

“The Body that Crumbled”¹: Mizrahi Men and the Writing of Poetic Anatomy

RUTH TSOFFAR

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Part I

The poet's tragedy lies in the fading of the referent in time, in the impermanence of whatever is grasped. The poet's recompense is the production of a form that enters into the transforming life of language. (Susan Stewart, *Poetry and the Fate of the Senses*)²

There is no meaningful reference to a 'human reality' outside the terms of culture. (Judith Butler, *Variations of Sex and Gender*)³

ABSTRACT: *This article, the first of two, studies the multiple ways in which the human body participates in the wider political project called “ethnicity,” as a locus of its invented and received cultural meaning. In particular, the poetry of Mizrahi writers such as Erez Bitton, Roni Somek, Eli Bachar, and Peretz-Dror Banai (Israelis of Middle Eastern, North African origin) makes a strong case for a quantitative analysis of body references; frequently evoked in the poems, alluding to a specific posture and bodily situation. Once I sketched a collective body of this poetic anatomy, I identified specific issues of fragmentation, particularization and dismemberment; exploring the ability of poetic language to articulate cultural differences, textual resistance, internalized violence, or self-identification. The fact that male and female poets construct dramatically different bodily models demanded that I discuss each of them independently in two separate articles.*

¹ גוף שהתפורר חזר להיות גוף “The body which crumbled once again became a body.”

In Eli Bachar's poem “יש לי תור לאהבה ואני לא הולך” (I have an appointment for love), also the title of the collection *Tor La-‘Ahavah*, Bachar 1982: 10-11.

² Stewart 2002: 2.

³ Butler 1987: 137.

Introduction: The Return of the Poet

“The poet exists as an individual,” writes Albert Memmi in “The Mythic Portrait of the Colonized.” (Memmi, 2000) Writing poetry, within the context of colonial systems of domination, is an attempt to step out of the inevitably oppressive bond that ties the colonizer and the colonized. In this asymmetric relationship, however, for the less privileged of the two it is also an attempt to break out of the imposed “anonymous collectivity” through which one has been perceived and constructed. As a social institution, “collective anonymity” defines and establishes concrete situations of inadequacy that “close in on the colonized, weigh on him until they bend his conduct and leave their mark on his face” (Ibid. 2000: 216). This article addresses the return of the Mizrahi discourse through poetry. It sets up a descriptive model to study the “marks of the plural” on the “face” and body of the Mizrahi poet (an Israeli of Middle Eastern or North African origins). This model demonstrates how, through poetry, Mizrahi poets participate with the linguistic construction of contemporary Hebrew while, at the same time, establishing a new language of the agency. Indeed, it is the force of poetry that evokes the local expressions and somatization of the internalized politics of culture. Focusing on the resultant ramifications of inter-ethnic, heterogeneous interaction on the body becomes a way to [re]write Mizrahi ethnic history in one’s own corporeal terms (compare with Butler 1987).

Judith Butler’s critique of gender complements Memmi’s pioneering work (originally published in 1957).⁴ Her work moves us from Memmi’s “situations of inadequacy” that are inscribed on one’s posture toward developing the body as “situation.” Indeed, her work builds on Beauvoir’s formulation of gender as a social construction rather than a feminine embodiment within binarism of gender, as the subject in a continual process of becoming rather than a natural, essential, normative femininity. She concludes:

The body as situation has at least a twofold meaning As a locus of cultural interpretations, the body is a material reality that has already been located and defined within a social context. The body is also the situation of having to take up and interpret that set of received interpretations. As a field of interpretive possibilities, the body is a locus of the dialectical process of interpreting anew a historical set of interpretations, which have already informed corporeal style. The

⁴ Butler theorizes the scope of her analysis of gender beyond the masculinist signifying economy, claiming that “The colonizing gesture is not primarily or irreducible masculinist. It can operate to effect other relations of racial, class, and heterosexual subordination, to name but a few.” (Butler, 1990: 1-34, 13)

body becomes a peculiar nexus of culture and choice, and 'existing' one's body becomes a personal way of taking up and reinterpreting received gender norms. (Butler, 1987: 133-4)

Situated body, then, argues that the body participates in the wider political project called "ethnicity" – and, ethnicity, like gender, is a locus of cultural meaning both received and invented, a process of both interpretation and innovation (or choice), within power relations and hierarchies.

Jews from Eastern and Western Europe, later referred to as Ashkenazi Jews, owe the conception of the Zionist State to European ideological articulations of nationalism and modernity, in terms of knowledge production, economy and practices. Zionism, accordingly, is a product of nineteenth-century European discourse of nationalism and imperialism. Western (and hence, Zionist) modernism is, in fact, linked to the colonial practice that introduced capitalism, civilization, and technology as Western commodities, denying others' history while totalizing its own Eurocentric representation (Said, 1978; Swirski, 1981; Shohat, 1988; Shohat, 1989; Shohat & Stam, 1994; Chow, 1995; Young, 1995). Memmi points out the fact that the colonizer and the colonized always emerge from within their relational context, as the colonized "cannot escape the colonizer hoax" (Memmi, 2000: 216) One could argue that a case of classic colonialism, such as the French colonization of North Africa, accentuates the distinctions even beyond the binarism imposed by structural orientation; national, and, to a certain extent, religious differences mark their representation. In the Israeli reality, the power dynamics between colonizer and colonized is obscured because Zionism itself emerged as a minority's discourse, and is presupposed by the notion of Judaism as the ultimate common denominator in the construction of national unity. Concepts such as *kibbutz galuyot*, "the ingathering of the exiles," or *kur hituck*, "melting pot," emphasized the conceptualization of homogenous collectivity and oneness as the *modus operandi* of the new nation that aimed to gather and blend diaspora Jews into a single whole of cultural homogeneity. The myth of equality was deployed to mobilize collectivity by suspending ethnic, gender and other cultural differences. Indeed, when the ethnographer, Virginia Dominguez, came to study Israeli ethnicity and cultural fragmentation she ultimately identified Israel's unique case as one of collectivization and oneness (Dominguez, 1989). "Collective anonymity" of ethnicity, in this context, is intensified by the presumed national collectivity. In that sense, the myth of equality is another layer that adds to the complexity of the relationship between the Mizrahi individual, his Mizrahi group, and the hegemonic collective "self," or between biography, ethnic history and national narrative.

A discourse of “collective anonymity” not only obscures individuals, and makes minority populations invisible; it is also static and does not allow for change, evolution or a history of its people. Indeed, as a distancing, alienating, reductionist strategy, it is motivated to create a singularity of representation that renders a close seal on the creation of allegorical possibilities with regard to the articulation of difference. In fact, most scholars who theorized colonialism addressed, directly or indirectly, the issue of collective anonymity as part of the wider problem of the representation of otherness.⁵ In this sense, it is specifically useful to closely examine Mizrahi poetry because through it the Mizrahi author steps out of the fixed, normalized location of culture to invent a more specific landscape for articulating difference. Indeed, poetry is a site of political position and struggle that subverts the general narrative of objectification. It speaks to the expansion of categories of who and what can be political subjects. Poetic discourse provides an opportunity to engage in self-reflexive internal dialogue and break away from the symbiotic representation of the self by rewriting the self from a new position. Against the background of historical invisibility and against the collective formation of ethnic representation, poetry and body are deployed as strategies in the act of writing. The very act of writing is, it turns out, not only a “necessary remedy for difference,” but also “the very difference from which a remedy must be sought.” (Johnson, 1995: 45)

Within the realm of the Hebrew poetic canon, the poetic subject is an especially important category, for the ideology of language and texts is inherently tied to the historical formation of Israeli culture. (Harshav, 1993) It encodes the same political structure of inclusion and exclusion that operates in the culture at large. To write Hebrew poetry from the position of its ethnic subject is to both participate in and provoke the limits of the public discussion. (Alcalay, 1993; Hever, 2000) The difficulty in simply drawing on intertextual references is manifested not only inter-ethnically, in contemporary culture, but also historically, within the constructed canon of Jewish sources. Memory, heritage and history were all appropriated and reinterpreted to serve the needs of narrating the 20th Century linear Western Ashkenazi history, leading sequentially to the establishment of Israel and to the construction of its meta-narrative (Shohat, 1989; Zerubavel, 1995; Roggof, 2000). Ironically, for those who speak from a position of difference

⁵ For Homi Bhabha, for example, the notion of “fixity” is an important discursive strategy that signifies cultural, historical, and racial difference, and on which the discourse of stereotypes is grounded. Fixity is “what is always in place, already known, and something that must be *anxiously repeated*.” (Emphasis is mine, Bhabha, 1983: 18) The purpose of the “anxiously repeated” act is to endlessly reproduce and duplicate horizontally – among individuals of the same group, and vertically – throughout time, the fixed profile of otherness. But, as Ella Shohat argued, the “social functionality of stereotypes demonstrates that they are not simply an error of perception, but rather a form of social control, intended as what Alice Walker calls “prisons of image.” (Shohat and Stam, 1994: 198)

and lack of an apparatus of power, for those who are specifically in need of access to collective cultural resources, the hegemonic control over canonic inter-texts exacerbates the problem, namely, the lack of cultural references and the limited Jewish sources and space of belonging. Roni Someck explicitly addresses this issue: "From the heart fist of Rabbi Judah Halevi there remained a body." Halevi's wrestling poetic legacy of longing for Zion ("My heart is in the East, and I am at the edge of the West") was deployed by the mainstream Israeli canon to articulate the strong bond with Israel to the point of reducing Halevi to banality.

Referencing through the poetic body is an attractive possibility as it permits going beyond the limits of social tolerance, expanding the limits of the imagined self. The illusion is, that by writing one's body into the poem, the poet will write her/himself (Johnson, 1995 : 44-45). As such, body and poetry becomes a site of potentiality. Such a site of interpretation of difference and differentiation requires articulating a new language that is crucial to binding a range of differences and discriminations that inform the discursive and political practices of cultural hierarchization. (Bhabha, 1983: 19)

Notably, one of the most striking features of contemporary Mizrahi Hebrew poetry, in addition to its compelling and evocative language, is the high number of references to the body. Indeed, if one were to randomly thumb through poetry of Mizrahi writers, one would likely be struck by the high frequency of references to specific body parts, coupled with a physical relationship to the body. An excellent example is Bachar's poem, ימים פנימיים "Internal Days."

Internal Days

There is another back behind
my back
I hide inside it through
[in]ternal days
Rubbing with the ashes of my
body
And this walk,
So soft.
A crumbling landscape,
opening bells
I see them all
A long procession of pain.

ימים פנימיים

יש עוד גב מאחורי גבי
אני מסתתר בו לימים פנימיים
משתפשף עם אפר גופי
וההליכה הזאת
כל כך רכה
נוף נופל, פעמונים נפתחים
אני רואה את כולם
טור ארוך של כאב.

Referentiality through the body not only highlights the role of language in heightening social awareness and transforming subjectivity, it

also articulates a discourse of authenticity. The body is immediate, concrete, and present. It appears real, and is easy to identify with. The body is an immediate locus of demarcation of the self, often perceived as a metaphor for self and enclosure. In fact, the body provides its own material language, experience and knowledge, offering to close the gap between the poet and writing. In general, the body is often perceived as preceding culture, an ideal illusion of a preconceived, non-ideological reference for subjectivity and truth (Žižek, 1995). Yet, as Hegel, Nietzsche, and Foucault elaborated, the body is not only implicated in relations of power and participate in ideology, it emerges as a political subject, an agency of subjectification that captures historical spatial inscriptions of power relations and hierarchies. It is important, therefore, to establish the “body as a situation” within its dialogic role in inter-subjective, inter-ethnic relations of domination and power, while all along to be aware of its problematic referentiality as a real, solid, truthful and material system. As a site of culture, the body as an agency is always relational, evolving in the dynamics of memory and practice, knowledge and experience, emotion and desire, the imagined and the concrete. Body as an agency, as Allen Feldman argues in the case of Northern Ireland, is power’s “point of effect and generation.” (Feldman, 1991:3)

Body parts as a model of representation

Within Mizrahi poetry, the large quantity of references to specific, isolated body parts, coupled with a general, physical relationship to the body reveals a unique phenomenon. The poetry’s animated carnal imagery sketches the collective body image emerging from the poets’ portrayal of the body. The collective sum of reference, together with the stylistic devices that help envision it, compose an imagined profile of the Israeli social/ethnic body that constitutes an alternative system of meaning and representation. This profile can help us set up a descriptive model that quantifies references to body parts, so that we can observe, and qualitatively define language and style. I believe this model can also explain the poet’s articulation of difference. If these passages can present us with a poetic anatomy - if this anatomy can constitute a form of self representation of the Mizrahi minority discourse in contemporary Hebrew poetry - then, we can present broader questions about the politics of culture, representation and legitimization as they are played out in literary, poetic form. The poetic body can help us quantify difference, corresponding to Trinh T. Minh-ha’s argument that difference is also a question of extent rather than essence (1987: 16). As such, the challenge of quantity becomes justified by poetry from within, turning literary form into

social and cultural data⁶ (Moretti, 1998: 5). Such a model can mark the psychosocial conceptions of the human body in a context of ethnophobia and xenophobia.⁷

Moreover, marking specific body parts on the referential imagined ethnic body is subject to internalized and projected stereotypes, socioeconomic stress, historical ideological and psychological intimidation, as well as other postures of inferiority⁸ (Gilman 1985). Ethnicity is a subtle, strategic, laborious and covert project laden with prescriptions, sanctions and stereotypes that change power relationship and cultural norms (Butler, 1987: xx). A quantitative and textual analysis of the body-part references enables us to examine relationships such as subject/object, center/periphery, self/other, literal/figurative and whole/part. It helps us immediately address relevant issues such as: the kind of collective body that ethnic difference - poetic and imagined as it is - delineates; the boundaries of the collective body; the qualitatively excessive areas in this representation; and, conversely, identify the body parts that are missing. Significantly, this model also answers questions by comparing the Mizrahi ethnic body and the national, collective hegemonic body. The extent to which we can gain information will contribute and alter our understanding of the Israeli national body.

In this article I focus on the poetry of four contemporary Mizrahi poets: Eli Bachar (*Tor La'Ahavah* "Appointment for Love," 1982), Peretz-Dror Banai (*Chamtsan*, "Oxygen," 1980), Erez Bitton (*Sefer ha-Na'na* "The Mint Pound," 1979 and *Minchah Maroka'it* "Moroccan Offering," 1976), and Roni Someck (*Asfalt* "Asphalt," 1984). The collection *1 בשביל 3, 3 בשביל 1* (1 for 3, 3 for 1, 1980), contains poems by Bachar, Banai, and Someck, indicating that the poets already positioned themselves ethnically. I supplement these collections with poems by these writers that have appeared in literary journals such as *Apiryon*, and the newspapers' weekly, literary supplements. Several factors unified my corpus including, the poets' ethnicity - some Israeli-born, first and second generation Mizrahim. Their ages (at the time of the research) ranged between forty and fifty. The literary activity of

⁶ Moretti (1998) draws a historical atlas of literature, studying the aesthetics, semiotics and structures of geography in the nineteenth-century European novel.

⁷ Memmi defines "ethnophobia" as one instance of the more general "heterophobia," which covers "all forms of domination based on real and imaginary differences between groups: men and women, gays and straights, natives and immigrants, and so on" (Appiah, 2000: ix).

⁸ Recent psychological studies on minorities' mental health have struggled with the question of how to assess the issues unique to minorities that stem from the specific historical, cultural condition. Jones found a direct correlation between feelings of inferiority, limited opportunities for personal expression and depression. He concluded that minority status is translated psychologically into stress (Jones and Korchin, 1982; Jones and Matsumoto 1982).

these four poets is restricted to the years 1976-1984, the period during which the collections were published.

Eli Bachar was born in 1954, in Jaffa. His first collection, "Black Coffee and all the Tobacco," was published in 1978 after appearing in leading literary journals and magazines. Peretz-Dror Banai was born in 1947, in Syria, grew up in Aleppo and immigrated to Israel in 1962. He lives in Kfar Saba. He is a prolific writer who has published more than twelve collections of poetry and has translated Arabic poetry and prose. Roni Someck was born in Baghdad, Iraq, in 1951 and moved to Israel at the beginning of the fifties in one of the large waves of immigration that depleted Baghdad of its Jewish community. He grew up in the *ma'abara*, the transient camp, during a period that left a deep impression on the generation of immigrants of the fifties. He worked with street gangs, studied art, literature and Jewish philosophy, and currently teaches literature and leads creative writing workshops. He has published more than seven collections of poetry. His poems have been translated into numerous languages, including Arabic, English and Catalan; they have been recorded and accompanied with music. Based on his poems, he also exhibited six artifacts with the artist, Beni Efrat. He won several prestigious prizes (see Alcalay, 1996: 325-6). Finally, Erez Bitton is one of the first writers to introduce Mizrahi culture to the Israeli reader. He is relatively older than the other three and more established as a poet. He was born in Algeria and currently lives in Ramat Hasharon, near Tel Aviv. He is the editor of *Apiryon*, a journal of Mediterranean and Middle Eastern culture, and was the president of the Hebrew Authors Association. As a child growing up in Lod, an abandoned hand grenade exploded, blinding Bitton and injuring his arm. As a result of his injury, he attended a boarding school for the blind, which eventually resulted in his appropriation into the culture mainstream. (Lavie, 1992: 96-99; Alcalay, 1996: 261-262)

In listing and categorizing all references to body parts in five collections, I found 451 references to body parts in 204 poems.⁹ (See Appendix A) Dividing the body into several descriptive paradigms, such as lower body and upper body, front and back, internal and external, provides a further basis for a different exposition that highlights different configurations of the body parts, for example, the body as a whole as opposed to fragmented body; a bounded body versus an unbounded body (margins and orifices); or, a literal body versus a figurative and idiomatic body.

This categorization reveals several important trends: There is a clear preference for fragmented body representation and its corollary in the orientation toward details, or particularization. The poets clearly emphasized parts of the body localized to a particular area (91% of the references), rather

⁹ I initially focused only on body-part indicators per se. I did not include verbs having to do with the body, bodily excretions, such as sweat and tears, or animal body-part terms such as a tail, horns, etc.

than to the body as a whole (9%). In fact, there is a clearly discernible preference towards emphasizing individual parts of the body as discrete entities rather than the body as a complete unit. Moreover, the representation of the fragmented body is not limited to imagery, but is contextualized within the very structure of language, using grammatical devices that reinforce the impression of disunity.

Of the 25 indicators referring to the body, 11 appear in literal/figurative nominal embedding (construct, *smikhut*), with the word "body" serving as the embedded noun, in the structure "the x of the body;" e.g., "passages of the body," "pieces of the body," "butcher of the body," and "passport of the body." In contrast, there are only two instances in which "body" serves as a modifier to the embedded noun, "body of the woman," "body of the ravens." Notably, when "body" appears as the embedded noun as shown above, the focus narrows to a specific isolated area.

When the nominal embedding involves a metaphor the body part always appears as the vehicle of the metaphor, rather than the tenor - although in the *smikhut* there is often a potential for a bilateral reading of the metaphor. The body, metaphoric or literal, grounds abstract concepts, e.g., "nights of her body," "barrier of the lips," and "sleds of the nose." Such constructions further contract the site of the body, narrowing the focus to a specific area or characteristic of the body. Furthermore, syntactically, the usage accords with an objectified body part, always appearing as the grammatical object rather than the subject. The body part acts as a direct or indirect object; it is acted upon rather than performing the action.

וּלְהַשְׁאִיר חוֹתָמַת מַיִם בְּדִרְכּוֹן הַגּוֹף "To leave a water stamp in the body's passport," (Someck, 1984: 17) כְּמוֹ שִׁנֵּי חֵלֶב בְּלֶסֶת הַמִּדְבָּר "Like milk teeth in the desert's jaw." (Someck, 1984: 22) וְאִם מִבֵּין הָאֲצְבָעוֹת חוֹמַקֶּת מַחְתֶּרֶת הַגּוֹף "And if the body's underground slips away between the fingers" (Someck, 1984: 9). Here the embedded noun picks out a particular trait "x" of the main noun. Thus, even when the body - the broad general term - is mentioned, it still is not taken as a general term, except for the purpose of highlighting one part within the whole.

General substances, such as blood, skin, or flesh, which might easily connect body parts, are usually restricted to one particular zone of the body or to a specific condition of it. This is particularly noticeable in references to blood. Not only do certain adjectives restrict its flow, the blood is localized and constrained. For example, דָּם כָּבֵד ("heavy blood"), דָּם קָפָא ("the blood froze"), דָּם נִשְׁבַּר ("broken blood"), דָּם נִרְסַק ("crushed blood") or the following lines, לֹכֵחַ הָיָה מְרוֹכֵז בְּגַב אֲצְבָעוֹתָיו "All the strength was centered on the back of his fingers." (Someck, 1984: 36)

Banai attempts to distinguish between different locations of blood. הָדֵם הִנְרַסַּק בְּפִרְקֵי אֲצְבָעוֹתַי / וְהָדֵם הִנְשַׁבֵּר בְּתוֹי פְּנֵי / זֵהִים "The blood, which is crushed in my knuckles / And the blood, which breaks in the features of my face / Are identical." (Banai, 1983/4: 52)

Grammatical devices such as the syntactic choice, the prepositions, and the restrictive adjectives, in addition to the *smikhut* construct, are effectively employed to create a sense of disembodiment and estrangement. In the example “אני, פני פני” “I, the face of my face,” (Bitton, 1976: 16) the speaker’s identity is buried in three levels of distance, moving from the “I” to the “face,” and from the “face” to its other mirrored “face,” in a reflection within reflection, a synthesis quite characteristic of Hebrew. The syntactic depth of the three nouns, and the difference between “face” and “my face,” result, ironically, in a flat *surface* of the speaker’s self representation.

There is a split between the self and the body that dissolves the integrity of the “I,” leaving the speaker detached and distant. In fact, as soon as the observing “I” refers to the body in the third person, s/he objectifies it in a way that he can observe it. For example, we find the following expressions, עכשיו גופי יושב על רגליו “Now my body is sitting on its feet.” (Bachar, 1980: 24) or אני ציור קבוע של חתכים/המשך / בשר צלול “I am a permanent drawing of incisions, the continuation - clear flesh,” (Bachar, 1982: 20) or עין מרכלת על עין “One eye is gossiping about another eye” (Bachar, 1982: 10). In this example, the use of “an eye” in singular suggests that the act of gossiping is not between one person and another, rather internally between one eye and another in conflicted visualization. The asymmetry of the look/eyes and the fact that they can each spread rumors about the other, creates a disquieting exposure of intensified inner conflict. ואני מקרב את האדמה אל פי “And (I) am bringing the earth close to my mouth” (Bachar, 1982: 11). אני בורח מעצמי כמו עצם / פתאום זוה בתוך הבשר “I run away from myself like a bone / suddenly moving inside the flesh.” (Bachar, 1982: 13)

Using the *hitpa’el* verb form, which is simultaneously mutual and reflexive, highlights the body as independent of the self. This is especially true when the body, or its part, is the subject of the sentence. This conveys the notion that the “I” is not an active agent; rather s/he is an observer, objectively describing the body’s action. In Modern Hebrew, *hitpa’el* tends to supplant the original passive form, especially in the spoken language and in children’s speech. In fact, *hitpa’el* is considered a middle voice, with passive overtones. The reflexive aspect of a *hitpa’el* verb deflects the speaker to the body part rather than focusing on the self, e.g., (verbs in the *hitpa’el* form are underlined), הגוף שהתפורר חזר להיות גוף, “The body which crumbled [*hitpa’el*] became once again a body;” ראשי מתקפה מבית קפה לבית קפה “My head becomes ‘coffeed up’ (caffeinated) from one coffee house to another;” (Bachar, 1980: 24) or גוף מתנצל לוחץ על גוף מנוצל “An apologizing [*hitpa’el*] body presses on an exploited [*pu’al*] body.” (Bachar, *Apiryon* 2: 61)

Let us look at the last example more closely. Bachar uses the root *n-ts-l* twice, in close juxtaposition, with two different forms: “to apologize” (*hitpa’el*) and “to use, exploit” (*pu’al*) — and each verb means something different. The poem describes an urban picture of two women sitting on a motorcycle: one *guf*, body, in masculine form, pressed against the other. The

linked punning use of *hitpa'el* and *pu'al* ("mitnatsef" and "menutsal"), and the very fact that "apologize" (*mitnatsef*) is an active verb, emphasizes the fact that the poet used the original meaning of the verb structure to create a semantic relationship between the two bodily positions. The word play undermines any inclination to viewing one body as "active" and the other as "passive." It is accentuated in the next two lines: עכשיו מוברשים אברי, עכשיו מקורצים אברי "Now my members are brushed / Now my members are scraped" (Bachar, 1983/4: 61). It continues: "A dog plucks stars with his tail, I in a small café banish my body to the heights." In this erotically balanced scene, there is an inclination to relegate all responsibility to the body, with no intervention from the externally situated self (The writer gets every possible bit of mileage out of this ambiguity).

There is an emphasis on marginal/peripheral body parts. Underlying the construction of the deviant, transgressed body is the unconscious, imaginary, and prototypical conception of the body as a self-regulatory system, closed and defined. It communicates through its openings, as Mary Douglas suggests: "Interest in its [the body's] apertures depends on the preoccupation with social exits and entrances, escape routes and invasions... If there is no concern to preserve social boundaries, I would not expect to find concern with body boundaries" (1978: 70). This is even more apparent in Hebrew, in which language bears witness to such body articulation. In Hebrew, the word *guf* - meaning body, but also self, substance, person, element, and matter - is linguistically and semantically related to *le-hagif*, the *hif'il* verbal form which means to embody, to shutter, and to close. The idea of the body as an enclosed and enclosing unit is very much part of its conception. *Guf*, as such, redefines any attempt in poetry to "write" the body as a linguistic or cultural appropriation. Containment and boundaries are important aspects of the description of this body. They help draw its contours and mark its unity, thus making it identifiable and observable. Articulated as a closed unit, the body connects with the world through its openings. These openings mark the anatomical margins as the locus for self-demarcation (1962) becoming the zone of communication of the anomalous, grotesque or protesting body (Bakhtin, 1968). Around these zones we find the first steps toward protecting and regaining one's bodily integrity as they mark the poet's attempt to escape the world through these areas, drawing the lines where the self ends and the social body begins. An emphasis on the body's extremities is central in the poetry of Mizahim. Hands, feet (22), fingers, or other "exit points" such as the eyes (62) and the mouth (24), create an overwhelming sense of a body which provides access to communication; and yet, this communication can be carried out through its margins: it consists primarily of margins. Bitton's line, אני, פני פני, "I, the face of my face" (Bitton, 1976: 16), is a good illustration of this tendency. It externalizes that which otherwise could be perceived as internal and deep. Someck's lines "All the strength was centered on the back of his fingers," (Someck, 1984: 36) places the emphasis

on “all the strength;” however, the grammatical distancing from the subject and the exact location “on the back” reveals that “all the strength” is actually absent: precisely because the strength is removed and dramatically confined to a small, localized place on the speaker’s body, where he can not possibly make use of it. The lack of body integration and a sense of externalized interiority contribute to the impression that body parts that could otherwise be perceived as metonymies to the body and the self, turn out to be isolated, dismembered and dismembering objects.

הוא מצא שביל מרופד ונעל בתוכו את הרגל “He finds a cushioned path and locked his foot within it.” (Bachar, 1982: 17)

בא לי לנדוד בעדשות הנפש המזוהה “I feel like wandering in the lenses of the neglected spirit.” (Banai, 1980: 24)

לנשק את קצות אצבעותיה “To kiss the tips of her fingers.” (Bitton, 1976: 29)

There is a striking degree of emphasis on body parts that are at the periphery of the human body. Of all the parts of the body, the arms - especially the hands, the fingers and the fingertips - provide the easiest visible access to the body or a portion of it. In fact it is ironic: the poets probably wrote the poems manually and, on some level, were aware of the fact that their hands are an active instrument of writing. However, the hand in Mizrahi poetry does not act. Rather, it is acted upon - or if it is the instrument of an action, it is dissociated from the independent self. Indeed, the hand appears mostly as a direct (sometimes indirect) object on which events occur, a receptacle, or a locus of sensation. Hands are described as tired, small, pale and limp. In the following example, Bachar proclaims, “אני עוזב את הילדות, מסתכל על גב אצבעות ידי” (I am leaving my childhood, looking at the back of the fingers of my hand) (Bachar, 1980: 25). Referring to the fingertip as a “gav,” (literally, a back) reminds us that the literal usage of this preposition refutes the possibility of having any support (backing) whatsoever once one leaves childhood. In general, the fingers compliment the hands. They are also acted upon rather than the actors. Hands and fingers are, in fact, distant, removed from the body, yet observable. Such are the expressions, “cover the hands,” “describe hands,” “look at the hands”, or also, “עדייה ברצועות”/ “Like the finger of the fingers, she is worn on my heartstrings”, (Bitton, 1976: 37) evoking the notion of miracle, (God’s finger) by alluding to the ultimate finger.

The periphery is where the process of reconstruction begins. After all, the Mizrahim live on the periphery, where they are neither fully outside nor fully inside. While the body integrates itself through its margins and openings in a strategic deployment of new power, it is as if it rethinks itself through its communicating exits. [Re]membering occurs when one’s [dis]membered body meets up with one’s memory. The concentration on the

body's margins and exits is highlighted both by the frequency of marginal body-part indicators and by the intensification of this marginality through various grammatical devices such as syntactic choice, prepositions, restrictive adjectives, or restrictive nominal embedding.

A comparison of this phenomenon to the hegemonic, canonic poetry confirms a remarkable quantitative and qualitative difference. The last stanza of Shlonki's poem, "עמל," "Labor" turns to the fingers, exclaiming, "I will lift up my body in my palms." The poem continues, later, "Oh, good for you, fingers, grasping a sickle on harvest day / Embracing the clod covered with thorn! / You tell: / [W]hat shall we do to the tender fingers?" ("עמל," "Toil") Uri Tsvi Grinberg also writes, "It is impossible to snap the head off the body with one's hands. And throw it like a pot on one of the angry rocks."

(למרגלותיך ירושלים "Le-margelotayikh Yerushalayim," "At your Feet Jerusalem"). Finally, Yehudah Amichai writes, ידי אלהים בעולם כדי אני במעי, התרגול השחוט בערב שבת "God's hands in the world are like my mother's hands in the slaughtered chicken's intestine on Friday night." (Amichai 1989: xxx) The metaphoric hand, as a signifier for action, conveys control and power, complemented by the subject position and the grammatical choices.

Having to rely so closely on the immediate body, forces the poets to explore other available cultural constructs. *Ha-guf ha-leshoni*, "the grammatical body," took shape in the Hebrew language and dramatically underscores the close articulation of Hebrew's pronoun system in terms of corporeality. The grammatical body in Hebrew appears not only in the first, the second, and the third person as *guf rishon*, *guf sheni*, and *guf shlishi* ("first body/person," "second body" and "third body"), but also in the innumerable idioms and expressions that use body parts, expanding and substantiating the body's referential potential. Moreover, it builds on its intertextual semantics and figuration within existing language. This is where text and body are juxtaposed; whereby the word, as an utterance, becomes a rupture in the flow of the body. This is frequently used in different figures of speech, especially prepositions such as *'al pi*, "according," *'al yad*, "near," or "by," *mi-yad*, "immediately," *le-raglay*, "at the foot of." With this in mind, expressions such as "the face of my face" or the back of my fingers" can be read literally, and idiomatically. Precisely because the grammatical body is an authoritative, canonic site, the Mizrahi poets subvert its meaning, introducing a new linguistic configuration to build on its presence, and to contest its being taken-for-granted. The poet employs literal expressions to challenge the space between the literal and the metaphoric, in order to rethink frozen metaphors and to evoke new ambiguities.

The politics of the poetic body is not limited to its visible or verbalized area, for such a description limits its contours, which, perhaps, may be just as critical as the body parts that are silent or missing. After all, silence also articulates difference. "Sometimes even silence," writes Someck, "is the ballistic trajectory of the first word" (1984: 13). There are few

references to genital parts, for example. References to the upper body outnumber those to the lower body. This might suggest that the poets' main desire is not to mock and defy the social body in the Bakhtinian sense (as is the case in 'Aharon Shabtai') or to be engaged in an erotic, sexual discourse that will address gender politics (as in Yona Wallach). Instead, the poets' aim is to build on the correct, classic social order, by creating an alternative, correcting or challenging the hegemonic body. Concentrating on the upper body parts allows the development of an internal vocabulary. It aims to expand the discursive space of individuality and nativity within Hebrew literature proper.

This study of qualitative analysis uses poetry as data, or ethnography. Yet, more significantly, it introduces a self-referential model of representation and social construction in a multi-ethnic society. Even as another collective construct (of ethnicity), the model is sensitive enough to capture the distinctive cultural poetics of minority writers. Indeed, using this model of the poetic body to study a minority culture is especially significant (and illuminating) because it identifies and defines the process of objectifying and the experience of difference and otherness, to the body. Moreover, it tells us about the creative mechanism through which the Hebrew language decreases its resistance to the subject of difference. Increasing the ability to express the Mizrahi experience through new verbal formations and strategies, expanding its referential potential through metonymic and metaphoric bodily articulations, results in a "language of agency" (Scarry, 1985: 11-19). It comprises a new model of an unveiled taxonomy of body-part references - better yet, an archive - in what Mudimbe refers to as the missing archive, free of self consciousness and censorship. A deep, expressive interplay of cultural *poiēsis*, it goes beyond the text and beyond cognition, which is neither visually prefigured nor linguistically appropriated by the mainstream Israeli discourse and might reach beyond its textual practice, potentially towards a new form of authenticity.

In addition, the increasing volume of Mizrahi literature testifies to the fact that the dominant response to this literature, in the general Israeli public discourse, is still one of disavowal and repudiation - even though Mizrahi writers explicitly address the subject of ethnic intolerance as constitutive of their experience. Notably, the Israeli social climate does not encourage open, direct discussion of the diverse ethnic populations; and it still seeks to control its representation, approaching it in its own terms and from its own position. Moreover, Israeli identity politics leaves little space for any cultural alternative to the Ashkenazi cultural "master program," instead reproducing and protecting its European legacy (Shohat, 1989; Alcalay, 1993). At best, from the collective, social perspective, Mizrahi experience, history, language and culture are reduced to being merely "ethnic" expressions, and are controlled by the same politics of legitimization that dictate not only who speaks (and from which position) but also which cultural, political.

educational, militaristic or biographical licenses one can acquire, in order to be able to speak out with legitimacy. Controlling the authorization of representation shapes the public discourse and other processes of appropriation, canonization and endorsement along old hierarchical scales of belonging and legitimacy. (Alcalay, 1993; Rogoff, 2000)

Poetics of Criminal Anthropology

“How can one describe hands that mold the prison bars, if steel is a warm image?” (Someck 1996: 41)

If in art, in general, there is a tendency toward self-examination, the Mizrahi poets are preoccupied with their own poetic bodily portrait. As if beyond the reference's interpretive potential, the poet offers his bare body as the exposure/exposition of history. As if stripped of any metaphoric value, the actual physical scars communicate a private story. Such detailing requires a more complex and multi-faceted way of looking at the body, shifting from the stereotypical gaze to a deeper, more intense one. The creative process reveals itself through the act of self-construction, a type of composite portrait, which, by this token, constitutes the personal identification. The vocabulary of the body, in fact, becomes its exposition, a visual display of individual and personal history that comes to refute biased and discriminatory ethnic representation.

The tendency towards an aesthetics of particularization stems from the need to reassert, and even reestablish individual identity, along with the need to develop new identifying categories. A response to historical erasure and depersonalized anonymity forces one to get closer to the body and to translate identity into this vocabulary. However, the question remains, how can this language distinguish between the invisible, individual body and the national social body? The poets literally capture the body in a verbal photograph: a poem. If, at first, one's self-portrait was drawn through a private inward-looking process of self-examination and reflection, it becomes a public outward-looking process of uncovering and exposure of the self. This process affirms Sekula's assertion that “The individual only existed as an individual by being identified.” (Sekula 1986: 34) Identification is an obsessive and excessive social mechanism that attributes meaning to typology of appearance. Sekula discusses the application of photography in the early 1870's in criminal anthropology identification via particular individual body details, for the police detectives' use in the creation of Eugenics through composite stereotypes, through minorities, by the founder of the movement, Francis Galton. The poets use the image of photography as the foundation of the modern idea of identity. Now the visual, immediate, physical body is seen as instrumental for the construction of identity on the basis of its visible surface and identifying physical traces such as Someck's and Banai's

fingerprints, Banai's birthmarks, and a broken tooth, or Someck's palm lines, and his metaphor, "passport of the body." Roni Someck adds to his fingerprints the tattoo of an eagle, which, like in both a wild act of taking off and in a soft landing, is inscribed in his veins. For him, memory becomes a metonymy of inscription. (Someck 1996: 22) Playing with the notion of photography, Banai's collection, *Chamtsan* "Oxygen," invites the reader to examine a group of "Six X-Ray Photos," the title of the poems. The poems present a deeper look at the maladies of the body by means of technological accuracy that both exposes and diagnoses. For example, "Krizah" (crisis, or nervous breakdown), the fourth poem in this group, states: *הבן אדם הוא קיר / כתבתו הנידת נשאת עמו / בפניו... ברחובות של גורל סדוק.* "The man is a walking wall/ His mobile address moves with him/ [F]acing him . . . In streets of fractured fate." Banai's wall reveals graffiti of resistance: being an address for generations to come, and a mirror to the poet, it becomes a location of his culture even when always on the move, a mobile wall of his interior self. In Someck's poem, *שיר רחוב, אזיקים*, "Handcuffs, Street Poem," (1996: 75) he describes his tattooed muscle *קיר במערה עתיקה* "as if his hand was a wall in an ancient cave ..."

Similarly, Erez Bitton presents us with a "Line Up" of "Identification Parade" (1976: 18-19). The "line up" of poetry and the "line up" of identification are juxtaposed. Ironically, the accused is being objectively identified from among those who visually resemble him.

Line up

They will stand above me as if
in a line-up
Line up
And I will have to raise my
head from the pillow
To recognize
Recognize
They will seek to appease me
with the eyes of children
Children
Then I will recall my heavy
sneers
Heavy sneers
At that time
Will come forth the fine words
from my mouth
My mouth
To be pounded into me through

מסדר זיהוי

הם יעמדו עלי כמו במסדר זיהוי
זיהוי
ואני אצטרך להרים את ראשי מן
הכר
כדי להכיר
להכיר
הם יחפשו לפיס אותי בעיניים של
ילדים
ילדים
אז אזכר בגחוכי הכבדים
כבדים.
אותה שעה
יבואו הדברים היפים שבפי
בפי
להדפק עלי דרך גופי
גופי
אז אתרפק על כאבי העיפים
יפים

my body	אותה שעה
My body	קן האופק יבהיק
Then I will cling to the tired	כמו עב חיוך דקיק
pains I am under	אז אפנה את פני לקיר
Wonder.	לקיר
At that time	ולא אכיר
The horizon line will shine	ולא אכיר.
Like a cloud a subtle smile	הם יחשבו שאני עושה את עצמי
Then I will turn my face to the	כמו להכעיס
wall	להכעיס
To the wall	הם כך תמיד חשבו שאני עושה
And I will not recognize	כמו להכעיס
Not recognize	אותה שעה
They will think I pretend to	מה הם ימצאו בי.
make them angry	
Angry	
They always thought so that I	
intend to make them angry	
At that time	
What will they find in me?	

The speaker "I" – in stark contrast to "they" – is both the one identifying and the one identified while being "cornered" by words and pain. Identification is a standard practice for blind people in their daily encounter with the world. And yet, the act of identification as a "line up" focuses on a critical moment of sensitized awareness of recognizing and being recognized as a criminal. Bitton presupposes that the state of mind for recognizing the other, such as that of self-recognition, occurs in rare moments of prayer, or during those moments between wakefulness and falling asleep. Again, the body generates words, pain and joy. As such, "Line Up" is a practice, which calls words into order: words, like faces, need to be distinguished (the doubling of the last word in each sentence in the poem could be understood as creating a sort of line-up). While the speaker is being identified, he also seeks to find the appropriate reader in a poetic parade of identification, subjecting the view of the line-up to a criminal context.

The focus on criminology is more pronounced in Someck's poetry, in which he tries to, "catalogue the real, to rename and reclaim a world that has been categorized and stigmatized into oblivion. For this he seeks out all the unofficial moments that contradict ideology" (Alcalay, 1996: 325). Someck's poetics of criminology constitutes the main cathartic moments in the description of urban masculinity and its violence. Tel-Aviv, the rusty, tired, decaying city is situated on the larger map, which alerts us to the fact that אין

מה לעשות, ארץ ישראל לא גרה כאן “There’s nothing you can do: Eretz Israel doesn’t live here” (Someck, 1996: 52). Violence is the driving force behind Someck’s poetry; it also acts as a catalyst for the condition of urban masculinity. His poem “פוטו רצח” “Mug Shot” (literally “Murder Photo”) refers to instant passport photos taken by an automatic camera. As shown below, the result is the “murder” of the “photographee’s” physical appearance, a portrait that typecasts him as a murderer, who’s mug-shot is forever on his criminal record.

Murder Photo

So what if I came here from
the place through which the
Garden of Eden once crossed

My father has never spoken
about the Euphrates and
Tigris or about the muscles

That shifted in his arms. But
in the photographs the eternal
mountains stood erect

And the flowering gladiolus,
which British officers planted
as souvenirs in their
courtyard.

At 3, in the sands of Bat
Yam, the world was whitened
from the laundry that the
hands of

The hard working women
waved in the wind

Ben Gurion gave speeches in
every election

And Maurice Chevalier in a
white hat was surrounded by
young women on the bulletin
board

In front of the movie theater.
Maybe that’s why I loved
Marilyn Monroe when I
touched

The American woman who
came to pass another summer
in Hakfar Hayarok

פוטו רצח

אז מה אם באתי לכאן מהמקום שפעם
עבר בו גן-עדן.

אבי לא דיבר מעולם על הפרת והחדקל
או על השרירים

שעברו בידיו השוחות, אבל בתמונות
הוזקרו הרי העד

ופרחי הגלדיולה שקצינים בריטים
שתלו למזכרת בחצר ביתם.

בגיל 3, בחולות בת-ים, הלבין העולם
מהכבסים שידי

הנשים החרוצות נופפו ברוח,

בן-גוריון נאם בכל בחירות

ומוריס שבליה במגבעת לבנה הקף
בבחורות על לוח המודעות

בחזית הקולנוע.

אולי בגלל זה אהבתי את מרילין מונרו
שעה שנגעתי

באמריקנית אחת שבאה לעבר עוד קיץ
בכפר הירק.

I spoke broken English facing the horses of Ramat Hasharon and the golden chain	דברתי אנגלית מגמגמת מול סוסי רמת השרון ושרשרת הזהב
Adorning her neck in the streets of New York.	שגנדרה את צווארה עוד ברחובות ניו יורק.
From the fragments of the words the confession of guilt was taken down	משברי המילים נרשמה ההודאה באשמה,
From the fragments of the words the legs of S. were created, and the short dresses	משברי המילים נבראו רגליה של ש' והשמלות הקצרות
That were hanging on Shlomo Hamelekh Street like commercial signs on	התלויות ברחוב שלמה המלך כשלטי פרסמת על
The butchery of the body. (Someck 1996: 54)	אטליז הגוף.

Someck frames his poetic space between the mythological, romantic childhood in Eden of the Euphrates and Tigris and the streets (and dunes) of Bat Yam of the fifties, a newly developing city of immigrants, in the south of Tel Aviv. This linear biography, in which he pleads guilty for an implicit crime, begins with an interesting discursive concession, "So what if I came," questioning how can he account for this biographic detail, knowing already that these two places are irreconcilable. Speaking from a position of poverty (of stories as well) and accusation (See, for example, "Poverty Line" [1996: 76]) intimidates any attempt to tell his history. Once accused, he is forced to admit its importance: humble, coming from the margin, he claims his origin. Such a beginning, of a thin texture of memory, shifts to infuse the rejected imagery of Baghdad and Iraq of the fifties with its unique mythical history. From this grandiose place he "looks" at the photographs of the growing colonial gladioli – "British souvenirs" – that play a crucial role in the courtyard of his memory. However, his attempt to draw the contours of the composite of "Photo Murder," presumably his self-representation, ultimately represents the composite photo of the nation. Normal subjectivity (non-criminal, non-pathologic) can emerge only once the "accused" reverses the gaze of the spectacle. Zionist ideology and Western culture entirely took hold of the space of local, native memoir in the dunes of Bat Yam.

"Photo Retsah" is framed between the photo of the father in British colonial Baghdad and the poster of Maurice Chevalier echoing with Ben Gurion's speeches. In the poetic composite of the accused nation, colonialism not only obscured subjectivity, but it erased the past as well. The lasting

effects of Ben Gurion's speeches and poster are the cultural artifacts that constitute the narrative of the accused, having invaded the three-year-old's mind (during the fifties, Ben Gurion's speeches in local neighborhoods was a common scene - and his voice - especially during elections.) Like Walter Benjamin's animated text of the sandwich-man in nineteenth-century Parisian arcades, they are the "spectacles of commodification," even in such an empty, provincial, sandy non-place like Bat Yam. They "harbor historical shift" from Iraq to Bat Yam, as they become the "allegories of the body," instruments in embodying national and Western symbols and images. (Feldman, 1991: 7-16) Even more than the photos, their verbal representations presuppose that the confession of the accused, not different from the female exposed legs and body, is part of the whole scheme/plot in "The butchery of the body." If the visual placard constitutes the ideological materials that feed one's memory, it is language and speech, even fragmented, which create the body. "Mug Shot," says Someck, is not a biological, natural appearance: it is, rather, a composed construct of cheap words of advertisement, of loud statements of propaganda, violent ideology, and brutal capitalist consumption of the body. And yet, Someck's poem is not only a metaphor for robbing one's memory of origin (the Garden of Eden). It also returns, in the end, to publicly confess to participating in the crime of disfiguring the portrait of the nation, by speaking the truth. As such, "Murder photo" is a cry out against personal character assassination.

One could argue that the semiotic space of identifying criminology is confined: it has little place for negotiation, little place for ambiguities; it relies on objective apparatus as it seeks the truth. Such a practice is presumably alien to any attempt to write subjectively. And yet, as it portrays the subject as the object of scrutiny, it simultaneously defines his body as a site of resistance, as it seeks to expand its limited space, and point to other possible and potential horizons. It works as a cultural document, both poetically as well as practically. The prevailing Israeli stigma of Mizrahim as criminals, and the high number of Mizrahim that crowd the cells of Israeli prisons is its reality check. Why, then, are "Line Up" and "Mug Shot" so intimately tied to the vocabulary of criminology? Why do these poets invent themselves through the suspecting lenses of the law? On the one hand, these synecdochic addresses ironically incriminate the poets themselves even as they resist Western traditions of stereotypes of the body, created through photography and the institutions behind it. On the other hand, the poets' new physical history (like a tattoo or graffiti) documents their alibi, providing proof that they are socially "fit." These different signifiers of identification are translated into biographic autographs. They constitute the semiotics of the poet's emerging authenticity. The accused body responds back through its own documentation and processes of self-identification. In the mood of hyper-realism, indexed on careful biographic-like accounts, it incorporates the inscriptions of the body as long-lasting memories or wounds of exclusion.

The skin, the fingerprints, the photographs or x-rays, all become textual surfaces of reading, stamps of I.D. for a clean record. Through the individual body they encounter the world (מחפש יציאה אחרת / אני מסתובב עם עיניים סעודות "I am wandering with hungering eyes, looking for a new exit in the passages of my body," writes Eli Bachar). The visibility of the individual body cleans the ethnic record. In their poetic way, the poets say that they are prisoners of their culture. Poetic anatomy becomes the site of their morality from which they can be liberated.

The poetic body is [*dis*]membered. In fact, calling the fragments "body" already entails an artificial, arbitrary methodological construct for observation, while to the poet it is an open category, subject to selection and choice. Ironically, the poetry, itself, suggests that with the description of excessive body parts – decentralized and dissolved – the body ultimately disappears. It does not necessarily exist as a body, but mostly as individual body parts. As a cultural product that receives its "situation" within a relationship of power and discriminating hierarchies, the body itself appears and disappears, constructed and deconstructed, in a context that relentlessly challenges its limits. However wounded, insulted, accused and incriminated, the body is still the very platform from which the subject insists on [*re*]membering. At the same time, the ethnic body enables the poet to rely on it. Ironically, within compromising ambiguities, resistance, and records of settling accounts, the ethnic body helps the individual body to emerge. While it still speaks from a lack of place, its situation begins to crystallize. Limits of representation speak directly to the need for a new potential space. Poetry allows such a space to open. The poetic Mizrahi body emerges as an expressive, multivocal reference; it encodes temporal and spatial distinctions; it is endowed with epistemological knowledge and experience; and it remembers. But, it is poetry that allows the ink of such a body to flow and make distinctions. As Bitton so eloquently pens it:

"להכיר פנים בין לב ללב, בין עור לעור"

"To recognize a face between heart and heart
Between skin and skin." (Bitton 1976: 16)

Appendix A: Body Parts

General Body: (64)*			
	Body: 24	Flesh: 4	
	Corpse: 1	Skin: 4	
		Birth Marks: 1	
		Muscles: 1	
		Body parts: 2	
Internal Body:		Blood: 19	
		Bones: 4	
		Soul: 4	
Internal Body Parts: (43)		Heart: 37	Vein: 1
			Artery: 1
		Ribs: 1	
		Spine: 3	
Head +Neck: (178)		Hair: 5	
		Forehead: 3	
	Face: 31	Facial Expression (<i>partsuf</i>): 1	
		Cheek: 1	
		Chin: 1	
		Palate: 2	
	Head: 18	Brain: 2	
		Neck: 11	Back of the neck/'oref: 3
			Throat: 2
		Eyes: 60	Eyelashes: 2
	Ears: 5		
	Nose: 3		
	Mouth: 15	Lips: 9	Teeth: 4
General Hands: (97)	Arms: 7	Hands: 43	Palms: 6
	Fist: 4	Fingers: 35	Finger Nails: 2
Torso: (38)	Shoulders: 5		
	Back: 9		
	Chest: 10		
	Breast: 9		
	Naval: 2	Stomach: 3	
General Legs: (31)	Legs: 21	Hips: 2	
		Knees: 4	
	Foot: 1	Toes: 1	Heels: 2
Total references to body parts: (451)			

* The numbers in parentheses indicate the total sum of the references.

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