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The New Jew in Search of <sup>an Image</sup> ~~Himself~~

The Haskalah or Jewish Enlightenment was a movement heavily invested in the power of the word -- be it through correspondence, belles lettres, essays, sermons, panegyrics, textbooks, almanacs, translations or memoranda and denunciations to the government. Image for the maskilim was the better part of valor. Outnumbered a thousand-to-one in the Jewish population at large, the maskilim of Central and Eastern Europe might have cut more impressive figures if only their self-advertisements had more credibility. ~~Yet~~ <sup>For</sup> all this verbal production, ~~no one~~ <sup>one gets only</sup> ~~portrayed~~ <sup>the sketchiest portrait of</sup> their actual everyday behavior -- ~~their manner of~~ <sup>how they dressed,</sup> ~~dress, their choice of profession, of domicile, of spouse,~~ <sup>what they did for a living, where they lived, whom they married and why;</sup> ~~their leisure activity and linguistic practice.~~ <sup>what languages they spoke at home, at work, at play.</sup> <sup>1</sup> Which is really too bad, because in fact, if not in fiction, the maskilim were the first autonomous group of New Jews in Europe.

The maskilim had their own pilgrimage sites, their own pantheon, their own library of Haskalah classics and eventually,

their own network of "institutional clusters."<sup>2</sup> When Bialik arrived in Odessa fresh from the Volozhin yeshiva in the fall of 1891, he had already been preceded by other young hopefuls in generations past: Israel Aksenfeld, thirsting for higher education; the indefatigable Alexander Zederbaum who launched a trilingual Jewish press on its soil; Peretz Smolenskin on his way to Prague and Vienna and Moshe Leib Lilienblum in his bold move for a new life. Bialik came on account of Ahad Ha'am, just as Jacob Fichman would later travel to Odessa on account of Bialik. So self-enclosed was their urban enclave that the young Fichman found his beloved poet living in the ugly cramped offices of the Hovevei Zion.<sup>3</sup> Though not every metropolis could boast of Odessa's ethnic mix, her Italian architecture and opera, her port opening out to both east and west, and her reputation for the good life, there were distinct cultural oases established in Brody, Vilna, Warsaw, St. Petersburg, and elsewhere. Very little of this urban and urbane counterculture made its way into maskilic fiction.

This is because the maskilim, with their roots in the eighteenth century, had a penchant for typing themselves and others, a preference not for the particular but the general.<sup>4</sup> Character was a function of their rationalist ideology, so that the positive literary heroes produced by the Haskalah were thoroughly predictable and everywhere the same.<sup>5</sup> Despite all the upheavals that occurred from 1780-1862, when the maskilim were fighting for

a foothold, and despite the vast cultural and political differences between one region and the next, the battle lines were drawn in exactly the same way. The maskil, brave and bold, faced the same three opponents: (1) the died-in-the wool religious fanatic who would stop at nothing to advance his cause; (2) the potentially salvageable but addlebrained reactionary sympathizer; and (3) the tainted maskil who was the enemy within. These types remained constant from the pioneering days of the German Me'asfim to the period of liberalization under Alexander II.<sup>6</sup> As for the non-Jews, all goyim in maskilic fiction were likewise fit into three molds: (1) Russian officials or army officers; (2) the Polish nobility and (3) the peasants, and these remained effectively unchanged until World War I.<sup>7</sup>

Since both the Jewish and Gentile camps were divided into the same three groupings over space and time, it followed that maskilic self-portraits would be no more nuanced. What is surprising is that for the longest time the positive maskilic hero kept appearing with the identical name: Mordecai-Marcus!

This character, born out of the Haskalah's war of words with the centers of traditional authority, was originally conceived with one goal in mind: to supplant the traditional Purim-shpil. Marcus was in fact the product of two substitutions. In Aaron Haale Wolfsohn's Leichtsinn und Froemmelei (1794), Molière's figure of the no-nonsense brother-in-law was replaced by the good uncle in order to retain the plot of the Scroll of Esther.

Mondrish, the bawdy and burlesque lead of the Purim-shpil, was transformed into the genteel, German-speaking and ultra-rational Marcus.<sup>8</sup> Finally, instead of performing for the drunken rabble in some synagogue or house of study, Wolfsohn's bourgeois comedy was written to be performed -- on Purim -- in the Wilhelman Jewish school in Breslau. The parlor room setting of the play was both its medium and its message.

Once the connection to Purim weakened, however, Mordecai-Marcus disassembled into his constituent parts: (A) the maskil as student/educator -- a young man dedicated to mental and physical hygiene whose cure-all was secular education: more of it and more rationally grounded; or (B) the maskil as merchant/purveyor -- usually middle aged and well-traveled, such a man would stoop to conquer; i.e., use subterfuge and other nasty means to fight the forces of evil and hypocrisy.

The problem then became how to recombine them; how to turn the Young Man of Words (Type A) into the Mature Man of Deeds (Type B). For the more the positive maskilic heroes talked, the less they actually did. Their freedom to act on behalf of virtue, wisdom and the heroine was undercut by the moral rectitude of their soliloquies. Joseph Perl did well to keep his maskil of the second type offstage. None of the 151 letters that made up his epistolary satire Megalleh tmirin (The Revealer of Secrets, 1819) was written by young Mordecai Gold, the Galician purveyor who single-handedly opposed and exposed the hasidic

Mafia. Not so, alas, for Marcus Redlich, the medical student from Prague who tutored in the home of wicked Serkele (from Shloyme Ettinger's play by that name, circa 1830). "Er redt dokh vi a bukh," exclaimed Hinde, the romantic lead, with great admiration (Act I, Scene 10). And though eloquent indeed was his spoken German, when faced with a false accusation he could do no more than cry. It took the intervention of the older Gutherbst, who arrived incognito, to set the moral order aright.<sup>9</sup>

The Jewish and non-Jewish types remained static; the only thing that changed was the maskilic attitude to one type or the other. Thus, as Israel Bartal has shown, while the standing of the Russian officials and Polish nobility steadily declined in maskilic fiction, the peasant, or Ivan the Goy, enjoyed an ever-better press.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, it is fascinating to see how the maskilim adopted an ironic or even openly parodic stance toward their idealized self-image.

At the turning point in Mordecai David Brandstetter's "Mordecai Kizovitch" (1869), the hero discovered a copy of The Guide for the Perplexed, which inspired the following mock-heroic build-up:

How wondrous are the actions of Divine Providence and how numerous are its deeds! Through intricate causes and effects and in cases without number she will attach onto an insignificant chain of happenstance great and wondrous events that

will amaze all who take cognizance thereof. Had King Louis XVI not tasted some soup in the post office at Saint Méneould, the whole world would not be what it is today; and had Mordecai not come upon the book The Guide for the Perplexed in the home of some inhabitant of the town of Nizba, I would not have enriched Hebrew literature with the present story and would not have delighted the readers with my logic.<sup>11</sup>

The readers of Smolenskin's Hashahar where this story first appeared were expected to know that Louis XVI's counter-revolution was foiled on account of his being discovered in the aforementioned post office. This was the joke that the narrator shared with his readers at poor Mordecai's expense.

Once Mordecai-Marcus became the code name for a naive maskil, became the stuff of light operetta (as in Goldfaden's famous Dikishef-makherin [The Witch, 1879]) or of self-parody, it was time to take more drastic literary and ideological measures. By the mid-1860s, the new generation of writers marked the distance traveled by making the cultured, bookish and impractical maskil the butt of their satire. The most instructive case was that of Sholem Yankev Abramovitsh whose depictions of maskilim spanned almost half a century.

In the very midst of Abramovitsh's first novel, Limdu hetev (Learn to Do Well, 1862), in walked a forty-year-old maskilic

author named Nahum Hakimhi with a tale of woes. Shunted from pillar to post, Nahum could persuade no one, neither rich boor nor fake maskil, to buy subscriptions for his newest book Matog midvash. The whole episode would have been much funnier were it not for David, the author's mouthpiece, who used it to launch into a lengthy diatribe on the lack of all connection (yahas) between contemporary Hebrew literature and the real life of the people.<sup>12</sup> So unheroic did Abramovitsh consider the professional maskil to be, that even his role of bookpeddler was given over to the wily and witty Mendele. At the end of Dos kleyne mentshele (The Little Man, 1864), Mendele Moykher-Sforim, here making his first appearance, was sent looking for the kind but ineffectual Gutman (modeled upon A. B. Gottlober, Abramovitsh's teacher). Gutman's dream of spreading enlightenment could now be realized -- on a very local scale at least -- through the beneficence of the dead bloodsucker Yitskhok-Avrom Takif. When this seemed too little, too late for Abramovitsh, he invented a more aggressive hero named Veker ("the Awakener") in Di Takse (The Meat Tax) of 1869. Significantly, the moment of Veker's own "awakening" came when he tore up a book of Hebrew verse and exclaimed:

That's enough of writing poems and beautiful rhetoric when our people, our poor people suffers by the waters of Gnily-pyatke. You, too, should tear the strings of the Jewish harp (he continues tearing vigorously). Jews were not created for

singing and playing... You must have more serious things in mind.<sup>13</sup>

But Veker, like Gutman before him, ended up leaving town in the face of so much indifference and stupidity. Moved by his fighting spirit, however, Mendele decided to "publish" the play (accompanied, to be sure, by his own caustic commentary).

So the prelude to real action was tearing up the old books of scholarly rhetoric. Literary historians have traced the influence of Russian positivism in young Abramovitch's insistence that literature reflect real life and directly serve the cause of social reform.<sup>14</sup> But when even the curriculum offered by the Russian gymnasia proved unassimilable, and when the odds against effecting change seemed overwhelming, there was nothing left for a maskil to do but go mad and let his hallucinations guide him. In 1873 Mendele "published" Di klyatshe oder tsar bale-khayim, "a story that was found among the papers of YISROLIK THE MADMAN." This was the most far-reaching critique of the Haskalah ever written; the old ideology that predicated the emancipation of the Jews on their prior "improvement" and the newer strategy of aligning with the forces of Russian liberalism were both declared bankrupt.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, Yisrolik's madness was only exacerbated by the Mare's lengthy sermons on unconditional human rights and self-determination. At story's end our thoroughly brow-beaten hero had nowhere to go but back to the shtetl.

Could the Maskil as Young Man of Words ever be transformed into the Maskil as Mature Man of Deeds? To this, Abramovitsh consistently answered in the negative. So corrupting was the fabric of traditional Jewish society, that all motives -- spiritual, economic, political and especially philanthropic -- became perverted by its collective ethos. There was no more ludicrous a spectacle in all of Abramovitsh's fiction than that of Hershele of Glupsk returning home from Germany with his cure-all for Jewish woes: the people need bread, not books! Mendele really took him to task for that one.<sup>16</sup>

The more radical their agenda, the harder it was for the maskilim to imagine a real-life maskil turning words into action. Abramovitsh's great contemporary and landsman from Lithuania was Hebrew poet Y. L. Gordon. Gordon's prognosis was even bleaker, because his survey of Jewish heroism took him all the way back to First Temple times. So long as the neoclassical hero was a Judean warrior fighting against Rome ("Between the Lions' Teeth," 1865) or a deposed king of Israel ("Zedekiah in Prison," 1880), Gordon was able to vivify the struggle, to endow his heroes with meaningful choices. But within a small-town Lithuanian setting, all rebellion was futile and all action meaningless. And this discrepancy between past and present loomed that much larger because Gordon identified the root of evil in Jewish life as one and the same for two millennia: the rabbinic stranglehold of oppressive laws; its suppression of physical and political power

in exchange for otherworldly rewards. "What did you need me for, God," asked blind King Zedekiah, "if all You wanted were priests and prophets?" (lines 123-25, paraphrased). "If all it takes to lose one's crown is failing to wait for His prophet to arrive [1 Sam. 13], then better for me to rot away in this pit!" (lines 172-75).

Even though Gordon's biblical epics remained scrupulously true to the historical record (and came buttressed by scholarly footnotes<sup>17</sup>), their heroes were endowed with free will. They died unrepentant, casting their last defiant words against God. And these words grew ever more defiant, as Gordon's view of the present grew bleaker.<sup>18</sup> But in Qotso shel yud ("The Tip of the Yud", 1875), Gordon's famous satire of East European Jewish life, all human action was "ordained in heaven," either forty days before birth (in the case of marriage) or by the rabbinic establishment (in the case of divorce). As alone in her fate as Zedekiah and Simeon bar-Giora were in theirs, Bat-Shu`a the heroine remained unshaken in her faith, leaving the poet to throw her words back at God. Most astonishing was that Fabi, the not-so-young maskilic suitor, was equally resigned to her fate and could think of nothing better than sending her money from afar. With that, Gordon buried any hope that the forces of industrialization, epitomized by Fabi who worked for the railroad, would ever topple the rabbinic monolith.

The implied hero of Gordon's satire was, of course, the poet himself: the poet as Seer-Prophet-Preacher. This was a maskilic self-image that went back to Erter's Hatsofe levet yisrael (The Seer of the House of Israel, 1834) and merged with the satiric voice of the feuilletonist that became so popular with the rise of the Jewish press.<sup>19</sup> Gordon's radicalism, too, had its counterpart in Russian positivist thought. As Michael Stanislawski has shown, the targets of the poet's rage -- the rabbis, the kahal and the God of Israel as He is manifest in history -- were carried over from the sphere of Russian militant verse.<sup>20</sup> But how could the point-counterpoint work when the contemporary Jewish scene lacked a hero to carry out the revolt? Russia had had its Decembrists, men and women of the gentry, born to privilege and trained in martial arts. The Polish rebellions were likewise lead by the nobility -- however debauched and depleted. Gordon may have succeeded in jogging the Jewish collective memory with distant models of meaningful protest, but even he could not find a single believable candidate from within the people's present ranks.

The slap delivered by a twenty-two-year old Jewish university student in reply to a Russian nobleman's antisemitic slur opened the final act in the maskilic drama. It happened in Peretz Smolenskin's long short story Negam berit ("Vengeance for the Covenant" [after Lev. 26:25], 1883), set in Gordon's own city of St. Petersburg in the fateful spring of 1881.<sup>21</sup> On the eve of

the pogroms, Smolenskin had actually visited the city where he was enthusiastically welcomed by a group of Russian-Jewish university students. Two years later, armed with his new Zionist reading of history, Smolenskin recast the visit into a work of fiction in order to describe how a starry-eyed young maskil could be converted into a sober man of action.

The hero's name was Ben-Hagri (the father of one of King David's warriors; 1 Chron. 11:38) and the story opened with the students debating the significance of his bold reaction. Was the nobleman's antisemitic outburst an aberration or was it a signal to young Jews to organize for self-defense? This, in turn, raised the larger issue (too large, alas, for the confines of this story): could one still believe in the nineteenth century's march of progress or was history to be read as apocalypse?<sup>22</sup> This being a tale of conversion, Ben-Hagri still maintained his absolute faith in the progress formula. It would take the pogroms and his own rude awakening in the home of another nobleman to convince our hero that nationhood -- the indivisible bond of a people with its language, religion and homeland -- were the only possible answer to the destructive forces unleashed by the beast of apocalypse.

Still, for all of Smolenskin's radical intentions, he could not bring his maskil-turned-freedom-fighter to do anything truly heroic. For all that Ben-Hagri implausibly found a gun in his pocket, he could not reclaim his sister Ruhamah's necklace,

stolen by his friend the nobleman in the midst of the pogrom, or avenge the nobleman's slap. Instead, the story ended with Ben-Hagri joining with other Jews -- including his ultra-assimilated father -- in reciting Kinot on the synagogue floor, this being the night of Tisha b'Av. As for literary technique, the story's didacticism, melodrama, artificial style and its cardboard characterizations were hardly an advance over Wolfsohn, Ettinger, Goldfaden or young Abramovitsh.

Smolenskin's failure to embody the new Jewish radicalism in a credible positive hero did not dampen the cry for the Haskalah's demise. Though Abramovitsh and Gordon entered the fray in defense of the Enlightenment, warning the young Zionists not to spit into the well that had fed them, theirs was distinctly a rearguard action.<sup>23</sup> Even someone like Peretz, who was never a Zionist and whose own roots in the Haskalah went very deep, had nothing good to say about it. He lost no opportunity to point up the Haskalah's failures -- from his opening shot at the maskil of Tishevits in the "Travel Pictures" of 1891 to his Hebrew feuilleton "Scenes from Limbo" (1896) to whole chapters on the subject in his unfinished Memoirs of 1914. "Haskalah meant Education," he wrote disparagingly in the Memoirs, "knowing languages, `How to say a boot in several tongues`...plus a few verses on `The Four Seasons.`"<sup>24</sup> Superficial, derivative, with no moral resources, the Haskalah was at best, a passing fad; at worst, a chronic illness in Jewish life.

How paradoxical, then, that out of the Haskalah's very failure came its most lasting literary legacy. What would inspire the next generation of young rebels and would eventually transform the writing of modern Hebrew prose was the one maskilic genre that chronicled its utter defeat: the confessional autobiography.<sup>25</sup> As the modern autobiography tried to free itself of preconceived models in order to express true individuality, so Moshe Leib Lilienblum created an anti-maskil in the figure of Zelophehad, his fictional cloak in Sins of Youth. Zelophehad, who dramatized the failure of his life despite having followed the model to a fault, exemplified the collapse of maskilic ideology.<sup>26</sup> His "days of apostasy, crisis and renunciation" were the precise calendar followed by young Jewish readers in the 1870s. Russian literature to which they now had freer access outradicalized anything written in Hebrew, but it did not express the pain of forging a new autonomous self on the ruins of the Jewish past and present.

The creation of a viable anti-hero did not mean that the search for a positive hero in Jewish literature had ended. Quite to the contrary. The influence of Byron and Nietzsche finally caught up with Jewish writers at the end of the nineteenth century, as did the particular East European blend of romantic nationalism. That, together with their need to legitimate the new secular ideologies of Socialism and Zionism by rooting them in an imaginary Jewish past, lent new urgency to the search.

This was when Peretz, Berdichewsky and others discovered in Hasidism whatever they were looking for: a passion for social justice; a repudiation of materialism; a return to myth and nature. The first step in this rescue operation was to dust off the old tsaddikim and their followers in order to lay claim to a new positive hero.

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1. Jurij M. Lotman, "The Decembrist in Everyday Life," in Ju. M. Lotman & B. A. Uspenskij, The Semiotics of Russian Culture, ed. Ann Shukman (Ann Arbor, 1984), pp. 71-123. For a modest beginning, see David Biale, "Childhood, Marriage, and the Family in the Eastern European Jewish Enlightenment," in The Jewish Family: Myths and Reality, ed. Steven M. Cohen & Paula E. Hyman (New York & London, 1986), pp. 45-61.

2. The phrase is from Eli Lederhendler who has examined the politics of the Russian maskilim in a much more favorable light than has ever been done before. See The Road to Modern Jewish Politics: Political Tradition and Political Reconstruction in the Jewish Community of Tsarist Russia (New York, 1989), chaps. 4-5.

3. Fishl Lachower, Bialik: Hayyav veyetsirotav [Bialik: His Life and Works] (Tel Aviv, 1955), pp. 101-2; Jacob Fichman, Shirat Bialik [Bialik's Poetry] (Jerusalem, 1946), pp. 229, 235.

4. "It is abundantly clear," wrote F. A. Pottle, "that in the eighteenth-century sensibility feelings were tied to the general; men were excited by generalizations, not by particulars. Men then felt the imagined norm to be more real, more exciting, more poetical than any particular example." Quoted from The Idiom of Poetry (Bloomington, 1963), pp. 36-37 by Joseph Haephrati, "Techniques of Landscape Description in Haskalah Poetry" [Hebrew], Hasifrut 2 (1969):104.

5. See Rufus W. Mathewson, Jr., The Positive Hero in Russian Literature, 2nd ed. (Stanford, 1975), part 1. For a contemporary critique, see A. U. Kovner, "Contemporary Hebrew Belles Lettres" [Hebrew, 1873], trans. from the Russian by I. Urbach, Orlogin 11 (1955): 123-33.

6. See Yitshak Eichel's unsigned "preface" to Hame'asef (Berlin, 1788), p. [2] and Aaron Wolfsohn's preface to Qalut da'at vetsvi'ut [Frivolity and Hypocrisy], with an intro. by Dan Miron (Tel Aviv, 1977), p. 59. For more on this three-fold typology, see Max Erik, Etyudn tsu der geshikhte fun der haskole 1789-1881 [Studies in the History of the Haskalah 1789-1881] (Minsk, 1934), p. 104.

7. Israel Bartal, "Non-Jews and Gentile Society in East-European Hebrew and Yiddish Literature, 1856-1914" [Hebrew] (Ph. D. disser., The Hebrew University, 1980), chap. 2. According to Bartal, when the Russian officers and officials became discredited their "slot" was simply taken by "Romanenko the Revolutionary."

8. On this fascinating switch in the Jewish semiotic code, see Erik, Etyudn, pp. 112-16; Khone Shmeruk, "The Sprechene Namen Mordecai-Marcus: Literary Metamorphosis of a Social Ideal" [Hebrew], Tarbiz 29 (1959): 76-98 and idem, Sifrut yidish: peraqim letoldoteha [Yiddish Literature: Aspects of its History] (Tel Aviv, 1978), chap. 5.

9. The best edition of Serkele is in Shloyme Ettinger's Geklibene verk, ed. Max Erik (Kiev, 1935).

10. Bartal, p. 7.

11. Mordecai David Brandstetter, Sippurim, ed. Ben-Ami Feingold (Jerusalem, 1974), p.49.

12. Shalom Ya`akov Abramovitsh, Limdu hetev hu sippur ahavim (Warsaw, 1862), p. 29. For a detailed analysis of this episode in which Hakimhi functions as a fictional cloak for Eliezer Zvi Zweifel, see Dan Miron's Yiddish intro. to the photo-offset edition of the novel (New York, 1969), pp. 16-28, or in its expanded Hebrew version, Bein hazon le'emet [From Romance to the Novel: Studies in the Emergence of the Hebrew and Yiddish Novel in the Nineteenth Century] (Jerusalem, 1979), pp. 233-56.

In the final, revised version of this scene (1911), Abramovitsh drew a humorous group portrait of the young maskilim discussing Hebrew literature out of doors. See chap. 3 of Ha'avot vehabbanim in Kol kitvei Mendele Mokher Sefarim (Tel Aviv, 1947).

13. Di takse oder di bande shtot-balebatim, Act I, scene 4. In Ale verk fun Mendele Moykher-Sforim, ed. Nachman Mayzel, 22

vols. (Warsaw, 1928), 4:27.

14. Miron, Bein hazon le'emet, pp. 224 ff.; Yiddish intro. to Limdu hetev, pp. 22 ff.; Bartal, pp. 37-38.

15. Roskies, Against the Apocalypse, pp. 63-65.

16. For a definitive analysis of this scene in the 1888 preface to Dos vintshfingerl, see Dan Miron, A Traveler Disguised: A Study in the Rise of Modern Yiddish Fiction in the Nineteenth Century (New York, 1973), chap. 4.

17. The notes appear in the 4-vol. deluxe edition of Kol shirei Yehuda Leib Gordon (St. Petersburg, 1884), 3:177-82, and are a valuable guide to Gordon's poetics and understanding of history.

18. On the different versions of Bein shiney arayot, see Michael Stanislawski, For Whom Do I Toil? Judah Leib Gordon and the Crisis of Russian Jewry (New York, 1988), p. 64. Embedded in these textual changes is a more radical use of figuration. Only in the 1884 version, for instance, does Simeon invoke the memory of Samson (lines 135-43).

19. Cf. S. Werses, "Tselohit shel palyaton" and its Characteristics: On Judah Leib Gordon's Feuilletonistic Art" [Hebrew], Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature 2 (1983): 105-25 and Zvi Karniel, Hafeliton ha'ivri [The Hebrew Feuilleton] (Tel Aviv, 1981).

20. Ibid., p. 62.

21. All references to the story are from Peretz Smolenskin, Mivhar sippurim uma'amarim, ed. Jacob Fichman (Tel Aviv, 1941).

22. The "nineteenth century" is personified twice in the story; once in Ben-Ya`akov's angry rebuttal to Ben-Hagri (p. 56), and again, most implausibly, by Ben-Hagri's pious grandfather (p. 69).

23. See Seyfer habeheymes ("The Book of Beasts: Tales of Various Creatures and Everything that Transpires in their Universe, by S. Y. Abramovitsh. In Honor of Reb Mendele Moykher-Sforim, a Gift from the Author") [Yiddish], Der yid 4 (1902), No. 26. For Gordon's defense of the Enlightenment, see Stanislawski, chaps. 9-11.

24. Mayne zikhroynes, in Ale verk fun Y. L. Perets, ed. S. Niger, 11 vols. (New York, 1947-48), 11:93. For the Hebrew "Scenes from Limbo" see Kol kitvei Y. L. Perets, ed. Sh. Meltzer, 10 vols. (Tel Aviv, 1966), 3a:181-203.

25. See Alan Mintz, "Banished from Their Father's Table": Loss of Faith and Hebrew Autobiography (Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1989), pp. 16-19.

26. Ben-Ami Feingold, "Autobiography as Literature: A Study of M. L. Lilienblum's Khatot ne`urim" [Hebrew], Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature 4 (1983): p. 110. n. 61.