

The Contribution of Iraqi Jews to Hebrew Literature in Israel

The great majority of Iraqi Jews — about 125,000 — immigrated to Israel during the five years between 1948 — 1953. This immigration included a number of highly educated people, among them about 500 physicians, 200 engineers, and 700 educators, in addition to poets and writers. Only 20 years later, in 1969, these Iraqi Jews and their Israeli-born children numbered 225,000 (about 9%) of the Jewish population of Israel. By now, however, the saliency of origin begins to weigh less and less.

Despite the fact that this community has not brought forth a single great poet or writer, or even one whose literary work ranks with that of prominent Israeli writers and poets the Iraqis have

indeed contributed new themes to Hebrew literature as well as subjects, styles and views which they brought with them.

Their feelings regarding the shift from Arabic to Hebrew as their literary language, and their gradual mastery of this new medium of artistic expression can be seen in the novels and short stories of Iraqi Jews, from which we also learn how they perceive the relationship among the various Jewish communities in Israel. Eastern Jews who immigrate to Israel face the conflict between their love for Israel and the need to protest against aspects of life here, such as the relationship between *Sepharadim* and *Ashkenazim*. Their writings on life in Iraq present a clear picture of Arab culture and way of life and cast light on important aspects of Jewish-Arab relations. Maturation of their style as well as the sociological changes in their lives can be discerned in their novels. In the writings of Shimon Ballas and Sammi Michael — to give two examples — there is considerable shift from a first, aggressive social novel dealing with the

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relations between Eastern and European Jews and criticism of the absorption of Eastern Jews into Israeli society, to subsequent literary works dealing primarily with individuals. As for the poetry of Iraqi Jews, the best of it integrates both Eastern and Western elements.

By 1961 57% of Iraqi Jews spoke Hebrew, but there were still writers among them who continued to write exclusively in Arabic. Others like Shlomo Zamir, Shalom Katav, and Aharon Zakai shifted from Arabic to Hebrew. Despite the fact that many Iraqi Jews, especially the writers, had some knowledge of Hebrew before they came to Israel, not surprisingly, the shift from Arabic to literary Hebrew was very difficult. The same phenomenon can be seen in other authors, who found it easier as new *olim*, to write in their mother tongue. Rahel wrote her first poems in Russian, as did E. Zussman, A. Reuveny and Stavi (Stawsky) in Yiddish, S. Shalom in German, and Anda Amir Pinkerfield in Polish.

However, in addition to these obvious difficulties facing writers, the Iraqi Jews in the 1950s suffered especially severe absorption difficulties. Most of them who did not learn Hebrew in Iraq, tended to live in close contact with each other so that the Judeo-Arabic dialect served many communicational needs, thus obviating any urgency to learn Hebrew.

Nonetheless, some Iraqi Jews did start to write in Hebrew remarkably soon after their arrival in Israel. Neer Shohet published his first Hebrew short stories in the early 1950s, Aharon Zakai his first volume of poetry in 1957, Simon Ballas' first novel was published in 1964, only

nine years after he immigrated to Israel; Shlomo Zamir's first volume of Hebrew poetry appeared in 1961, after eleven years in Israel.

Poetry

Aharon Zakai, Shlomo Zamir, Svi Hakak, Shalom Katav, Emil Murad, Zion Mattityahoo, David Rabi, Tikva Shooker, Yakov Shaya, Yehezkel Mooriel, Roni Somek, and Yitzhak Horesh are only some of the Iraqi Jews who have volumes of Hebrew poetry to their credit. Most of these poets are still writing, and much of their poetry indicates literary talent and potential.

Shlomo Zamir's (Baghdad, 1929) one volume of poetry, *The Sound Through the Branch*², earned him the important Avraham Shlonsky Literary Award. Zamir's poetry presents a wide range of characters: beggars, war casualties, forsaken women, newspaper vendors, prostitutes, and other suffering people, and his portrayal of these characters betrays his social sensitivity. In some of his poems the voice speaks in the first person, even when the person talking is a collective entity rather than an individual. Zamir's poetry is imbued with an enthusiastic, positive attitude toward the State of Israel, and his description of collective national experiences are given from the viewpoint of someone for whom the establishment of the State was an event of supreme significance. His sensitivity to historical events is expressed in his poems about Baghdad Jews as well as in his painful poems about the Holocaust.

Zamir's poetry is often characterized by a unique dramatic interaction between speaker and landscape. The lucidity and force of his descriptions depend upon a peculiar focus, on a certain time or place or upon unusual circumstances and postures. For example, in one of his poems *believers*, standing on a chimney in Jerusalem blowing the *Shofar*, gazing skywards, see a violet colored ghost biting into the shadow of a pear, and the sound of the bite echoes the *shofar* loudly.

Zamir sometimes creates a mischievous and playful atmosphere in his poems, such as the one in which a man jingles his coins while telling a robber that he has no money, and then asks the thief how to get to a place called "Conqueror's Heights" where his daughter is being wed to the prime minister.

In another group of poems whose dominant topic is "songs" we find a singer who refuses to perform for feelingless "deaf and dumb" people. The singer expresses this by refusing to

"translate" his poems into their language. There is also a compulsive poet who continues to create poetry, even when he is informed that it is not needed.

Zamir's poems are short, written in free verse, with little metaphor. His line is a complete sentence or a single syntactical unit with one general syntactical function. He seems to be little affected by other Israeli poets. His images and similes have a remarkable originality; for instance: locks of hair as dark as poems of sadness and fingers as long as the days of June; a line of oarsmen who bend as low as the eyelashes on sleepy eyelids; the silent fog whose hammer destroys half of the houses on the street; doves who hover on women's breasts thinking that they are some sort of marvellous apple. To the Israeli readers accustomed to the poetry of European origin, his images drawn from Eastern life and folklore are particularly exotic. This is apparent in two of Zamir's poems (in translation).

TO BE TOGETHER

To be together!
 To slumber together — as two eyes slumber together.
 To eat together — as two hands eat together.
 And each new day beginning our life again.

To chat together — as the bow and the violin.
 To sail together — as the sail and the wind.
 Together in joy, together in pain.
 And each new day beginning our life again.

THE DEGENERATED

Whereto does the weather-vane point?
 To the cemetery.
 We, who have inferiority complexes in the face of cuts,
 Need climb on the backs of one another to pick a quince
 from a twig,
 And three of us need blow upon a candle to extinguish it.

The clock beats twelve noon!
 The owls already calling from the balconies,
 And the foxes rove in our fields.
 We put fodder in the stall and eat with the horses.

In *Not Very Destitute*³, Shalom Katav, expresses his longing for Zion and his belief in the eternity of the State of Israel. In a more important volume, *On the Banks of Naharaim*⁴, he portrays the life of Iraqi Jewry and describes historical events in the history of this community, sometimes accompanying the poems with notes that clarify the historical background for the reader.

Katav describes in his poetry the shocking scenes of the 1941 Arab riot against the Jewish-Iraqi community on *Shavuoth*. For example, he describes the myth of an Arab murderer carrying the severed leg of a Jewish infant in his hands. The murderer's hand does not wither and fall off even when he tinkles the little golden bells still tied to the bleeding leg, which is now turning blue. We also find a description of Iraqi synagogues profaned and plundered, *tefillin* straps bound around cows and donkeys, Jews seeking refuge on roof tops, some of them fighting back courageously. The intonation, excited style, and dramatic setting — which blend to produce a loud

outcry — were chosen carefully by Katav to give authenticity to historical events. The poet selects actual events and situations such as the hanging of Zionist underground activists in Iraq, describing specific characters in detail to remove the historical event from the category of mere history.

Katav is the first modern Hebrew poet, of Eastern origin who has written about events such as these in an Eastern Jewish community rather than a European one. In this respect, Katav gives explicit expression to a lesson learned by various Jewish communities in Israel who have returned to their land after long experience in the Diaspora.

There are Israeli poets of Iraqi origin who left Iraq with their families when they were very young, whose poetry shows no specific expression of the experiences and folklore of their community. Their life experiences are, in the main, rooted in Israel. This is the case with the twins Hertzl and Balfour Hakak (Baghdad, 1948). Romantic love poems written in free verse dominate

their first⁵ and second⁶ volumes, and allusions to the Bible are frequent. Another poet, Yoav Hayik (pseud. Yoav Limar, Baghdad, 1935) is an attorney who has already published three volumes of poetry.⁷ His poems, also written in free verse, do carry allusions to the Bible and the Jewish prayer-book. They deal with such topics as the search for love — such love being likened to a shore which eludes its pursuer — as well as man's loneliness in the big city, and the anxieties of existence.

David Rabi (Baghdad, 1938) has two volumes of poetry⁸ to his credit, the main concern of which is the individual who struggles with the degeneration of people as observed in coffee shops, poets and their nature, the essence of childhood, the fatigue that results from being pretentious, etc. Many of his images are completely alien to the land of Israel (he is a professor in the United States). His idioms often combine elements which are estranged from one another, such as "the sheaves of brightness," "the pole of the frozen souls," "the choirs of hunting dogs who bark in the fragile background."

Even those poets whose poetry is not primarily dominated by their own specific life experiences do, here and there, give expression to many of the social aspects of the Iraqi community. This is true of Zvi Hakak (Baghdad, 1942) who, in one of his poems, shows the frustrations of the poet's generation and its desire for fulfillment.⁹ In his poem "The Chase of Butterflies," a young boy, addressing his mother, promises her that unlike his suffering, hard-working father, he will be able to catch a butterfly — something that his

father was never able to accomplish.

In Yacov Shaya's two volumes of poetry,¹⁰ especially in the second volume, we find poems of great social significance. The adult speaker in his poem "My World, A World of a Child" describes his childhood of hunger and stress. This speaker is unable to forget the childhood which deprived him even of beautiful dreams, because "he who suffered — will never forget" why a hungry boy cries.

The Short Story

Short stories do not figure to any great extent among the literary works of Israeli Jews of Iraqi origin.

Neer Shohet (Amara, 1928) published two volumes of short stories.¹¹ In the second volume he describes customs of the Eastern Jews such as reading fortunes in coffee grounds. Here, too, in the form of a diary written by a girl from the Gaza Strip, are stories about Arab life which describe relations between tribes, the glory of the hero and the good speaker, etc. In addition to general themes and amusing dialogues his first volume contains stories that deal with the specific life experiences of the Iraqi Jews. Some of these stories, which take place in Iraq, depict tragic events such as the 1941 riots against the Jews and the days of the pro-Nazi uprising in Iraq. The darkness in *Between Light and Darkness* represents the poor life in the *Ma'abarot*, while the light represents the life in a nearby city which seems to be beyond the reach of the new immigrants. In these volumes there are also stories protesting against the way

Eastern Jews were absorbed in Israel in the 1950s, against the insanitary conditions of the *Ma'abarah*, against the faulty educational planning, the difficulty of "living" in tents and cabins. Shohet often uses the informative tone, adapting his style to portray varying educational backgrounds: the teachers in the *Ma'abarah* speak in one Hebrew style and the shopkeepers another. Shohet, who wrote these short stories only a short time after he arrived in Israel, shows remarkable sensitivity to varying levels of spoken Hebrew.

Some aspects of the hardships of life in the *Ma'abarah* can also be found in Moshe Aslan's (Basrah, 1927), story "Regina Is Looking for Her Parents."¹² Aslan portrays a Jewish Iraqi family in which the father was arrested in Iraq because of his daughter's Zionist activity. His daughter, who managed to escape to Israel, learns about the father's arrest from her mother, whom she meets in the *Ma'abarah*. This is how Aslan describes a winter night in the *Ma'abarah*

On one of the nights, a night of stormy whirlwind, I woke up to the sound of howling wind merged together with the horrified outcry of a woman, the embarrassed crying out of a man, and the heartrending weeping of children. I stuck my head out of my tent that struggled stubbornly against the storm — many tents were destroyed completely and their contents swept away by the wind. Barefoot mothers shivering with cold, gathered their infants close to them.

Slowly, slowly I got used to the way of life in the *Ma'abarah*, living in a poor, unfloored tent, without water and electricity, fighting with ants and scorpions . . . standing for a long time in line to receive the meager rations . . . to cook on kerosene . . . share the restrooms which were far away from my tent with several families of numerous children.

Even today, the Iraqi soul is still scarred by the unfortunately unavoidable experiences that they endured in the 1950s, in the newly established State of Israel. In Shimon Ballas's *In Front of the Wall*¹³ (Baghdad, 1930) most of the short stories take place in the human soul with almost no external plot. The time, place, and factual elements of the setting are described briefly, and are dispersed throughout the story. The strength of these stories lies in the profundity of their characters and in the richness of the style.

While in his novel *The Ma'abarah*¹⁴ Ballas endeavors to portray the social protest of the Iraqi community against the way in which they were absorbed into Israeli society, the stories of *In Front of the Wall* deal with the individual and his fate. The rhythm in these stories is slow. Here Ballas does not intend to speak up for his fellow Iraqi Jews. In the stories set in Iraq there is no effort to beautify the Jews or their life situations — the stories are critical, not nostalgic. Several of the characters lead lives of failure, but long for the unattainable. This is the case with the Jewish prostitute who longs to be loved and the Jewish fellow who, after contracting tuberculosis from her and becoming deaf, dreams of being accepted into an Iraqi law school. It is also true of the sensitive Jewish boy who fantasizes the moment that his revolutionary activities are discovered, but who becomes morose when he finds out that his fellows in the political underground have been arrested. Ballas's novel and collected short stories have more literary worth than his other stories, not yet compiled, and in which he describes the poverty

and loneliness of the Iraqi Jews in *Ma'abarah*.¹⁵

The Novel

Some of the novels by Israeli writers of Iraqi origin have become popular in Israel, arousing strong reactions among readers and critics. While their authors are not among the foremost Israeli writers, their definite social message has a strong cultural and social impact. They present a new view of the relationship between Eastern and European Jews, sometimes portraying the Iraqi community in Israel since the 1950s in a critical manner. They also take an aggressive and critical approach towards European Jews' attitudes towards Eastern Jews. One finds both the self-image of Iraqi Jews and the picture of other Jewish communities as seen through their eyes. These novels differ from those about Eastern Jews written by Israelis of European origin, such as Hyim Hazaz. They also differ from novels about the old *Sepharadi* settlers in Israel by *Sepharadi* writers such as Shamy and Burla. The Iraqi writers deal, in the main, with the life of Eastern Jews from the 1950s on and, unlike some *Sepharadi* writers like A. B. Yehoshoua, devote a great deal of concern to Eastern Jews.

Israeli writers of Iraqi origin have written many novels. Shimon Ballas's *The Ma'abarah*, Sammi Michael's¹⁶ *All Men Are Equal — But Some Are More*, David Rabi's *Qappaq from Baghdad*,¹⁷ and Lev Hakak's *The Foundings*¹⁸ deal with relations between the various Jewish communities in Israel. Ballas also published *Clarification*,¹⁹ a novel about contem-

porary life in Israel. Michael published *Palm Trees in a Storm*,²⁰ about Jewish life in Iraq, and *Refuge*²¹ which portrays the Arabs in Israel; the personal, political, and social problems of both the Arab and Jewish members of a leftist organization in Israel, and the relationships between them. Since writing *Qappaq from Baghdad*, David Rabi has written a play, *There is a Solution*,²² and a book of short stories, *Shadow and Stock*.²³

The writings of Ballas, Michael, and Rabi indicate that they have shifted from their early protests about Israel's Iraqi community to topics in which they are less emotionally involved. This detachment has helped their writing, which from a literary point of view has become richer.

In *The Ma'abarah* Ballas describes life in the transit camps of the 1950s. Many immigrant professionals were forced to become manual laborers and to change traditional ways of life in their new-old homeland. Other new immigrants came with dreams that could not be fulfilled in the newly established State due to economic and organizational difficulties and lack of understanding between themselves and the older generation of settlers. The arrogant attitude of the older generation was even more painful than the lack of proper housing, health services, nutrition, and local administration. In Ballas's novel we find the customs, proverbs, and songs of the Iraqi Jews (translated into Hebrew) interwoven into the plot. In most parts of the novel, the style is restrained, and Ballas uses indirect means of characterization such as description of actions, appearances, and ways of life

rather than precise definitions. He does not hesitate to portray the morally negative characteristics of some Iraqi Jews in his plot.

The main character in Ballas's second novel, *Clarification*, is Yacov Drory, a divorced thirty-four year old road engineer, the father of one daughter. During the Six-Day War, Yacov's illusions about personal freedom are shattered and, as he learns more about himself he is confronted by an unbearable loneliness and by his need to escape from it. He seeks to change his life style, and his life becomes clear to him as the Six-Day War is bearing down upon him, his neighborhood, and the whole country. Yacov's problems have no connection with his being an Iraqi Jew, which is a departure for Ballas, whose first novel dwells on the problems between Eastern and European Jews in Israel. The characters represent only themselves. The Iraqi origin is only touched on when Yacov reminisces about the Christian girl he loved and whom he had to leave behind in Iraq. The main achievement of Ballas's second novel lies in his successful characterization of his complex hero, a man whose taciturnity makes it difficult for the people to understand him and whose behavior misleads them into thinking that he is secure, tranquil, and unpenetrable.

Even more than Ballas's *The Ma'abarah*, Sammi Michael's *All Men Are Equal — But Some Are More* pours out wrath upon those who do not understand the traditions, ways of life, and values of the Iraqi Jews in Israel. Michael describes the life of Iraqi Jews in Israel, from the 1950s until the aftermath of the Six-Day War, making the point that

despite their feelings of discrimination, injustice, and deprivation, Iraqi Jews care about and are devoted to their national responsibilities in Israel, their beloved homeland. Michael portrays the difficulties of an Iraqi father who fails to cope with the new problems in his new life. He also depicts the loneliness of those young Iraqi immigrants who were successful in fulfilling some of their ambitions. The style of this novel is dramatic, unrestrained and fast-paced. Unlike *The Ma'abarah*, which is written in the third person, Michael has written this novel in the first person, and the narrator is the main character.

The Ma'abarah of Ballas, *All Men Are Equal — But Some Are More* of Michael, and *Qappaq from Baghdad* of Rabi have much in common: they all describe the poverty of the *Ma'abarah*; they all protest against the prejudices shown toward Eastern Jews; they all portray the Iraqi Jewish family as a very strong and loving unit; and they all show the parents' generation as warm people who are respected and loved, but unable to adapt to the new Israeli reality.

After expressing the contemporary experience in Israel, Sammi Michael wrote *Palm Trees in a Storm*, in which he describes the Jewish life in Iraq prior to the establishment of Israel. The main character is a brave Jewish boy who observes both the Jews and the Arabs in his environment in a very sensitive way. This is a more accomplished novel from a literary point of view. Although the young Jewish boy is the main character of the entire novel, every chapter comprises a separate plot-unit. Secondary characters also appear in several chapters, and all the chapters are linked

together to form a cumulative description of Jewish life in Iraq. Five Jewish generations are characterized here: The narrator appears as an adult who tells the story in the third person in the experienced perspective of a mature person, yet who identifies with many of the young boy's feelings.

Palm Trees in a Storm ends where *All Men Are Equal — But Some Are More* begins with the plot moving from the Iraqi diaspora to Israel. *All Men Are Equal* expresses the feelings of many Iraqi Jews, as well as the expression of the whole community of their protest against their socio-political status in Israel, sometimes to the point where the reader has the impression that Michael was hemmed in by his socio-political goals. Michael's objective in *Palm Trees in the Storm* is not the socio-political message, and, once again the greater distance here between the writer and the experiences described results in a greater literary achievement.

Sammi Michael's most significant literary achievement is his novel, *Refuge*. In contrast to his preceding novels, the external plot in *Refuge* is meager, with a great complexity of style and deep analysis of the characters. One cannot fail to be impressed by Michael's gradual mastery of literary craftsmanship. Although he was not known to Hebrew readers until 1974, his three novels published since then are evidence of the literary ability which has won him remarkable popularity.

The tension in this novel revolves around conflicts among several sets of Jewish women and Arab men in Israel, some of whom are active in a leftist organization. Amil, the gentle Arab is

married to Amalya, the aggressive and rough daughter of a Jewish member of the Knesset; both of them are active in the leftist organization. Although Fathi, an Arab poet, communicates well with educated Jewish women, he becomes engaged to a simple-minded Arab girl. Shoshana, from a family of Israeli settlers and pioneers, is married to Fouad, an Arab leader of the leftist organization. They have three children, one of whom considers himself Jewish while another condemns his mother for her Jewishness; the third son finds yet another solution by marrying a foreign born wife. The wife of Mardock who is prepared to defend Israel whenever necessary, hides the Arab poet in their apartment during the Yom Kippur War, while Mardock is away fighting. The tautly sketched characters and Michael's denouncement of their complex interrelations result in a novel of great tension. In *Palm Trees in a Storm* the main character discovers that his roots in Iraq are not strong enough to keep him from returning to his homeland. In *Refuge* the conflict among the various Jewish communities is only tangential to the plot, and Michael portrays European Jews favorably.

In *Qappaq from Baghdad*, David Rabi concentrates on Iraqi Jewish life in both Iraq and Israel. For Rabi, as for Ballas and Michael, the first experience to demand literary expression were aspects of social integration of Iraqi Jews in Israel. Here, too, one can sense the writer's emotional involvement in his subject, an involvement that prevented him from attaining aesthetic distance. But there are many islands in Rabi's novel — paragraphs and even chapters — which show that he has a dependable literary

talent and impressive control of those devices and literary phenomena which affect the reader.

This is the only novel, by an Iraqi Jew to describe the roots of several Iraqi-Jewish generations in Iraq, including the historical events that greatly affected their life. The first chapters detail the food, customs, markets, social conventions, family structure, and wedding customs of Iraqi Jews. Although the novel is written in the third person, from time to time the narrator intervenes to make remarks which afford a perspective on subjects such as women's status in Eastern society and their duties toward their husband, and the Eastern People's manner of using symbols, proverbs, and gestures in conversation. The narrator appears to be very familiar with the socio-historical background, and to have an even better perspective than some of the novel's characters. His remarks often open with words like "in these societies," or "it is the custom in the East." Rabi develops here the theme of "the uprooted."

The poet Chaim Nachman Bialik (1873-1934) and his contemporaries faced the problem of Jews who were born into a society in which religion gave meaning to life, but belonged to a generation that had lost its faith. Bialik's poetry reflects the collapse of tradition and expresses a new despair vis-à-vis the old world of faith. It is this dimension of his poetry which resulted in Bialik and his contemporaries being labelled "the uprooted." The young Iraqi Jew who

lived a tragic life due to cultural and spiritual dilemmas was also one of the "the uprooted," not being able to find his place in traditional Jewish life, and yet unable to adapt himself to life outside the Jewish world. Rabi's "detached" young Eastern Israeli Jew differs from the latter in that he has witnessed the collapse of many of the old ways of life, cleaving to tradition despite the poor conditions in which he was reared in Israel. But the memories of his old life, coupled with his difficulties in integrating into the new environment conflict with deep feeling towards his country.

In none of the novels criticizing Israel, is any desire expressed to return to the Iraqi diaspora. The basic feeling is one of longing for Israel and its people. The criticism expressed stems from solicitude for the new-old homeland, and a desire to find a better life here and on the basic assumption that Israel is the only place in the world that can offer a solution for Jews. Some Iraqi Jews, such as Emil Murad²⁴, describe certain aspects of Jewish Zionist activity in Iraq and none make any sort of case for Iraq as a desirable place for Jews.

Since their immigration to Israel, Iraqi Jews have shown that they have experiences and opinions to share, and the literary talent to do so. This has resulted in some remarkable contributions. Thus, Iraqi Jews, who have in the past made a great contribution to Judaism and Jewish learning are once again evincing their persistent talents in contributing to this culture.

NOTES

- ¹ Noozhat Katsav, *The Integration of Jews from Iraq in the Social, Economical, and Political Life of Israel*, Hebrew, January, 1976.
- ² Hebrew, Sifriyat Hapoalim, 1960.
- ³ Hebrew, Eked, Tel Aviv, 1972.
- ⁴ Hebrew, Eked, Tel Aviv, 1974.
- ⁵ Hertzfel and Balfour Hakak, *Gemini*, Hebrew, Don, 1970.
- ⁶ Idem, *A Book of Love Lights*, Hebrew, Shalhevet, 1972.
- ⁷ Yoav Hayik, *Poems upon the Handles of the Bar*, Hebrew, Eked, Tel Aviv, 1970; *Sounds*, Hebrew; Lewin-Epstein, Bat Yam, 1973; Yoav Limor, *Not in the Kings Road*, Hebrew, Orient, Tel-Aviv.
- ⁸ *In the First Light*, Renaissance, Haifa, 1968; *Scattered Light*, Hebrew, Briklyn Dov Printing House, Philadelphia, 1974.
- ⁹ *Sacrifice While It Is Still Spring*, Neev, Tel Aviv, 1962.
- ¹⁰ *Sadness of Desertion*, Hebrew, Alef, Tel Aviv, 1967; *A Man Walks at Night Towards His Life; He Will Raise It Up From Dust*, Hebrew, Alef, Tel Aviv, 1970
- ¹¹ *Between Light and Darkness*, Hebrew, Alef, Tel Aviv, 1971; *Another Night* Hebrew, Alef, Tel Aviv, 1972
- ¹² Hebrew, in *Bamaaracha*, No. 151, Sept. 1974, pp. 14-15; also in the *Eastern Jews in Our Literature*, Avraham Shtahl ed., Israeli Ministry of Education, 1974.
- ¹³ Hebrew, Massada, Ramat Gan, 1969.
- ¹⁴ Hebrew, Am Oved, Tel Aviv, 1964.
- ¹⁵ "Dice," Hebrew, in *Bamaaracha*, 1967; "Their Hands Trod in the Mire of the Streets," Hebrew, in *Bamaaracha*, Jan., 1968; "A Wounded Bird," *ibid.*, March 1969.
- ¹⁶ Hebrew, Bustan, Tel Aviv, 1974.
- ¹⁷ Hebrew, Alef, Tel Aviv, 1975.
- ¹⁸ *The Foundlings (The Ingathered)*, Hebrew, Tammuz, Tel Aviv, 1977.
- ¹⁹ Hebrew, Sifriyat Poalim, Tel Aviv, 1972.
- ²⁰ Hebrew, Am Oved, Tel Aviv, 1975.
- ²¹ Hebrew, Am Oved, Tel Aviv, 1977.
- ²² Hebrew, Alef, Tel Aviv, 1976.
- ²³ Hebrew, Alef, Tel Aviv, 1977.
- ²⁴ *Those Who Search for Light*, -Hebrew, Eked, Tel Aviv, 1963; *Rose Petals Down the Stream*, Durans, 1963; *Deep into the Soul*, Vantage Press, New York, 1967; *From Babylon by Underground — A Story of a Zionist Underground in Iraq*, Hebrew, Am Oved, Tel Aviv, 1972.