INTRODUCTION
Considering Jewish Veganism and Vegetarianism

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JEWISH VEGANISM AND VEGETARIANISM

This volume reflects the studied intuition that Jewish veganism and vegetarianism have come of age. Jewish vegans and vegetarians have formed organizations and online forums to advocate within their communities and beyond and to develop, debate, and promote animal-product- and meat-free Jewish cultures. One finds no shortage of Jewish vegan and vegetarian cookbooks, blogs, and other resources. Articles appear frequently in the Jewish press and have crossed over into mainstream publications, such as the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*. Jewish communities across denominations and around the world are renegotiating their food practices and implementing policies to reflect their new or renewed ethical commitments. By some counts, up to 5 percent of the Israeli population has gone vegan. This includes Jews of all backgrounds, from secular Jews to *Haredim*, as well as Muslim, Christian, and nonreligious Palestinians, and others. Even the Israeli Defense Forces have had to accommodate the demands of vegan soldiers. Jewish people have also counted among the most prominent vegan activists, such as Mayim Bialik, a founding member and senior leadership consultant at the Shamayim V’Aretz Institute, and Academy Award-winning actor Natalie Portman.

This collection of essays by scholars, rabbis, activists, and community leaders explores the history, contours, and scope of veganism and vegetarianism among Jews and presents compelling new directions in Jewish thought, ethics, and foodways. As ever more Jews adopt vegan and vegetarian lifestyles, and thereby join movements that transcend the porous boundaries of Jewish communities, this volume asks what distinguishes Jewish veganism and vegetarianism as Jewish. It offers opportunities to meditate on the varied intellectual, cultural, and religious roots of these movements across centuries and continents. *Jewish Veganism and Vegetarianism* asks how Judaism, broadly considered, has inspired Jews to embrace such practices and how those lifestyles in turn have enriched and helped define Jewishness. This collection of essays tests the boundaries of Jewish veganism and
vegetarianism and calls attention to divisions within those dynamic movements, along with some of the resistance they have faced.

Studies of Jewish veganism and vegetarianism, such as those that fill this volume, offer insights into Jewish culture and history that go beyond culinary and dietary spheres. We have learned from the growing field of food studies that examining how and what groups eat, as well as how they conceptualize their foods, can open vistas into their cultures and social worlds. Attention to how and why foodways change can help us mark, characterize, and account for broader sociocultural transformations. This is because foodways—cultures of food production and consumption—are central to how groups work. The provision of food rests at the foundation of society, economies, and politics. Anthropologist Mary Douglas has shown that how groups think about, distribute, and consume food can simultaneously reflect and produce their values and social structures. Studies of foodways can thus inform how we consider a broader range of issues related to Jewish life. The essays that follow situate Jewish veganism and vegetarianism in discussions of food politics, animal rights and welfare, social justice, environmentalism, Jewish identity, cultures of (Holocaust) memory, nationalism, and religion.

WHAT’S JEWISH ABOUT VEGANISM? WHAT’S VEGAN ABOUT JEWISHNESS?

Behold I give to you all the vegetation that sprouts seed which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree in which the fruit of the tree sprouts seed, for you it shall be as food. And to all the animals of the earth and to all the birds of the sky and to all that creeps on the earth, in which there is life, [I give] all the green vegetation for food.

—Genesis 1:29–30

And the wolf will dwell with the sheep, and the leopard will lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, with a young lad leading them. And the cow and the bear shall graze, together their young shall lie down, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.

—Isaiah 11:6–7

The wolf and the lamb will graze together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox . . . they shall not do evil and they shall not destroy in all my holy mountain, says the Lord.

—Isaiah 65:25
Historian Gary A. Rendsburg teaches that the Tanakh, the Jewish Bible, presents a world and human ideal “characterized by peace, harmony, and vegetarianism.” As demonstrated by the quotes from Genesis and Isaiah reproduced in his work and above, not only do humans in the Garden of Eden and in the Days of the Messiah survive on vegetables alone, so too do all animals, including those known as omnivores and carnivores. Of course, the Tanakh also makes clear that the foodways and rituals of ancient Israel depended on animal agriculture and meat consumption. Rendsburg thus argues further that the restrictions on such practices—which evolved into the laws of kashrut—reflect a divine concession or a compromise with God:

humans are unable to live up to the vegetarian ideal set forth at creation; God compromises and allows humanity to eat meat. But Israel wishes to adhere to that ideal, even in a compromised fashion, and therefore Israel consumes only those animals that themselves have not killed other animals.

Rendsburg is sure to account for cases where this compromise does not hold as well as it might, such as the permission granted to consume fish-eating fowl. He also draws specific attention to the Israelite taboo against consuming blood.

In the two millennia since the end of Judean ritual animal sacrifice in Jerusalem (and beyond), one can point to instances of vegetarianism and perhaps even veganism among Jews, as well as a general, if often subordinated, concern for the welfare of animals. Yet only in this century and the last may one speak of mass movements among Jews that eschewed meat consumption, let alone ones that approximated contemporary veganism. These phenomena reflect the boundedness of Jewish cultures and traditions to the wider contexts in which they have unfolded. The essays in this volume by Nick Underwood, Irad Ben Isaak, and Hadas Marcus analyze the emergence of these new vegetarian trends and their meanings.

At the 2017 meeting of the Society of Jewish Ethics, David Mevorach Seidenberg, a contributor to this volume, provocatively asked whether contemporary Jews have grafted veganism and vegetarianism artificially onto the Jewish tradition—perhaps in ironic opposition to the Torah’s taboo against hybridization—or if Jewish veganism and vegetarianism represent natural outgrowths of Judaism as an ever-evolving tradition. One would indeed be amiss if they were to argue that biblical or rabbinic Judaism promoted either veganism or vegetarianism. To be sure, none of the contributors in this volume make such a case, even if some argue that the proper normative application of Jewish law and values today should lead one to adopt veganism or vegetarianism.

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This discussion raises complex questions about the authenticity of Jewish veganism and vegetarianism with which our authors wrestle implicitly and explicitly. Seidenberg, in the same comments, recognized the potential for Jewish veganism and vegetarianism to be profoundly effective and powerful movements. However, he also warned against the tendencies to make “superficial” cases for them. Simply collecting all the textual sources that could support these positions and then declaring veganism or vegetarianism to be authentic or essential to the Jewish tradition, he contends, does not make this claim true (nor does it establish a firm foundation for the movements in question).

One might counter, perhaps, with historian David Biale’s argument regarding the character of Jewish communities from antiquity until the present: “it was precisely in their profound engagement with the cultures of their environment that the Jews constructed their distinctive identities.”9 He later continues,

Jewish self-definition was, then, bound up in a tangled web with the non-Jewish environment in which the Jews lived, at once conditioned by how non-Jews saw the Jews and by how the Jews adopted and resisted the majority culture’s definition of them. For all that Jews had their own autonomous traditions, their very identities throughout their history were inseparable from that of their Canaanite, Persian, Greek, Roman, Christian, and Muslim neighbors... Viewed in this light, Jewish identity cannot be considered immutable, the fixed product of either ancient ethnic or religious origins, but rather to have changed as the cultural context changed.10

This suggests that Jewish veganism and vegetarianism may be yet another case of Jews and Jewish communities adopting (and contributing to) concepts and practices from the broader cultures in which they have existed and participated, while also making them distinctively their own (and thereby distinguishing themselves). Biale warns, however, that

such a definition would be missing a crucial aspect of Jewish culture: the continuity of both textual and folk traditions throughout Jewish history and throughout the many lands inhabited by Jews. The multiplicity of Jewish cultures always rested on the Bible and... on the Talmud and other rabbinic literature.11

Roberta Rosenthall Kwall echoes such concerns in her provocative book, The Myth of the Cultural Jew: Cultural and Law in Jewish Tradition.12 She argues that too profound a departure from systems of Jewish law and tradition—inseparable
in her account from Jewish culture and socialization—threatens the undoing of Jewish particularity and historical continuity.

What, then, should we make of Jewish veganism and vegetarianism—if we may speak of such things? As activists in the field, we, Jacob and Shmuly, believe strongly that Jewish veganism is a significant, complex, and meaningful development in the history of Jewish culture, religion, and practice. We embarked on this publication unabashedly dedicated to presenting Jewish veganism as a phenomenon unto itself and worthy of study, reflection, and adoption. Without reservation, we hope for this volume to advance our common cause and help construct Jewish veganism as a part of our world. Although we have remained committed to the standards of academic research and publishing, we also conceive of this volume as an act of structural activism. Its existence helps present Jewish veganism as “a thing,” and a thing of beauty at that.

NOTES ON PURPOSE AND SCOPE

We hope for *Jewish Veganism and Vegetarianism* to stand out as a unique collection because it includes works of scholarship in the fields of history, literary and religious studies, and the social sciences, alongside more normative contributions to Jewish philosophy, culture, and religious thought—chapters that some may consider valuable primary sources in their own rights. We intend for this volume to gesture toward the breadth of contemporary discussions around Jewish veganism and vegetarianism and to serve as a resource for developing them further across disciplinary, professional, and denominational lines. These goals are reflected in the biographies of our contributors, whose backgrounds, professions, and perspectives attest (not exhaustively) to the diversity within Jewish vegan and vegetarian communities and to the complexity, appeal, and significance of the phenomena we seek to explore. Not only do our authors contribute individually to their respective fields of study, but the tensions between their ideas promise to open additional avenues of thought and research.

With the transnational scope of *Jewish Veganism and Vegetarianism*, which reaches into North America, Europe, and Israel, we sought to contribute to conversations about Judaism and Jewishness in a globalizing world. This proved challenging. Our authors hail primarily from North America and write recognizably from that perspective—even if some contributed studies of European and Israeli phenomena. A fuller collection could have included comparative considerations of how the contexts of Jewish self-rule and hegemony—situated in contemporary Israel—continue to shape and produce competing Jewish vegan and vegetarian...
cultures and also a varied vegan politics among non-Jews. It could have explored how the veganisms of Orthodox Jews in Israel can differ from those of non-Orthodox Jews there, and how Israeli veganisms relate to and depart from the veganisms of Jews elsewhere in the world. Despite our many inquiries, we remain curious as to whether one may speak today of a specific European-Jewish vegan culture or cultures. More attention to Sephardi and Mizrahi frameworks would have further enriched this collection.

In its particularity, this book may complement the works of other minority vegan and vegetarian communities. Black vegans and vegans of color, as well as vegetarians, have produced cultures and texts that continue to create, enrich, challenge, and focus the tenets of veganism and vegetarianism and how those movements are perceived. The lived experiences of Black Jews and Jews of color show that our communities are not mutually exclusive. We regret that *Jewish Veganism and Vegetarianism*, despite our efforts to the contrary, does not include chapters written explicitly from these perspectives or on related topics. We acknowledge that featuring such texts in a volume of this sort can function as a form of tokenism, if minority voices are included for the sake of representation alone, if they are prevented from influencing those frameworks perceived to be normative and treated as dominant.

It would be impossible (and wrong) to distill the contributions of Black vegans and vegans of color into a single paragraph or imagine their movements as fully separate from the veganisms found in predominantly white communities. Activists and scholars debate a wide range of issues related to animal welfare and rights; social, racial, and environmental justice; and human health in varied conversations, often pertaining to specific contexts and communities. A predominant commitment within many of these movements, however—one shared by ecofeminism—has been to locate veganism within a broader, intersectional struggle against all hierarchy and oppression. (Adopting an intersectional approach does not entail collapsing the distinctions between species or oppressions, because differences fundamentally matter. It offers, instead, a moral and political framework for analysis, forging alliances, and taking action.) Intersectional veganism can assume context-specific and varied forms in our complexly racialized, classed, and gendered world and lead to the fusion of veganism with spheres of activism and politics often considered to fall beyond the normative scope of its concerns. For some, this means that veganisms that are insufficiently integrated into antiracist activism should be considered incomplete. This, in turn, can produce tensions among vegans of all faiths and ethnicities divided on issues such as Israeli politics and issues of race in the United States.
In the introduction to *Veganism in an Oppressive World*, Julia Feliz Brueck writes, “diversity is not enough; truly listening and creating change through dialogue and implementing changes is vital.” Brueck quotes Aph Ko and Syl Ko’s instructions to vegans who do not belong to communities of color:

Challenge yourself not just to provide an ear for folks to talk into, but to slacken your attachment to your own beliefs and preferred strategies . . . and allow yourself to actually be influenced by the ideas of marginalized folk.

Listening to marginalized voices entails a willingness to change one’s own frameworks and approach. It also demands of those vegans and vegetarians who seek to ally with communities to which they do not belong that they adopt strategies appropriate to those specific communities. This applies even across the racialized boundaries within the Jewish world.

Editing this volume has taught us much about the character and scope of the varied Jewish conversations around veganism and vegetarianism. In addition to many wonderful and surprising lessons, we came to recognize challenges that must be met in the future. Some of the chapters in this book wrestle with the intersection of veganism and racialized understandings of Judaism. Others discuss the relationship of veganism to broader issues in human politics and society. We look forward to engaging in deeper and transformational conversations in the years to come, inspired by the chapters in this volume and other perspectives on Jewish veganism and vegetarianism; discussions that respond to and embrace as inextricably Jewish the conceptions of veganism and vegetarianism promoted by Black Jews and Jews of color and perhaps by non-Jews as well.

**ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK**

*Jewish Veganism and Vegetarianism* comprises two sections. The first, “Studies,” includes seven chapters whose authors present Jewish veganism and vegetarianism in their historical, literary, and sociological contexts, from the time of the Talmud to the present day, in North America, Europe, and Israel, and among rabbis, chefs, artists, activists, punks, and farmers, just to name a few. Seven chapters also compose the second section, “New Directions.” Submitted by authors from a wide range of backgrounds and professions, the contributions reflect contemporary currents in Jewish vegan and vegetarian thought. They manifest much of the cultural, theological, and ideological diversity among Jews invested in such conversations and seek to introduce readers to some of the more prominent debates.
and concerns within their movements. Some authors wrestle with Jewish law and tradition, while others seek to explore and embellish Jewish identities and politics. The volume concludes with a report on the history of Jewish vegan and vegetarian organizations in North America by activists Sarah Chandler and Jeffrey Cohan, and with an afterword by Aaron S. Gross.20

Studies

In chapter 1, Beth A. Berkowitz examines concern for animal suffering in the Talmud, where she finds it always in competition with and often “eclipsed” by other legal and moral considerations. She argues that attention to Talmudic discussions reveals how easily one may be distracted from the obligation to treat animals well. The next two chapters focus on vegetarianism among Central and Eastern European Jews in the early decades of the twentieth century. Nick Underwood shows that Jewish communities, and especially women, responded to the pressures of interwar Poland and early Nazi Germany by forging Jewish vegetarian cultures to express new national identities and politics of resistance. Not only does Underwood differentiate between the practices and ideologies in these two locations, he also contrasts them with movements in the United States and Western Europe. Irad Ben Isaak analyzes the interwar “vegetarian poems” of Melech Ravitch, a prominent figure of Yiddish literature. He locates the poet’s vegetarianism—which reportedly influenced Isaac Bashevis Singer—at the intersection of Jewish culture and Austrian modernism. Ben Isaak argues further for the relative idiosyncrasy of Ravitch and the personal experiences that led him to avoid and criticize the eating of animals.

Hadas Marcus bridges past and present in chapter 4 by seeking the foundations of modern Jewish vegetarianism and veganism in the artistic and literary production of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Through the interdisciplinary lens of ecocriticism, she explores the widely accepted metaphorical interpretations of the animals who appear in these works. Marcus concludes, however, that such readings tend to occlude how Jewish artists have struggled with actual issues related to animal welfare and thereby have left lasting traces on Jewish culture.

The final three chapters in part one address aspects of Jewish veganism and vegetarianism today. In chapter 5, Michael Croland calls attention to the prevalence—even the expectation—of vegetarianism and veganism among Jewish punks, with a primary focus on musicians. He points to a commonality between the Jewish and punk values that have inspired some to eschew animal-product consumption, and further shows how some punks have used their veganism or vegetarianism and Jewishness to craft their public images.
In chapter 6, Adrienne Krone adopts Shaul Magid’s concept of “postethnic Judaism” to study contemporary North American Jewish farming movements. She argues that participants forge new Jewish and vegan identities by deploying veganism and Jewishness as mutually constitutive templates for self-construction.

In chapter 7, Veta Greenstone and Shlomi Shmuel offer a sociolinguistic analysis of how Jewish speakers of Hebrew and English respectively understand the concept of animal suffering, as well as the role that language may play in shaping those ideas. They find that most respondents to their surveys share an aversion to causing animals unexpected harm or harm perceived to be unnatural. Surprisingly, Greenstone and Shmuel note that meat eaters, more than vegans and vegetarians, tend to associate such types of suffering with human actions. The linguistic divisions between the respondents do not seem to matter strongly.

New Directions

The second part of this book opens with three chapters that look to the Jewish religious tradition to inspire and also challenge the adoption of veganism and vegetarianism as a Jewish practice. David Seidenberg argues that the Torah asks ancient Israelites to think about their relationships with animals on covenantal terms, which reflect and inform how they understand their relationship with God. He traces this idea as a minority position through centuries of rabbinic thought. Although Seidenberg acknowledges that this covenantalist framework may prove inspiring for people invested in developing Jewish vegan cultures, he also warns that it may not be fully commensurable with the absolute withdrawal from animal use typical among vegans.

In chapter 9, Geoffrey D. Claussen shows, in a deeply personal essay, how wisdom gleaned from the Musar movement of nineteenth-century Poland and Lithuania can enrich Jewish vegan practices. Careful not to misrepresent the movement’s luminaries as having adopted (much less advocated for) vegetarianism, Claussen nonetheless suggests that the methods they developed for cultivating “loving-kindness, compassion, empathy, and self-restraint” not only maintain their value today but may also inspire us to make contextually based lifestyle choices that they did not.

In chapter 10, Richard H. Schwartz and David Sears find in the rulings, writings, and life of Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook, chief rabbi of Mandatory Palestine, halakhic (Jewish legal) and ethical imperatives for contemporary Jews to eschew animal products. Not the first to rely on Kook for such support, they distinguish their contribution by offering responses to eight common objections levied by
people skeptical of such interpretations of Kook’s teachings—not the least of which is that the rabbi himself ate limited quantities of meat.

The authors of the following two chapters wrestle with the commensurability of Jewishness and veganism, stemming from conflicts over speciesism. While many vegans fundamentally reject the notion that human lives are more valuable than animal lives, the Jewish tradition tends not only to have endorsed but even to have been based on such a hierarchy. In chapter 11, Alan D. Krinsky evaluates the classic argument against speciesism, as articulated by the influential philosopher Peter Singer, in light of rabbinic texts and rulings stretching from the medieval period to today.22 With specific regard to the medieval commentary of Rabbi Joseph Albo (1380–1444) on the biblical story of Cain and Abel, Krinsky not only concludes that speciesism is anathema to the rabbinical tradition, but he also raises additional practical and philosophical objections to that position (without dismissing other possible Jewish arguments for avoiding animal use and consumption).

In chapter 12, Shmuly Yanklowitz argues that Jewish ethics encompass both the anthropocentric (or speciesist) framework discussed by Krinsky and a more egalitarian vision of the ideal relationship between humans and (other) animals, perspectives that often come into conflict. Yanklowitz explores how Jews have negotiated this tension in the past and reveals that competing moral imperatives have served a generative function in the development of Jewish ethics. This chapter situates contemporary Jewish thought and practice in wider intellectual currents and in the history of American legislation on animal welfare.

The final two chapters feature works that include elements of autoethnography and reflection. They offer perspective on the range of reasons that can motivate contemporary Jews, specifically nonobservant Jews, to adopt veganism as a Jewish practice. Sherry F. Colb divides chapter 13 into two sections. In the first, she reflects on the power of naming to mark groups of humans and animals alike as appropriate for slaughter. Colb thus calls attention to her own experience as the child of Holocaust survivors to account for the closeness she feels with “farmed animals” and her choice to adopt a vegan lifestyle. While Jacob and Shmuly tend to be skeptical about the invocation of the Holocaust to promote veganism, Colb’s revelations show how such connections can arise organically and that they can have merit and personal relevance worthy of scholarly consideration.23 In the second part of the chapter, Colb addresses, as a question of theodicy, the tensions between the vegan ideal found in the creation story and the permission that the Torah subsequently grants to eat meat.

In chapter 14, Jacob Ari Labendz presents his practice of Jewish veganism as cultural technology or a tool for self-construction that can help secular
(nonreligious and nonnational) Jews like him experience Jewishness as a central aspect of their lives and one that has the potential to transcend the divisions of our modern, fragmented selves. His autobiographical study relies on insights from the fields of history, anthropology, social psychology, and religious studies. It concludes with suggestions for how to create Jewish vegan cultures effectively and sensitively and to advocate for veganism as a progressive within and beyond the Jewish community.

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To the best of our knowledge, this book is only the second edited volume on Jewish veganism and vegetarianism. Its roots lie in the production of the first, The Jewish Vegan, a collection of articles, essays, and poetry, edited by Shmuly Yanklowitz, to which both he and Jacob contributed. We express our gratitude to the authors and editors who published earlier works on these and related themes. Not only have they informed the contributions to this volume, they have inspired and enriched our lives.

Jacob thanks Shmuly for his many years of friendship and for encouraging him to embrace a (nearly) animal-product-free lifestyle. He is grateful to Megan Kramer for joining him in that decision and for the many delicious meals they have shared. Jacob also acknowledges his parents, who taught him the values on which he bases his veganism and Jewishness. He further extends his gratitude to his colleagues and students at Charles University, Pennsylvania State University, and Youngstown State University, who have supported this project. Finally, Jacob dedicates his labors toward the publication of Jewish Veganism and Vegetarianism to the memory of his father, Ralph Labendz z”l, and of his grandparents, Marianne and Martin Labendz z”l and Pearl Shain z”l.
Shmuly thanks Jacob for his friendship and partnership over the years. Since their days together at the Wexner Graduate Fellowship, Jacob has challenged Shmuly to think more deeply and critically about historical and cultural issues. Shmuly also thanks his wife, Shoshana, for becoming a vegan with him on their wedding day and for raising their children together as vegans. He thanks the staff, board, and members of the Shamayim V’Aretz Institute for supporting his vision and partnering to grow the Jewish vegan and Jewish animal welfare movements. Last, Shmuly thanks the Creator for granting us life in an era when it is so easy to be a vegan in America.

NOTES

1. Major Jewish vegan and vegetarian organizations include the Shamayim V’Aretz Institute and Jewish Veg (formerly Jewish Vegetarians of North America) in North America, the Jewish Vegetarian Society in the United Kingdom, and Ginger—The Vegetarian Community Center in Jerusalem, Israel.


3. In North America, the Jewish Institute for Animals helps Jewish organizations to work through this process. However, the organization does not advocate for strict veganism and belongs more fully to other food and farming movements.


7. Ibid., 327.

8. This was part of Seidenberg’s response to talks given by Jacob Ari Labendz and Adrienne Krone, which drew from their contributions to this volume.
10. Ibid., xxiii.
11. Ibid., xxiv.


18. Ibid., 28.


23. Jewish Veg, the Jewish vegan organization formerly known as Jewish Vegetarians of North America, features Alex Hershaft among its most prominent speakers. Hershaft is a survivor of the Warsaw Ghetto who invokes his wartime experiences and the lessons he has drawn from them to advocate for animals. See “Alex Hershaft: From the Warsaw Ghetto to a Life of Compassion,” Jewish Veg, https://www.jewishveg.org/hershaft; and “Alex Hershaft: From the Warsaw Ghetto to a Life of Compassion,” YouTube, July 24, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7-ohM0-6-C0.

24. Shmuly Yanklowitz (ed.), *The Jewish Vegan* (Shamayim V’Aretz Institute, 2015).

Introduction