgressions' in the Tantras. The Tantras contain a variety of disciplines and practices. While some of these may be opposed to the Vedic tradition, there are some which adhere to the principles and authority of the Vedas. The authors have rightly suggested that even the Kula may be seen as a continuation of the Vedic-Upanishadic cult of sacrifice. In this context, it is significant to notice the evolution of the Vedic ritual of fire into the Tantric symbol of fire of consciousness.

Charles Mopsik highlights the role of ritual sex in the Kabbalah in the essay "Union and Unity in the Kabbalah." According to him, the proclamation 'YHVH is one' relates to the union of male and female. Man's duty is to realize this union as it is God himself who realizes his unity in the human act of unification of the male and female. The Tantric concept of *Sakti* as the mirror which reflects the face of the divine has a close parallel in the Kabbalistic notion of creator as the husband and Shekhinah as the wife in which totality of the divine world is reflected.

The Tantras, unlike the Kabbalah, do not subscribe to the notion of collective or national unity through ritual sex. Hinduism lacks the tradition of 'covenant'. However, the most significant difference concerns the direction given to the movement of the semen in the two rituals. The Kabbalah aims at concentrating the semen from the brain and other organs of the body to propel it with greatest force and determination towards the female partner to realize perfect union. The Tantric, on the other hand, aims at reducing the gross form to its original subtle form. The Yogi tries to immobilize the virile energy through the technique of *Khechari Mudra*, failing which he must make it ascend to its original state through *Vajroli Mudra*. He should never allow his semen to fall.

The radical difference in the orientation of coupling in the two traditions originates from their different world-views. The goal of the Tantric is to transcend the process of time and history. But the Kabbalist regards the temporal process as meaningful and the goal as centered in the history and memory of Israel. Though both seek to imitate the integral divine union, the Kabbalist regards the relation, the in-between where they meet, as the center, and the unity as expansion, not re-absorption. But the Tantric goal is the Union with the Divine. The place of union in the Tantrikas is his own body.

Margaret Chatterjee's essay "Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook and Sri Aurobindo" is an ideal model for comparative study. Both Kook and Sri Aurobindo believed in cosmic evolution leading to divine perfection. Kook holds that proper unity results only from separation. His view that one begins with separation and concludes with unification is similar to the Tantric notion of identity-in-difference. Likewise, Kook is closer to the Indian viewpoint when he says that evil is the product of *avidya* and exists only in man's limited view of reality. However, the contention of the author that there is an unbridgeable gulf between the individual and the society in Indian tradition seems to be inconsistent with the spirit of Hindu Dharma *Sastras*.

In his essay "A Hindu Response to the Written Torah," D. Dennis Hudson raises some important issues which are vital for comparative study. He has critically analyzed the views of Arumuga Navalar, a devout Hindu, about the Hebrew Bible in the context of Christian Missionaries. Navalar tries to refute the position of Protestant Christians in his booklet "The Abolition of the Abuse of *Saivism*," and holds that the denigration of Hindu beliefs and practices by

the missionaries is baseless. Interestingly, Navalar feels a close affinity with many Jewish beliefs and practices and finds synagogue worship similar to his own. He has no differences with the monotheism advocated and practiced by the Jews. Like them, he also insists on the unity and transcendence of God. However, he cannot subscribe to the absolute denial of God's representation. Any use of language for worship and prayer would amount to representation. As Sankara says, symbols and concepts belong to the realm of ignorance, which is the necessary condition of being in the world.

The traditional prescription against idolatry in the Prophetic religions is no longer valid today as the ancient form of idol-worship is dead and buried. Harold Coward has rightly pointed out that idol worship does not seem to be a real threat to a modern Jew.[1] The intense hatred and demolition of idolatry so pervasively manifest through the Islamic iconoclasm in India, is primarily a result of misunderstanding. As Navalar tries to show, all forms of worship are idolatries. An absolutely transcendent God, who is wholly 'other', cannot be the object of worship. Nor can it be grasped or conveyed through thought. The transcendent God, however, becomes manifest due to the request and prayer of the devotee. The idol is the symbol of such manifestation. Navalar points out that milk, which pervades the whole body of the cow, manifests itself through the teats owing to the cow's love and affection for her calf. Unfortunately the iconoclast never tried to understand the real viewpoint of the idol-worshipper.

To make the dialogue more fruitful, the issues raised by Navalar should be given more serious attention. The value of the volume would be greatly enhanced if it could have included discussion about understanding and tolerance among religions. Analyzing the viewpoints of Judaism and Hinduism about exclusivistic truth-claims in the context of religious pluralism would also be interesting. Navalar does not approve of such claims and advocates respect for all religions. Modern Jews also do not support the claim that there can be an exclusive revelation of truth. According to a Jewish scholar, "The word of God never comes to an end. No word is God's last word."

The editor's venture has been quite successful. This thoughtful work will serve as a valuable addition to the available literature. Goodman rightly holds that though the idea of comparing Judaism and Hinduism is not unique to this volume, *Between Jerusalem and Benares* provides a fascinating and elusive source of attraction and manifests vast and untraversed regions of correspondence.

[1] Harold G. Coward, *Pluralism: Challenge to World Religions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1985), p. 7.

BOOK REVIEWS

Asha A. Bhende and Ralphy E. Jhirad, *Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Jews in India*, Assisted by Prakash H. Fulpagare (Mumbai, India: Organisation for Educational Resources and Technological Training, 1997), 95 pages.

This brief volume reports upon the first ever survey research project conducted among the Jews of India. The study is based upon 819 home interviews, conducted in 1995-1996, in households containing a total of 3,330 individuals, representing more than 80% of Indian Jewry. A snowball sample is used in an attempt to interview every Jewish household in India. The refusal rate is reported as "quite high," although the reader is never told what that it is.

The volume uses the 1991 Indian census (which reported the number of Jews for the first time since 1941) for information on the number of Jews and their geographic distribution among the Indian states and between urban and rural areas. The survey is used to provide more detailed information on geographic location as well as information on household size, household composition, mother tongue, household income, home ownership, ownership of appliances, age/sex structure, marital status, educational attainment, attendance at Jewish schools, occupation, unemployment, disabilities, hobbies and interests, age at marriage, and fertility. This information is reported in about 40 pages of text and 40 pages of tables and charts. The first two pages provide a brief introduction to the history of the three groups of Indian Jewry: Bene Israel, Cochin, and Baghdadi. The final seven pages summarize the results and present some brief recommendations to the Indian Jewish community.

While this book does accomplish the goal suggested by the title, as a reader with little background in Indian Jewry [although with considerable expertise in Jewish demographies -*Ed.*], I would have liked to have seen at least a brief description of the institutional structure of the Indian Jewish community (number of synagogues, Jewish community institutions, etc.). In addition, a key question about the Indian Jewish community is left unanswered by this volume: it provides no information on the level of religiosity of Jews in India. The survey (as presented) dealt only with the social service needs of the Jewish population and did not address the future of Jewish life, given that Jews are a tiny, tiny minority within India. The loss in numbers due to migration is mentioned repeatedly.

A number of minor problems with the text detract from this volume, including difficult to read charts, and typesetting and spelling errors. One technical problem occurs in the reporting of household structure. A table presents the relationship of 2,511 persons to the 819 heads of household in the interviewed households. Thus, for example, we find that 4.9% of persons are

the parents of the survey respondents. This information would have been more useful if it had been used to divide households into categories such as households with children, households with elderly parents living at home, etc. Another apparent problem is the comparison of the age distribution of Jews in 1995 with all Indians in 1981. Even in 1997, the age distribution of Indians was not available from the 1991 Indian census.

Some of the more interesting results derive from comparisons with the Indian census. Two examples illustrate these comparisons. First, while only 52% of all Indians age six and older are literate, almost 100% of the Jewish population is. Second, in the Jewish community there are 94 males for every 100 females, while for Indians in general there are 108 males for every 100 females. Despite some of the "shortcomings" noted above, for those interested in Jewish demography or in the Jews of India, this volume is a valuable addition to the literature. The survey itself, while using a methodology different from US Jewish demographic studies, appears to be well done (particularly for a survey completed in a less developed country) and the data are presented in a clear and competent fashion

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Amitav Ghosh (trans.), *In An Antique Land*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 393 pages, 22 cm, ISBN 0-394-58368-X. (Previously appeared in Hebrew in *Ha Doariim*)

Who says scholarship has to be dull? Some of our most endearing literary characters and experiences are the products of scholarly relaxation. Sherlock Holmes teaches us how to do deductive reasoning amid a series of adventures. A bevy of English dons have written stimulating and entertaining travelogues. David Lodge and Umberto Eco teach us about literary theory amid their playful travels through various mysteries. Arthur C. Clark and Isaac Asimov create new worlds for us to explore. The list of experts worldwide who entertain didactically in a literary genre does not appear, however, to include many modern Israeli scholars. Perhaps, the scholarship of the latter is too serious to be as entertaining as their medieval Jewish counterparts. Perhaps therein lies a clue to some of the problems of the modern Israeli identity crisis which permeates the literature of its greatest contemporary novelists. Even God laughed, if not in the superb Hebrew of the *Torah*, then at least in our Midrash and African proverbs. That dichotomy may indicate something as well about ourselves.

The author's story is a wonderful read, but the author himself is perhaps more interesting. We begin with his sojourn in 1982 in Egypt in a tiny village

ruled by a corrupt and semi-educated *fallah*. Ghosh, a Hindu, is there doing research as a social anthropologist on a contemporary *fellahin* life as a social anthropologist. As he learns colloquial Arabic, he recalls a genizah document that mentions an Indian slave to a 12th century Jewish merchant. The book slowly becomes a series of reconstructed biographies of 12th and 20th century individuals and communities against the background of the author's own maturation as a scholar and writer.

The book also reads like a diachronic travelogue that interweaves the stories of two clans of people (his 20th century Muslims and his 12th century Jews) around a Hindu double helix consisting of the author's contemporary search for the meaning of history and his painstaking recovery of a usable biography from an enigmatic series of references to a 12th century Hindu slave and to a genizah merchant. Each facet of his research becomes a comparison between the respective clans whose lives and loves appear to progress along parallel lines. Another type of parallel is one that is obvious only to those familiar with Israel. The author's name might appear to be that of an Israeli Arab: Amitav from the Hebrew, and Ghosh from a Christian village on the road to Jerusalem.

There is another question that the author chases alongside his pursuit of the elusive meaning of identity in different times and places. That is the question of history and his observations are of particular interest to westerners. We are raised on a lineal understanding of history. Things progress and unfold for us. For him, an easterner, who understands the rhythms of India, history is cyclic, almost a series of parallel dimensions. *Eyn mukdam ve meuhar etzlam* and Indian souls experience the vicissitudes of metempsychosis (*gilgul neshamoth*)! The author understood that human nature has not changed by much in the past 5000 years of recorded history. Only time, place, garb, and language have been changed, but underlying all there are still people who function somewhat in the same way, at least in those areas not victimized by the violent aggression of western imperialism. India has a different rhythm and it appeared to have been functioning well in tandem with the parallel tolerance of the medieval Islamic world. Modernization and westernization, both technological attacks on traditional life, are, according to the author, destroying this tolerant interface with different realities.

In a wonderfully strange kind of way the author's discussion of the cult of Abu Hatzera, whose grave lies a short distance from the village of his research interests and his new found friends, ties together his diachronic travelogue. Along his highway he displays to us that historiography wedded to anthropology/sociology and written in an engaging and elegant style is as entertaining as fictive novels based on limited experience and research. There is much to learn in this book about the Middle East, especially by those who would do business there. There is even more to experience in the author's delicate recreation of the 12th and 20th century realities of Egypt and India. His autobiographical

guidebooks should stimulate scholars, authors and readers. We await with anticipation his next foray into our clouded individual and collective memories.

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Karen Primack (ed.), *Jews in Places You Never Thought Of*, (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., in association with Kulanu, 1998), 305 pages, 24 cm, ISBN 0-88125-608-0.

This book is a collection of 51 articles on "lost" or developing Jewish communities throughout the world, edited by Karen Primack, editor of the Kulanu newsletter. Kulanu is an organization, centered in the United States, which helps lost and developing Jewish groups world-wide practice their "Jewishness". Nearly all the articles are written by experts and/or activists in helping these groups come to or return to Judaism. The groups include communities which are believed to be descendants of the lost tribes of Israel, descendants of secret Jews exiled from Spain and Portugal by the Catholic Inquisition, and groups which have become Jewish and/or converted to Judaism out of belief. The Introduction gives a historical overview of the Sephardic Diaspora, Jewish roots in Africa, and the Jews of India. The remainder of the book discusses these and other topics in more detail.

Part I, "Descendants of a Lost Tribe," discusses the Bnei Menashe, or Shinlung, community mostly in northeastern India, but also in parts of Burma and Bangladesh. The Shinlung believe that they descend from the tribe of Menasseh, one of the "lost" tribes of Israel, and successively lived in Persia, Afghanistan, China, Vietnam, Thailand, and Burma. Although forced from different countries, they maintained remnants of Judaism. They were "discovered" about a century ago by Christian missionaries who converted most of them to Christianity. Some began to embrace, or re-embrace, Judaism in the 1950s and 1960s, and some have returned to Judaism and Israel. They number about two million people, and about five to ten thousand practice Judaism.

Part II, "The Marranos," discusses Jewish practices in the Balearic Islands and Sao Tome, Portugal, Mexico, Brazil, Cape Verde, and the United States. These communities are comprised of descendants of Spanish and Portuguese Jews who converted to Christianity about the time of the Inquisition, many of whom continued to practice Judaism secretly. Although increasingly referred to by some writers as *anusim* (forced ones) or crypto-Jews, "Marranos" is the term used by the authors in this book because the term is better known and more specific to the groups they discuss. It is noted that no offense is meant by

continuing to use this term, and that the use of the term can be a reminder of the desperate conditions of the past. This section which is about one-fourth of the book, includes a number of distressing but inspiring writings. Topics include the crypto-Jews of Belmonte, Portugal, who have returned to Judaism; references to the work of the Society for Crypto-Judaic Studies and especially the scholarly research of Dr. Stanley Hordes on the present-day descendants of crypto-Jews of Mexico and the southwestern United States; the Jewish communities of Venta Prieta, Puebla, Veracruz, and other places in Mexico; the Jewish customs followed by numerous descendants of crypto-Jews in northeastern Brazil (scholars estimate that fifteen million Brazilians, one-tenth of the population, are descendants of Jews); and others.

Part III, "Jewish Roots in Africa," discusses Ethiopian Jews, the Balemba of southern Africa (Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, and Venda), and a Jewish tribe in Nigeria. This very short section tells the story of the Ethiopian *aliyah*, and very briefly discusses the communities in southern Africa and Nigeria. Other communities in Africa are discussed later in Part V as "Communities Seeking Conversion."

Part IV, "Jews in China," focuses primarily on Kaifeng. It notes that Jews have been in China since the sixth century C.E., and that some scholars think the date is much earlier. This short section gives special attention to the work of Xu Xin, professor of English and Jewish Studies at Nanjing University, and includes a brief review of his book *Legends of the Chinese Jews of Kaifeng*.

Part V, "Communities Seeking Conversion," discusses generally small groups of people in different parts of the world who have converted or want to convert to Judaism. These include the San Nicandro community in southeast Italy, Inca indians from Trujillo and Cajamarca from Peru, the Telugu Jews of Andhra Pradesh in India, a group from the village of Sefwi Wiawso in Ghana, and, especially, the *Abayudaya* ("descendants of Judah" in a native language) of Uganda who adopted Judaism in 1919. The Abayudaya have had especially close ties to Kulanu members and a number of mostly short articles are devoted them.

Part VI, the eight short articles in "Reflections," discusses the controversial religious and ideological issues revolving around the acceptance or non-acceptance by the larger Jewish community (and Israel specifically) of these "lost" communities. The authors, recognizing that Judaism, unlike Christianity, does not claim to be the only true religion, do not advocate that Judaism actively seek converts. But, as Lawrence J. Epstein notes, traditionally Judaism was very open to people who voluntarily wanted to convert, and large numbers of people have converted throughout the centuries. Irving Moskowitz, who admires the Shinlung for clinging to a remnant of their faith for two thousand years, personally financed air transportation for scores of Shinlung to make *aliyah* to Israel. He writes, "I firmly believe that helping the Shinlung is the essence of Zionism. It is Zionism for the 1990s" (p. 281). The other authors in

this chapter also reflect concern and support for the communities discussed in the book. The last article, "Shall We Provide a Warm Welcome to Anyone Who Sincerely Wants to (Re)join the Jewish People?" by Robert H. Lande, objectively summarizes the issues related to this topic.

Jews in Places You Never Thought Of is a very interesting book and is strongly recommended for readers interested in Judaica. Publications in general give relatively little attention to Jewish communities out of the mainstream and especially to the small communities discussed here. This book makes a major contribution to providing a more complete picture of the world Jewish community. With its Kulanu connections, this book clearly represents the perspective of scholarly researchers and activists whose work encourages a more inclusive world Jewish community. Lande writes that few Jewish people can trace their maternal lines conclusively back to unquestioned Jews in the 1490s, and states, "If we cannot meet this test, perhaps we should not be so strict with people who have an oral tradition that says they are of Jewish descent...We should be welcoming, not overly suspicious or formalistic. Above all, we should search for creative solutions. We must not simply reject individuals or groups of uncertain origins" (p. 291). Of course, some people do not care about these groups because these groups do not meet strict Halacha definitions of "Jewishness". Others are concerned that Israel could not absorb all those who claim descent from lost Jewish communities or those who convert to Judaism if these returnees or converts wanted to make aliyah. Those who prefer a narrower, more exclusive world Jewish community would find that this book provides interesting, challenging, and objective new information. Unfortunately the book does not have an index, but it does have a glossary of 81 listings, a list of organizations which assist lost or developing communities, and 35 photographs.

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OBITUARIES

Ashin Das Gupta-In Memoriam

One of the world's leading scholars of maritime trade during the early modern period, Ashin Das Gupta, passed away in Calcutta on June 5, 1998.

Das Gupta will long be remembered for his pioneering work on the role of Indian merchants in world commerce, for his theoretical formulation of a narrative approach to history, and for his trenchant critique of the application of social science methods to the study of history. Readers of this journal, however, will know him best for his immense contributions to our knowledge of the Cochin Jewish community. His *Malabar in Asian Trade, 1740-1800* (Cambridge, 1967) introduced two of Cochin's leading commercial families, the houses of Rahabi and Sargun, to the academic world. His meticulous use of archival sources resulted in lively and elegant portraits of the commercial activities and social life of Jewish Cochin in the Dutch era.

His other books include: *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, 1700-1750* (Wiesbaden, 1979), *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800* (co-edited with M. N. Pearson, Calcutta, 1987), and *Merchants of Maritime India, 1500-1800* (UK, 1994). His Festschrift, *Trade and Politics in the Indian Ocean World: Essays in Honour of Ashin Das Gupta*, has just been released by Oxford University Press.

After graduating from Presidency College, Calcutta, in 1952, Das Gupta earned an M.A. in 1954 and a Ph.D. in 1961 at Cambridge. He went on to a distinguished career as a scholar and administrator. He was Professor of History at Presidency College, Calcutta, from 1961-65 and 1969-1971, after an appointment as the Agatha Harrison Fellow at Oxford from 1965-68. He was Visiting Professor for three consecutive years between 1971-73, at Heidelberg University in Germany, St. Anthony's College in Oxford, and the University of Virginia. He became Professor of History at Vishva Bharati University from 1973-83, and then became Director of the National Library in Calcutta from 1984-90. He returned to Vishva Bharati as Vice-Chancellor from 1990-91, after which he was a National Fellow of the Indian Council of Historical Research. He then spent two years as an Emeritus Fellow at the University of Calcutta until illness forced his retirement.

Das Gupta was a valued resource to scholars around the world. His elegant prose, retiring demeanor, and encyclopedic knowledge made him an esteemed teacher, colleague and friend.

Frank Conlon of the University of Washington wrote in an obituary on H-ASIA (June 6, 1998): "He was a man of extraordinary intellect, independence of mind and generosity of spirit. His studies of the world commercial and cultural exchange were marked by insight and a clarity of writing rarely encountered in our field."

Das Gupta is survived by his wife, Uma, and his son, Amil. Uma is known to many American scholars as the ever-helpful, charming director of the United States Educational Foundation in India office in Calcutta.

Nathan Katz
Florida International University

Flora Samuel-In Memoriam

Flora Samuel, the authentic, charismatic and deeply committed leader of the Bene Israel Indian Jewish community, passed away during Passover, 1998.

Flora Samuel was born in the village of Ashtame on the Konkan coast of India, and studied in Bombay. In 1995, as an educated woman with exceptional organizational abilities, she was invited to become the headmistress of the Sir Elie Kedourie School in Bombay, where many Bene Israel pupils studied. In 1964, she came to live in Israel with her husband Benson (who passed away in 1989) and their children, and paved the way for many in her community to follow suit.

Mrs. Samuel, or "Manik Bai," as she was popularly known, chose at first to settle in the town of Azur, where she taught English. Here, she was away from the hub of the Bene Israel community, though close enough to visit it regularly. In 1969, she established the Indian Women's Organization in Lod, in which she was active to her last days. I was welcomed warmly by this organization when I came to carry out doctoral fieldwork among the Bene Israel community in Lod from 1972-75. Through this organization, Mrs. Samuel arranged cultural meetings and scholarships for Bene Israel students. In addition, she revived the *khirtan*, an ancient genre of unique Indian musical plays. The Women's Organization in Marathi performed *khirtans* based on the stories of Joseph, Ruth, and Hannah and her seven sons. In 1997, she published an article on the subject in the Hebrew journal *Pe'amim*, which is devoted to the study of Jewish ethnic groups.

When Dileep Padgaonkar, then editor of the *Times of India*, visited Israel in 1994, he met Flora Samuel and her friends. Back in India, he wrote that the Marathi spoken by the Bene Israel in Israel is purer than that heard on the streets of Bombay! Indeed, Mrs. Samuel was considered an international expert on the Marathi language. She founded the "Mai Bolli" organization in Israel for the pursuit of the study of Marathi, edited a Marathi newsletter, attended conferences in Mauritius and other countries, and while already battling illness, organized a magnificent international conference in Jerusalem attended by more than 300 speakers of Marathi.

Flora acted as a true bridge maker. Throughout her years in Israel, she succeeded in representing her community while at the same time forging links

with people and organizations outside of it. She taught Sanskrit for a short time in the Indian Studies Department at the Hebrew University; she cooperated with the Israel Museum on a permanent exhibition on Indian Jewry; and she organized meetings and gatherings to explain to other Israelis who the Bene Israel were and what their contribution to world Jewry had been. In this capacity, she became the Vice-Chairperson of the Israel-India Cultural Association, established in 1992 as the official friendship association between the two countries.

Our loss of the foremost female leader of the Bene Israel community in Israel is tremendous. She is survived by her three children: Abigail, Isaac and Aaron, and her grandchildren.

Shalva Weil
The Hebrew University

David I. Sargon-In Memoriam

David I. Sargon, active in Jewish and Masonic affairs, died in his Brookline, MA, home on Saturday, August 22nd, 1998. He was 90 years old. Sargon was born in Bombay, India, of Sephardic Jewish heritage. His mother's family came from Baghdad and his father came from Cochin. Sargon's family played an important role in bringing together the Jewish communities of the Far East and in promoting Zionism. His father was a *hazzan* who advocated for the rights of the Bene Israel. His uncle, N. E. B. Ezra, edited Shanghai's "Israel ës Messenger." In India, Sargon and his brothers edited Jewish periodicals including the "Jewish Tribune." In addition, they ran a business which imported printing supplies.

In 1942, Sargon and members of his family left India and settled in the Boston area. He became co-owner of a home improvement business, his occupation until his retirement in the late 1980's. Sargon was active in religious and community affairs, and was a founding member of Temple Beth Zion in Brookline.

Masonry played an important role in his life from his days in India. In Boston he was raised to the position of Master of his Masonic Lodge and, in 1998, he was awarded a medal for distinguished service. For him, Masonry helped to focus a way of life, personal and professional, in which people treat each other with respect and with a reverence for life and God.

He leaves his wife Jeanette; two daughters, Linda Bentley and Nancy Sargon-Zarsky; a son, Eliot Sargon; seven grandchildren; and many adoring nieces, nephews, grandnieces, and grandnephews.

Nancy M. Sargon-Zarsky

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

STEVEN BOWMAN is Professor of Judaic Studies at the University of Cincinnati where he teaches a number of courses on ancient and medieval Jewish history. His books include *Jews in Byzantium, 1204-1453* (1985) and *The Agony of Greek Jewry During WWII* (in press). He has edited and introduced two Greek Holocaust memoirs and edited and published three other books. He has contributed articles on medieval and modern Greek Jewry and several scholarly articles and reviews on various aspects of Jewish history and archaeology.

MIRIAM DEAN-OTTING is Associate Professor of Religion at Kenyon College in Ohio. Her current research interests lie in Jewish social history and intellectual thought of the 19th and 20th centuries. She also has a special interest in conflict resolution and dialogue between Jews and Arabs. Her recent articles have, among other subjects, treated the *B'rith Shalom* work of Schmuel Hugo Bergman. She is currently writing a book on the *Fantas*, a prominent turn-of-the-century Czech Jewish family. She is in the planning stages of a study of the Calcutta Jewish community.

NATHAN KATZ, the co-editor of this journal, is Professor and Chair of Religious Studies at Florida International University, Miami, Florida. Among his dozen books are: *Buddhist Images of Human Perfection* (2nd ed., Delhi, India, 1989), *The Last Jews of Cochin: Jewish Identity in Hindu India* (with Ellen S. Goldberg, Columbia, SC, 1993), and *Who are the Jews of India: Identity Balanced, Identity Transformed, Identity Aloof* (tentative title, Berkeley, CA, in press).

ABRAHAM D. LAVENDER is Professor of Sociology at Florida International University, Miami, Florida. He earned his Ph.D. at the University of Maryland, where he wrote a dissertation on "The Generational Hypothesis of Jewish Identity." He is currently the author of five books, including *Jewish Farmers of the Catskills* (1995) and *A Coat of Many Colors: Jewish Subcommunities in the United States* (1977). He has written scores of scholarly articles and previously taught at University of Miami and at St. Mary's College of Maryland.

NANCY M. SARGON-ZARSKY is the youngest of the late David Sargon's three children. She graduated from Trinity College in Conneticut, where she specialized in Indian and Jewish studies, and earned her Master's degree from Columbia University, School of Social Work in New York City. She is a longtime member of the Zamir Chorale of Boston, a group that performs music

consisting of Jewish traditions from around the world. She lives in Newton, MA, with her husband and two children, and may be contacted at nsargon@aol.com.

L. N. SHARMA is Professor, Emeritus, at Benares Hindu University in India, where he taught for thirty years and was past Chair of the Department of Philosophy. He has delivered lectures at various universities in India and abroad and was a past Visiting Scholar at Harvard University. He has written several books and articles on the philosophy of religion and has participated in many conferences and seminars in India, Japan, Germany, U.S., Austria, Taiwan and several other countries. Since retiring from Benares Hindu University, he has been engaged in personal academic pursuits.

DIANE M. SHARON is Visiting Assistant Professor in the Department of Theology at Fordham University/Lincoln Center in New York City. She holds a Ph.D. in Bible and Ancient Semitic Languages from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

IRA M. SHESKIN is Associate Professor of Geography at the University of Miami and specializes in Jewish geography and demography. He is a member of the National Technical Advisory Committee of UJA Federations of North America that designed and executed the National Jewish Population Survey in 1990 and is currently designing the National Jewish Population survey for the year 2000. He has completed 18 Jewish demographic studies for Jewish Federations around the country and has published numerous articles on Jewish demographics.

FRANK JOSEPH SHULMAN, a bibliographer, editor and consultant for Western-language reference works on Asia since 1969, is the author of numerous bibliographies and scholarly guides, the compiler and editor of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) bibliographical journal *Doctoral Dissertations on Asia from 1975 through 1996*, and a contributor and bibliographical consultant to the Association's *Bibliography of Asian Studies*. Among his many publications are "Doctoral Dissertations on South Asia, 1966-1970: An Annotated Bibliography covering North America, Europe, and Australia" (1971); a "Directory of Individuals Interested in the Jews and the Jewish Communities of the East, Southeast and South Asia" (1993); and "The Chinese Jews and the Jewish Diasporas in China from the Tang Period (618-960 A.D.) through the mid-1990's: A Selected Bibliography" (1998).

SHALVA WEIL is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Education at Ben-Gurion University in the Negev and Senior Researcher at the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

She has specialized in research on the Jews of India for more than 25 years. Her publications include articles on religious leadership and secular authority, names and languages among the Bene Israel, symmetry between Cochin Jews and Cnanite Christians in South India, double conversion among the "Children of Menasseh", and reviews of books on the Baghdadi Jews. She has curated and consulted to several exhibitions on the Indian Jews at the Beth Hatefutsoth Museum of the Jewish Diaspora. She is the founding Chairperson (with Zubin Mehta as President) of the Israel-India Cultural Association. She is on the editorial board of several Indian scientific journals and the General Editor of the World Heritage Hindu-Judaic Series.

BRIAN WEINSTEIN is Professor of Political Science at Howard University, Washington, DC. He is the author of several books about language policy and Africa. His recent conference papers include: "Bible and Talmud as Evidence of Trade Between India and Israel" and "Charity and Public Service Projects of Babylonian Jews in India."