

the lunar reference entirely, which he was loathe to do, for while this would not have affected the passage when read realistically, its symbolism would have been marred. Yet perhaps too we are dealing here with two different attitudes toward reality itself — one, despite an equally strong desire to exploit the real world symbolically, more respectful of it than the other. To the limits of symbolic realism there is more than one possible approach.

*Torah Scholarship Since the Holocaust**

THE SURVEY THAT follows will attempt, in outline form, to delineate the nature and direction of Torah scholarship — as reflected in publications — since the Holocaust. By “Torah scholarship” is meant scholarly publications whose chief aim is to advance Torah study rather than, say, *jüdische Wissenschaft*. Such publications usually take the form of commentaries on the Written or Oral Law, and tend to be addressed to an audience committed to Torah study and practice. Thus, significant works of scholarship such as Moshe Greenberg’s *Ezekiel* (Anchor Bible, New York: 1983) or Gershom Scholem’s *Sabbatai Sevi* (Hebrew edition, Tel Aviv: 1967; English edition, Princeton: 1973) will not be discussed here; the former since it is addressed primarily to a non-Jewish audience, and the latter since it is hardly a contribution toward Torah study. Obviously, some publications will at once serve the interests of Torah study and *jüdische Wissenschaft*, and can properly be discussed under either of the rubrics “Torah scholarship” or “Modern Jewish scholarship.” Despite such occasional overlap, the differences between Torah publications and modern Jewish scholarship are sufficiently pronounced in terms of aims, form, and audience addressed, that the working definition provided above seems sufficient for the purpose of this paper.

In terms of quantity, the publication of Torah materials since the Holocaust is appropriately termed a publication explosion. Hayyim Dov Friedberg’s *Beit eked sefarim* (Tel Aviv, 1951-1956), comprising Hebrew titles only, listed approximately 50,000 different titles and editions of books in print from the advent of He-

* From a background paper for the twentieth anniversary meeting of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture held in the summer of 1984 in Jerusalem.

brew printing until 1950. The vast majority of these were Torah publications.¹ It is safe to assume that the number of different titles and editions of Torah publications printed from 1950 to 1983 exceeds the total printed from the advent of Hebrew printing until 1950.²

There can be no question that the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel provided the impetus for the Torah publication explosion. The destruction of the centers of learning of European Jewry, and of much of the literature studied by that Jewry, made it imperative that any reconstruction of the culture of European Jewry include the republication of the literary treasures it had produced. East European Jews who had escaped to Shanghai, China at the outbreak of World War II, published classical works on the Talmud, including talmudic commentaries that had first been published between the two World Wars, such as Israel Zalman Shlomowitz, *Beit Yisrael* (Shanghai: 1946). In 1947 in Munich, the Vaad Hatzala published in miniature form a series of Torah classics such as Aryeh Leib Gunzberg's *Sha'agat Aryeh*, and Aryeh Leib Heller's *Shev shemateta*. These set the tone for what would come in the years ahead with the creation of the State of Israel as the center of gravity of the Jewish people, and with the emergence of the United States, and specifically New York, as the major center for Torah publication in the Diaspora. Torah publications in Israel and the United States would not have assumed prodigious proportions if not for technological progress, such as photo-offset printing, which enabled publishers to reproduce books at reasonable cost to publisher and consumer alike.

1 Friedberg's list, of course, is incomplete as is well known to all Jewish bibliographers. The extent to which it is incomplete will become apparent to all with the completion and publication of the National Hebrew Bibliography project. See, e.g., *Specimen brochure*, Institute For Hebrew Bibliography, Jerusalem, 1964.

2 I have no documentary evidence with which to support this statement. It is an impressionistic one based upon a careful reading of M. Moriah (Moshe Feld), *Beit ehed sefarim he-hadash* (Safed: 1974-1976 [cf. his *Otsar ha-mehabrim*, Safed: 1977]); the running bibliography in *Kiryat sefer*; and my own knowledge of Torah publications since 1950. Of course, much of the Torah publications since 1950 are photo-mechanical reproductions of pre-1950 publications.

WIDE SCOPE

In general, Torah publications have been wide ranging, certainly touching all the important bases in Torah scholarship. In this sense, Torah publications can be said to be more successful than publications in modern Jewish scholarship. This is because the agenda of Torah publications is largely developed by its readership. As demand grows for a new printing (or reissue) of *Mikra'ot gedolot*, Talmuds, commentaries on specific tractates, Maimonides' Code, etc., these tend to appear. This contrasts sharply with the agenda of modern Jewish scholarship which has a limited readership, and which is shaped largely by the interests of individual scholars. Little attempt is made here to touch all the important bases that need to be touched. Thus, for example, a history of American Jewry has yet to be written; a catalogue of all books in Yiddish does not exist; critical editions of Mishnah, Talmud, and most Midrashim remain a scholarly desideratum. A consequence of this difference is that a young Torah scholar — who can afford it — can accumulate a major Torah library in a relatively short time. Virtually all the Torah classics are available in reprints. A young scholar of *jüdische Wissenschaft*, on the other hand, would find it more difficult to gather the classics of Jewish science. The reprints — even where they exist — tend to be limited editions that quickly go out of print and are often prohibitive in cost.

It would clearly be beyond the scope of this paper to list all (or even the most significant) works of Torah scholarship published since the Holocaust. Instead, we shall survey by topic the major areas of Torah scholarship and offer a representative listing of what has appeared in reprint form and as original works. In each area, we shall attempt to delineate the lines of continuity between the pre-modern and modern eras, thus highlighting the connecting links between classical, medieval, and modern Torah scholarship. Where appropriate, we will briefly comment on the strengths and weaknesses of a particular area.

I. Torah and Commentaries:

Without question the most enduring work in this area is Menaḥem M. Kasher's *Torah shelemah* (New York-Jerusalem: 1949-1983, 38 volumes to date). It is the most comprehensive an-

thology of talmudic and midrashic commentary on the Torah ever produced. More importantly, it provides a running commentary on the texts it anthologizes, and adds (in appendix form) a series of major thematic studies on issues of Torah scholarship. Kasher lived to see the work appear through Numbers 12:16; the remaining volumes will appear posthumously.

Other areas of study relating to Torah and Commentaries include targums, medieval Jewish exegesis, modern Jewish exegesis, and reprints.

a) *Targums:*

Renewed interest in targums in *jüdische Wissenschaft* circles has been paralleled by similar activity in Torah circles. M. Kasher, *Targumei Torah* (Jerusalem: 1974, *Torah Shelemah*, vol. 24), is a signal contribution to targum study. Other studies include:

- Aaron Yeshayah, *Sh'arei Aharon* (Bnei Braq: 1970-1984, 7 vols.). An extensive commentary on Targum Onkelos.
- Alter Tuviah Wein, *Yayin ha-tov* (Jerusalem: 1976-1979, 2 vols.). A popularization of the three major targums to the Torah, by rendering them into Hebrew.
- Kalman Azriel Pinsky, *Nosei kelei Yehonatan* (Jerusalem: n.d., circa 1979). A running commentary on Targum Jonathan to the Torah.

b) *Medieval Jewish Exegesis:*

Contributions here have been legion, with special focus on the preparation of annotated texts which enable non-scholars to read the medieval classics. Typical of these are:

- Aharon Greenbaum, ed., *Peirush ha-Torah le-Rav Shemuel ben Hofni Gaon* (Jerusalem: 1979).
- Hayyim Dov Chavel, ed., *Peirush Rashi al ha-Torah* (Jerusalem: 1982).
- Yoel Klugman, ed., *Peirush ha-Rokeah al ha-Torah* (Bnei Braq: 1978-1981, 3 vols.).
- Yaakov Gellis, ed., *Tosafot ha-shalem* (Jerusalem: 1982-1983, 2 vols.). This ambitious project offers an anthology of all the biblical commentaries by the Tosafists, based upon

172 manuscripts and fifty-six printed editions. The two volumes published to date are the first of a projected thirty or more volume series.

- Asher Weiser, ed., *Peirushi ha-Torah le-Rabbenu Avraham Ibn Ezra* (Jerusalem: 1977, 3 vols.).
- H.D. Chavel, ed., *Peirush ha-Ramban al ha-Torah* (Jerusalem: 1959-1960, 2 vols.).
- H.D. Chavel, ed., *Rabbenu Bahya al ha-Torah* (Jerusalem: 1966-1968, 3 vols.).
- Yeshayah Weiss, ed., *Humash or ha-Hayyim* (New York: 1976, 5 vols.). Weiss offers, under the title *Leket bahir*, a judicious anthology of super-commentary on Rashi to the Torah. Under the title *Or bahir*, he annotates the commentary of R. Hayyim Ibn Attar (d. 1743) to the Torah. Aside from the significance of Weiss' comments, this edition of a rabbinic Bible (more precisely: Torah) is, aesthetically, one of the finest ever produced.

c) *Modern Jewish Exegesis:*

Modern rabbinic commentaries on the Torah tend to be either homiletic or halakhic, to the exclusion of a focus on the plain sense of Scripture. This continues a trend that became dominant in the sixteenth century. In the realm of homiletics and halakhah, numerous highly original works have appeared in the form of commentaries on the Torah. Among them are:

- Zalman Sorotzkin, *Oznayim la-Torah* (Jerusalem: 1951-1960, 5 vols.).
- Yosef Rozin, *Tsofnat Pa'aneiah al ha-Torah* (Jerusalem: 1960-1969, 5 vols.).
- David Sperber, *Mikhtam le-David al ha-Torah* (Jerusalem: 1965-1967, 2 vols.). Also significant for its elucidation of difficult passages in the Targums.
- Menahem B. Zaks, *Menahem Tsiyon al ha-Torah* (Jerusalem: 1976-1978, 2 vols.). A model of contemporary homiletical/ethical commentary.
- Aharon Cohen, *Beit Aharon al ha-Torah* (Jerusalem: 1983). A model of contemporary halakhic commentary. Also significant for its occasional commentary on the Targums.

d) Reprints:

Rabbinic Bibles are reproduced as often as necessary. Among the more prominent reprints of pre-Holocaust European Bibles are:

- (Torah) *Mikra'ot gedolot*, ed. Shulsinger (New York: 1950, 6 vols.).
- (Tanakh) *Mikra'ot gedolot*, ed. Pardes (New York: 1951, 10 vols.).
- (Nakh) *Mikra'ot gedolot*, ed. M.P. Press (New York: 1974, 10 vols.).

Reprints of biblical commentaries probably run into the thousands. Some of the more important reprints are:

- Judah Loeb Krinski, *Mehokekei Yehudah* (Bnei Braq: 1961, 5 vols.). An important supercommentary on Ibn Ezra. First edition, Pietrkow-Vilna: 1907-1928.
- Isaac Abarbanel, *Peirush al ha-Torah* (Jerusalem: 1964, 3 vols.). First edition, Venice: 1579.
- Meir Loeb Malbim, *Otsar ha-peirushim: peirush Malbim al ha-Torah* (Jerusalem: 1964, 2 vols.). First edition, Warsaw: 1874-1877.
- Baruch Epstein, *Humash Torah temimah* (Tel Aviv: 1956, 5 vols.). First edition, Vilna: 1904.
- Yosef Patsanovski, *Pardes Yosef al ha-Torah* (New York: 1976, 3 vols.). First edition, Pietrkow-Lodz, 1931-1939.
- Shmuel Burstein, *Shem mi-Shemuel* (Jerusalem: 1974, 8 vols.). First edition, Warsaw-Pietrkow: 1929-1934.

II. Other Areas:

If we were to attempt to repeat for the other areas of Torah scholarship (e.g. Prophets-Writings and Commentaries; Midrashim; Mishnah and Tosefta and Commentaries; Talmud and Commentaries; Responsa Literature; Liturgy; Jewish Thought; and Miscellaneous) the same detailed analysis as provided above in Section I — and it could easily be done —, this paper would assume prodigious proportions indeed. Instead, we shall highlight only some of the more outstanding original contributions since the Holocaust in the various areas. The reader can take for

granted that the medieval classics in all these areas have been and will continue to be produced in better critical, and annotated editions as manuscripts are identified, collated, and published. In all these areas, many hitherto unpublished medieval manuscripts are appearing in print for the first time.

In the area of Prophets-Writings and Commentaries, the *Da'at mikra* series of commentaries on the Prophets-Writings, published by Mosad ha-Rav Kook, Jerusalem, is clearly of major importance for Torah scholarship. Thirteen volumes have appeared since 1970. The commentaries represent a distillation of all previous Jewish commentary in the light of modern archaeological discovery and philological advance. Geared for a popular audience, the series is likely to become the major conduit for the teaching of Bible from a Torah perspective. New *Midrashim*, of course, are not being written. But new commentaries on the classic midrashic texts are commonplace since the Holocaust. Aside from Kasher's *Torah shelema* mention should be made of Mordecai Margulies, *Midrash Vayyikra Rabbah* (Jerusalem: 1953-1960, 5 vols.), and the Mosad ha-Rav Kook edition of *Midrash ha-gadol* (Jerusalem: 1947-1975, 5 vols.). Regarding *Mishnah and Tosefta and Commentaries*, Saul Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-feshutah* (New York: 1955-1973, 13 vols.) is a model of the synthesis of *Jüdische Wissenschaft* and Torah scholarship. Much more classically rabbinic is Yeḥeskel Abramsky, *Tosefta hazon Yeḥeskel*^[2] (Jerusalem: 1971) a multi-volume commentary on the entire Tosefta, now appearing in its second edition.

Probably no area of Torah scholarship has received more attention in recent years than *Talmud and Commentaries*. Among the many outstanding works produced, special mention must be made of *Entsiklopedyah talmudit* (Jerusalem: 1947-1983, 17 volumes to date). It has been the most successful attempt ever to synthesize all of talmudic halakhic teaching, and its aftermath, according to topic. The commentaries that have appeared since the Holocaust cover a wide range: from the masters of the abstract analysis of talmudic principles, such as Yitshak Zeeb Soloveichik, *Hiddushei ha-GeRiZ al ha-Shas* (Jerusalem: 1972, 3 vols.), to those noted more for their erudition than their profundity, such as Reuben Margalioṭ, *Margaliyot ha-yam* (Jerusalem: 1958, 2 vols.), and *Nitsotsei or* (Jerusalem: 1965), and Eliyahu Shulsinger, *Yad Eliyahu* (Jerusalem: 1961-1979, 6 vols.), to those concerned primarily with the relationship between Talmud and halakhah, such

as Yitshak Arieli, *Einayim la-mishpat* (shorter version, Jerusalem: 1963-1966, 3 vols.), and *Einayim la-mishpat* (lengthy version, Tel Aviv-Jerusalem, 1965-1976, 9 vols.). (We omit mention of Avraham Yeshayahu Karelitz, *Hazon ish* — since virtually all the volumes appeared in print prior to the Holocaust.) Among twentieth century talmudic commentaries, especially noteworthy are Shmuel Yitshak Hilman, *Or ha-yashar*^[2] (Jerusalem: 1977, 6 vols.), Zeev Wolf Rabinowitz, *Sha'arei torat Erets Yisrael* (Jerusalem: 1940), and *Sha'arei torat Bavel* (Jerusalem: 1961). Both the aforementioned scholars have contributed significant commentaries to the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. Reprints, as well as new critical editions of the Rishonim (and the more famous Aḥaronim) are commonplace and virtually best-sellers at the Jewish bookstores.

In the realm of *Codes and Commentaries*, the monumental *Otsar ha-poskim*, summarizing the responsa literature on *Shulhan arukh: even ha-ezer* (Jerusalem: 1947-1972, 13 vols.) is perhaps the single most important work. Similar series for the sections *Orah hayyim* and *Hoshen mishpat* have been planned, and several volumes have already appeared in print. Commentaries on all the great codes of Jewish law continue to appear. Especially noteworthy regarding Maimonides' *Code* are such disparate commentaries as Y.Z. Soloveichik, *Hiddushei Maran RYZ ha-Levi* (Jerusalem: 1973); Eleazar M. Shach, *Avi ezri* (Bnei Braq: 1964-1979, 5 vols.); and Hayim Kanievsky, *Kiryat melekh*^[3] (Bnei Braq: 1983). A general trend in recent years has been toward specialization, with entire monographs being devoted to specific areas of halakhah. Typical of these are Yehiel M. Tuckatzinsky, *Gesher ha-hayyim*^[2] (Jerusalem: 1960, 3 vols.); Nissen Telushkin, *Toharat mayyim*^[4] (New York: 1976); and Yehoshua Y. Neuwirth, *Shemirat Shabbat ke-hilkhatah* (Jerusalem: 1965).

A burgeoning area of Torah scholarship is the *Responsa Literature*. No other area of Torah scholarship attests so vividly to the continued vitality of the halakhah. The literature here is so vast that it will suffice to merely mention the better-known authors: Shelomoh Z. Auerbach (in a series of monographs and articles); Mordecai Y. Breisch, *Helkat Ya'akov*; Gedalie Felder, *Yesodei Yeshurun*; Moshe Feinstein, *Iggerot Moshe*; Menashe Klein, *Mishneh halakhot*; Yitshak I. Liebes, *Beit avi*; Moshe Stern, *Be'er Moshe*; Eliezar J. Waldenberg, *Tsits Eliezer*; Shmuel Halevi

Wasner, *Shevet ha-Levi*; Yehiel Y. Weinberg, *Seridei ha-esh*; and Ovadia Yosef, *Yabia omer*.

Under *Liturgy*, Isaachar Jacobsen, *Netiv binah* (Tel Aviv: 1976-1978, 5 vols.) merits special mention as a successful attempt to interpret the liturgy for the lay Jew. Yaakov Werdiger's *Siddur tselota de-Avraham*^[2] (Tel Aviv: 1970, 2 vols.), together with his *Edut le-Yisrael* (Bnei Braq: 1963), and M.Y. Weinstock, *Siddur ha-Geonim ve-ha-Mekubalim ve-ha-Hasidim* (Jerusalem: 1970-1983, 21 vols.), are among the most important twentieth century contributions to Jewish liturgy.

It is perhaps too early to judge which post-Holocaust rabbinic works of *Jewish Thought* will remain classics in the decades to come. Nonetheless, the impact of such works as Elijah E. Dessler, *Mikhtav me-Eliyahu* (Bnei Braq: 1965, 3 vols.), Yitshak Hutner, *Pahad Yitshak* (New York: 1970-1982, 8 vols.); and the collected essays of Joseph B. Soloveichik in *Al ha-teshuvah* (Jerusalem: 1975) and *Be-sod ha-yahid ve-ha-yahad* (Jerusalem: 1976), has been pervasive.

Under *Miscellaneous* are subsumed significant rabbinic works that do not properly belong to any of the previous categories. Solomon J. Zevin, *Ha-moadim ba-halakhah* (Jerusalem: 1944), has been reprinted so often that it is surely a classic work. It cuts across such categories as talmudic commentary, codes and commentary, and responsa literature. Arranging rabbinic material through the ages according to the festivals, it may be the single most popular twentieth century halakhic work among rabbinic scholars. On an even more popular level, Eliyahu Kitov, *Sefer ha-toda'ah* (Jerusalem: 1963) has served as a kind of *Information Please Almanac* about rabbinic Judaism for anyone who could read Hebrew. In the realm of Jewish historiography, mention should be made of Naftali Y. Cohen, *Otsar ha-gedolim* (Haifa: 1967-1970, 9 vols.), an ambitious attempt to present brief biographies of all rabbinic authorities from the Geonic period until the close of the sixteenth century.

Hagiography abounds in the post-Holocaust rabbinic biographical literature. Nonetheless, some of the biographies are well-documented and make for engaging reading, e.g., Shelomoh Cohen, ed., *Pe'er ha-dor: pera'iqim me-hayyav . . . shel baal Hazon ish* (Bnei Braq, 1966-1973, 5 vols.). Among the classic works in Jewish bibliography are M. Kasher and Jacob B.

Mandelbaum, *Sarei ha-elef*^[2] (Jerusalem: 1978, 2 vols.), and Hayim Liberman, *Ohel Rahel* (New York: 1980-1984, 3 vols.).

III. Conclusions:

1. In this highly selective survey of Torah scholarship as reflected in publications since the Holocaust, one cannot but be impressed by the richness and diversity and general high quality of the publications. Some 100 titles are listed here, and these represent only a mere sampling of what is available. (We have not even dealt with entire areas of rabbinic publication, such as the periodical literature, e.g., *Sinai*, *Hadarom*, *Noam*, and *Moriah*.) Clearly, Torah scholarship in the twentieth century is alive and well. Moreover, we have deliberately selected for discussion (and organized this presentation around) the major rubrics of rabbinic literature as they appear in Kasher and Mandelbaum, *Sarei ha-elef* — a bibliography of all of rabbinic literature from 500-1500 C.E. Nothing could demonstrate more clearly how the traditional areas of Jewish study, including biblical, talmudical, and medieval studies continue to flourish with new and better editions of the primary sources, and fresh expositions by exegetes, halakhists, and rabbinic scholars born in the twentieth century. The lines of continuity between past and present are highly visible and bode well for the future of continued creativity by Torah scholars.

2. Literary lines of continuity are possible only when a living community maintains its commitment to the serious study of literature. Thus, the publication explosion described in this paper signifies a thriving Jewish community that reads the literature it produces. That literate Jewish communities — especially in Torah scholarship — are thriving after the Holocaust is manifest not only by Torah publications in Hebrew, but by the tremendous growth of the Jewish day school movement and the *yeshivot gedolot* in Israel and the United States. Significant too is the burgeoning *baal teshuvah* movement and its unrelenting commitment to Torah study. These movements provide the readership — i.e. committed Jews — that demands a continuous flow of Torah publications. There is a symbiotic relationship between the community and its literature. The community produces its literature; the literature then sustains the community.

3. The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture has played a

key and decisive role in Jewish continuity, whether in terms of literature or community — as indicated above, these are inseparable. Among the most significant Torah publications of this century, listed above, are: *Da'at miqra*, *Torah shelemah*, *Entsiklopedyah talmudit*, and *Otsar ha-posqim*. Perusal of *Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture: summary of institutional grants by subject area 1965-1979* indicates that all these publication series — and more — received substantive support from the Foundation. This reflects the sound judgment of the Foundation, i.e. its ability to ferret out the best from the many applications it receives, and its ongoing commitment to Jewish survival through literary excellence.

4. All the above is the good news. The bad news is, as other Jewish organization reports will indicate, that assimilation continues to wear away at the ever-expanding periphery of the Jewish community, and at an alarming rate. Attrition is sufficiently high that prophets of doom almost regularly predict the demise of Judaism and the Jewish community. Doubtless the battle for Jewish survival will have to be fought on many fronts. None, however, is more important than the battle to maintain the very essence of Judaism, the teachings of the Torah. The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture has performed admirably — with limited resources — in monitoring this front to date. Torah scholarship is thriving, momentarily at least, but it will not continue to do so unless the Jewish community is prepared to commit the resources necessary to assure success. The economy, assimilation, and indifference are a few among the many obstacles to the growth of Torah scholarship. Only a firm commitment to Torah scholarship — and to the growing and vibrant Jewish community sustained by it — will assure Jewish survival in a hostile world.