

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE

TENTH WORLD  
CONGRESS OF  
JEWISH STUDIES

JERUSALEM, AUGUST 16-24, 1989

DIVISION D  
VOLUME II

ART, FOLKLORE AND MUSIC

THE WORLD UNION OF JEWISH STUDIES

## CONTENTS

### THE TENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF JEWISH STUDIES

was held by

#### THE WORLD UNION OF JEWISH STUDIES

under the auspices of

The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities  
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The Publications of

#### THE TENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF JEWISH STUDIES

are supported by

The Ministry of Religious Affairs  
The Ministry of Education and Culture  
The Jewish Agency for Israel and the World Zionist Organization  
Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture  
The Kaplan Kushnick Foundation  
Yad Avi Ha-yishuv

Managing editor: DAVID ASSAF

This volume contains only part of the lectures that were delivered within the framework of Division D of the Congress. The manuscripts that were handed in by the lecturers were photographed without further editing or proofreading; the full responsibility for their publication rests with the authors.

#### THE WORLD UNION OF JEWISH STUDIES

Building of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Room 209  
The Hebrew University, Givat Ram  
91904 Jerusalem

☎ : 02-526910, 585146 Fax: 972-2-666804

©

Jerusalem 1990  
ISSN 0333-9068

Distributed by:

The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University,  
P.O. Box 7695 Jerusalem 91076 ISRAEL

#### PANEL SESSION LECTURES

- Dan Ben-Amos*, Jewish Studies and Jewish Folklore 1  
*Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett*, Problems in the Early History of Jewish Folkloristics 21  
*Galit Hasan-Rokem*, *Eli Yassif*, Jewish Folkloristics in Israel: Directions and Goals 33  
*Shalom Sabar*, Bride, Heroine and Courtesan: Images of the Jewish Woman in Hebrew Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italy 63  
*Evelyn M. Cohen*, The Teacher, the Father and the Virgin Mary in the *Leipzig Mahzor* 71  
*Avigdor W. G. Poseg*, "Butcher Dialogues": The Hanging Carcass in Modern Jewish Art 77  
*Nurit Sirkis*, The Tallith and the Cross: Conflict and Reconciliation in Barnett Newman's "14 Stations of the Cross, Lema Sabachthani" 85  
*Iliana Abramovitch*, *Bernard Picart's Ceremonies and Customs of the Several Nations of the Known World (1723)*: Moving Pictures 93  
*Irena Turnau*, The Dress of Polish Jews in the 17th and 18th Centuries 101  
*Marcia Reines Josephy*, The Work of their Hands: Jewish Women Artists 109  
*Reginetta Haboucha*, The Miracle Worker in the Judeo-Spanish Oral Narrative 117  
*Monica Bratulescu*, The Room of the Messiah in the Tradition of Romanian Hasidic Courts 125  
*Ruth Adler*, Y.L. Peretz's Folktales: Universal and Jewish Components 133  
*Miriam Morad*, The Contribution of Friedrich S. Krauss to General and Jewish Folkloristics 141

antiquity, as well as ethnic historical conceptions, would encourage even a broader range for interdisciplinary relations between folklore and history.<sup>93</sup>

But most important of all are the changes that the discipline of folklore itself has undergone in the last quarter of a century. Eclectic, and drawing upon diverse intellectual sources, trends and traditions, folklore has been able to achieve the synthesis that eluded Zunz and his friends, namely to integrate the study of the spirit with the analysis of behavior. Folklore has accomplished that by observing the spiritual and the expressive in society at its behavioral level, and by conceiving of human conduct in social life as a symbolic manifestation of the spiritual. At this level folklore has become both an explorative and an interpretive discipline. It sets out to discover the poetic principles of artistic communication within social units, and seeks to interpret the symbolic systems in specific cultures as the members of these societies use them in their appropriate, and inappropriate, contexts. The artistic texts and their social performances are the subject of interpretation and analysis. The ethnographic description that Zunz could program but could not implement into Jewish studies becomes, in the current folklore synthesis, a humanistic interpretive task in which actions and words are taken at their symbolic value. Folklore is hence posed to explore the symbolic behavior in Jewish societies, not as an ideal normative system, nor as a set of abstract goals, but as a real system that has an historical depth and ethnic diversity, and which is forged anew each time through confrontation with new social and cultural conditions.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>93</sup> See for example David Golan, "Josephus Flavius, Alexander's Visit to Jerusalem and the New Historiography," pp. 29-55 in *Josephus Flavius: Historian of Eretz-Israel in the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, ed. Uriel Rappaport (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben Zvi, 1982).

<sup>94</sup> For review essays that survey and analyze these new trends in folklore see Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs, "Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19(1990), forthcoming; William F. Hank, "Texts and Textuality," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18(1989):95-127.

\* An earlier version of this essay was presented at the Third International Scholars' Conference in Jewish Studies that took place at Indiana University on November 8-10, 1987.

## PROBLEMS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF JEWISH FOLKLORISTICS

BARBARA KIRSHENBLATT-GIMBLETT

The relationship between subject and discipline is fundamental to any intellectual history. Not all subjects give rise to specialized fields of study devoted exclusively to them. Accordingly, there are two key questions for a history of Jewish folkloristics: first, how have Jews been constituted as a subject? Second, what is the relationship between this subject and the historical processes by which disciplines are formed? I view the history of Jewish folkloristics--which must be considered in relation to ethnography and anthropology--as a struggle over whose representation of Jews and their culture would be authoritative.<sup>1</sup>

### *Theology Sets the Ethnographic Agenda*

"Apostolic nostalgia" and Christian sectarian struggle set the ethnographic agenda for at least three centuries.<sup>2</sup> Not until the nineteenth century did scholars manage to divorce the ethnographic study of Jewish life from Christian theological concerns. With the "discovery" of Hebrew, Christian Hebraists had engaged in historical ethnography as a form of Biblical exegesis. So passionate was the desire to imagine the world of the Bible in the most literal and concrete terms that Johann Christoph Georg

<sup>1</sup>For a more extended treatment of this subject, see my forthcoming book *Ashkenaz: Essays in the Intellectual History of Jewish Folklore and Ethnography* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press).

<sup>2</sup>The term "apostolic nostalgia" is taken from Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1983).

Bodenschatz, author of *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden sonderlich in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1748), actually built scale models of Noah's Ark and the Tabernacle of the Wilderness. Such undertakings, including the many accounts of Jewish liturgy and ceremony, were part of the internal Christian polemic regarding the relationship between Judaism and Christianity. Descriptions of Jewish custom and ceremony offered rich ground on which to wage intense sectarian struggles for legitimacy. Jews and Judaism were central to this debate, both as subjects of study and as objects for conversion. Jews also contributed to the growing body of ideologically charged 'ethnographic' description, whether as humanists in their own right (for example, Leon Modena), tutors to Christian scholars, or apostates.

In their many descriptions of Jewish religious life, Protestants might document the preparations for Passover in complete detail as a condemnation of Jewish ceremonialism and rabbinic authority. By implication, such Protestants were attacking Catholic ritual and clericalism. Catholics in turn might use the same material to support their claims of legitimacy by citing the antiquity of Jewish custom and its sources in the Old Testament. Accordingly, the 'ethnographic' agenda was set by such Christian doctrinal issues as offerings, fasting, clericalism, externalism (custom and ceremony), circumcision, the Sabbath, blessings, amulets, magic, superstition, ritual immersion, and burial practices. Whether focussing on the Ancient Israelites or on contemporary Jews in their midst, scholars such as Johannes Buxtorf the Elder, a seventeenth-century Christian Hebraist, alternated between fascination and disgust. As they examined such "exotic" and heretofore "hidden" Jewish practices as ritual slaughter and family purity, Christian authors were careful to display their sectarian loyalties, the sincerity of their conversion (in the case of apostates), and to protect themselves from accusations that they were Judaizing Christianity--factors that contributed to their strongly anti-Judaic rhetoric. Addressing not only a Christian reader but also a Jewish audience of potential converts, this literature was frequently published in the vernacular (as well as Latin), illustrated with handsome engravings, and issued in many editions over the course of more than a century.

A mysterious and unassuming little book published in 1820 in Vienna brings into focus the relevance of these early studies of Jewish customs and ceremonies for a

history of Jewish folkloristics. A. Unterrichter's *Die Kinder Israels, oder religiöse Gebräuche der Juden. Ein Baytrag zur Völker-Kunde* offers little by way of new information. It uses a well-established protocol for describing Jewish ceremonies as they occur daily, weekly, monthly, and annually, but, in contrast with the works on which it is modelled, theological tendentiousness is conspicuously absent. The title page states explicitly that this collection of Jewish custom is intended as a contribution to *Völker-Kunde*, which emerges here as the sheer description of Jewish customs without any Christian editorializing. Unterrichter has created a *Völker-Kunde* of the Jews by a process of elimination, by stripping away the theological argumentation that is so important in the classic works of Margarita, Buxtorf, Simon, Schudt, Bodenschatz and others.

### *Logical Divisions of Knowledge: Educating Citizens*

The history of the "logical division of knowledge" in the latter half of the eighteenth and better part of the nineteenth centuries reveals that in both general and Jewish schemes, the material we associate with folkloristics, *Völkskunde*, ethnography, and anthropology appeared as subfields of the broadly conceived disciplines of philology and literature, statistics, archeology, and geography, among others.

Geography was an important part of the curriculum of Haskala schools from their inception in the last decades of the eighteenth century. As early as 1782, Naftali Hirz Wesseley stressed the importance of geography as a Jewish school subject. Moritz Steinschneider had studied geography with Carl Ritter at the University of Berlin and taught geography at a Jewish girls' school from 1858 to 1860. Early outlines for curricula in Jewish schools characterized geography as an essential subject in the *Bildung* of a citizen, and in the development of *Sittlichkeit*. It is clear from the heading *Statistische Geographie* in an 1806 outline for Jewish school curriculum that statistics and geography converged where descriptions of people and their way of life were concerned.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> [Dr. Richter], "Einige Ideen über Erziehung und öffentlichen Unterricht," *Sulamit*, 1. Jahrganges, I. Bandes, 2. Heft (August 1806): 93-102.

The general enthusiasm for travel during this period created an appetite for reports of different parts and peoples of the world. On the inside of its little blue covers, Sulamit, an early Haskala journal, promised its Jewish readers reports on the mores, customs, and manners (Sitten, Gebräuche, Lebensart) of various peoples, including various Jewish communities. Articles published in Sulamit show that these topics were conceptualized in ways that yielded distinctive genres of Haskala ethnography, a close reading of which reveals the subversive potential of cultural inscription.

Take for example what might be termed ethnography as progress report. Ig. Jeitelles begins his article on the Jews of Bohemia with a discussion of the word Kultur, which he defines as cultivation (as in agriculture): he writes, "That which is cultivated does not remain in its natural state." He then differentiates levels of culture and offers a protocol for what is a distinctly Haskala ethnography of the "Kulturgrad der Juden in Böhmen." Topics include the "culture" (in the sense of level of cultivation) of physical life, of intelligence, of morality, and of taste. The description that follows, like many others that appeared in Sulamit, is in the form of progress report on how well Jews in Bohemia measured up to Haskala standards and how prepared they were for citizenship.<sup>4</sup>

The power of negation as a constitutive principle in cultural inscription is nowhere clearer than in the mode of ethnographic burlesque. From the outset, Sulamit ran a column entitled "Gallery of Obnoxious Abuses, Shocking Customs, and Absurd Ceremonies of the Jews," which was written by David Fränkel. The author first contrasts the simplicity and naturalness of life in the Bible with the bizarre ceremonialism introduced by the rabbis. He then urges readers to adopt the aesthetic and refined manner of cosmopolitan Jews. In an account of wedding customs, for example, the author objects to matchmaking because it seems to ignore the desires of the young couple and focus on crass financial transactions. The author questions the use of an incomprehensible language, Hebrew-Aramaic, for something as important as the marriage ceremony. He is offended by the public spectacle of outdoor processions

<sup>4</sup> Ig. Jeitelles, "Bemerkungen über den Kulturzustand der Juden in Böhmen," Sulamit 1. Jahreganges, II. Bandes, 4. Heft (1807): 209-225.

accompanied by music because the bridal couple is put on public display in a filthy courtyard. What is worse, such ridiculous wedding customs look like foolery to the non-Jews. How much preferable are the refined practices of the Jews in Leipzig who hold their wedding ceremonies discretely in the nicest room in the city.

Such descriptions, which oppose traditional practices to the bourgeois ideals that are considered prerequisites for the social integration of Jews, are illuminated by Norbert Elias's notion of "What may be described as an advance of the threshold of embarrassment and shame, as 'refinement,' or as 'civilization.'" Elias is pointing to an important psychological component in the social integration process, a process that reconfigures the basis of social distinction. The ethnographic burlesque induces shame at thresholds of its own making. This art of rhetorically induced estrangement mobilizes the will of the reader to abandon established custom and internalize new forms of sensibility and conduct. In this way, cultural inscription prepares the ground for change.

In the process, ethnographic burlesque also enlarges the terrain of ethnography. By narrowing the domain of what could be considered normative, critics of traditional ceremonies and customs simultaneously expanded the field of the non-normative, which was to become the heartland of ethnographic investigation. What one was too ashamed to do, one could study. Fifty years later, the vituperation we see in Sulamit would give way to nostalgia and the very wedding customs that Fränkel burlesqued would be offered by Joseph Perles as a critique of Jewish respectability. In 1860, Perles wrote:

The marriages of Jews of quite recent times have only this one peculiarity that need engage attention, that instead of the old tone of natural and religious joy which sprang from the heart, we now too often see the stiff etiquette of the salon, and it is only in a few localities that the old forms, artless and happy as they were, have held their ground against the general tendency to sublimate and refine away what antiquity handed down.

<sup>5</sup> Norbert Elias, *The History of Manners, The Civilizing Process: Volume 1*, translated by Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982 [first published 1939]), p. 101.

Particularly interesting in this connection is the account from the pen of a French tourist, of a Jewish marriage celebrated not long ago in Alsacia. Here we see the "Marshaliks," who have so long disappeared from our weddings, still amusing the guests with their improvised discourses abounding in surprising twists of thought; the costumes, so singular and of such venerable antiquity, defy the universal supremacy of French fashion, and the man of the world from Paris who witnesses and reports the scene, tells us that he could not help fancying that he sat a table with hosts that had risen straight out of the grave of the preceding century.<sup>6</sup>

Rather than being a tool for the interment of despised practices, cultural inscription is used here as a force for the revitalization of Jewish life. The writer stands at the edge of an open grave, not with spade in hand to bury old traditions but with a pen to inscribe them. As counterdiscourse, this type of ethnography envisions tradition as resistance and opposition to the cultural fashions of the European metropole.

#### *Omnibus Disciplines*

From the outset, the vision of the Wissenschaft des Judenthums included the study of living Jewish communities. Immanuel Wolf's manifesto in the *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* in 1822 provided for "1. Study of Judaism in its historical and literary writings;" and "2. Statistical study of Judaism in relation to the present-day Jews scattered throughout all the countries of the world."<sup>7</sup> Leopold Zunz quickly followed Wolf's essay with a detailed protocol in 1823 for the statistical study of Jews that included everything from settlements, religion,

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Perles, "Jewish Marriage in Post-Biblical Times: A Study in Archeology," in *Hebrew Characteristic: Miscellaneous Papers from the German (New York: American Jewish Publication Society, 1875 [first published in Monatschrift 1860])*, p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> Immanuel Wolf, "On the Concept of a Science of Judaism (1822)," *Publications of the Leo Baeck Institute of Jews from Germany Year Book II (1957)*: 202.

education, occupations, language, government, pastimes, old buildings, and tombstones, to "die Tradition," which included legend, fable, and anecdote. Zunz's systematic outline for a future Jewish statistics, which had as its goal a complete picture of living Jews conceived as a unified subject, worked with the broad notion of statistics current in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> It is in the context of statistics (and geography) that we find the earliest known appearances in German of the terms *Völkerkunde* (1775) and *Volkskunde* (1782). In 1787, Joseph Mader subdivided the field of statistics into *Landeskunde* and *Staatskunde*, which he further subdivided into *Staatskunde* proper and *Nationalkunde*. It is in relation to *Nationalkunde* that we find *Volkskunde*.<sup>9</sup> Zunz's protocol for a Jewish statistics should be read in this context.

By 1841, Zunz had started to formulate what he called *Völkerkunde* as a field of study within the more comprehensive discipline of geography. His essay "Geographische Literatur der Juden fun den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1841" was divided into eight parts. The section designated *Völkerkunde* (translated as ethnography in the 1841 English version of the essay) dealt with knowledge that Jews have about other peoples, particularly about those among whom they have lived or travelled. The section designated *Kunde von den Juden* dealt with geographical knowledge about Jews, no matter who the

<sup>8</sup> [Leopold] Zunz, "Grundlinien zu einer künftigen Statistik der Juden," *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 1,3 (Berlin, 1823): 523-532. See also, V. John, "The term 'STATISTICS'" (translated from "Der Name Statistik--Eine Etymologisch-historische Skizze," Berne: Verlag von K.J. Weiss, 1883), *Royal Historical Society Journal* 46 (1883): 656-679.

<sup>9</sup> Uli Kutter, "Volks-Kunde--Ein Beleg von 1782," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 74. Jahrgang 1978, II. Halbjahresband, pp. 161-166; "Aus den Anfängen der Volkskunde als Wissenschaft ["A. Volkskunde, Statistik, Völkerkunde 1787," by Helmut Möller; "B. 'Volkskunde' 1788," by Dieter Narr and Hermann Bausinger], *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 60 (1964): 218-241.

author.<sup>10</sup>

By the time Joseph Jacobs reminded readers of Zunz's future statistics of the Jews a century after it was first published, the disciplinary division of scholarly labor had changed so radically, that Jacobs's essay, published posthumously in 1818 in *Statistik der Juden*, must have seemed anachronistic to a reader of the time. Entitled "Jüdische Volkskunde und die Einteilung der Statistik der Juden," the essay explicitly identified Zunz's statistical outline as the ideal protocol for a Jewish *Volkskunde*.<sup>11</sup> In contrast, all the other essays in the volume viewed statistics as an autonomous discipline devoted strictly to facts that could be expressed numerically. Just how alien statistics had now become to the *Volkskunde* enterprise can be seen in Max Grünwald's 1897 programmatic essay on Jewish *Volkskunde*, where he writes of "diese nüchterne Statistik, diese Datensprache," which he identified entirely with the "Rassenschwandel."<sup>12</sup>

#### A Crisis of Representation

What happened to statistics as a discipline during the nineteenth century is crucial to understanding the troubled relations between Jewish *Volkskunde* and the anthropology of Jews. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, statistics as a comprehensive field of study had radically

<sup>10</sup> [Leopold] Zunz, "An Essay on the Geographical Literature of the Jews from the Remotest Times to the Year 1841," in *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, translated and edited by A. Asher, volume 2, Notes and Essays (New York: Hakesheth Publishing Company, 1840-41) pp. 230-317; [Leopold] Zunz, "Geographische Literatur der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1841," *Gesammelte Schriften*, volume 1 (Berlin: Louis Gerschel Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1875), pp. 146-216.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Jacobs, "Jüdische Volkskunde und die Einteilung der Statistik der Juden," in *Statistik der Juden. Eine Sammelschrift*, issued by Bureau für Statistik der Juden (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1918), pp. 30-35.

<sup>12</sup> M[ax] Grünwald, "Zur Volkskunde der Juden, II," *Israelitische Monatschrift* [Berlin], No. 7, *Wissenschaftliche Beilage zur "Jüdischen Presse"*, Nr. 28 (July 14, 1897): 25-26.

narrowed its scope. The mathematical component became the domain of statistics proper. The descriptive component was narrowed to political science, which formed its own discipline. These two divisions did not however encompass everything that used to be subsumed under statistics as a comprehensive field of study. The residue, topics that might have been studied under the heading *Nationalkunde* in earlier statistical schemes, were absorbed by *Volkskunde* and *Völkerkunde*, fields that had been cut loose and were consolidating their own autonomy.

In anthropology, the analysis of human bodily variation developed exponentially in a statistical direction, and by 1910, most uses of the term anthropology in Europe carried the meaning physical anthropology. Indeed, physical anthropology extended the study of man so far in a biostatistical direction that during the latter half of the nineteenth century, anthropology was often subsumed under zoology or defined as a medical speciality.<sup>13</sup> Samuel Weissenberg, Maurice Fishman, and Arcadius Elkind were all Jewish medical doctors who specialized in physical anthropology.

The field of anthropology had grown so quickly, achieved so much public attention, and was so deeply distressing to Jewish intellectuals that one of David Kaufmann's very earliest publications addressed the abuses of what he called "ethnography." In "Das Judentum und die Ethnographie," which appeared in *Israelitische Wochen-Schrift* in 1873, Kaufmann called upon Daniel Chwolson to refute objectionable theories about Jewish racial characteristics based on bodily form and on theories of Semitic philology.<sup>14</sup> In this turbulent period, which saw the unification of Germany and the last stages in the legal emancipation of the Jews, Kaufmann recognized clearly how thin was the veil of science and how intense the antipathy to Jews in these studies. It was precisely in these terms that Max Grünwald, twenty years later, appealed to the members of the Verein für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur" in Hamburg and the readers of *Israelitische*

<sup>13</sup>See George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1987).

<sup>14</sup>D[avid] K[aufmann], "Das Judentum und die Ethnographie," *Israelitische Wochen-Schrift für die religiösen und sozialen Interessen des Judenthums*, No. 8, 4. Jahrgang (February 19, 1873).

Monatschrift in 1897. The crisis he defined was not one of Jewish identity, but of the representation of Jews. Grünwald's call, like that of Kaufmann, was to fight hateful "science" with true scholarship, no small factor in the persuasiveness of Grünwald's petition.

Grünwald, in the second installment of his 1897 essay, was explicit on the dangers of anthropological characterizations of Jews as a race and affirmed the role that Jewish Volkskunde could play in fighting racial characterizations. Having been described repeatedly by others, Jews must take charge of representing themselves and should do so through Volkskunde, Grünwald urged. Comparative folklore studies would show the interaction and commonalities between Jews and other peoples, in contrast with anthropology, which stressed immutable and despised differences rooted in inherited physical characteristics. Jewish Volkskunde was one way to extricate Jews from the deadly anthropological matrix. The struggle was over who would represent Jews and whose representation would be authoritative. In these statements, Grünwald proposed an approach to Jewish cultural specificity that stressed the connectedness of Jews to other peoples and to universal human values, concerns that were essential to his vision of Volkskunde as a discipline in the 1890s.<sup>15</sup>

How did Grünwald constitute the field of Jewish Volkskunde? Inspired by Moritz Steinschneider, who had defined Jewish folk literature as a subject for study in 1872, Grünwald divided the field of knowledge in a way that precipitated "folk expression" as a distinctive cultural formation.<sup>16</sup> In contrast with written literature, academic art, and formal religion, folk expression was oral, natural, artless, and magical. With this formulation, Grünwald split the subject of Zunz's Statistik and proposed a special discipline, Jewish Volkskunde, for the half that deals with with unofficial, informal, oral creations of the people. Again Volkskunde is constituted as counterdiscourse, both in its subject matter and in its

<sup>15</sup> M[ax] Grünwald, "Zur Volkskunde der Juden, [I]," *Israellitische Monatschrift* [Berlin], No. 6, *Wissenschaftliche Beilage zur "Jüdischen Presse"*, Nr. 24 (June 16, 1897): 21-22.

<sup>16</sup> Moritz Steinschneider, "Ueber die Volkslitteratur der Juden," *Archiv für Litteraturgeschichte* [Leipzig] 2 (1872): 1-21.

role as disciplinary adversary to anthropology.

### *Unified Science of a Unified Subject*

There were others who opposed the formation of autonomous 'subdisciplines' of Jewish studies, and who would not have welcomed an institutionalization of Jewish Volkskunde as a separate field. Ismar Elbogen, writing in 1922 on the occasion of the centennial of the Wissenschaft des Judentums, recognized that disciplinary eclecticism was necessary for the science of Judaism to achieve its goal of encompassing "the entirety of the expressions of Jewish life" and presenting "the total range of its intellectual creativity."<sup>17</sup> At the same time, he stressed the necessity for holding in check the centrifugal tendency towards establishing separate Jewish disciplines. He was committed to a unified Jewish science of a unified Jewish subject. Indeed, scholars who contributed to Jewish folkloristics often worked in several fields. While this is characteristic of other fields at earlier stages in their history, it is here given an ideological charge. Others, such as Friedrich S. Krauss, argued for the integration of Jewish folkloristics into German Volkskunde. The debate continues to this day in the Jewish Studies field.

\*

The 1890s was a critical period in the development of Jewish folkloristics. In Warsaw, St. Petersburg, London, Prague, Hamburg, Vienna, Budapest, Boston, and elsewhere, increasing numbers of scholars interested in Jewish folklore joined study circles, supported Grünwald's newly founded Gesellschaft für Jüdische Volkskunde, and published in the pages of his and other journals. As the intellectual ground shifted to Eastern Europe and to cultural creativity in the Yiddish language, the field was to expand in directions that remain to be charted.

<sup>17</sup> Ismar Elbogen, "Ein Jahrhundert Wissenschaft des Judentums," in *Festschrift zum fünfzigjährigen Bestehen der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Berlin: Philo Verlag, 1922), pp. 103-44.