

as expressed in the Shulḥan Arukh and the literature which developed around it. On the one hand, this new situation led to a devaluation of the independent study of the Talmud text itself, which only rarely would be brought to bear in a normative halakhic debate. On the other hand, it freed the study of the Talmud from the artificial limitations of practically oriented normative halakhic interpretation. The Talmud interpretation of the *aharonim* moved in various directions. Super-commentaries were composed to the commentaries of Rashi and Tosafot. Works of abstract conceptual jurisprudence were composed, usually as super-commentaries to some highly regarded systematic halakhic work from the period of the *rishonim* (such as Maimonides' Code), or even to the Shulḥan Arukh itself. At the same time the liberation of talmudic scholarship from the narrow restraints of normative halakhic discourse gave impetus to a broadening of the range of talmudic studies, which now included Tosafot, Yerushalmi, *Midrashei Halakhah* and *Midrashei Aggadah* – not merely the Bavli itself.

ḤOKERIM. At first these new directions did not directly influence the interpretation of the Bavli. Starting, however, at the end of the 19th century the increased interest in and familiarity with these earlier documents of talmudic tradition began to arouse a new interest in their possible significance for the understanding of the Bavli itself. The *Yefeh Enayim* of Aryeh Leib Yellin, published in the Romm edition of the Bavli, made available for the first time an easily accessible listing of parallel traditions in the Yerushalmi and Tosafot, the *Midrashei Halakhah*, and *Midrashei Aggadah*. The *novellae* of R. Joseph Zvi Dünner attempted an integrated reconstruction of the historical evolution of the parallel versions of talmudic *sugyot*, and together these works can be seen to mark the beginning of the period of the *hokerim*. Building on the achievements of such giants as Hanokh Albeck, J.N. Epstein, and Saul Lieberman, the historical interpretation of the Bavli has been carried forward since the 1970s by the two great *hokerim* of the Bavli, David Weiss Halivni and Shamma Friedman. The work of Halivni and Friedman was of course preceded by the critical literary and historical research of scholars like Julius Kaplan, Hyman Klein, and most especially by the monumental studies of Abraham Weiss. In their critical commentaries both Halivni and Friedman at first emphasized the same central point: the necessity of separating the tannaitic and amoraic sources of the Bavli from the literary framework of the *stam ha-talmud* in which they are imbedded, in order to interpret each level of the Bavli in its own right. While Halivni has remained largely within the framework of this original insight, applying this method over the years to a wide range of talmudic texts (extending over half of the Bavli), Friedman has expanded the critical field of Bavli study to include the lower-critical problems of textual criticism, the higher-critical problems of the synoptic relations between parallel versions of the same tradition, issues of talmudic lexicography, Babylonian Aramaic grammar, and so on. In the early 1990s, Friedman established

the Society for the Interpretation of the Talmud, a collaborative venture in which a group of scholars has undertaken the preparation of an edition of the Babylonian Talmud with commentary based on modern scholarly standards and aimed to a wide reading audience.

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

TALMUD, BURNING OF. Despite the mass of restrictions imposed on the Jews by the Church in the political, social, and economic spheres, and the attacks on the Oral Law by Christian theologians, the campaign to proscribe Jewish literature was not launched until the 13th century. An attempt had been made to prevent teaching of the “second tradition” (δευτέρωσις) by Emperor Justinian in 553 (novella 146), and in 712 the Visigoths in Spain forbade converts to Christianity to read Hebrew books. The first condemnation of the Talmud to burning was preceded by a period in which new forces of rationalism had made their appearance in Western Europe as well as an upsurge of sectarian movements such as the Cathari

or *Albigenses. Such trends were countered with strong measures by the Church. In 1199 Pope Innocent III declared that since Scripture contained lessons too profound for the layman to grasp, Christians should rely wholly on the clergy for its interpretation. The Church also directed its attention to Jews as potential subversive elements. One outcome of the suppression of rationalistic tendencies was the burning of *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* at Montpellier, southern France, in 1233. The *Guide* was originally denounced to the Dominican inquisitors by Jewish leaders who opposed the study of Maimonides' works. Although the connection between the burning of the *Guide* and the subsequent burning of the Talmud is tenuous, it set a dangerous precedent.

Paris

In 1236 a Jewish apostate, Nicholas *Donin, submitted a memorandum to Pope *Gregory IX listing 35 charges against the Talmud. These included allegations that it contained blasphemies of Jesus and Mary, attacks on the Church, pronouncements hostile to non-Jews, and foolish and revolting tales. They asserted that the Jews had elevated the Oral Law to the level of divinely inspired Scripture, and that this impeded the possibility of their conversion to Christianity. Gregory thereupon ordered a preliminary investigation, and in 1239 sent a circular letter to ecclesiastics in France summarizing the accusations and ordering the confiscation of Jewish books on the first Saturday of Lent (i.e., March 3, 1240), while the Jews were gathered in synagogue. Any other persons having Hebrew books in their possession who refused to give them up were to be excommunicated. He further ordered the heads of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders in Paris to ensure that "those books in which you find errors of this sort you shall cause to be burned at the stake." Similar instructions were conveyed to the kings of France, England, Spain, and Portugal. It was in response to Gregory's circular that the first public religious *disputation between Jews and Christians was staged in Paris on June 25–27, 1240. The chief Jewish spokesman was R. *Jehiel of Paris, the most eminent French rabbi of the period. An inquisitorial committee condemned the Talmud two years later. In June 1242, 24 wagon loads of books totaling thousands of volumes were handed to the executioner for public burning. Copies may also have been seized and destroyed in Rome.

Subsequently the burning of the Talmud was repeatedly urged by the popes. In France, Louis IX ordered further confiscations in 1247 and 1248 and upheld the principle in an ordinance of December 1254. It was confirmed by Philip III in 1284 and Philip IV in 1290 and 1299. A further burning was ordered in Toulouse in 1319 by the inquisitor Bernard Gui and in Perpignan. In his manual for inquisitors Gui also singled out the works of *Rashi, David *Kimḥi, and Maimonides for condemnation. The conflagration in Paris was compared by the contemporary scholar *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenberg to the destruction of the Temple in an elegy *Sha'ali Serufah* ("Ask is it well, O thou consumed in fire") included in the *kinah* of

the Ninth of Av. *Jonah Gerondi, who had led the anti-Maimonists, is said to have connected the burning of the Talmud with the burning of the *Guide* in Montpellier and to have bitterly repented his attacks on Maimonides.

Outside France little action was taken in response to the papal appeals. Confiscations may have taken place in England and were ordered in Sicily. There seems to have been widespread destruction in southern Italy in 1270. After the disputation of *Barcelona in 1263, James I of Aragon ordered the Jews to delete all blasphemous references to Jesus and Mary from their copies of the Talmud under penalty of burning the work. Condemnations of the Talmud were issued by popes *Innocent IV in his bull of 1244, *Alexander IV, John XXII in 1320, and *Alexander V in 1409. The restrictive legislation imposed on Aragonese Jewry after the disputation of *Tortosa, 1413–14, contained a condemnation of the Talmud. Pope *Eugenius IV issued a bull prohibiting Jews from studying the Talmud following the Council of Basle (see *Church Councils), 1431–43.

Although the orders of the popes were not effectively upheld by the secular authorities, copying of the Talmud and its study could not be carried out openly and proceeded with difficulty. However, in the new spirit of liberty engendered by the Renaissance, the great German humanist Johann *Reuchlin defended Jewish learning and the Talmud, which had again been condemned to destruction by the emperor in 1509 because of charges leveled against it by the apostate Johann *Pfefferkorn. The polemical battle which ensued between supporters of the humanists and the obscurantists involved leading Christian scholars, and was a prelude to the Reformation.

Rome

It was during the Counter-Reformation in Italy in the middle of the 16th century that the attacks on the Talmud had the most far-reaching consequences. In the reactionary climate, a quarrel broke out between rival Christian printers of Hebrew books in Venice. One of them, with the connivance of certain apostates, denounced the works produced by his competitor as containing matter offensive to the Holy Catholic Church. It developed into a wholesale attack on Hebrew literature. After a council of cardinals had examined the matter, the pope issued a decree (August 1553) designating the Talmud and related works as blasphemous and condemning them to be burned. On Sept. 9, 1553, the Jewish New Year, a huge pyre was set up in the Campo de' Fiori in Rome of Hebrew books that had been seized from Jewish homes. Subsequently the Inquisition ordered all rulers, bishops, and inquisitors throughout Italy to take similar action. The orders were obeyed in the Papal States, particularly in Bologna and Ravenna, and in Ferrara, Mantua, Urbino, Florence, and Venice, the center of Hebrew printing, and also in 1559 in Cremona. Representations by the rabbis gained a reprieve of the indiscriminate destruction. A papal bull issued on May 29, 1554, specified that while the Talmud and works containing blasphemies of Christianity were to be

burned, other Jewish works were to be submitted for *censorship. The Talmud was included in the first *Index Expurgatorius* in 1559. The ban against publication of the Talmud, with certain excisions or without them, under a different name, was temporarily lifted (1564) by Pius IV. However, confiscation of Hebrew works continued in Italy, especially in the Papal States, down to the 18th century. The same was the case in Avignon and the papal possessions in France. Renewed interdictions were issued by popes Gregory XIII (1572–85) and Clement VIII (1593). The burning in Rome was commemorated by an annual public fast day observed on the eve of Sabbath of *ḥukkat* (*Shibbolei ha-Leket* 263).

The events in Italy were described by the contemporary chronicler *Joseph ha-Kohen in *Emek ha-Bakhah* and by a number of other writers. Mattathias *Delacrut, who managed to escape with his own books to Brest-Litovsk, relates that in Venice over 1,000 complete copies of the Talmud, 500 copies of the code of Isaac *Alfasi, and innumerable other works were burned. Judah b. Samuel *Lerma lost all the copies of his newly printed *Lehem Yehudah* in Venice and had to rewrite it from memory. The burning also aroused protest in Christian circles. The Hebraist Andrea Masio openly voiced his resentment of the pope's ruling, saying that the cardinals' report condemning a literature of which they knew nothing was as valueless as a blind man's opinion of color. The proscription of the Talmud in the main center for Hebrew printing was felt throughout the Diaspora. The Jewish centers in Poland and Turkey were prompt to answer the challenge, and printing of the Talmud commenced in Lublin in 1559 and shortly afterward in Salonika. Scholars in Italy subsequently turned to other branches of Jewish learning, and the study of *Kabbalah in particular spread rapidly in Italy after the Talmud had been condemned.

The last auto-da-fé of the Talmud took place in Poland, in Kamenets-Podolski in the fall of 1757, following the spread of the *Frankist movement in Podolia. Bishop Nicholas Dembowski intervened in the controversy between the Frankists and Jewish leaders and ordered a disputation to be held between them. He subsequently condemned all copies of the Talmud found in his diocese to be seized and burned after they had been dragged through the streets in mockery. A search was made with the aid of the clergy, the police, and the Frankists for the Talmud and other rabbinical writings. Nearly 1,000 copies of the Talmud were thrown into a pit at Kamenets and burned by the hangman.

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TALMUD, DAVID L. (1900–), Russian physical chemist, educated at the Odessa Chemical Institute; Talmud joined the Leningrad Institute of Chemistry and Physics in 1930 and from 1934 worked at the Institute of Biochemistry of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Science. In 1934 he became a corresponding member of the Academy, and in 1943 was awarded the Stalin Prize. He wrote extensively, mainly on surface chemistry, colloids, and proteins.

TALMUD, JERUSALEM (תלמוד ירושלמי), also called the Palestinian Talmud, *Talmud di-Venei Ma'arava* (The Talmud of the West), or *Talmud de-Erez Yisrael*. Like its better known “eastern” counterpart – the Babylonian Talmud (Bavli) – the Yerushalmi is an extensive literary work consisting of both *halakhah* and *aggadah* (see: *Talmud, Babylonian), built upon the foundation, and in the order, of the *Mishnah of Rabbi *Judah ha-Nasi (see *Mishnah, The Mishnah as a Literary Work, *Halakhah* in the Mishnah, *Aggadah* in the Mishnah). Neither the Bavli nor the Yerushalmi encompass the entire Mishnah, but rather only four of its six orders – though not the same four. There is both Talmud Bavli and Talmud Yerushalmi for *Moed*, *Nashim*, and *Nezikin*. Unlike the Bavli, however, the Talmud Yerushalmi includes the entire first order of the Mishnah, *Zeraim*. Again, unlike the Bavli, which has *talmud* for most of the fifth order of the Mishnah, *Kodashim*, the Yerushalmi has none. Neither the Bavli nor the Yerushalmi possess a fully edited and organized *talmud*, redacted according to the order of *sefer Tohorot* (with the exception of *Niddah*), though both works contain many talmudic discussions (*sugyot*) which deal at length with the sources and issues of *sefer Tohorot*. Several chapters of the Yerushalmi are missing from our editions – Shabbat 21–24, Makkot 3, Niddah 4–10) – but these were probably lost in the early middle ages.

Like the Bavli, the Yerushalmi is not primarily a commentary to the Mishnah of R. Judah ha-Nasi. Rather it is an autonomous and comprehensive work of *halakhah* and *aggadah*. Building upon the text of the Mishnah, it includes two additional strata of rabbinic sources: (1) *baraitot* – tannaitic sources which were not incorporated in the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, deriving for the most part from the same tannaitic period as the sources of the Mishnah (1st–2nd centuries), and almost equal to them in authority (see **Baraita*); (2) the teachings of five generations of Palestinian **amoraim* (and a few sixth generation scholars), and the first three generations of Babylonian *amoraim*. Like the Bavli, the Yerushalmi cites and discusses these sources for their own sake, and not merely insofar as they enlighten some obscure point in the Mishnah.

Also like the Bavli, the predominant literary form in the Yerushalmi is the *sugya* – a continuous, and sometimes quite lengthy, series of questions and answers, objections and justifications, in which the isolated tannaitic and amoraic sources of the Yerushalmi are combined and unified into a synthetic and dialectical whole. However, unlike the Bavli, the *sugyot* of the Yerushalmi do not contain a great deal of anonymous