

REPORT OF THE
OXFORD CENTRE FOR
HEBREW AND
JEWISH STUDIES

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2002–2003

OXFORD CENTRE FOR
HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

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Preface

THE award of a CBE to the Founder and Emeritus President, Dr David Patterson, in the 2003 Queen's Birthday Honours List brought immense pleasure and pride to everybody at the Centre – as well as to David and his family. The citation described the award as being 'for services to Jewish Studies', apparently the first bestowal of a British public honour in this domain.

As our own personal tribute to David we publish below (on pages 113–18) a bibliography of his published books, including translations from the Hebrew, compiled by Brad Sabin Hill. At the same time we wish him a speedy return to full health following a period of serious illness at the end of August.

Recognition of David's achievement was particularly fitting in the year which saw the Centre's students for the first time fully matriculated in the University and its colleges, their successful completion of the three-term course correspondingly producing an MSt degree. Moves are in progress which it is hoped will enable previous holders of the Diploma in Jewish Studies likewise to upgrade its nomenclature to MSt, a proposal solidly founded on the fact that the level, content and examination standard of the course are no different now from what they were in previous years.

Special events at the Centre during the year included the Isaiah Berlin Lectures in Middle East Dialogue, delivered respectively by Professor Avraham Sela, Professor Shlomo Avineri (both from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem) and Shlomo Ben-Ami (ex-Foreign Minister of Israel, formerly professor at Tel Aviv University and an Oxford DPhil). The lectures, intended as a contribution to balanced understanding and efforts towards peace in Israeli-Arab relations, were made possible by the generosity of a donor from Continental Europe. Further lectures are planned for 2004. Principal responsibility for their organization is in the hands of Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi, Leone Ginsburg Fellow in Israeli Law, Politics and Society. Special thanks are due to Lady Berlin for allowing her late husband's name to be

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attached to the lectures, recalling his unswerving advocacy, to the very end of his life, of negotiation and compromise as the route to Middle East settlement.

The Centre was also pleased to host one of the lectures delivered in Trinity Term 2003 by Dan Diner, Director of the Simon Dubnow Institute for Jewish History and Culture, Leipzig, and in Oxford as Bertelsmann Visiting Professor of European Jewish Studies. The title of Professor Diner's lecture series was 'State, Society and Memory: Jewish Experience and Historiographical Change in Europe After 1989'.

International conference activity during the summer of 2003 comprised three major events: the European Association of Jewish Studies meeting organized by Professor Jonathan Webber on 'Teaching the Holocaust in Higher Education in Europe'; a month-long workshop on 'Representation of the "Other": Jews in Medieval Christendom', funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities and directed by Professor Irven Resnik of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga; and a three-day conference on 'Yiddish After the Holocaust', assembled and directed by Dr Joseph Sherman.

Professor Tom Levy of the University of California at San Diego was inspired by his tenure of a Skirball Visiting Fellowship to seek a more permanent institutional link with the Centre and with his archaeologist colleagues elsewhere in Oxford. The establishment and objectives of the Oxford Levantine Archaeology Laboratory are outlined on pages 83-4 below.

Congratulations are due to Martin Goodman, Professor of Jewish Studies, on his appointment to a two-year Research Readership of the British Academy. As a condition of the award Martin is freed entirely from his normal academic duties for those two years (2003-5).

The Centre's teaching staff has been strengthened by the appointment of Jill Middlemas as Lector in Biblical Hebrew, releasing Dr Alison Salvesen to pursue her researches as Fellow in Jewish Bible Versions. In this connection, my apologies are due to Dr Anselm Hagedorn (former Junior Research Fellow) whose departure for a post in the Humboldt University, Berlin, I omitted to mention in last year's *Report*. Anselm was made a Senior Associate of the Centre, and has continued to remain very much in touch.

In the Library there has been notable progress, under the energetic

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direction of Dr Piet van Boxel, in linking the Centre to OLIS (the Oxford Libraries Information System) and putting our catalogues online.

On the Board of Governors the most important change was that, on the proposal of the President, all Fellows of the Centre became automatically entitled to attend Governors' meetings, subject only to a proviso that they may be asked to withdraw during discussion of business specifically involving the Governors' trustee responsibilities. As regards individual membership, four Governors resigned: Dr Glenda Abramson as Faculty Representative for Oriental Studies; Richard ('Dick') Repp on retirement from the Mastership of St Cross College – in which capacity he gave valuable support and sage advice to the Centre over many years; Lisbet Rausing for personal reasons, to give more time to her young family; and Sidney Brichto on his appointment, together with Tony Byrne, as Special Adviser to the President for fund-raising matters.

We also welcomed four new Governors: Dr Diana Walford, incoming Principal of Mansfield College; Dr John Muddiman, Fellow of Mansfield in New Testament Studies; Professor Ritchie Robertson, whose field is German literature, including Yiddish; and Roger Wingate of the Harold Hyman Wingate Foundation.

In line with current best practice, the Centre invited tenders to select its auditors for a period beginning in 2002. Wenn Townsend were appointed in succession to Mazars Neville Russell. Among staff changes, mention must be made of the departure after more than eleven years of the Centre's receptionist, Michelle Ghagan. We wish her well in her new job – located near enough to the Centre for her to attend the summer student party. Her successor is Mrs Margaret Copley.

Alan Hawkins, husband of our Domestic Supervisor Sylvia, and himself a former staff member, very sadly died on 6 August 2003. His funeral took place at St Bartholomew's Church on 14 August.

Last, and far from least, as reported in the spring *Newsletter*, the donation to the Centre of the adjacent property of Mead Farm was finally accomplished early in 2003. Apart from the psychic satisfaction of

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possessing 45 acres of agricultural land, the Centre has planning permission to convert the derelict farm buildings into a number of residential units for Visiting Fellows or for students. The opportunity adds a further £1 million to our capital fund-raising objectives, on top of existing targets for new fellowships in Hebrew, Rabbinics and other areas, as well as the Levantine Archaeology Laboratory mentioned earlier. How rapidly these targets will prove achievable is of course uncertain. But resting on our laurels we are certainly not.

September 2003

PETER OPPENHEIMER
President

Israel Between Democratic Universalism and Particularist Judaism: Challenging a Sacred Formula¹

ILAN PELEG

THE TENSION BETWEEN the commitment of most Israelis to the Jewishness of the State, on the one hand, and to its democratic principles, as they understand these, on the other hand, is one of the most significant and complex issues faced by contemporary Israelis. One scholar summed up the dilemma succinctly: 'As a democratic State Israel must serve the needs of all its citizens; as the State of the Jewish people its function is to pursue particularistic goals' (Kretzmer, 1990, 176).

This tension is central to a political struggle that has been fought in Israel for the past three decades (Peleg, 1998), for in some ways a conflict between loyalty to the demands of universalistic democracy and the tenets of a particularistic nationalism has been present in the Zionist movement from its birth. This has been noted in one of the most famous texts on Israeli politics, by Horowitz and Lissak (1990), and emphasized in even stronger terms by other analysts (Ezrahi, 1993, 256–7).

The contrast between 'universalists' and 'particularists' among early and late Zionists has been somewhat overemphasized by liberal interpreters of Israeli politics, hoping to demonstrate that their camp is less nationalistic than it actually is, but the distinction between the two approaches has merit. The dual commitment to the principles of democracy and to the Zionist agenda has been incorporated into official documents of the Israeli State, including the foundational Declaration of Independence of May 1948 which asserts that Eretz Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people and declares that the Jewish State in Palestine will welcome Jewish immigrants from every country of their dispersion. At the same time, this document promised the development

¹ This is an expanded version of a David Patterson Seminar delivered on 16 October 2002 and of a lecture given at St Antony's College on 1 November 2002. The author wishes to express his appreciation for the support both of the Centre and of St Antony's College.

of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants, committing the new State to the 'full social and political equality of all its citizens'.

Israeli 'Basic Laws' explicitly enshrine the notion that Israel is 'Jewish and democratic', as do rulings by the Israeli High Court of Justice. Most recently, in an historic decision of 8 March 2000 related to the case known as *Qa'adan v. Katzir* (HJC 6698/95 *Qa'adan v. Israel Land Authority*; Kedar, 2000), the High Court reiterated its position that Israel is committed to both its Jewish and its democratic character.

The tension inherent in this dual commitment will almost certainly continue to dominate Israeli politics for many years and affect the most important questions, including the future of the West Bank and Gaza, relations between Jews and Palestinians inside Israel and the status of organized religion (particularly Orthodox Judaism) within the Israeli polity.

A Multidimensional Approach

My approach to this important issue will be panoramic and interdisciplinary, since only by adopting a broad approach informed by several disciplines and perspectives can one discover central aspects of, and possibly some solutions to, this complex issue.

I propose to look at the tension between Israel's democracy and its Jewishness from at least five perspectives:

- a. **Historical** Contemporary Israel, and especially the attitudes of the majority of its citizens, cannot possibly be understood outside the confines of the Zionist project and even the framework of Jewish history in general. Thus, the commitment of most Israelis to the 'Jewishness' of their State is attitudinally firm, despite the sharp disagreement among Israeli Jews as to the precise meaning of that Jewishness.
- b. **Legal** The status of all Israelis, Jews and non-Jews alike, is defined in several pieces of legislation, constitution-like documents and court rulings. It is therefore important to look at the relationships between Jewishness and democracy from a legal/constitutional perspective, while (in the spirit of our interdisciplinary approach) avoiding at all costs a narrow legalistic approach.

- c. **Socio-political** While the historical past would undoubtedly impact on the resolution of the Jewish/democratic tension, and while legal considerations will inform formal institutions that will determine that resolution, it is likely that the issue will be decided primarily by a mixture of socio-political factors such as the overall relations between Jews and Arabs within the State, and the demographic balance between them, or international pressures.
- d. **Comparative** The vast majority of studies dealing with the issue lack a comparative dimension, thus preventing the type of insightful analysis that emerges from comparison with other cases. Since the particularistic/universalistic tension within Israel is present in other societies, the analysis could benefit from a broader perspective than is offered by most studies.
- e. **Normative** While modern social science has often claimed disengagement from 'values' in an effort to produce objective observations and analysis, my own inquiry is based on the assertion that such disengagement is neither possible nor desirable. It is important and realistically required to distinguish clearly between empirical and normative positions and to make explicit any and all 'value-based' positions.

My analysis throughout this paper will be committed to these perspectives and principles as much as possible.

The Israeli Duality

The 'dual commitment' inherent in the Israeli political reality has led Israel to adopt since its establishment both 'Jewish' and democratic policies. Such policies, however, have often collided, and are likely to continue to collide even more severely in the future. Acting Jewishly, the State sponsored the immigration of millions of Jews under a controversial 'Law of Return' (1950), acquiring lands specifically in order to 'Judaize' the country (Yiftachel, 2000) and especially areas inhabited by Arabs (such as the Galilee). It developed an educational system designed to inculcate Jewish values (Dror, 2003), adopted Jewish myths and symbols (Zerubavel, 1995) and granted special recognition to Orthodox Judaism.

Acting democratically, the State of Israel has established an elected

legislature, conducted orderly elections in regular intervals, adopted most (although significantly not all) Western freedoms, enacted Basic Laws (although, significantly again, not a constitution or a bill of rights) to regulate important aspects of public life, has recognized an independent judiciary and has allowed vibrant and open debate on most political issues.

Despite these significant democratic achievements, recognized by some of the most prominent political analysts (Dahl, 1971; Lijphart, 1977, 1984), Israel's democracy has been problematical in several areas due to its particularistic commitments. The largest minority within the State, Palestinian Arabs who are Israeli citizens (or 'Israeli Arabs' as they are often known), has not been able to achieve full equality, either as individuals or as a group. Systematic discrimination has been noted in numerous areas, including education, employment, housing, land purchase, immigration and citizenship (Kretzmer, 1990; Rouhana, 1997). The political status of the minority remains volatile: while Arab children ordinarily attend Arab schools and Moslems and Christians Arabs are recognized as members of religious communities, autonomy status was not given to the Arab minority despite its considerable size and distinct character. Arabs are not recognized as a countrywide national group with legitimate representation towards the State and towards the majority. Moreover, within the Israeli political culture, even the most moderate Arab parties are perceived as unfit to serve in Israeli government.

Despite some improvements in the conditions of Arabs (Smootha, 2002), it is hard to maintain that Israel is moving decisively toward civic equality. Although the High Court of Justice has recently decreed that road signs must be also in Arabic (an official language in Israel, along with Hebrew), majority-minority relationships have deteriorated since the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa Intifada and the riots that resulted (October 2000), leading to the shooting of thirteen Arab citizens. In 2001, Freedom House, in its famous annual report, dropped Israel's civil-liberties rating from 2 to 3 (Freedom House, 2002), reflecting this reality or its perception.

Israel's dual commitment to Jewishness and democracy impacts, however, not only on Arab-Jewish relations, but on relations within the Jewish majority. Many so-called secular, non-religious or non-observant Jews resent deeply the continuous interference of the Orthodox

establishment in their lives, rooted in the so-called Status Quo Agreement of 1947 and enshrined in several pieces of Israeli law. Indeed, by Western and increasingly worldwide standards religion is unusually obtrusive in Israel. If freedom from religion, along with freedom of religion, is one of the expected values of modern democracy, Israel's democracy is flawed indeed.

Moreover, some Ultra-Orthodox groups have enjoyed special privileges since the establishment of the State in violation of democratic principles (see below). Not only have Yeshivot (talmudic academies) received generous financial allocations of public funds, but in 2002 the Knesset approved, officially and legally, the exemption of their students from military service.

The frequent collisions between the State's commitment to democracy and the Jewishness of the majority – defined religiously (adherence to Judaism), ethnically (loyalty to Jewish history and culture) or ideologically (support of Zionism) – raise several critical questions:

- a. Is the dual commitment itself oxymoronic, in the sense that Israel cannot possibly be really democratic while its majority is loyal to a Jewish agenda?
- b. If we reject the proposition that Israel cannot be both democratic and Jewish, the question is how can Israel achieve both goals? If we assume that not every mix of 'Jewish and democratic' meets the minimal requirements of democracy, we need to identify a balance between these two value systems that would be acceptable.
- c. Is the real choice for Israel between being a fully democratic Western State, in which religion and ethnicity are privatized and all citizens treated equally (both as individuals and as groups), or being an ethno-national polity or at best an 'ethnic democracy'? (Smootha, 1990, 1997, 2002).

Political and Scholarly Camps

Before we address these questions it is important to look, however briefly, at opinions regarding an appropriate solution to the balance between democracy and Jewishness, both in terms of the Israeli public and among scholars in the field. Insofar as the Israeli public is concerned, three major camps are discernible. The first, on the particularistic end of

the spectrum, believes that Israel ought to be committed primarily to its Jewishness. While members of this camp generally recognize democracy as a desirable common good, they view it as secondary to the country's Jewishness (e.g. Cohen, 2001). This position is common among nationalists and especially in religious circles. The late Chief Rabbi of Israel, Shlomo Goren, used to say, in the spirit of that attitude, that 'democracy is not mentioned in the Torah even once' (Levontin in Barak-Erez, 1996, 74).

The position of the particularists could be summed by two propositions:

- a. The requirements of democracy and the interests of the Jewish people are sometimes incompatible;
- b. If and when such incompatibility occurs, the interests of the Jewish people and their State (Israel) take precedence.

While the State of Israel has never formally accepted this position (in fact it denies it by consistently maintaining its equal commitment to Jewishness and democracy), most Israeli governments to date have, arguably, adopted this position most of the time. Steps toward a more balanced approach have been hesitant at best. I will argue at the end of this essay that more decisive steps toward a new balance are not only possible, but necessary and just, and that they are unlikely to endanger the Jewish character of the State of Israel.

The second camp among Israelis argues that Israel must choose democracy over Jewishness, decisively and openly. While people who belong in this camp agree with their Rightist opponents that democracy and Jewishness constitute often incompatible value systems, they prefer democracy to Jewishness on the grounds of universalism.

Within the second camp we find, in fact, two political solutions to the Jewishness-Democracy tension. Some analysts support the transformation of the 'Jewish and democratic' State into 'a State of all its citizens', a formula that would presumably turn Israel into a typical Western liberal democracy, with equality for all citizens as individuals and State neutrality toward each ethnic and religious group. Others within the second camp would support full equality of individuals ('liberalism'), but insist that the State become an Arab-Jewish bi-national entity.

Unlike the other two camps, the second is ethnically mixed, including Arab intellectuals such as Azmi Bishara, Asad Ghanem and Nadim Rouhana, but also Jewish intellectuals such as Baruch Kimmerling, Ilan Pappé, Yoav Peled and Oren Yiftachel (e.g. Ghanem, Rouhana & Yiftachel, 1998).

The largest camp in Israel, described appropriately as 'hegemonic' (Smootha, 2002, 500), endorses the definition of the State as 'Jewish and democratic'. This position accepts three main ideas on the basis of a philosophical position, an empirical judgment and pragmatism: (a) Israel's commitments to Jewishness and democracy are fundamentally compatible; (b) Israel has, in fact, kept both of its commitments; (c) the 'formula' is a reasonable compromise between two competing forces (Gavison, 1996, 1999).

My thesis here and in other places (e.g. Peleg, 1998, 2000) is that while historically Israel's democratic record has not been particularly good (Lustick, 1980; Kretzmer, 1990; Rouhana, 1997), especially in regard to the broad and substantive requirements of modern Western liberal democracy (see below), in principle 'Jewishness' and democracy might be compatible – provided, however, that the ethno-national nature of the Israeli State is significantly curtailed and, even more fundamentally, the democratic requirements maximized and enhanced.

While I tend to agree with the efforts to balance the conflicting requirements, reflected in the approaches offered by such commentators as Alan Dowty (e.g. 1999), Ruth Gavison (e.g. 1999a, 1999b) and Sammy Smootha (e.g. 2002), my inclination is to endorse a solution by which the old formula of the Israeli State – ethnic democracy – is discarded and replaced with a new formula based on symbolic attachment to the State's Jewishness and elimination of all material manifestations of ethnic discrimination. Put differently, only complete equality of all citizens as individuals and groups can guarantee Israel's future as a genuine democracy.

While my approach might be perceived as radical, I believe that it is needed in view of the fact that the old formula – identified correctly by Smootha (1990) and Peled (1992) as 'ethnic democracy' – is unlikely to work for long. The violent clashes between Arabs and Jews in two Intifadas are possibly a sign of things to come. Moreover, intellectual and liberal circles in Israel (including the State's High Court in its *Qa'adan v. Katzir* decision and other rulings) have come to recognize that new ideas are needed.

Democracy

All arguments about the compatibility of Israel's Jewishness and democracy depend to a large extent on what precisely one means by 'democracy'. The problem with the notion of democracy – more so than with almost any other political idea – is that it is 'an essentially contested concept' (Gallie, 1962) open to numerous definitions. A particular problem in regard to Israel's democracy is that many analysts do not define precisely what they mean by 'democracy'. My own position is that the discussion on how democratic Israel can be despite its Jewish commitment will not be fruitful unless we are clearer in our minds about the requirements of democracy and apply them rigorously to the Israeli case.

The approach to democracy which I will apply to the case of Israel is characterized by several general positions. First, I view democracy not as a dichotomy (in the sense that a polity either has it or not), but as a continuum, meaning that the question is rather how much democracy a polity has. Second, my tendency is to take a broader rather than a narrower position on what constitutes democracy. Thus I am uncomfortable with approaches that identify democracy with a set of 'liberties' guaranteed through a set of formal procedures and institutions, despite the fact that this is the essence of the position taken by some prominent analysts (e.g. Dahl, 1971). Thirdly, my approach to democracy is hierarchical: it identifies the requirements for democracy by going from a lower (that is, less demanding) requirement to a higher (more demanding) level. Such an approach allows one to deal not merely with the issue of whether a country is democratic or not, but to what extent it is democratic: it facilitates a discussion on the quality of a country's democracy.

This three-pronged approach to democracy leads me to develop a definition of democracy that contains three components. A fully-fledged democracy must meet the following requirements:

- a. a minimalist requirement: regular, fair and free elections in order to establish the rule of the majority;
- b. a mid-range requirement: legal protection for fundamental freedoms such as speech and assembly, including freedom of and from religion;

- c. a maximalist requirement: guaranteed equality for all individual citizens and social groups before the law, as well as in practice.

In the case of Israel the record is mixed, all problems in terms of the quality of Israel's democracy stemming directly from the country's adherence to its 'Jewishness'. In terms of the first requirement, Israel has, since its establishment, on the whole conducted free and fair regular elections. Nevertheless, the tension between Jewishness and democracy has been manifested when parties judged to be running against the Jewish or democratic nature of the State were declared illegal by the High Court (in the Al-Ard case, HCJ 1/65, *Yeredor v. Chairman of the Central Election Committee*), by the Knesset (in a law passed in 1985), or by the Central Election Committee acting presumably in accordance with that law. A party, for example, cannot now run for the Knesset if it proposes to replace the State of Israel with a bi-national State, even if it propagates its position and suggests that this be done through democratic and non-violent means. A decision by the High Court allowing two Arab parties to run in the 2003 elections, despite a decision to the contrary by the Central Election Committee, suggests that Israel might be liberalizing in regard to the first requirement of democracy.

In regard to the second requirement of democracy the Israeli record is even more mixed. First, the various freedoms and liberties given to Israeli citizens are yet to be codified in a constitution, bill of rights or other such comprehensive and protected document. Secondly, while the State has progressed enormously since 1948 in terms of certain freedoms (freedom of speech, for instance, being enshrined in the High Court decision known as *Kol Ha'am*), the democratic record has not been satisfactory in regard to freedoms related to the State's Jewishness, as perceived by the founding fathers and since. Thus the State of Israel is today extraordinarily intrusive in regard to issues defined by it as 'religious', but viewed in most other countries as matters belonging to a citizen's 'private sphere'. The requirement for marriage in Israel, for example, violates the worldwide acceptance today of civil marriage, as well as of intermarriage by individuals from different religions, which is an option not open to Israelis.

The most difficult situation, however, arises in regard to the third requirement of democracy, that of equality of all citizens before the law and in practice. In terms of equality, particularly between national

groups and their members (that is between Arabs and Jews), Israeli democracy has proven to be flawed. Discrimination arises principally in regard to acquiring citizenship (where Jews have an advantage through the Law of Return) and land, where non-Jews are prevented from purchasing land under the sovereignty of the State, including roughly 93 per cent of the total area of the country (Kimmerling, 2002, 1120). In general, only Jews are entitled to group rights in Israel (Smootha, 2002; Peled, 1992), and the lack of collective rights to other groups impacts negatively on the individual rights of their members (Kimmerling, 2002, 1124), as is shown in detail in several books (Lustick, 1980; Kretzmer, 1990; Rouhana, 1997). Chief Justice Barak has called publicly for full equality for Arabs, stating that there can be no true democracy in Israel without it (Freedom House, 2000–2001, 28).

The lack of equality stemming from the State's commitment to 'Jewishness' is not limited to Arab-Jewish issues. Thus, the imposition of Orthodox halakhic law in Israel leads to discrimination against women as a group and as individuals (Lahav, 2000; Chesler and Haut, 2000), and the State has systematically privileged the Orthodox population to the detriment of the secular population (for example by granting special exemption from military service, an autonomous educational system and generous allocations to Yeshivot).

Democracy and Stability

My analysis of the tensions between democracy and Jewishness is by no means limited to an idealistic attachment to the notion of a perfect democracy. The three-pronged definition of democracy offered here assumes that most democracies are lacking in one way or another. A more fundamental question than whether Israel is a true democracy is the question of whether the current Israeli political model of unrestrained ethnic hegemony is sustainable in the long run. If the answer to that question is 'no', then one has to ask whether there is a solution to a condition that has now survived for fifty-five years.

The Israeli formula of 'a Jewish and democratic State', and the reality of ethnic domination on which it rests, require a comparative perspective. In general, although not invariably, unrestrained ethnic domination of the type we see in Israel today leads to instability, violence, explosion and the eventual decline of the polity. Examples of such fatal

instability include pre-1974 Cyprus, pre-1998 Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, the former Yugoslavia and South Africa. In none of these situations was an ethnic regime, however determined and powerful, able to hold on to exclusive power indefinitely. While several ethno-national regimes – defining themselves particularistically despite their diversity – disintegrated under the pressure of their own detachment from reality, other regimes found a way of reformulating the rationale for their being.

My general conclusion is that an ethnicized polity such as Israel has to make a choice among several alternatives: (a) refusal to transform significantly despite pressures to democratize (Turkey is a good example); (b) transformation in the spirit of enhanced democratization and greater inclusion (examples include the constitutional changes over the last twenty years in Spain, Northern Ireland and South Africa); (c) further ethnicization in response to diversity (e.g. Serbia under Milosevic, Slovakia under Meciar). In general, Israel has adopted the first route, maintaining the status quo despite pressure to move towards more inclusive democracy. A comparative analysis suggests that such a choice could prove fatal.

Moving Towards Democratic Inclusion

If Israel must change in its own best interests, how should this be done and in what direction? Can the sacred formula 'Jewish and democratic' be salvaged or must it be discarded as ultimately undemocratic?

In principle, if the Jewish majority decides to create a more inclusive Israel, it can move in two analytically distinct but practically linked directions. First, Israel can make what might be called integrative-liberal moves, dismantling all discriminatory policies toward Arabs as individuals and establishing a genuine liberal democracy. Under this formula Arab citizens would be able to buy land anywhere in the State, obtain jobs (including governmental positions) in accordance with their skills and so forth. Moreover, discriminatory practices directed against Arabs, such as organized campaigns against selling them apartments and even the imposition of harsher sentences by the courts, would be eliminated.

Second, Israel could move toward a more inclusive democracy by going in a 'consociational direction', which would involve enhancing

the recognition and protection given to the Arab minority as a distinct national group. Consociational arrangements, recognition and even culture already exist within the diverse Jewish majority, which could be extended to the Arab minority. Thus, Arabs could be given fully-fledged personal autonomy (Smootha, 1999), granting them direct control over the most important aspects of their communal lives, such as education. 'Functional autonomy ... may be necessary to counter ... support for territorial autonomy or total separation' (Dowty, 1999, 12). Arabs could also be enabled to share more fully and fairly in the national wealth, their more moderate parties could be invited to serve in the government and their symbols could be incorporated into the country's laws of recognition, creating a common Israeli identity that is civic and overarching.

While liberal and consociational changes could ease the inter-ethnic clash within Israel, they are unlikely to turn Israel into a bi-national project, a result that the Jewish majority would never accept. Such changes would merely recognize the bi-national reality of contemporary Israel and incorporate it into the country's governmental structure, thus increasing the congruence between society and polity for the benefit of long-term stability.

A decisive action of the type discussed here could give Israeli Arabs a reason to identify with the State, while the continuation of a policy of discrimination and exclusion would negate such possibility. The role of the Israeli leadership in bringing about such a change is crucial, but to date we have witnessed minimal attention to this problem.

Is 'Jewish and Democratic' Salvageable?

The sacred formula defining Israel as 'Jewish and democratic', used by Israeli institutions such as the Knesset and HCJ and accepted by most individuals, has not worked well over the first fifty-five years of the State. The term 'Jewish' has been expressed as exclusivist, hegemonic control of the majority in all areas. Short of declaring Israel a halakic State, the term 'Jewish' was interpreted as comprehensively as possible. The term 'democratic', on the other hand, has been interpreted rather narrowly, in the sense of majority rule and fundamental liberal freedoms to all citizens, but pointedly no political equality on an individual or group basis, or recognition or protection for minorities in what had become in effect a 'Jewish Republic'.

Although the Israeli majority is determined to maintain an Israel that is Jewish and democratic, the existing balance between those two components might change, decisively increasing the weight of the State's democracy and proportionately decreasing its Jewishness (as it is currently defined), especially in areas where such an overtly particularistic definition is injurious to the democratic quality of the State.

On the basis of what principle can such a transformation be effected? I would argue that a polity may justifiably define itself particularistically (as many polities do) only insofar as such a definition does not result in the substantive and material discrimination of members of the polity (that is, its citizens). Self-definition that results in systematic discrimination is democratically unacceptable.

Inherent in my position is the argument that in the case of Israel, as in numerous other cases, one needs to distinguish between the symbolic level (where the majority's particularism may prevail without serious injury to democracy) and the material one, where particularist features of a regime result in real discrimination.

An Israel that eliminates all particularist features that result in discrimination against non-Jews will still be 'Jewish' in several important ways: the Jewish majority will be sustained, the dominant language will remain Hebrew and the culture Hebraic and Jewish, and most of the symbols accepted within Israeli society will continue to be rooted in the Jewish tradition. Even the controversial Law of Return could survive the type of reconstruction suggested here, especially if a Palestinian State with its own law of return is established side-by-side with Israel. Not only could the Law of Return be defended as a historical, collective act of affirmative action, taken by the international system towards the Jewish people, but on the level of principle one could defend discrimination in admitting people to the polity (a practice used by many nations). On the other hand, it is impossible to defend discrimination against individuals or groups once they are already citizens: such discrimination negates the most important principle of democracy.

The transformation of Israel into a full liberal democracy via the elimination of all forms of material discrimination could be achieved without endangering the overall Jewish character of the State. Numerous countries all over the world have a dominant culture existing side by side with minority ones, but without substantive (let alone formal) discrimination against minorities or their individual members. If Israel

decides to go through the transformation proposed here, the sacred formula 'Jewish and democratic' could survive, albeit in a significantly reduced form. It will become a reminder of archaic, ethnically based discrimination that has been passed by on Israel's way toward genuine democracy.

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Reading in the Twilight Zone: Homer and the Jews in Antiquity

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A STORY IN the *Talmud* (*Menahot* 99b) describes how 'Ben Damah the son of Rabbi Ishmael's sister once asked Rabbi Ishmael: May one such as I who has studied the whole of the Torah, learn Greek Wisdom? He [Rabbi Ishmael] thereupon read him the following verse, "This book of the Torah shall never leave your mouth, but you must think of it [without pause] by day and by night" (*Joshua* 1:8). Go then, [said Rabbi Ishmael to his nephew,] and find a time that is neither day nor night, and in that time learn Greek Wisdom.'

Ben Damah, the nephew, clearly fancied himself as a scholar since, having 'studied the *whole* of the Torah', he now wanted some new reading material. Yet his words suggested he was a childish novice who might have been saying 'I've finished my vegetables, Uncle Ishmael. Can I have a sweet now?' Uncle Ishmael accordingly responded by quoting the biblical verse: *vechagita bo yomam valaylah*, 'you must think of the Torah and study it by day and by night', probably because it is something every Jew should know. Indeed, had Ben Dama been a true scholar, he would have known that there is no time for anything Greek in a Jew's intellectual diet.

Strangely, however, Rabbi Ishmael did not stop here, but added a quizzical supplement.¹ 'Go then', he told his nephew, 'and find a time that is neither day nor night, and in that time learn Greek wisdom'. Now, why, we might ask, did Ishmael have to spoil a perfectly clear, succinct answer, as though to respond to Little Ben Dama, 'Certainly, my boy, have as many sweets as you like, but never eat them by day, and never by night'.

Part of the exercise was to expose Ben Dama's pretensions, of course. But was Rabbi Ishmael merely speaking in jest? The question whether a Jew should look beyond his own culture is a serious one, and the

¹ The notion of supplementarity is prominent in Jewish thinking (we need think only of the basic structure of the *Talmud* and *Tosefta* etc.), in Greek thought (e.g. in the notion of the *parergon*) and, of course, in contemporary critical discourse.

Talmud, although often amusing, is more than a collection of comic anecdotes. So what did Rabbi Ishmael's advice mean, and what is this strange twilight zone, which is neither day nor night?

In order to answer this question I would like to look more closely at 'Greek Wisdom' in the context of ancient Jewish writing and thought and specifically at the works of Homer, which are perhaps the most famous example of it. I hope to show that there is a serious message in Rabbi Ishmael's advice, and that his nephew Ben Dama may yet, as it were, have his cake and eat it.

First, a word about the relationship between 'Greek Wisdom' in general and Homer. Homer was one of the most widely disseminated, studied and cited of authors at all periods of Graeco-Roman antiquity. He meant different things to different people, yet was almost universally regarded as 'the wisest of the Greeks' and as the canonical, authoritative Greek author *par excellence*. His poetry, often called 'the bible of the Greeks', was the practical basis of Greek education in antiquity, and almost everyone who learned to read and write Greek in the ancient world (and often in the modern world also) did so with the aid of passages from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. For Jews from the Hellenistic period on, Greek was an important language of official discourse in Palestine, Egypt, Syria and their environs and, as a range of sources attest, many Jews in antiquity did read and write Greek. These facts suggest that whatever the meaning of 'Greek Wisdom' for Jews in the ancient world may have been, the term always contained, in one way or another, an essential Homeric component.²

Important as Homer's role may have been, however, explicit references to his work are not common in ancient Jewish literature. In the *Talmud* itself Homer is referred to as *Hamiras* or *Hamiram* only a couple of times (although we will return later to the question whether this is indeed Homer). Rabbi Akiva (*JT Sanhedrin* 10:1, 28a.; *Bavli Sanhedrin* 90a) says that 'he who reads the extra-canonical books such as the books of Ben Sira and the books of Ben La'anah [has no share in the world to come], but he who reads the books of Homer and all other books written beyond that, is considered like one who is reading a secular document'. Homer, in other words, is like a laundry list or a tax ruling. Citing *Ecclesiasticus* 12:12, Akiva argues that 'casual reading is

² Cf. Hai Gaon in *Yadain* 4:6: 'the books of Homer, external books of Greek wisdom, are [called] in their tongue "Homer"'.

permissible, but intensive study forbidden', while in *Mishnah Yadayim* (4:6) we find that 'proportionate to the love for [the holy Scriptures] is their uncleanness. The books of Hamiram, which are not precious, do not convey uncleanness to the hands.' From these rare passages it might seem that Homer is only of minor importance for the Jews, allowed as casual reading, but no more.

One suspects, however, that this is a defensive pose. Homer's world-view, even if interpreted allegorically, does not sit easily with Jewish religious thinking, no matter how widely we construe it. For example, in Homer there are many divinities which, far from being omnipotent and perfect, are rather fallible and flawed. They fight, quibble, seduce and trick each other and so on. At the beginning of the *Iliad* (1. 5) we are told that Zeus had a plan which was fulfilled, although it is not clear what that plan may have been. Likewise, the goddesses Hera and Athena, enemies of Troy, are not guided by moral principles, such as outrage at the abduction of Helen or the transgression of the sanctity of the family, but by much simpler motives. Earlier in the story Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite took part in a beauty contest judged by the Trojan prince Paris. Each contestant offered Paris a bribe, and when Aphrodite promised the beautiful Helen (who was already married to Menelaos) she received the crown. But when Paris took Helen back to Troy the Greeks went to war to retrieve her, and Hera and Athena saw the opportunity for revenge. The rabbinic God under similar circumstances, one feels, would have paused for deeper moral or ethical reflection, showing how deeply the ethico-religious experience in Homer, however we interpret it, differs from the one professed in Judaism.

To the rabbis, therefore, Homer presented a unique problem. Given his views, they could not 'convert' him to Judaism, but neither could Jews 'excommunicate' him and put him out of mind. As we have said, he was too much part of Greek language and culture, and Greek was too much a part of Jewish life in antiquity. Yet out of this paradox emerges the Homer of the *Talmud*, a Greek beast living beneath the stairs whom you cannot drive away so may as well leave there. But those Jews who were closer to the Greek world than the rabbis will have been more attuned to Homer and to the difficulties he represents. The attitudes of Philo of Alexandria and Josephus Flavius, the two best-known ancient Jewish authors writing in Greek, towards Hellenic culture cannot be comprehensively stated here, but are worthy of brief comment.

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Josephus (37 – c. 100 CE) mentions Homer by name only a handful of times, mostly in *Against Apion*, a work explaining and defending Jewish culture, in which he argues for the greater antiquity of Jewish than Greek culture, which ‘appears to have been born but yesterday’ (1. 155). He points out that the Greek word for ‘law’, *nomos*, is never used in the works of Homer, the earliest of Greek authors, and that Homer was an illiterate poet (1. 12) in whose day the masses were governed by unwritten, often *ad hoc* circumstances (1. 155). This presents Homer as a convenient foil for marking the superiority of Jewish culture. Yet Josephus writes not in Hebrew, but in Greek, and his work often attests detailed knowledge of Homeric poetry and scholarship. His argument that the word ‘law’ is never used in Homer, for instance, itself implies intimate acquaintance with his works, an idea deserving longer discussion.³ Rabbi Ishmael reminds us that the books of the Torah are so important that a Jew must study them day and night. Yet from this it seems, whatever Josephus may profess, that the books of Homer were also studied with diligence.

Philo of Alexandria (c. 20 BCE – 50 CE) is the Jewish author who quotes Homer perhaps most often.⁴ Like Josephus, Philo is keenly aware of potential conflicts between pagan and Judaic cultures. But while Josephus, as chronicler of the Jewish War and one of its active participants, was a man immersed in real-life conflict and able openly to acknowledge the clash of Jewish and Hellenic cultures, Philo, living in Alexandria, may have found it easier to inhabit a conceptual world in which Judaic and Hellenistic cultural values are less in conflict. In his essay on Abraham, for example, Philo says (10:17): ‘Just as we give the title of “the poet” to Homer in virtue of his pre-eminence ... so too Moses gave the name of man [the “man” in question is probably Enos, see *Genesis* 4:26] in pre-eminence to him who cherished hope and left unnoticed the many others just as worthy to receive the same title’. This Homer seems to be not an antagonist, but an ally.

³ When, earlier in the same passage, Josephus comments that ‘it is a highly controversial and disputed question whether even those who took part in the Trojan campaign made use of letters’ (1. 11), he is hinting at a much discussed passage in the *Iliad* (6:168) in which one Bellerophon carries tablets bearing ‘destructive signs’. There was debate on the nature of these signs, but the point is that this is a detail of which only a dedicated Homer scholar would be aware.

⁴ Philo quotes Homer dozens of times: see index to Colson at the end of vol. X of the works of Philo in the Loeb Classical Library (1962) 457–8.

Yet this Homer is something of a fantasy figure, since the problematic elements of his world-view seem to have been silently excised, although not with total success. In a work entitled *On the Contemplative Life*, for example, Philo discusses the virtues of a simple life and of avoiding the pursuit of wealth. In support of this he cites (*Vit. Cont.* 17) Homer (*Iliad* 13:5–6), who says that the Mysians, ‘the most just of men’, live on nothing but mare’s milk. The idea, argues Philo, is that injustice is bred by anxious thought for money and possessions, while justice is upheld by the opposite. But unfortunately, as Philo knows, the milk-drinking Mysian *tsadikim* are an exception in the *Iliad*, since Homeric heroes are best known not for justice, but for their unbridled pursuit of loot and fame. Far from living on a dairy diet, they are notorious carnivores, dining almost exclusively on roast meat and only rarely on fish.

Besides the works of Josephus and Philo, who are the most famous Jewish writers of Graeco-Roman antiquity, several other less familiar texts of Jewish provenance are known, written in Homer’s own medium: Greek hexameter verse. Since this is much closer to Homer than the prose of the two writers we have previously mentioned, it is harder for both author and reader to ignore potential tensions between Homeric and Judaic values.

Of the works of Philo the Elder, an epic poet who wrote in Greek hexameter sometime in the third or second century BCE (and was not related to Philo of Alexandria), all but twenty-four verses of his poem *On Jerusalem* have been lost (see Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 9), perhaps in part because he wrote in a turgid, pompous style, whose purpose, as Yoshua Gutman says, could only have been to shroud the author in ‘a cloud of mystical obscurities’.⁵ Nevertheless, to a Hellenized audience, any hexameter text in Greek reverberates with the sounds of Homeric poetry.

The first fragment deals with the *Akedah*, the Binding of Isaac, a narrative of seminal importance in Judaism: Abraham’s faith was so complete that he prepared to slaughter his son on the altar, only to be stopped at the last moment. In Philo’s poem we learn that God, ‘the praiseworthy mighty-shouter quenched the fire, and spoke his immortal [or deathless] word/promise’ (*Suppl. Hell.* 68, 1. 5–7), the Greek words

⁵ Y. Gutman, ‘Philo the Epic Poet’, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 1 (*Studies in Classics and Jewish Hellenism*, ed. R. Koebner) 1954:37.

‘praiseworthy mighty-shouter’, *briēpyos ainetos*, being an adaptation of a phrase from the *Iliad*. In Homer a similar phrase describes the cruel and indiscriminate god of War himself: *briēpyos obrimos Arēs*, ‘the mighty-shouter, powerful Ares’ (13:521). Philo clearly wanted to present his poem as a Jewish epic and perhaps saw himself as a kind of Jewish Homer. But are we really meant to think of God as a shouting, nasty Jewish Ares?

Again in Philo’s poem we hear of God’s *athanaton phatin*, ‘immortal word’ or ‘deathless promise’, describing the *brit bein habetarim*, the covenant given to Abraham and his descendants as a reward for his faith. *A-athanaton* is an adjective meaning ‘without death’, ‘deathless’, i.e. ‘eternal’, and *Phatin* a noun from the Greek verb *phemi*, ‘to speak’ or ‘utter words’. But Philo was writing the language of Homer, and the expression *athanaton phatin* has a distinctly Homeric ring to it. In Homer’s world, words, particularly poetry, were important as the only way for mortal heroes to preserve their greatness and mighty deeds from disappearance. By calling God’s covenant an ‘immortal *phatis*’ and using Homeric language, Philo was therefore hinting that God’s promise was some sort of immortal Jewish poetry, perhaps in praise of Abraham’s great deed. But if we look more closely at Homer’s verse we find that *phatis* means, neither ‘word’ nor ‘poetry’, but ‘gossip’ or ‘rumour’. So was Philo telling us that an ‘immortal bit of gossip’ was God’s reward to Abraham for his sacrifice, or that the most important covenant in the Jewish faith was nothing but a ‘persistent (i.e. ‘undying’) rumour’? It is precisely the impossible strangeness of this reading that characterizes Homer’s position in the context of ancient Jewish thought. On the one hand, Homer was clearly meant to be present in Philo’s Greek hexameter poem, giving it dignity and creating a bridge between Hellenism and Judaism. But on the other hand, the reference to Homer creates a zone of nonsense (one scholar calls such Judaeo-Homeric mix a *bizarrierie déconcertante*) which can be avoided only by eliding the whole point of the reference, i.e. Homer and Homeric poetry, from our minds.

Another poet writing in Homeric hexameters was Theodotus (second-third centuries CE), who was either a Samaritan from Shechem or, more likely, a Jew living in Palestine, as has been argued by several recent studies. He wrote a poem perhaps entitled *On the Jews*, of which eight fragments appear in Eusebius, drawn from the work of Alexander

Polyhistor. These deal with the rape of Dinah (*Genesis* 34) and may have been meant to present a Jewish view which, at least in part, is not entirely flattering to its Israelite protagonists. It tells how Dinah, the young daughter of Jacob the Patriarch, attracted the attentions of Shechem, son of Hamor, king of the city of Shechem, with unfortunate consequences. It seems that Shechem genuinely loved Dinah, wanted to do the honourable thing and was keen to marry her, so it was agreed that Shechem and all the males in the city would be circumcised in order for the marriage to take place. But unfortunately, two of Jacob's sons, Levi and Simeon, disliked the idea of Shechem, circumcised or not, marrying their sister, and while the Shechemites were smarting from their surgery, entered the city, killed Shechem and Hamor, pillaged the city and took their sister back.

Theodotus rephrased this in more-or-less competent Homeric Greek hexameter verse, a natural choice of language at first sight. But the biblical account of an impetuous young prince abducting a woman of high standing, whose people revenge this by going to war and eventually sack and pillage his town, is also the core-plot of the *Iliad*. In that work the Trojan prince Paris abducts the beautiful Helen, whereupon the Greeks go to war and destroy the city of Troy. The *Iliad* and Theodotus' poem are clearly not versions of one tale, for if nothing else the *Iliad* runs to over 15,000 Greek hexameter verses while only forty-seven Greek verses of Theodotus's text survive, roughly the same length as the biblical narrative. But the two Greek poems do have intriguing points of contact.

At the centre of the Homeric and the Theodotean/biblical narratives are desirable women, Helen and Dinah, who play paradoxical double-roles as victims of male aggression and the cause of male suffering. Homer's Helen is a passive object in the hands of men surrounding her, being abducted by her lover, Paris, then forcibly taken back by her husband Menelaos and his brother Agamemnon. But she is also a 'shameless, dog-faced' woman, as the *Iliad* calls her, a *femme-fatale* who caused great pain to both Trojans and Greeks. Her very name was taken by the ancient Greeks to mean *helen*, 'destroyer of ships'. Like Helen, Dinah seems a passive object in the hands of the man who violated her, Shechem, and of her brothers Levi and Simeon. Yet she too is the source of pain for her menfolk. In Hebrew her name is associated with the word *din*, 'law', 'judgment', 'sentence', while in Greek the

Hebrew *Dinah*, or *Dina*, as the Septuagint transliterates it, has no meaning or clear echoes.⁶ Yet Theodotus makes a small but important change, adding an 'e', the Greek letter epsilon, to the spelling, and calling her, not *Dina*, but *Deina*. In ancient Greek this is a common feminine adjective meaning 'fearful', 'terrible' (hence the modern word dinosaur, 'fearful lizard', the 'e' disappearing in the modern Latinized transcription). The biblical *Dinah* may be just a girl from a good Israelite family, but Theodotus' Greek *Deina* is a *femme-fatale*, a Jewish Helen, whose name means 'the terrible one' or 'the one who embodies horror'.

The horror of events is precisely what we find a little later in Theodotus' poem, when the killing starts. Consider these lines:

Thus then did Simeon rush upon Hamor himself
and struck him upon the head; He seized his throat in his left hand
and then let it go still gasping its last breath, since there was another task to
do.

At that time Levi, also irresistible in might, seized Shechem by the hair;
the latter grasped his knees and raged unspeakably.

Levi struck the middle of his collarbone; the sharp sword entered
his inner organs through the chest; and his life thereupon left his bodily
frame.

(*Suppl. Hell.* 764:1-7.)

This does not literally repeat Homeric lines, but is a patchwork of words, phrases and images drawn from battle scenes in the *Iliad*, showing how Theodotus succeeded in fusing the Homeric and biblical narratives and portraying Levi and Simeon, whatever the moral complications of their actions, as great, violent Homeric heroes. So does Homer, at least here, sit comfortably among the Jews of antiquity?

As we have already noted, the Homeric worldview is profoundly incompatible with many basic tenets of Jewish thought. In Homer there is no omnipotent, let alone single creator, but many diverse divinities, some of them as impetuous, unjust or even ridiculous as the mortals they resemble and with whom they often have intercourse, even sexually in the case of Zeus and others. So are we to think of God as a kind of Jewish Zeus as we read Theodotus' Jewish Homeric epic?

⁶ The final 'h' in *Dinah* represents the unvoiced semivowel *hei* in Hebrew which cannot be transliterated in Greek.

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Theodotus' relative success in fusing the *Iliad* and the biblical story of Dinah is precisely what underlines the impossibly strange nature of the mix.

To take some slightly different examples, in antiquity Homeric poetry was closely associated with other authoritative genres of Greek hexameter verse such as oracles and prophecies. Many survive, including collections of ancient oracles of the so-called Sibyl, a few of which are clearly of Jewish provenance. In one, among the usual foretelling of disaster, we find a prediction and lament for the fall of Troy:

Ilium, I pity you, for a fury will sprout from Sparta
A very beautiful, famous, most excellent shoot
Leaving the widespread wave of Asia and Europe.
(*Orac. Sib.* 3:414ff. Geffcken.)

This presumably is the beautiful Helen of Troy.

It will bring lamentations and labours and groans
And inflict them on you, but your fame will be ageless for Future
generations.

The Jewish oracle claims to predict here the most famous events in Greek 'history', and to do so infallibly since they have already occurred, enabling the oracle to say 'I told you so' with perfect authority. It then adds:

There will be again a certain false writer, an old man
Of falsified fatherland. The light will go out in his eyes
He will have much intelligence and will have speech well proportioned to his
thoughts
Blended under two names [*Iliad* and *Odyssey*]. He will call himself a Chian
And write the story of Ilium, not truthfully
But cleverly. For he will master my words and metres.
He will be the first to unfold my books with his hands.
But he will especially embellish the helmeted men of war,
Hector, son of Priam, and Achilles, son of Pelcus.

He will also make gods to stand by these
Writing falsely, in every way, about empty headed men.
It will be a great glory to die at Ilium.
But he himself will also receive appropriate recompense. (3:419ff.)

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In the hands of the Jewish oracle Homer becomes an audacious rascal, a plagiarist and falsifier of his Jewish sources, a blind man who can somehow write in borrowed hexameters. One might be forgiven for thinking that, among Jews, he cuts a slightly strange figure.

The 'Jewish Homer', however, is not all bad. A Jewish writer known as Pseudo-Phocylides, usually dated somewhere between 100 BCE and 70 CE, the supposed author of a compilation of edifying adages, offers the following general advice:

Give nature her due, you also, beget in your turn as you were begotten
Do not prostitute your wife, defiling your children.
Do not have intercourse with the concubines of (your) father

Do not cut a youth's masculine procreative faculty.
Do not seek sexual union with irrational animals.
Do not outrage your wife by shameful ways of intercourse.
Do not transgress with unlawful sex the limits set by nature
For even animals are not pleased by intercourse of male with male

Love your own wife, for what is sweeter and better
Than whenever a wife is kindly disposed toward her husband and a husband
toward his wife.

(*Sent.* 184–197, Young.)

The last few lines, many scholars suggest, echo a passage from Homer's *Odyssey* (6:182–184) that was famous in antiquity:

...for there is nothing greater and better,
Whenever a man and wife dwell in a home
In one accord...

Are we meant to link this to Homer? If so, it will be to a fantasy Homer very different from the pagan bard, however, for in the original context they relate to Odysseus, known for many intense, extramarital affairs during his twenty years away from home, who is sweet-talking the virgin princess Nausicaa, dropping heavy hints about how pleasant life can be for a man and a woman together. Homer's verse may be good advice, but in this particular case it does not relate to marital harmony.

Perhaps the prize for bold literary fantasy goes to a Jewish Greek author named Aristobulus of the second century BCE, who attempts to relate the Jewish tradition to Hellenic culture. Little remains of his

writing, but in the last fragment, discussing the Sabbath, he argues that: both Homer and Hesiod, having taken information from our [i.e. Jewish] book, say clearly that the seventh day is holy... And Homer speaks so:

‘And indeed the seventh day returned, a holy day
It was the seventh day and all things had been completed
And on the seventh morning we left the stream of Acheron’.
(Fr. 2:116–128, Denis.)

The last of these verses bears some resemblance to *Odyssey* 5:262, where Homer speaks of the fourth, not the seventh day, but all three are otherwise unattested in extant versions of Homer. Aristobulus’ Homer, then, is a devout Jew in whom inherent contradictions have been reconciled. But he is also a private fantasy.

A brief final example of Homer’s strange place in ancient Jewish writing is a funerary epigram inscribed in Greek hexameter on a tomb in the ancient Jewish cemetery of Beth Shearim, which is closer to real life than the literary texts we have previously looked at:

I lie, Son-of-Leontius, a corpse, Ioustos son of Sapho,
Who, having plucked the fruit of all wisdom,
Left the light, and my poor parents grieving incessantly,
And my sibling, alas, in my Besara [Beth Shearim]
And having gone to Hades, [I,] Ioustos, lie here,
With many of my [kin], since harsh Moira wanted it.
Take courage, Ioustos, no-one is immortal.
(BS II:127, Lifshitz and Schwabe.)

This inscription, like many other funerary epigrams, provides a mini-biography of the deceased, describing how he pleasurably plucked the fruit of all wisdom until ‘harsh Moira’ decreed that he should die and go to Hades, the Greek underworld, to the sorrow of his siblings and parents. But this is a strange biography for a Jew, for Iustos’ death was dictated not by God, but a pagan divinity, ‘harsh Moira’, the Homeric Goddess of Fate. In most versions of Judaism Moira and God would be less than suitable colleagues.

Iustos therefore died in a curious cultural and religious limbo. He was a learned man, for he ‘plucked the fruit of all wisdom’, but what kind of wisdom might he have plucked? Given that the epigram is written in Greek hexameters and refers to Moira and to Hades, one must assume he plucked the fruit of Greek wisdom, and specifically that of

Homer. But since the epigram is inscribed on stone in a Jewish cemetery and Iustos was a Jew, it seems that, with the possible exception of Ben Dama, Rabbi Ishmael's pompous and ignorant nephew, no Jewish reader could fail to recall the plucking of the most infamous fruit of all, that of the tree of knowledge in the Garden of Eden. Iustos may in this way have unwittingly admitted to re-enacting the plucking of forbidden fruit, in this case the fruit of Greek wisdom.

One suspects that whoever composed this epigram wanted to display his mastery of both Homer and Torah, yet instead demonstrated how terribly, unavoidably transgressive such dual mastery can be. Iustos ended up neither in the shadows of Hades nor in the light of some Jewish Heavenly Paradise, but in a paradoxical cultural space neither Greek nor Jewish, neither dark nor light.

It should by now be clear that Homeric and Judaic thought are the cultural equivalents of oil and water, and that attempts to mix them produced awkward or even bizarre effects. With the exception of Philo of Alexandria and Josephus, most writers who aimed for such a synthesis remain obscure and outside the 'cultural mainstream'. Yet the further away from this mainstream we go, the more contact between Homer and the Jews we find. A large number of so-called magical papyri from the Graeco-Roman period record a variety of potions, charms and spells mostly for practical use, often containing Jewish elements such as divine names or garbled words of seemingly Hebrew or Aramaic provenance, mixed with Homeric references sometimes in what we might call dog-Homeric Greek hexameters. In one extraordinary papyrus fragment, claimed to have been deposited in the emperor's library in Jerusalem, Odysseus, the hero of Homer's *Odyssey*, prays for help, in Greek hexameters, not only to Zeus, Hermes, Apollo and other Homeric gods, but to the God of the Jews (Julius Africanus, *Kestoi* book 18, P. Oxy. 412). This may be a summit both of Graeco-Judaic multiculturalism and of cultural absurdity.

We have, then, a double-edged relationship between Greek and Jewish culture in antiquity, and specifically between Homer and the Jews, which amounts to an irreducible paradox. One cannot completely separate the two elements, but equally it is impossible fully to integrate them. Indeed, the closer we bring them together, the more it becomes clear how far apart they are. It should be stressed that this is not an imaginary cultural relationship, but one which is widely attested in

authoritative records. Yet it takes place in a kind of twilight zone, neither day nor night.

Rabbi Ishmael may therefore have answered his pompous nephew's difficult question with great precision and verve. He was known for his mystical inclinations, and speaking as we have of a cross-cultural 'twilight zone' we might be thought to lean further in this direction than is appropriate in modern scholarship. But a more rigorous philosophical or scientific terminology might be found in the discourse of psychoanalysis, particularly in its philosophical, literary-critical and broader cultural uses. One tenet of this approach is that sexual or aggressive drives, because they are often incompatible with our place in society, are confined, as it were, to what is called the 'subconscious'. Yet primordial desires cannot be totally repressed, and therefore continue to affect our behaviour and identity in hidden ways. One important philosophical or methodological characteristic of this approach is that it posits a dynamic mix (a 'dialectic') of two elements. On the one hand, there are transgressive drives or 'desires', which are dangerous and destructive and kept partially or wholly repressed, while on the other hand, there are 'civilized', 'sanitized' representations, perceptions and patterns of behaviour, which keep the peace, as it were, and which for this reason are a kind of social 'fiction'. It seems to me that this might describe the place of Homer among Jews in antiquity, for deep down, Hellenic and Jewish cultures possess significant differences with powerful transgressive potential when brought together. When historical circumstances did bring them together, however, certain transgressions had to be 'repressed' or 'tucked away', as it were. The best way to regard Homer in the context of Jewish antiquity is therefore as part of Judaism's 'cultural unconscious', one of its forbidden desires. But would this have made any sense to an ancient rabbi? Certainly Rabbi Ishmael knew nothing of modern psychoanalysis. But he, and talmudic writers in general, knew a great deal about desire, and there is at least one influential scholarly tradition that regards the talmudic word *hamiras* not as a Hebrew or Aramaic transcription of the Greek name *Homeros*, but as the transcription of the Greek noun *himeros*, which means, of course, 'desire'.⁷

⁷ See e.g. Alexander Kohut, *Aruch Completum* (Vienna 1891) 4:254 s.v. *marom*.

'Have Mercy Now!': A Piyyut for Rosh Hashanah Morning

ADMIEL KOSMAN

אל גדול נרם ומרומם, אל מסתתר,
חציו נקוב, תחוב
בבשנות אלפים ויותר,
בתוך בית יד אחד.
בתוך פיסת שרול.

חופ-לה! אלהים!
אם כבד נצאת
ראש שלם,
גדול כזה משם -
הצצת וראית
בסלון שלי,
על השטיח את הדם,

את חרבי הירי, את האש
והעמוד, והכבשן,
בבקשה ממך!

בהזדמנות הזאת
רחם עלינו!

אל, אל, אל,
אל גבור, עצום, נורא,
קטן אני, אני,

עלוב אני עליך
לפלל, אומרים
עלי באלו, מי אני,

אחד, לא-כלום,
רק צוסיק להלל,

מול הנלים, על יד
הים העצבני,
המתנפל, אתה
מוציא שפנים מול
השקל, תוהב חיים לבית
בליעה אחד,
הכל הכל משל,

משל על המקל.

פסים של לבו,
יופי נהדר פורח,
יורד למטה כמו פרחים,
מכובע השמים
המדהים, ורק אתה

לבד לבד גואל,

אל, אל, אל קוסם ענק,
אדיר, פועל גדולות ונצורות,
בחליפות, במצנפות ובכפפות,

'Have Mercy Now!'

אם כָּבֵר הוֹפָעֶתָ כֵּן, לִפְנֵי קֹהֵל
וְלִקְבַּר כְּזָח עַל גֵּב חֶהָר,

בְּתוֹךְ מִתְחַס הָעִיר,

וְגַם מְשַׁכֶּת וּפְתִיחַת
לָנוּ סֶדֶק צָר,
הַזֹּזֶת לָנוּ קִיר,

רַחֵם, בְּבִקְשָׁה!

בְּהַזְמִנּוֹת הַזֹּאת,
רַחֵם עָלֵינוּ!

אֶתָּה מוֹצִיא,
אֶתָּה מַכְנִיס,
בְּטָרִיק אֶחָד קָטָן
אֶתָּה תִּשְׁלֹף
אֶזְנִי בְּרִצּוּעָה,
תִּשְׁשִׁים אוֹתִי בְּכִיס,

אֶתָּה הָרִי אֱלוֹף בְּלִהְתַּחַבֵּא
בְּאַרְנָקִים קִטְנִים שֶׁל זָמָן,
אֶתָּה, אֶתָּה הָאֵל, אֶתָּה
כְּזֶה אֶמֶן!

אֶתָּה הוֹדִינִי בְּקִיפּוֹל,
אֶתָּה קוֹסֵם מוֹזֵר שְׁגָר

לְבַד לְבַד מִמּוֹל,

'Have Mercy Now!'

אַבֶּל אֶתָּה -

אַתָּה מִלִּיאָרְד!

מִלִּיאָרְד בְּתוֹךְ מִלִּיאָרְד בְּתוֹךְ
מִלִּיאָרְד, הַכֵּל הַכֵּל כָּלוּל בְּתוֹךְ
אַתָּה הַשֵּׁם,

אַתָּה הַשֵּׁם אֶחָד -

הַכֵּל הַכֵּל, כָּל

חִיקוּם הִזָּה בְּךָ כָּלוּל -

כִּמּוֹ קְלִיפַת-שֶׁבִּלּוּל!

אַבֶּל בְּסוּף - תִּשְׁמַע

תִּשְׁמַע! - בְּסוּף חֲרִי

הֵם יִגְלוּ אֶתְּךָ!

זֶה לֹא מִשְׁחָק!!

כֵּן, הֵם יִגְלוּ אֶתְּךָ!

אַתָּה חֲרִי יוֹצֵא וּבֹא מִשֵּׁם,

וְרַק אַתָּה כְּזֹחַ אֶנְק,

וְלֹא תוּכַל לְחַתְּמָהּ,

מִשָּׁל הִיִּיתָ כִּי דִרְדָּק,

בְּבִשְׁנוֹת הָאוֹפִיִּינִית

לָךְ - בְּתוֹךְ פִּיסַת שְׁרוּל!

'Have Mercy Now!'

ומה לאמרו עליך חגוים?

נגידו: לא תודה!

זה לא משחק!

עקשו אתה פסול!!

אתה מבין??

לכן רחם, רחם,

בהזדמנויות הזאת, רחם

עקשו!

בבקשה, רחם, מאד

מאד מאד בחול, נצא

עקשיו, עקשיו מידי!

מידי מן השחרוול!!

THE ACADEMIC YEAR

Michaelmas Term 2002

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

Introduction to Judaism *Dr Jeremy Schonfield*

Introduction to Jewish Life, Thought and Worship

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Jewish History, 200 BCE to 70 CE *Professor Martin Goodman*

Jews in the Early Roman Empire *Professor Martin Goodman*

Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period

(Convened by Professor Martin Goodman)

Barbarian with an Attitude: Flavius Josephus Among Easterners, Greeks and Romans *Professor Steve Mason*

The Social History of the Jews of Oxyrhynchus and the Transmission of the Septuagint *Bruce Griffin*

The Theodosian Empire (408–50 CE) and the Jews
Professor Fergus Millar

Coinage of the Jewish Revolt of 66–70 CE *Dr James McLaren*

Hellenism, Hellenization and Jews *Emmanuelle Main*

Targum Tehillim, the New Testament and Early Christian Interpretations of the Psalms *Timothy Edwards*

Seminar on Purity and Pollution in the Religions of the Mediterranean World in Antiquity

(Convened by Professor Martin Goodman and Professor Robert Parker)

New Directions for Purity and Pollution *Professor Mary Douglas*

Purity, Pollution and Religious Authority in Greece
Professor Robert Parker

Purity and the Bible in Early Rabbinic Judaism
Professor Hyam Maccoby

Purity of the Mind in Greek Sacred Regulations
Professor Angelos Chaniotis

Purity in Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls *Magen Broshi*

The Academic Year

Dirt, Pollution and Guilt: Religious and Non-religious Aspects of
'Purity' in Roman Culture *Dr Andreas Bendlin*

Purity of Heart in the New Testament and the Primitive Church
Dr Teresa Morgan

'By His Death He has Purified us All...': Some Fourth-century
Christian Perspectives on Issues of Purification
Dr Elaine Bardwell

The Qumran Forum

(*Convened by Professor Martin Goodman and Professor Geza Vermes*)

Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Consensus and its
Opponents *Magen Broshi*

Melchizedek, the 'Youth' and Jesus *Dr James Davila*

Mishnaic and Medieval Hebrew Texts *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Talmud Seminar *Dr Norman Solomon*

Introduction to Islamic Religion *Ronald Nettler*

Survey of Medieval Jewish History *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Jewish Mystical Texts Seminar *Dr Norman Solomon*

Introduction to Yiddish Studies

(*Convened by Dr Kerstin Hoge and Dr Joseph Sherman*)

What is Yiddish? Its Origins and Prospects *Dr Kerstin Hoge*

The Nobel Prize and Yiddish Literature *Dr Joseph Sherman*

Yiddish Dialects, or, You Speak How You Eat *Dr Kerstin Hoge*

The Jewish Pope *Dr Joseph Sherman*

The Emergence of Modern Religious Movements in Judaism

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

History of Hebrew Literature *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Speech and Silence: Methods of Response in Modern Hebrew
Literature *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Modern Hebrew Poetry *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Islam in the Middle East in the Twentieth Century: Islamic Thought
Ronald Nettler

Witnessing the Holocaust *Dr Zoë Waxman*

Michaelmas Term 2002

Israel at the Movies: Film Series *Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi*

August, a Moment Before Eruption Avi Mograbi (2002)

Hemu, King of Jerusalem Amos Gutman (1987)

Dugit Over Troubled Waters Gil Karni and Meni Elias (2002)

My Four Children Nitza Gomen (2002)

A Time of Favour Joseph Cedar (2000)

It's About Time Elona Ariel and Ayelet Menahemi (2001)

Raging Dove Duki Dror (2002)

Biblical Hebrew Classes (Elementary and Intermediate)

Jill Middlemas

Modern Hebrew Classes (Elementary, Intermediate and Advanced)

Tali Argov and Yael Kroter

Yiddish Language Classes (Elementary, Intermediate and Advanced)

Dr Kerstin Hoge

The David Patterson Seminars

(Convened by Dr Glenda Abramson)

Israel Between Democratic Universalism and Particularistic Judasim

Professor Ilan Peleg

Identity Politics in Israeli Cinema *Professor Yosefa Losbitzky*

Demography and the Israel/Palestine Conflict: Challenges and

Options *Professor Sergio DellaPergola*

The Lexicon of the Ladino Haggadoth *Professor Ora Schwarzwald*

Critical Junctions in Early Jewish History *Magen Broshi*

The East European Ghettos in the Context of the Extermination of
the Jews *Professor Gustavo Corni*

Writing to Remember: The Role of the Holocaust Witness

Dr Zoë Waxman

Neo-religious Hebrew Poetry *Hava Pinhas-Cohen*

Hilary Term 2003

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

Varieties of Judaism *Professor Martin Goodman*

Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period

(*Convened by Professor Martin Goodman*)

The Court of Herod's Temple *Professor Ehud Netzer*

The Septuagint as a Source for Hellenistic Judaism: Limits and Possibilities *Dr James Aitken*

Talmudic Food *Dr Susan Weingarten*

The Jerusalem Church and Other Jewish Groups After 70 CE
Dr Piet van Boxel

Between *Mimrot* and Anonymous Statements: Evidence for Attributed Redactional Material in the Babylonian Talmud
Rabbi Jonathan Milgram

The Origin of the Greek Bible: Another Explanation
Professor Gohei Hata

The Qumran Forum

(*Convened by Professor Martin Goodman and Professor Geza Vermes*)

Dating Material from Qumran *Emmanuelle Main*

The Rise of Formative Judaism and Christianity *Dr Piet van Boxel*

Jewish and Christian Bible Translation and Interpretation in Antiquity
Dr Alison Salvesen

Septuagint Isaiah *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Targum *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Syriac Texts *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Mishnaic and Medieval Hebrew Texts *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Introduction to Talmud *Dr Norman Solomon*

Talmud Seminar *Dr Norman Solomon*

Jewish Mystical Texts *Dr Norman Solomon*

Hilary Term 2003

Introduction to Islamic Religion *Ronald Nettler*

Introduction to Sufi Ideas and Personalities *Ronald Nettler*

Judaism and Islam: Medieval Intellectual Traditions *Ronald Nettler*

Modern European Jewish History *Dr David Rechter*

The Jews of Europe: From the Enlightenment to the Holocaust,
1700–1945 *Dr David Rechter*

Seminar in Modern European Jewish History
(*Convened by Dr David Rechter*)

Greek Jewry and Hellenism: Paradigms of Inclusion and
Exclusion, 1936–41 *Katerina Lagos*

The Three Regions of Emancipation *Professor David Sorkin*

Jews, Communism and Modernity: A New Perspective
Dr Jason Heppell

Zionism and Post-colonialism *Professor Derek Penslar*

How to be 'A Worthy Citizen of England, a True Son of Israel':
Instructions from the Anglo-Jewish Clergy During the Boer War,
1899–1902 *Shira Schnitzer*

Sir Moses Montefiore (1784–1885): New Perspectives
Dr Abigail Green

Mapping Jewish Identities in Nineteenth-century Germany
Dr Nils Roemer

Introduction to Yiddish Studies

(*Convened by Dr Kerstin Hoge and Dr Joseph Sherman*)

Miese Ganoven who keep *Shtetl*: Yiddish Borrowings into
German and English *Dr Kerstin Hoge*

The Trouble with Isaac Bashevis Singer *Dr Joseph Sherman*

Yiddish in German-speaking Lands: Diglossia and Language
Death *Dr Kerstin Hoge*

Fiddler on the Train: A Look at Sholem Aleichem
Dr Joseph Sherman

Questions of Jewish Identity in Yiddish Literature
Dr Joseph Sherman

The Academic Year

Topics in the History of Modern Hebrew Literature

Dr Glenda Abramson

Modern Hebrew Poetry *Dr Glenda Abramson*

The History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict *Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi*

Biblical Hebrew (Elementary and Intermediate) *Jill Middlemas*

Modern Hebrew (Elementary, Intermediate and Advanced)

Tali Argov and Yael Kroter

Yiddish Language Classes (Elementary, Intermediate and Advanced)

Dr Kerstin Hoge

The David Patterson Seminars

(Convened by Ronald Nettler)

Between Muslim Triumphalism and Jewish Resistance: Looking for
Islamization in the Medieval Middle East *Professor Fred Astren*

Zionism and Diaspora: Geo-cultural Dimensions

Professor Allon Gal

Primo Levi and the Problems of Biography *Carole Angier*

Reinventing Shylock: Romanticism and the Representation of

Shakespeare's Jew *Professor Judith Page*

Jewish Identity and Narrative Identity *Dr Danièle Kahn-Paycha*

Reflections on Emancipation *Professor David Sorkin*

The Talmudic Story of Rabbi Akiva and Rachel: A Romantic Love
Story? *Dr Admiel Kosman*

Harry Truman and Israel *Professor Melvyn Leffler*

Israel Guest Lecture Series

(Convened by Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi)

Conflicting Visions for Contemporary Israel – The Making of a
Kulturkampf *Professor Ilan Peleg*

The Role of Demography in the Israel-Palestine Conflict

Professor Sergio DellaPergola

New Perspectives on the 1948 Refugees: Microhistory

Professor Alon Kadish

Hilary Term 2003

Short-term Hawks, Long-term Doves? Assessing Israel's Elections,
2003 *Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi*

The Russian Sector in the 2003 Elections *Dr Ze'ev Khenin*

Zionism and Environment *Professor Avner de-Shalit*

The Arab Minority in Israeli Politics. Where Are We Going After the
2003 Elections? *Professor Binyamin Neuburger*

Special Lectures

Isaiah Berlin Public Lectures in Middle East Dialogue:

Whither Arab-Israeli Peace? The Arab and Muslim Discourse of
Peace in the Middle East in the 1990s *Professor Avraham Sela*

So Close and Yet So Far ... Lessons of the Israeli-Palestinian
Peace Process *Professor Shlomo Ben-Ami*

Trinity Term 2003

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period
(*Convened by Professor Martin Goodman*)

Pagan Temples as Reflected in Rabbinic Literature
Dr Martin Jacobs

The Qumran Forum
(*Convened by Professor Martin Goodman and Professor Geza Vermes*)

Praying Like Angels in the Second Temple Period and Late
Antiquity *Dr Esther Chazon*

Talmud Texts *Dr Norman Solomon*

Mishnaic and Medieval Hebrew Texts *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Judaism in History and Society *Dr Miri Freud-Kandel*

Seminar on East and East-Central Europe
(*Convened by Professor Richard Crampton, Professor Robert Evans and
Dr David Rechter*)

Books and Social Change in Early Modern Eastern Europe. The
Romanian Case *Alex Drace-Francis*

Industrial Workers and Socialist Dictatorship in Hungary,
1948–1956 *Mark Pittaway*

Reforming Through Fiction: Ayzik-Meir Dik (1807–1893) and the
Yiddish Bestseller *Dr Joseph Sherman*

The Revolution of 1848 and the Making of the Czech Linguistic
Nation *Jan Fellerer*

The Multicultural Experience in Fin-de-Siècle Vilna: Yiddish
Literature and the Politics of Diasporism
Mindaugas Kvietkauskas

Madonna Crucified: Post-Trianon Irredentist Imagery in
Hungary, Then and Now *Eric Weaver*

The Counter-Reformation Decision in the Tyrol, 1562–1565
Michael Chisholm

Modern Hebrew Poetry *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Trinity Term 2003

Modern Hebrew Fiction *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Biblical Hebrew (Elementary and Intermediate) *Jill Middlemas*

Modern Hebrew (Elementary, Intermediate and Advanced)

Tali Argov and Noa Brume

Yiddish Language Classes (Elementary, Intermediate and Advanced)

Szonja Komoróczy

The David Patterson Seminars

(Convened by Ronald Nettler)

Interreligious Polemics in Medieval Spain: A Jewish Response to Ibn
Hazm's Biblical Criticism *Professor Martin Jacobs*

Texts, Maps and Archaeology: Recent Iron Age Explorations in
Southern Jordan *Professor Thomas Levy*

Maimonides on Divine Attributes and Human Perfection (or How to
Imitate Someone About Whom You Know Nothing)
Dr Daniel Rynhold

Homer and the Jews in Antiquity *Professor Ahuvia Kahane*

Christians, Jews and Arabs in the Later Roman Empire
Professor Fergus Millar

Esther Raab: Life and Poetry *Ehud Ben-Ezer*

Yosippon and Yerahme'el: Two Examples of Hebrew Medieval
Historiography *Professor Witold Witakowski*

Memory of Traumatic History: Response to Jan T. Gross's *Neighbours*
Dr Joanna Michlic

Special Lectures

Isaiah Berlin Public Lectures in Middle East Dialogue:

Israel and the Palestinians: Listening to the Other
Professor Shlomo Avineri

Bertelsmann Europaeum Lecture Series – Jewish History and General
History of the 19th and 20th Centuries:

Narrations and Interpretations: State, Society and Memory: Jewish
Experience and Historio-graphical Change in Europe After 1989
Professor Dan Diner

MSt in Jewish Studies

NINETEEN STUDENTS studied at the Centre this year. Thirteen candidates graduated.

The Faculty

Courses and languages presented in the MSt course were taught by Fellows of the Centre, by Dr Jeremy Schonfield, Mason Lecturer; by Dr Norman Solomon, Senior Associate; and by Dr Zoë Waxman, Mansfield College. Dr David Rechter and Dr Joanna Weinberg served as Director of Studies and Mrs Martine Smith-Huvers, Student Registrar, administered the course with the assistance of Mrs Sue Forteath.

Courses

Students studied Biblical Hebrew, Modern Hebrew or Yiddish. In addition, they chose six courses from the list below and submitted dissertations. The following courses were offered during the 2002–2003 academic year:

- Introduction to Judaism *Dr Jeremy Schonfield*
- Introduction to Talmud *Dr Norman Solomon*
- Jewish and Christian Bible Translation and Interpretation in Antiquity *Dr Alison Salvesen*
- Jewish History, 200 BCE to 70 CE *Professor Martin Goodman*
- Judaism and Islam: Medieval Intellectual and Cultural Traditions *Ronald Nettler*
- Modern European Jewish History *Dr David Rechter*
- Questions of Jewish Identity in Yiddish Literature *Dr Joseph Sherman*
- Speech and Silence: Methods of Response in Modern Hebrew Literature *Dr Glenda Abramson*
- Survey of Medieval Jewish History *Dr Joanna Weinberg*
- The Emergence of Modern Religious Movements in Judaism *Dr Miri Freud-Kandel*
- The History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict *Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi*

- The Rise of Formative Judaism and Christianity *Dr Piet van Boxel*
- Witnessing the Holocaust *Dr Zoë Waxman*

Languages:

- Biblical Hebrew (elementary and intermediate) *Jill Middlemas*
- Modern Hebrew (elementary and intermediate) *Tali Argov*
- Yiddish (elementary and advanced) *Dr Kerstin Hoge and Szonja Komoróczy*

The Students

The students came from Australia, Canada, Germany, Israel, Nigeria, Norway, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

David Adler (*b.* 1978), who completed a BA in History at Swarthmore College, Philadelphia, in 2000, became interested in Jewish studies as an undergraduate and, since he hopes to write a doctoral thesis based on the close examination of original texts, came to Oxford to improve his Biblical Hebrew. He would like to go on to explore themes associated with gender roles, sexual taboos and relationships to God, paralleled in human relations in the Hebrew Bible, Talmud and Midrash. His dissertation was entitled ‘*Muskeljudentum* or Jewish Pilgrim: Why Louis Brandeis’ Zionism Differs from His European Counterparts’.

Stephanie Shana Douglass (*b.* 1980) graduated from New York University in 2002 with a BFA degree in Theatre and minors in Hebrew Language, Literature and Religious Studies. She became interested in Jewish mysticism and Hasidism, as well as their roots in ancient Israel, and applied for a scholarship at the National Yiddish Book Center in Amherst to learn Yiddish. She polished her skills at an advanced course at the University of Vilnius in the summer of 2002 and later in Oxford. Her dissertation was entitled ‘Revolution and Folk: Peretz, Warsaw, and the Revolution of 1905’.

Avital Erez (*b.* 1976) has a BA degree in Arab Language and Literature and Mass Communication from Tel Aviv University and an MA from the Centre for Jewish-Christian Relations, Cambridge. There she wrote a dissertation on the mainly midrashic nativity stories of Moses and their relations to those concerning Jesus. She also worked for two

Israeli television companies as news reporter and background researcher, volunteered for the Jerusalem AIDS project (1997–8) for which she edited a newsletter, and wrote for the daily *Ma'ariv* newspaper on an international AIDS conference in Geneva. She chose to come to the Centre to deepen her understanding of interfaith issues, and especially the influence of Christianity and Islam on Jewish thought. She also needed to broaden her knowledge of Judaism and rabbinic texts, and was particularly attracted by the Centre's expertise in Judeo-Arabic literature and in relations between Judaism and Islam. Her dissertation was entitled 'The Evolution of Shavuot: From a Temple Oriented Festival to a Commemoration of the Giving of the Torah'.

Jessica Kate Fechter (b. 1980) received a BA in Music Theory and English from Columbia University, New York, in 2002. As musical director of Columbia University's Jewish *a cappella* group, 'Pizmon', she visited Jewish communities in the United States, Britain, Germany and France, designing music workshops and performing widely. The MSt at Oxford enabled her to integrate her curiosity about her Jewish background with her interest in music and literature. Her dissertation was entitled 'The Conflict of Modernity and Judaism in the Life and Work of Mordechai Ze'ev Feierberg'.

Rebecca Arielle Forgasz (b. 1975) received her BA in Women's Studies and Politics in 1996, followed by an MA (awarded with High Distinction), both of them from Monash University. Prior to that she spent a year in Israel, included one term at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. As an undergraduate she was President of her regional branch of the Australasian Union of Jewish Students and Student Affairs Coordinator for the Friends of Hebrew University. Following graduation she worked at the Jewish Museum of Australia in educational and curatorial roles, addressing many educational and leadership seminars organized by Jewish-community groups, and teaching for the Melton Adult Education Programme in Melbourne. She plans to continue with further research in Jewish Studies. Her dissertation was entitled 'Rebekah the Patriarch? Feminist and Rabbinic Readings of the Biblical Character Rebekah'.

Matilda Györi (b. 1975) studied at the Calvin Academy of Theology in Komarno, Slovakia (1999), emerging with a strong interest in Bible studies and a knowledge of Biblical Hebrew. She became a minister of

the Slovakian Reformed Church, assuming responsibility for a congregation of 215 members, and later received a scholarship from the Church of Scotland for postgraduate studies at the University of Aberdeen, where she took courses on Jewish history, writing and storytelling and on Qumran. She intends to produce a doctoral thesis on the origins of Christianity, on which she hopes to teach at the Calvin Academy, the only institution of its kind in Slovakia. Her dissertation was entitled 'Attitudes to Bodily Defects and Impurities at Qumran'.

Agata Kroh (*b.* 1976) obtained an MA in English Philology at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan, in 2000 and a further MA at the Centre for Jewish-Christian Relations in Cambridge in 2001. She came to the Centre to improve her Biblical Hebrew and to examine late-Second-Temple Judaism. She hopes to proceed to doctoral work on Judaism and Christianity during the Graeco-Roman period, and eventually to examine Jewish-Christian dialogue in Poland. She would like to create opportunities there for non-denominational biblical teaching by Jewish and Christian staff. Her dissertation was entitled 'The Samaritans and their Relations to Jews in the Writings of Josephus'.

Dorothy Marie Peters studied for a teacher's qualification while raising a family, teaching for several years at Abbotsford, British Columbia, before completing a BA in Biblical Studies at Trinity Western University in 1997. After taking an MA there in general Biblical Studies, Biblical Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic and Syriac, she was accepted for a doctoral programme at Manchester University, focusing on the Dead Sea Scrolls. She came to the Centre to improve her Biblical Hebrew and to learn more about Second-Temple Judaism and early Rabbinic writings. She plans eventually to return to Canada to study, teach and write. Her dissertation, entitled 'Moses and Noah: The Struggle for Authority Over Belief and Praxis at Qumran', won the prize for the best dissertation.

Tobias Jonathan Stökl (*b.* 1977) from Hamburg, Germany, completed a BA in Protestant Theology at the Kirchliche Hochschule, Bethel, Bielefeld in 2001. There he also pursued his interest in singing and playing the recorder. He is proficient in Italian, French, Modern Hebrew, Greek and Latin, worked part-time as a tutor of Biblical



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Hebrew at the Kirchliche Hochschule and was later a Research Assistant in the Faculty of Protestant Theology at Humboldt University in Berlin. He hopes to remain in Oxford to continue his graduate studies. His dissertation was entitled 'The Book Formerly Known as Genesis. A Study on the Use of Miqra in the Book of Jubilees'.

Sarah Helen Webber (*b.* 1980) graduated from Mansfield College, Oxford, in Theology, having specialized in Hebrew Bible. She taught A-level Modern History and Religious Studies as a supplementary schoolteacher and gave music tuition, and continues to sing at Mansfield and Merton College and to give performances at Magdalen College and elsewhere by invitation. She hopes to take a further degree in Jewish Studies, possibly with a view to teaching. Her dissertation was entitled 'The Concept of the Rabbim in the Dead Sea Scrolls'.

Laurie Anne Whitcomb-Norden (*b.* 1969) has a BA in History and International Affairs from Marshall University, West Virginia (1992), and a Master's degree in Teaching from Whitworth College, Spokane. Teaching young children about the Holocaust led her to apply to the doctoral programme in Modern European History at Washington State

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Front Row (left to right)

Dr Jeremy Schonfield, Dr Miri Freud-Kandel, Dr Piet van Boxel, Dr Joseph Sherman,
Peter Oppenheimer (PRESIDENT), Dr Alison Salvesen, Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi,
Dr David Rechter, Dr Joanna Weinberg

Second Row (left to right)

Dahlia Reed (USA), Avital Erez (Israel), Matilda Györi (Slovakia),
Dorothy Peters (Canada), Agata Kroh (Poland), Rebecca Forgasz (Australia),
Tali Argov, Sarah Webber (UK), David Adler (USA), Professor Martin Goodman

Third Row (left to right)

Stephanie Douglass (USA), Maggie Wunnenberg (USA), Laurie Whitcomb-Norden
(USA), Emeka Okite (Nigeria), Robert Williamson (USA), Małgorzata Sochańska,
Jill Middlemas, Michal Pinkas

Fourth Row (left to right)

Mindaugas Kvietkauskas, Szonja Komoróczy, Jessica Fechter (USA), Dr Kerstin Hoge,
Joseph Yarbrough (USA), Sue Forteach (ADMINISTRATOR), Tilde Rosmer (Norway),
Martine Smith-Huvers (STUDENT REGISTRAR), Jonathan Stökl (Germany)

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University, where her proposed topic is 'Jewish Life in the Displaced Persons Camp in Belsen'. She was awarded a Holocaust Education Foundation Fellowship in 2001 and participated in the summer course at Northwestern University. She came to the Centre to learn more about the culture of Hitler's victims. Her dissertation was entitled 'The Ambiguity of Privilege in Women's Concentration Camp Memoirs'.

Robert Elmore Williamson (*b.* 1972) completed a BSc in Chemical Engineering at Clemson University in 1995 before studying Religion at the Columbia Theological Seminary, where he also served as a teaching assistant in Biblical Hebrew. He is a delegate of the Presbyterian Church (USA) and has acted as worship leader, mission volunteer and pastoral intern in Los Angeles, California. He received his Master of Divinity degree in 2001 and intends to begin a PhD at Emory University. He hopes eventually to teach Hebrew Bible in a Christian seminary, but is aware that to become a responsible Christian interpreter of the Old Testament one must be conversant with the Jewish tradition on biblical reading. His dissertation was entitled 'God in Crisis: A Levinasian Reading of Genesis 22'.

Joseph William Yarbrough (*b.* 1980) graduated from Valparaiso University, Indiana, in Classics and Philosophy, gaining third place in a nationwide Latin-translation competition sponsored by the National Classics Honorary Society for colleges and universities. He came to the Centre to improve his Hebrew and to study the background of the Hebrew Bible. He was also attracted by the opportunity to pursue his interest in analytic philosophy and theology in a Jewish context. His dissertation was entitled 'A Guide to Maimonides' Philosophy of Creation'.

End-of-year Party

An end-of-year party was held at Yarnton Manor on 24 June 2003. The President, Peter Oppenheimer, addressed the students and their guests, and the Academic Director, Dr Joseph Sherman, presented Dorothy Peters with the prize for the best dissertation.

Other Activities

Students attended and participated in the weekly evening seminars and talks held at Yarnton Manor. During the first term they went on a tour of the Cotswolds. In Michaelmas and Hilary terms they attended MSt Seminars convened by Professor Martin Goodman, covering wide-ranging Jewish studies topics. A number of students presented papers in graduate seminars in other parts of the University, and the students themselves organized a seminar series in which they presented their dissertation research.

Acknowledgements

The Centre would like to record its gratitude to the following benefactors who have assisted with scholarships this academic year: The Skirball Foundation, New York; the Malcolm B. Kahn Scholarship; and the donors of the Dov Biegun Studentship.

The Qumran Forum

THE QUMRAN FORUM met only four times during the year because of the illness of the Director, Professor Geza Vermes, FBA, whose own talk to the Forum in March had to be cancelled. Discussion of issues arising from the Dead Sea Scrolls was nonetheless encouraged throughout Michaelmas Term by the presence at the Centre of Magen Broshi, former Keeper of the Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem, who gave a determined defence of the view that the Qumran sectarians were Essenes. Also in Michaelmas Term, Dr James Davila addressed the Forum on 'Melchizedek, the "Youth" and Jesus', while in Hilary Term, Emmanuelle Main spoke on the use and abuse of carbon-14 dating for establishing the age of the scrolls, and in Trinity Term Dr Esther Cazon lectured on 'Praying Like Angels in the Second Temple Period and Late Antiquity'.

The David Patterson Seminars

Primo Levi and the Problems of Biography *Carole Angier*

Literary biography is a controversial genre, but writing on Primo Levi posed special problems, since the lecturer's psychological analysis upset some prevailing assumptions about his life and work. Her research confirmed that he had committed suicide, but she found that he had suffered severe depressions even before he was in Auschwitz. Moreover, Levi is more than a Holocaust writer, she argued, since his *If This is a Man* is literary in its shaping and colouring, so not purely reportage.

In addition, moral problems arise in writing about someone who would probably not have wished his private torments to be exposed and whose surviving family remain opposed to the project. But great writers belong to posterity, she argued, and Levi himself had pressed for clarity of thought and for the disruption of stereotypes.

Between Muslim Triumphalism and Jewish Resistance: Looking for Islamization in the Medieval Middle East

Professor Fred Astren

Muslim descriptions of the first centuries of Islam are shaped by a triumphalism which ignores the lengthy and complex transformation of the Middle East and North Africa into Muslim regions. Usually described as a 'massive process of vast proportions', Islamization embodied an immensely complex set of problems, incompletely realized, whose effects on Jews are difficult to gauge. This is particularly so since Jewish literature hardly recognizes Islamization, and this silence strongly suggests that Jews resisted the enormous change in society and religion.

The first two and a half centuries of Islam are indeed poorly chronicled. Contrary to popular conceptions, the initial Muslim conquests of the seventh century did not lead to the forced conversion of Jewish and Christian populations. In fact, the development of a constitutional scheme for recognizing non-Muslim minorities based on their taxation meant that it was in Muslim interests to ensure that Jews and

Christians did not convert to Islam. Even though the details of early Islamization are obscure, the end of the process can be derived from Richard Bulliet's model: by the beginning of the eleventh century 80 per cent of the population was Muslim, and he posits the presence of a predominant majority of the population which considered itself Muslim and of institutions which spoke for and represented society at large. Only the larger features of this process can be outlined.

This is a 'dark age' in Jewish historiography, however, since the sources are silent on the Islamization of society and the conversion of Jews, suggesting that Jews who converted to Islam simply dropped out of view. It seems that only small numbers of Jews converted to Islam before 800, although more did so in the ninth and tenth centuries.

It remains important to distinguish between Islamization and conversion, because modern notions of religious conversion based on individual choice may not be applicable. Sociological models have been based on observing modern societies and religions and have been applied by historians mostly to Christianization in the early-first millennium. Historical differences between Islamization and Christianization must be taken into account, and these make it problematical to compare Jewish societies which came into contact with them. Islamization may have resulted in hybrid or intermediate identities which were both Judaic and Muslim at the same time.

Esther Raab: Life and Poetry *Ehud Ben-Ezer*

Esther Raab, who was born in 1894 in Petah-Tikvah, the settlement her father had helped found in 1878, was the first native-speaking Hebrew woman poet of modern times. Her work was first published in 1922 and she continued writing poetry and short prose pieces until her death in 1981. Her work consists mostly of deeply intelligent lyrical investigations of love and landscape, and a selection has appeared in *Thistles: Selected Poems of Esther Raab*, trans. Harold Schimmel (Jerusalem 2002).

The lecturer – the poet's nephew and biographer – described how she had joined her friend Moshe Carmi in Degania, the first kibbutz, early in the twentieth century, but left during the Great War and followed him to Ben Shemen in 1919, where she wrote her first poems. In 1921 she was in Cairo to escape rioting in Palestine and there met

and married her cousin, Isaac Green. When he died following an appendix operation only a few months later he left her independently wealthy, and her home in Tel Aviv became the centre of a large circle of writers and artists from 1925. Her first published poems were dedicated to his memory, and a volume, *Kimshonim*, 'Thistles', appeared in 1930. She wrote nothing for eleven years after separating from Arieh Alwail and resumed work only in 1946 when she met Yisrael Schpiller, a Polish soldier serving in the British Army. When his wife and daughter reappeared, however, having survived the Holocaust, they separated and she lived alone for the rest of her life.

Critical Junctions in Early Jewish History *Magen Broshi*

Jews played a largely passive role in historical terms during the three centuries before 701 BCE and for the eighteen after 135 CE, but between these dates faced a series of crises – seven, in fact – each of which could have ended Jewish history. The first of these followed the founding of the kingdoms of David and Solomon in the void created by the disintegration of the Bronze Age Hittite empire and the weakening of the Egyptian and Assyrian empires. When the Assyrians captured Samaria in the last third of the eighth century, rendering Judah vulnerable to a superpower keen to impose taxation, King Hezekiah of Judah and other neighbouring states rebelled in 701 BCE. Although King Sennacherib of Assyria invaded, he inexplicably lifted the siege on Jerusalem and ensured her survival. A further danger arose in 586 BCE when the Babylonians subdued a further rebellion and took many Judeans into captivity; but Babylonian religious and cultural tolerance ensured Jewish survival and laid the foundations for the Babylonian diaspora, Judaism's mainstay for most of the first millennium CE. The third such moment came in the fifth century BCE when Judean Jews, at a time of assimilation to the surrounding societies, were helped to regain the will to preserve their separate identity by Ezra and Nehemiah. The fourth was in 167 BCE when the Seleucid King Antiochus IV banned the observance of Sabbath, dietary laws and circumcision, and sparked off the Hasmonean revolt which established Judean political independence. The fifth was the four-year revolt staged by the small Jewish population of Judaea against Roman occupation in 66 CE, ending with the destruction of the Second

Temple. The sixth began in 115 CE, when messianically inspired Jews in Egypt and Eastern Libya launched attacks on non-Jews and public buildings which spread to Cyprus and northern Mesopotamia, resulting in the near disappearance of the Jewish population of Egypt, Libya and Cyprus. The seventh and last was when the Emperor Hadrian banned circumcision and ordered the transformation of Jerusalem into a pagan city, sparking off the three-year Bar Kokhba Revolt in 132 CE, the last attempt to establish Jewish sovereignty until modern times.

Demography and the Israel/Palestine Conflict: Challenges and Options *Professor Sergio DellaPergola*

Demographic trends reveal the deep layers of religio-cultural, political, socio-economic and environmental tensions underlying the Israel-Palestine conflict. Viewing the contending parties as one integrated societal and population system makes it possible to appraise the conflict's complexities and perhaps to suggest tension-reducing mechanisms.

Within Palestine's historical boundaries, between the Mediterranean and the Jordan, the population has doubled in the past twenty-five years, the leading mechanisms of growth being intensive migrations and fertility levels well above the average for similar populations of both Arabs and Jews. The current estimated total population is about 9.5 million. Jews have constituted a majority in the area since the early 1950s.

Official data from Israel and Palestine and the author's independent research make it possible to construct scenarios for the growth of Israel/Palestine's population up to 2050. Continuing rapid population increase over a small territory reflects quite different growth rates for single ethno-religious groups, territorial regions and functional age groups.

An integrated assessment of the Jewish and Palestinian demographic future, taking into account both the joint and opposing interests of the contending parties, may stimulate innovative thinking about conflict resolution. Proper understanding of current population trends should lead to policy interventions on fertility levels, international migration and socio-economic development aimed at reducing gaps and diminishing the friction and intermingling of the two populations.

Such interventions, which should relate to the basic culture, future boundaries and mutual relations of Jews and Arabs in Israel/Palestine, may be crucial to their future.

Zionism and Diaspora: Geo-Cultural Dimensions *Allon Gal*

Zionist historiographers have until recently tended to regard that movement as a more or less unitary world-wide phenomenon that developed chiefly in response to problems of physical survival.

More recently, however, the need has become clear to analyse the varieties of Zionism that emerged in different societies and countries. This involves examining the different experiences of emancipation and anti-Semitism in each location, leading one to recognize that Zionism is not merely a 'revolution', but an aspect of the 'evolution' of Jewish communal and spiritual life. Zionism can be seen less as a single and unprecedented phenomenon than as a diffused and historically rooted one.

Zionist historiography should therefore turn away from the traditional quantitative approach ('how many shekel were sold, where and when'), in order to analyse trends qualitatively in specific geo-cultural settings. Such an approach would encourage the discussion of issues such as the relation of Zionism to Jewish religion, ethos, gender, communal life, history and identity, demonstrating it to be a variegated social phenomenon rather than a single movement with a world-wide 'social agenda'. This new inclusive historiography will also examine areas in which Zionism was regarded as misplaced or evidence of disloyalty, such as in Muslim lands, the English-speaking world and, more recently, the Former Soviet Union.

Allon Gal's proposal will be published in more detail as 'Towards Regional Zionist Historiography', in Y. Salmon, Z. Tzahor and H. Yablonka (eds) *Issues in Zionist Historiography: Yisrael Oppenheim Festschrift* (Ben-Gurion University Press, 2004 [in Hebrew]).

Interreligious Polemics in Medieval Spain: A Jewish Response to Ibn Hazm's Biblical Criticism *Dr Martin Jacobs*

The dispute about the 'correct' exegesis of the Hebrew Bible, central to the Jewish-Christian encounter, seems to have been incidental in Jewish-Muslim relations. Islam did not adopt the Hebrew Bible as a

part of its Scriptures, although early Muslims claimed that Muhammad had restored the monotheism of the biblical prophets to its pristine truth, after Jewish distortion of their Scriptures. These arguments were most elaborately formulated by the Muslim scholar Ibn Hazm of Cordoba (994–1064). Pointing to the Hebrew Bible's chronological and geographical inconsistencies, as well as to theologically problematical anthropomorphic descriptions of God, Ibn Hazm claimed that the Torah must be a corruption of the text revealed to Moses.

Jewish authors in Muslim countries reflected awareness of these statements, but were reluctant to focus on them. The only surviving complete Jewish monographs dealing specifically with Ibn Hazm's arguments were written by Shlomo ibn Adret of Barcelona (1235–1310) and Shim'on ben Zemah Duran (1361–1444), both of whom lived centuries after Ibn Hazm and whose work is coloured by the fact that they lived in Christian Spain. Although they focus on the Islamic doctrine which claimed the Torah was abrogated by the Qur'an, the contemporary background of their arguments seems to be Christian-Jewish disputation, their true target having been the rationalizing interpretation of the Hebrew Bible which Christians saw as paving the way for Christian exegesis. Refuting Muslim Bible criticism and claiming that the Jews preserve not only the original Mosaic text but its correct observance, they argued likewise against the Christian charge that Rabbinic Judaism perverted biblical religion.

Jewish Narrative Identity *Dr Danièle Kahn-Paycha*

The problematical nature of identity, limited to minorities before the postmodern era, can now be said to relate to the whole Western world. It may be argued that literature restores a sense of belonging and that narrative identity can take the place of religion and other media. Jews form a possible model for this mode of thought. They are often defined as the people of the Book and Jewish identity has been built almost exclusively around the Bible and the concept of the Promised Land it contains.

For Paul Ricoeur the processes of identification and of remembering are possible only through story-telling, a chain of histories cumulatively generating an identity. Novels by Jews are part of this

palimpsest, including those dealing with the Shoah. Yet precisely when Jews needed to rebuild an identity after the Second World War, they found their experience appropriated by others and regarded as emblematic of all human experience in the postmodern era.

Analysing the Talmudic Account of Rabbi Akiva and His Wife
Dr Adriel Kosman

The talmudic description of the relationship between Rabbi Akiva and his wife has inspired generations of artists and writers, some of whom have departed considerably from the original. But the narrative itself, one of the most complex discussions of human relationships in rabbinic literature, has a rationale of its own that is usually missed. It appears in the *Babylonian Talmud*, *Ketubot* 62b-63a, and can be read as a critique of the status-system of the ancient *Beit Hamidrash* and its tendency to privilege outward signs of piety over more inward modes of relating to God. The narrative reads as follows:

Rabbi Akiva worked as a shepherd for Ben Kalba Sabua, whose daughter, seeing how modest and noble he was, said to him, 'If I were to marry you, would you go to an academy [and study]?' When he replied 'Yes', she secretly married him and sent him away.

When her father heard [about her marriage to his shepherd] he banished her from his house and vowed to disinherit her. [Meanwhile Rabbi Akiva] departed, spent twelve years at the academy and returned home with twelve thousand disciples. [When he had almost reached home] he overheard an old man say to [his, Akiva's, wife], 'How long will you lead a life of widowhood?', [to which she replied:] 'If he would listen to me, he would [study] another twelve years'. [Rabbi Akiva then] said: 'It is with her consent that I am acting', and left for a further twelve years at the academy, finally returning with twenty-four thousand disciples. When his wife heard [he was coming] and went out to meet him, her neighbours said: 'Borrow some respectable clothes to wear', but she replied: 'A righteous man knows the soul of his beast' [*Proverbs* 12:10]. When, as she approached him, she fell on her face and kissed his feet, his attendants were about to push her aside, but [Rabbi Akiva] cried 'Leave her alone, mine and yours are hers'.

Her father, hearing that a great man had arrived in town, said, 'I shall go to him since maybe he will absolve me of my vow [to banish his daughter]'. When he came, [Rabbi Akiva] asked 'Would you have made your vow had you known he was a great man?' The other replied, '[If he had known] even one chapter or a single *Halakhab* [I would not have made it]'. He then said,

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'I am that man', whereupon [Kalba Sabua] fell on his face, kissed [Akiva's] feet and gave him half his wealth.

This narrative, for all its apparent lack of detail, implicitly compares four levels of misunderstanding concerning relationships in general. The four individuals or groups who interact with Akiva and his wife - Kalba Sabua, the old man, the neighbours and the attendants - each attempt to separate them, and in the final scene the narrator explains why they have failed.

The relationship between Akiva the shepherd, who later became a great rabbi, and the daughter of by Kalba Sabua, one of the wealthiest men in Jerusalem, was first opposed by Kalba Sabua himself. He assumed, since his own approach to marriage was purely financial, that they were motivated by gain, and disowned his daughter in order to persuade her to return home and to make Akiva abandon her. Neither conformed to his expectations, however.

The next opponent, the 'old man', viewed marriage as a partnership in daily life and could not understand how a couple living apart could be loyal to each other. The narrator therefore showed the strength of their relationship to lie elsewhere, confounding what might have been the gossip of those around the couple. Just as misguided were the neighbours who urged her to change her clothes when Akiva arrived, assuming his attraction to her to be merely sexual and aesthetic. Lastly the attendants attacked the relationship on the grounds that knowledge of Torah is the sole mark of status, leaving no room for women. Akiva explained, however, that both he and his students owed their learning to his wife, awarding her a high rank even in that hierarchy. The narrator implied that knowledge is as poor an indicator of spirituality as other external factors.

The narrative therefore analyses tensions between inner spirituality and outward appearances, the narrator hinting at this by describing how Akiva's wife could 'see' him, even though Kalba Sabua regarded him merely as a shepherd. The assumptions based on appearances, represented by the old man, neighbours and attendants all prove illusory, while inner perception is aligned with truth.

Harry Truman and Israel *Professor Melvyn Leffler*

President Truman supported the influx of Jews to Palestine after the War out of sympathy for Displaced Persons, but was not enthusiastic about the idea of a Jewish State and shied away from supporting it until late 1946.

Between 1946 and 1948 the question of a Jewish State, more than any other foreign-policy issue, revealed the incoherence of policymaking in the Truman administration. For strategic, economic and geopolitical reasons almost all of Truman's foreign-policy advisers opposed recognizing a Jewish State. Secretary of State George Marshall, Under Secretary of State Robert Lovett and Secretary of Defense James Forrestal all urged the President not to support partition and recognition, although his political advisers, especially Clark Clifford and David Niles, who did advocate recognition, finally prevailed. The President was motivated by a mixture of humanitarian and political considerations, but the fact that the latter finally prevailed illustrates how domestic politics and values can trump economic and strategic factors in making US foreign-policy decisions.

Truman resented the pressures imposed on him by Jewish and Zionist groups in the United States and was often disgusted by Israeli intransigence and domestic political pressure exerted by Jewish lobbying groups. Neither was he indifferent to Arab and Palestinian hardships and remonstrations. After 1948 he sought unsuccessfully to pursue a more balanced policy, imposing an arms-sales embargo on both Israel and the Arab States and supporting economic aid and relief assistance to Arab States, Palestinian refugees and Israel. He also ordered subordinates to seek a resolution to the refugee problem and was initially in favor of repatriation, but finally bowed to Israeli resistance and Jewish pressure, and instead championed relief and put his imprimatur on the UN Economic Survey Mission. Throughout his second term he sought ways to mediate between Israel and the Arab States and to move peacemaking beyond tenuous armistice agreements to a more permanent settlement. Truman's initial proposals called for Israeli territorial concessions, but he was repeatedly frustrated by the opposition of Arabs and Jews alike.

Israel's ability to get its way illustrates the power of small nations to exert leverage over stronger allies. Weak clients have considerable

leverage when issues are of paramount importance to them and only of tertiary importance to the hegemon, especially when the weaker State can mobilize internal support within the hegemonic nation. In other words, the Middle East and the Palestinian - Israeli controversy were of secondary or tertiary importance to Truman compared to the larger priorities of European reconstruction and German and Japanese integration into a Western-oriented system of alliances, political economy and values.

There might today be more hope for an Israeli-Palestinian settlement since the Middle East has become a top priority for US decision-makers. Truman never exercised all his influence on behalf of the reasonable settlement he envisaged because he did not believe that the interests of the United States were at risk. But now they are, opening possibilities for the infusion of significant aid as well as for the provision of various strategic guarantees and perhaps even for the deployment of a peacekeeping force with a substantial US contingent. American commitment has to be accompanied by local willingness to make concessions, however, that the powers involved have so far been reluctant to contemplate and even more reluctant to enact and enforce.

Texts, Maps and Archaeology: Recent Iron Age Excavations in Jordan *Professor Thomas Levy*

New methods of high-precision radiocarbon dating and a wide array of digital surveying and digital photographic technologies linked to Geographic Information Systems (GIS) are rapidly strengthening our ability to test hypotheses related to anthropology, biblical history and the evolution of societies in the Ancient Near East.

Recent archaeological excavations at the Iron Age (c. 1200–586 BCE) metal-production site of Khirbat en-Nahas provide an important opportunity for examining issues connected with the emergence, maintenance and ultimate collapse of the biblical kingdom of Edom located in Southern Jordan.

The excavations carried out in 2002 at Khirbat en Nahas (KEN), meaning ‘ruins of copper’ in Arabic, were part of a larger project in the Jabal Hamrat Fidan (JHF), carried out under the auspices of the University of California San Diego and the Department of Antiquities of Jordan. The JHF is a small mountain range located in the larger

Faynan region of the lowlands of Edom, for more than 8000 years the largest copper-ore resource zone in the southern Levant. It was first exploited during the Neolithic period, when sedentary village societies evolved, and continued to be mined from the Bronze Age, when urban settlements emerged, throughout the Iron Age, when historic states evolved, up to early Islamic times. Our interest in the Iron Age is linked to our 'deep-time' study of the role of ore procurement and metallurgy in social evolution from the Neolithic period (c. 7500–4500 BCE) up to the Iron Age. But unlike biblical scholarship, which Draws on Iron Age research because of its relevance to the Hebrew Bible, our project examines the Iron Age for what it can tell us about the evolution of some of the earliest small-scale State-level societies in this part of the Middle East.

Professor Levy discussed recent high-precision radiocarbon dates from KEN provided by the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit, along with archaeological data analysed with GIS that shed new light on the processes of Iron Age State evolution in one of ancient Israel's nearest neighbours. Earlier research had focused on the highlands of the Edomite plateau and over-estimated the role of late Iron Age Assyria (eighth-seventh centuries BCE). The new radiocarbon dates and GIS results indicate that State-formation processes were much earlier than previously thought in the Iron Age (c. twelfth-tenth centuries BCE). This throws new light on the centrality of copper ore in the rise of the Edomite kingdom, the role of the earlier Judean kings in this process, the relationship of Iron Age ethnic communities such as the Midianites to ancient Edom and the importance of reassessing historical data from biblical and other ancient Near Eastern texts. This research has important implications for current debates not only in anthropology, but in what has traditionally been referred to as 'Biblical Archaeology'.

Identity-Politics in Israeli Cinema *Professor Yosefa Loshitzky*

The struggle to forge a collective national identity out of competing plural ones has preoccupied Israeli society since the founding of the State. Professor Loshitzky explored how Israeli films of the 1980s and 1990s contributed to this by reflecting, projecting and constructing debates around national identity.

The lecture focused on three major sites of struggle over Israeli identity: the Holocaust, the question of the Orient and the so-called (in an ironic twist of the 'Jewish question') Palestinian question. The films discussed raise fundamental questions about the identity of Jewish Holocaust survivors and their children (the 'second generation'), Jewish immigrants from Muslim countries, or *Mizrahiyim* (particularly their own second generation) and Palestinians. Recognizing that victimhood marks every identity represented in the films under discussion, the lecturer did not treat the identities as separate and coherent, but examined the conflation, interplay and conflict between them.

**Memory of Traumatic History: response to Jan T. Gross's
Neighbours Dr Joanna Michlic**

The debate about Jan Tomasz Gross's book *Neighbours* (2000), which describes in detail the murder of the Jewish community of Jedwabne by its ethnic Polish neighbours on 10 July 1941, has been the most important and longest lasting in post-Communist Poland. The publication raised important issues, such as the rewriting of the history of Polish-Jewish relations during the Second World War and of modern Polish history in general, and reevaluating the self-image of Poles as victims.

The lecturer discussed recent challenges to biased representations of Polish-Jewish relations and to the Polish self-image as victims, as well as to the defensive approach that seeks to maintain those older representations. The investigation into the Jedwabne massacre by the Institute of National Memory, and the official commemoration of its sixtieth anniversary, demonstrate that segments of the Polish political and cultural elite are capable of overcoming their dark past. Reactions of right-wing-nationalist political and cultural leaders and their supporters reveal that the defensive approach still exerts an influence in public life. Only time will tell whether this will eventually become marginal.

**Christians, Jews and Arabs in the Later Roman Empire
Professor Fergus Millar**

Roman emperors adopted Christianity from Constantine's conversion in 312 onward, only Julian (361–3) reverting to paganism. But only under Theodosius I, from 379, did the empire take active steps against pagan practice and attempt to define Christian orthodoxy by the standard of

belief in the Trinity. Although the empire campaigned vigorously both against paganism (by destroying many temples) and various forms of Christian heresy, Judaism was not outlawed. There was neither active persecution by the State nor a proposal for forcible conversion.

It might be supposed that the triumph of Christianity and its absolute dominance in the ideology of the empire would have transformed Jews into a humble, tolerated minority. But archaeological and documentary evidence shows Jewish communities occupying substantial synagogues in the heart of cities in the Diaspora in the Greek-speaking eastern half of the empire, exercising self-government and attracting Gentiles as sympathizers ('god-fearers', in Greek) or even as proselytes. There is evidence of the study and exposition of the Bible and, in one surprising case from Egypt, the composition of a formal marriage-contract under Jewish law, written in Aramaic.

If we look at contemporary Christian writing, however, we find a considerable level of anxiety about the challenge posed by Judaism, theological disputes between individual Jews and Christians, and even episodes of communal violence in which the initiative did not always lie with the local Christians.

Most striking of all, however, is the information provided by the *Ecclesiastical History* written in the first half of the fifth century by Sozomenus, a historian from near Gaza. He reports (VI:38) that the Arabs of the frontier zone had been influenced by the biblical story of Abraham, Hagar and their son Ishmael to accept the story of their descent from Ishmael and were making this the basis for conversion from their current paganism to monotheism. Sozomenus says that not only Christians but Jews had preached this doctrine to Arab groups, showing Christianity and Judaism to have been in competition in a way that is directly relevant to the origins of Islam, which burst on the Greek-speaking eastern Roman empire some two centuries after Sozomenus was writing.

Reinventing Shylock: Romanticism and the Representation of Shakespeare's Jew *Professor Judith Page*

In this paper, based on a chapter from her work in progress on British Romanticism and Judaism, Professor Page argued that the actor Edmund Kean transformed the role of Shylock from comic villain to

tragic figure. Kean's performance for the first time brought fierce and complicated sympathy to the role of Shylock, as described by the critic William Hazlitt who was in the audience at Drury Lane during Kean's first performance of the play on 26 January 1814 and wrote about the power of his rendition of Shakespeare's Jew. Kean's performance and Hazlitt's assessment of its sympathy and humanity conspired to change Shakespeare's character forever.

Theatrical and literary readings of *The Merchant of Venice* since the Romantic period have tended to focus upon the representation of Shylock, despite his proportionally small presence on stage, and upon his status as a cultural signifier of Jews and Jewishness. In fact Hazlitt wrote about Kean's Shylock to promote a new way of seeing Shakespeare's play and of understanding Jewish identity in terms of the dynamics of sympathy. But philosophically less aware parts of the audience, including many critics, were more interested in establishing the limits of sympathy in British theatre for ethnic and religious others. This distinction plays up the tension in the Romantic period between the desire for imaginative sympathy and accommodation, on the one hand, and the discourse of national identity based on establishing boundaries and affirming differences, on the other hand. Kean's Shylock, and the various responses to it, highlight this tension within the theatre and its public discourses.

**Maimonides on Divine Attributes and Human Perfection (or
How to Imitate Someone About Whom you Know Nothing)
*Dr Daniel Rynhold***

Important themes in Maimonides' *The Guide of the Perplexed* are his theory of the meaning of divine attributes and his discussions of human perfection. The former dictates that 'silence and limiting oneself to the apprehensions of the intellect are more appropriate' (*Guide* 1: 59) than using linguistic representations of God. But if the ultimate human perfection is *imitatio dei*, how we are to imitate a God that we cannot possibly, and even may not, describe? A key to answering at least part of this question emerges from a careful reading of the challenging closing paragraphs of the *Guide*, and from Maimonides' discussions elsewhere on how we are to understand talk of God's actions.

The end of the *Guide* has long been controversial, for although much of the book exalts a purely intellectual end for man, Maimonides

suddenly takes a practical view, writing that 'after he has achieved this apprehension, [the perfect individual] will always have in view *loving-kindness, righteousness and judgement*, through assimilation to [God's] actions, may He be exalted, just as we have explained several times in this Treatise' (*Guide* III:54). But when we look at how Maimonides has explained God's actions 'several times in this Treatise', we find that when ascribing action to God, he says we are not to ascribe the internal corollary that usually accompanies such an action in humans. So although we might say that a human act of mercy issues from an internal quality of mercy, with God we cannot make the inference from merciful action to internal quality.

At the end of the *Guide*, therefore, Maimonides' talk of assimilation to God's actions as part of the ultimate perfection can be understood as asserting that the perfect individual acts while his mind is actually elsewhere. Like Maimonides' Moses, one is to continue contemplating 'true realities' while administering practical human affairs. Most importantly, acting in such a way is actually a form of *imitatio dei*.

Reflections on Emancipation *Professor David Sorkin*

The time has come for a rethinking of Jewish emancipation in Europe. The two widespread notions of emancipation, the geographical one of an east-west divide and the conceptual one of a transition from the autonomous community to something more integrated to surrounding society, are insufficient. They do not recognize the diversity of European Jewry and the resultant variety in the paths and meanings of emancipation. Similarly, the dominant focus on the period 1780–1870 should be extended both backwards to the 1650s and forwards to 1919.

Professor Sorkin suggested four statuses which would allow us to describe the situation before and during emancipation: toleration, civil inclusion, partial emancipation and full emancipation. These categories allow us to distinguish three distinct experiences which fit the three geographical regions. Western Europe (Britain, Holland and France) went from civil inclusion to full emancipation; Central Europe (German states, Habsburg lands, Italy) underwent a protracted process from toleration to partial to full emancipation; and Eastern Europe (Poland, Russia) passed from toleration through a long period of partial emancipation to a belated full emancipation.

The Lexicon of the Ladino Haggadot

Professor Ora (Rodrigue) Schwarzwald

Judeo-Spanish or Judezmo (JS), spoken by Jews originating from Spain, was brought by exiles of 1492 to the Ottoman Empire, where it flourished. Some of those who settled in North Africa used the variety known as *Chakitia*, while descendants of ex-converted Jews kept linguistic norms closer to Spanish and Portuguese than the others. The term Ladino is reserved by scholars for the language of liturgical translations from Hebrew, including translations of the *Haggadah*. In all its forms, JS is currently an endangered language.

The Ladino Passover *Haggadot* in this study, published since 1609 in Venice, Leghorn (Livorno), Pisa, Salonika, Belgrade, Vienna, Constantinople, Budapest and Tel Aviv, differ linguistically in several aspects, even though they served communities both of ex-converts (in Italy) and of exiles in the former Ottoman Empire. All include Hebrew words in the course of the translation, but reflect different usages. 'Rabbis' are *ribisim* in Venice, but *senyores Hakhamim* in Budapest, while 'denied the existence of God', is usually *kafro*, from the Hebrew *kafar*, in eastern *Haggadot*, but *nyego* in western ones. The order of the four ritual questions follows that in the *Jerusalem Talmud*, and there are no *Piyyutim* at the end, at least in the early *Haggadot*.

The *Haggadot* contain rubrics in Hebrew and JS, and occasionally also pictures with captions in Ladino, which in Italy are sometimes written in rhyme. Pictures are rare in the east, where the captions are only occasionally in Ladino.

The most significant differences between *Haggadot* are found in the translations, however, making the task of the lexicon editor extremely difficult.

Writing to Remember: The Role of the Holocaust Witness

Dr Zoë Waxman

Postwar responses to the Holocaust mediate between the memory of witnessing the atrocities and the comprehension and conception of the Holocaust as a historical event in constructing and reconstructing testimony. The concept of the Holocaust acts as an organizer of memory not only for events contained within it, but for memories of other events.

The way in which survivors have to confront the fact that while they survived, millions did not, has a significant effect on the giving of testimony. Many feel not only a moral duty to testify, but the need to account for their survival. The postwar introduction of the term the Holocaust has meant that, for survivors, individual experiences have become part of a collective historical memory. But many Jews even in the ghettos and concentration camps vowed to ensure that the world would one day know of the crimes committed against them, as survivors bore witness in the immediate postwar period. In recent years, however, the role of the witness has come to encompass also the offering of warnings against future cases of ethnic cleansing and genocide. While many survivors have accepted this role, the merging of individual experience into a collective historical memory both conceals the diversity of experiences and mediates the writing of testimony.

Yosippon and Yerahme'el: Two Examples of Hebrew Medieval Historiography *Professor Witold Witakowski*

Defining a narrative text as historiography must depend on what is known of the author's purpose and on factors such as the chronological order of the material. The anonymous *Chronicle of Yosippon* (known as *Sefer Yosippon*, of the tenth century) and the *Chronicle of Yerahme'el* (recently published as *Sefer ha-Zikhronot*, of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries) contain much midrashic-haggadic as well as historical material. The *Chronicle of Yerahme'el* survives in a unique manuscript most probably intended for a single family, while the *Chronicle of Yosippon* was popular during and after the medieval period and has been preserved in many versions.

Both set out to be universal chronicles, starting either from Creation or from an ethno-geographical description of the world, the latter a version of Hippolytus of Rome's third-century *Diamerismos*, the 'Division [of the earth between the sons of Noah]'.¹

Many Second Temple sources were transmitted outside the Jewish tradition, such as the pseudepigrapha and the writings of Josephus, the main source for the *Chronicle of Yosippon*, so authors had to resort to Christian sources, occasionally inventing material to fill lacunae. Such material should not be disparaged as purely imaginary or legendary, however, since historiographic hypotheses such as the *Story of*

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Sepho, totally unhistorical for modern readers, provided the author of the *Chronicle of Yosippon* with a link between the history of the Jews and that of ancient Rome which reflects contemporary priorities.

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The Leopold Muller Memorial Library

THE MAIN TASK of the past academic year was the automation of the Library catalogue first announced in last year's *Report*. The Western-languages titles have been integrated into the Oxford Libraries Information System (OLIS), as a result of which the Leopold Muller Memorial Library has finally joined Oxford University. In other words, the Library is now listed in the guide for University libraries and in the online guides for libraries associated with the University of Oxford. The Library can be searched for by the name 'Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies' under 'Oriental Studies', 'Yiddish' and the newly created entry 'Jewish Studies'. Each entry gives direct access to the Library's homepage and to detailed information about Library staff, opening hours, admission and borrowing policies and subjects covered.

As also outlined in the previous *Report*, work has begun on the creation of a separate database for the Hebrew and Yiddish holdings, in line with the standards used by OLIS (MARC21). In order to contribute optimally to the academic services available in Oxford it was decided to catalogue Modern Hebrew literature first, since this section contains many works that cannot easily be found elsewhere in the United Kingdom. Two part-time Hebrew cataloguers, Avi Raz and Michal Pinkas, have created a database of 5000 titles for this section, and Michal Pinkas has also catalogued the Catherine Lewis *Yizkor* Books Collection. Both the Modern Hebrew literature and the *Yizkor* books are now on line and can be accessed via the Library's homepage on the Centre's website. It is hoped that by the end of next academic year the sections on Israel, Zionism and Jewish history will also be on line. Work on cataloguing the Yiddish collection will begin. As was similarly mentioned in last year's *Report*, as soon as OLIS is able to display Hebrew, the database of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library will be transferred to it.

Acquisitions Policy

The Librarian has discussed with colleagues an acquisition policy which will give the Library its own place within the Oxford Library Services, meeting a need in the field of Hebrew and Jewish Studies. This policy

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will be based on a 'no duplicates strategy' combined with a free Oxford Interlibrary Service. The 'no duplicates strategy' will not apply to material requested by Fellows or lecturers for their courses or to material housed in the Bodleian which is not available for loan.

Aside from the valuable collection of *Yizkor* books (for which the Library is fortunate to have special funding on a regular basis) and the bibliographical section which is to be kept up to date, the Library will specialize in Modern Hebrew literature in Hebrew and translation, based on the existing Kressel and Elkoshi collections; Yiddish, in cooperation with the Taylorian Library; archive publications of modern Jewish history in microform; trends in modern Judaism; and periodicals on Hebrew and Jewish Studies.

The Librarian has been invited to join COLPOSANE (Committee on Library Provision Oriental Studies Ancient Near East), a committee convened for the purpose of facilitating a focused acquisitions policy for the various libraries in the field of Oriental and Ancient Near East Studies, including Hebrew and Jewish Studies.

In the case of Yiddish a shared acquisitions policy has already been established with the Taylorian Library, which will concentrate on texts and linguistics, while the Leopold Muller Memorial Library will acquire translations from the Yiddish and material on the history of Yiddish, and on Yiddish art and theatre.

Donations, Acquisitions and Permanent Loan

During the past academic year the holdings of the Library have been enriched by several valuable donations which are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

An endowment in memory of the late Sir Isaiah Berlin will enable the Library to purchase books on Jewish philosophy and history on an annual basis. These are listed on page 144 of this *Report*. In addition, part of Sir Isaiah's own collection, mainly on Jewish history, has been donated to the Library by Lady Berlin.

The Hans and Rita Oppenheimer Fund is a permanent endowment of the Centre in memory of Hans and Rita Oppenheimer, who perished in Bergen-Belsen, and their respective parents who died in Sobibor, for acquiring books related to the Holocaust. A number of recent publications have been purchased, among them R. Lerer Cohen and

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library

S. Issroff's, *The Holocaust in Lithuania, 1941–1945*, Vols 1–3 (Jerusalem 2002). All are listed on pages 148–9 of this *Report*.

Thanks to the Catherine Lewis Foundation, the Library acquired 150 more *Yizkor* books during the past academic year, bringing the total collection to nearly 600 volumes. These memorials to Jewish communities destroyed in the Holocaust are indispensable sources of information regarding Jewish communities in Eastern and Central Europe. This collection, the largest unified open-access collection of its type in Europe, containing many unique items, is now housed in the Catherine Lewis Room, offering readers a quiet environment for study, with internet facilities enabling the reader to search the 'JewishGen' catalogue of Jewish genealogy or the 'StetlSeeker' site for locating required sites. The catalogue of the collection is accessible on the website homepage of the Library, and the new acquisitions listed on pages 144–8 of this *Report*.

A fine collection of approximately 600 books from the library of the late Sir Leon Simon (1881–1965), the Zionist leader, Hebrew writer and British civil servant, was donated by his daughter Mrs I. Mayer. The collection covers subjects such as Jewish philosophy, history and Zionism (in Hebrew and English) and Hebrew translations.

Mr and Mrs R. Watts donated a collection of books on the Jews in Hamburg from the bequest of Emma Simonsohn. Born in Hamburg in 1901, Emma Simonsohn came to England in 1939 and died in Bishop's Stortford on 13 February 2003.

The library received a most welcome donation from Elizabeth and Daniel Peltz which enabled the Librarian to purchase major works on the *Targumim*, the Aramaic translations of the Bible, including a critical edition of *Targum Neophyti*, the oldest Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch, an English translation of all the Targumim and various reference works. A further acquisition was a full set of the Soncino edition of the *Babylonian Talmud* in Hebrew/Aramaic-English. These major tools, essential to every library of Hebrew and Jewish studies, have found their appropriate place on the shelves. They are listed on pages 149–50 of this *Report*.

Much appreciated is the support of Jack Lunzer, who enabled the Library to acquire the six volumes of final reports of the Masada excavations by Yigael Yadin (1989–1999) and several publications on the Cairo Geniza, all of which are listed on page 148 of this *Report*.

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The Library gratefully accepted a collection of books on Zionism, Israel and Holocaust and of Hebrew and Yiddish literature, which formed part of the library of the journalist and writer S. G. Goldsmith (1910–1995) and were donated by his daughter Professor Tessa Rajak.

Sir Moses Montefiore (1784–1885), the most famous Anglo-Jew of the nineteenth century and a patron of scholars, built up a unique and extremely valuable collection of manuscripts. This was substantially enhanced by Dr Moses Gaster (1856–1939) who purchased important manuscripts, formerly the property of Leopold Zunz, one of the founders of the ‘Science of Judaism’, and of the bibliophile Solomon Hayyim Halberstam. The collection, which was placed on loan in Jews’ College in 1897 and put on microfiche in 1994, includes works on Bible, Targum, Midrash, Commentaries, Talmud and Halakhah, Liturgy, Philosophy, Kabbalah, Poetry, Grammar and Lexicography, Mathematics and Astronomy, as well as miscellaneous material, Montefioriana and Censuses. (For full details of the manuscripts see Hartwig Hirschfeld, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Montefiore Library*, London 1904.) The Trustees of the Montefiore Endowment at Ramsgate decided in October 2002 to place a complete set of microfiches of the collection on long-term loan in the Leopold Muller Memorial Library. The Library staff is proud to be custodians of this unique set of microfiches, presently the only access to the Montefiore Collection, and to be able to make it accessible for research.

The Oxford Levantine Archaeology Laboratory

NOW THAT THE Qumran Project has concluded the core of its work, an opportunity has arisen for the Centre to facilitate new areas of research related to the archaeology of the Levant and the biblical world. Levantine archaeology complements the tradition of Dead Sea Scroll research at the Centre and is in many respects the only field that can produce 'new' sources of data on the biblical world and the ancient Near East. While the Ashmolean Museum has a fine collection of archaeological materials from the Levant and ancient Near East, these artifacts come mostly from excavations carried out early in the twentieth century when the precise provenance of finds was often not recorded, resulting in the loss of information on their social significance. There is also little room at the Ashmolean to incorporate important new archaeological materials.

It is in this spirit that the Centre established the Oxford Levantine Archaeology Laboratory at the Leopold Muller Memorial Library. Professor Thomas Levy, of the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, San Diego (UCSD), has been appointed Visiting Director of the new laboratory. He is also director of the UCSD Judaic Studies Program, and it is hoped that the new laboratory will also promote research- and teaching-synergies between the University of California and the University of Oxford. The new archaeology laboratory will similarly broaden ties between the Centre and the Oxford faculty structure.

Two projects are already in place in Yarnton. The first involves collaboration with Professor Andrew Sherratt, of the School of Archaeology of the University of Oxford and curator of the European prehistoric collections in the Ashmolean Museum. It was he who suggested that the first domestic animals may have been used not for their 'secondary products' (milk, wool, hair and traction), but for meat, and that milking and the exploitation of other secondary animal products become part of prehistoric farming practices only around 4000 BCE. This socio-economic transition helped promote social evolutionary changes such as the birth of pastoral nomadic communities, the emer-

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gence of the Mediterranean farming economy and the rise of complex State-level societies. The Oxford Levantine Archaeology laboratory has provided pottery sherds from vessels found in Israel's Negev desert dating from *c.* 4500–4000 BCE to test Sherratt's 'secondary-products-revolution' hypothesis by analysing residues for evidence of milk. The samples are currently being tested in Professor Richard Evershed's Biogeochemistry Research Centre at the University of Bristol.

The other project concerns the high-precision radiocarbon dating of material from the Iron Age (*c.* 1200–586 BCE) in the southern Levant. Carbon samples from Professor Levy's recent excavations at the Iron Age metal-production site of Khirbat en Nahas in Jordan, carried out jointly by UCSD, Dr Mohammad Najjar of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan and Dr Russell Adams (McMaster University, Canada), provide an important assemblage of dating materials to examine the rise of the kingdom of Edom. The Hebrew Bible contains evidence about this Iron Age polity from the eighth to the sixth centuries BCE, but until recently there have been few high-precision radiocarbon datings that can be used to establish an objective chronology for the area, one of ancient Israel's most important neighbours. The newly founded Oxford Levantine Archaeology Laboratory is now involved with a radiocarbon-dating project in collaboration with Dr Tom Higham of the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit, Research Laboratory for Archaeology and History of Art, University of Oxford. This research promises to go a long way towards solving the dating problems of biblical Edom.

The new unit at Yarnton plans to co-host an international conference on radiocarbon dating and the Iron Age of the Southern Levant in September 2004 to highlight this research.

The Oxford Qumran Project

THE PAST ACADEMIC year has seen the publication of M. G. Abegg, Jr, with J. E. Bowley and E. M. Cook, in consultation with E. Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance I. The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2003). The appearance of this concordance, an addition to the thirty-seven volumes of the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series covering all the non-biblical texts found at Qumran, was partly supported by the Centre.

Journal of Jewish Studies

THE *Journal of Jewish Studies* continues its regular biannual appearance under the editorship of Professor Geza Vermes FBA (University of Oxford) and Professor Tessa Rajak (University of Reading), with Dr Sarah Pearce of the University of Southampton acting as Reviews Editor. Margaret Vermes is in charge of the administration of the *Journal*. The website (www.jjs-online.net) is widely used.

Volume 53, no. 2 appeared in the autumn and includes Professor Shimon Shamir's Twenty-first Sacks Lecture on 'The Acceptance of the Other: Liberal Interpretations of Islam and Judaism in Egypt and Israel', preceded by an introduction by HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan. The issue covers a wide range of subjects from the period of the Second Temple to early-twentieth-century Russian-Jewish intellectuals.

Volume 54, no. 1 appeared in the spring and deals among other topics with supernatural healing in Judaism and Christianity, the rabbinic view of the persecution of Jews by Romans, the dialectics in the *aggada* of the *Babylonian Talmud* and Jewish Aramaic magic bowls.

Both issues contain a rich selection of book reviews on Jewish subjects of every kind.

The European Association of Jewish Studies

THE SECRETARIAT OF the European Association of Jewish Studies, based at Yarnton since 1995, was administered throughout the year by Dr Karina Stern under the supervision of Dr Sacha Stern of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. The Secretariat was involved in organizing the Association's annual colloquium at Yarnton, on the theme of 'Teaching the Holocaust in Higher Education in Europe', held in July 2003. Support for this colloquium was granted by the British Academy and the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, to enable five overseas scholars to give presentations: one each from Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and Russia.

Looted Art Research Unit

The Unit's Central Registry of Information on Looted Cultural Property 1933–1945 has set up a comprehensive website, which went live on 3 December 2002, containing original research relating to cultural property looted between 1933 and 1945, including art collections, libraries, archives and Judaica. The Registry provides a permanent record relating not only to the history of Jewish collections, but to the role in their disposal of governments, museums, collectors and the art-trade both during and after the War. Information on over forty countries is available, as well as data on more than 20,000 looted works that are still missing or which have been identified and await recovery by their rightful owners. Original research carried out by the Unit includes the recent discovery of some 1500 looted books which entered the University Library of Bremen in 1942 following Gestapo auctions of Jewish property. The names of about ninety original owners have been identified and are available on the site to help locate them or their heirs.

The website address is: www.lootedart.com

Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies

THE INSTITUTE FOR Polish-Jewish Studies, an associated institute of the Centre, this year published volume 15 of *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, edited by Professor Antony Polonsky. Focusing on Jewish religious life in Poland, 1500–1900, it contains fifteen papers on this central theme (examining such topics as printing, Hasidism, rabbinics, Polish attitudes towards Jewish spirituality, Purim festivities and the Frankist movement), as well as nine other papers, six review essays, a full complement of book reviews, and the editor's introduction. In November a one-day international conference to launch the volume was held at the Polish Embassy in London, where papers were given by three rabbis (including one from Cracow, who described his recent work in preparing a modern rabbinic translation of the Torah into Polish). Dr Ada Rapoport-Albert, from University College London, spoke on the subject of women in Hasidism, and one paper was presented by Pawel Maciejko, a former student of the Centre.

Rafael Scharf, a founding member of the Institute's council, who delivered a lecture at the Centre entitled 'Extenuating Circumstances? A Personal Memoir of Polish-Jewish Relations' in the previous academic year, was published as a pamphlet by the Centre in collaboration with the Institute as the fourth Goldman Lecture.

The Website of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies

A NEW SECTION of the Centre's website devoted to the Leopold Muller Memorial Library has been developed. This details opening times and new acquisitions, and includes descriptions of the Kressel Library, Kressel Archive, *Yizkor* books and Microform collections. There are also links to library resources and a brief history of the Library.

The Centre's website continues to provide full details of seminars, lectures and events held each term, as well as a version of the regular newsletter online. News from past students on the MSt in Jewish Studies, formerly the Diploma Course, is available in the Alumni News section. Please email the Centre if you are an ex-student and would like to send in any news of your own for the website.

Visit the Centre on-line at <http://associnst.ox.ac.uk/ochjs/>

Fellows' Reports

Dr Glenda Abramson

Dr Abramson worked throughout the year on a new edition of her *Blackwell Companion to Jewish Culture*, first published in 1989. She taught several courses, including 'History of Hebrew Literature', 'Topics in the History of Modern Hebrew Literature', 'Modern Hebrew Poetry', 'Modern Hebrew Fiction' and 'Speech and Silence: Methods of Response in Modern Hebrew Literature', the latter for the MSt programme. She convened the Centre's David Patterson Seminars during Michaelmas Term, chaired the Sub-Faculty for Near Eastern Studies and the Standing Committee for Near Eastern Studies. She continues to edit *The Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*.

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Dr Freud-Kandel took up her Junior Research Fellowship at Wolfson College in October 2002, researching the concept of the 'faithful remnant' as it has been reclaimed by certain Orthodox communities in the English-speaking world. In Hilary Term she delivered a paper on the initial findings of this research, entitled 'Contemporary Orthodox Interpretations of the Concept of the "Faithful Remnant"', at the Theology Faculty's Interdisciplinary Seminar on the Study of Religion. She attended the VIIth Congress of the European Association of Jewish Studies in Amsterdam in July and gave a paper at the summer conference of the British Association of Jewish Studies on the topic of '*Torah im derekh cretz*: Contemporary Interpretations of the Hirschian Principle of Synthesis between Judaism and Secular Studies'. She has been commissioned to co-edit a publication by Oxford University Press entitled *Modern Judaism: An Oxford Guide* on which she has been working, and has been finalizing a manuscript for publication on Anglo-Jewish Orthodoxy and its Chief Rabbinate.

Throughout the year she taught and examined undergraduates and graduates from the Faculties of Theology and Oriental Studies. She delivered a new course entitled 'An Introduction to Jewish Life, Thought and Worship', a lecture series on 'Modern Judaism in History and Society' and taught a course entitled 'The Emergence of Modern

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Religious Movements in Judaism' for the MSt in Jewish Studies. She also taught and examined undergraduates and graduates in the Faculty of Divinity at the University of Cambridge. In collaboration with the Centre for Vaishnava and Hindu Studies she was involved in organizing what is expected to be an ongoing series of joint seminars co-sponsored the Centre, and gave a paper in a series of two seminars examining the theme of Jewish and Hindu domestic and dietary rituals.

Professor Martin Goodman

Professor Goodman continued with teaching, examination and administration, until the beginning of his sabbatical leave in Trinity Term.

In Michaelmas and Hilary terms he held regular Tuesday-afternoon seminars on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period, and in Michaelmas he organized with Professor Robert Parker a seminar series on 'Purity and Pollution in Ancient Religion', as part of a project under the auspices of the Oxford-Princeton Research Partnership. In January he oversaw the organization of a graduate workshop in New College, Oxford, on the same theme, attended by over twenty Princeton and Oxford students.

In July he took part in a panel discussion on the underlying philosophy of *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies* at the Congress of the European Association for Jewish Studies in Amsterdam; in September he presented a paper on 'Coinage and Identity: The Jewish Evidence' at a conference on coinage and identity held in Oxford; in October gave a lecture on 'Images of Jews in the New Testament: The Historical Background' at the Department for Continuing Education in Oxford and a seminar at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on 'The Use of Rabbinic Texts for History'. In November he lectured at the Sorbonne on 'The History of the *Journal of Jewish Studies*' at a Table Ronde celebrating the 122nd anniversary of the *Revue des Etudes Juives*.

In February he delivered the Dabis Lecture on 'Herod's Temple' at Royal Holloway College, London, and in April he gave a paper on 'The Place of the Sadducees in First-century Judaism' at a conference in honour of E. P. Sanders at Notre Dame University. In May he presented a paper on 'Josephus and Variety in First-century Judaism' at the Institute for Advanced Study in Jerusalem, and in June lectured on 'Deciphering the Meaning of Images: The Cultural Context of Jewish Art in Late Antiquity' at UCLA, Los Angeles, and on 'The Temple in

Jerusalem' to the 'Worlds Converge' conference at the Law Society in London.

He was chairman of the Oxford University Teaching and Research Unit in Hebrew and Jewish Studies management committee until his sabbatical leave, and was responsible for the administration in Oxford of the Oxford-Princeton research project on Religion and Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean World. He continued to serve as editor of the *Journal of Roman Studies*.

In autumn 2002 he completed preparing for the press *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, published by Oxford University Press in December 2002. He was awarded a British Academy Readership for 2003-5, enabling him to concentrate full-time on research for two years.

Ronald Nettler

Ronald Nettler continued teaching for the BA in Jewish Studies and Arabic/Islamic Studies, the MSt in Jewish Studies and the MSt and MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies. He also continued as coordinator for the MSt and MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies, and as a member of the Graduate Studies Committee in the Oriental Faculty. Within the Centre he continued to serve as Academic Director, until his sabbatical leave in Trinity Term.

He made final corrections to his forthcoming book *Sufi Metaphysics and Qur'anic Prophets: Ibn Arabi's Thought and Method in the Fusus al-Hikam*, one theme of which is the ways Biblical and Qur'anic themes served in the formation of Islamic mystical philosophy. He also finished a paper on the figure of Jonah in Islamic thought, to be published in the *Maghreb Review* journal, and another on modern Qur'an interpretation, to be published in an Oxford University Press volume.

Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi

Dr Ottolenghi, Leone Ginsburg Fellow in Israeli Law, Politics and Society, organized an Israeli film season in Michaelmas Term, addressing various aspects of Israeli history, politics and society. Each screening was followed by a discussion. In Hilary Term he organized a lecture series by various visiting specialists, including Professor Ilan Peleg of Lafayette College, Professors Sergio DellaPergola, Avner de-Shalit and Alon Kadish of the Hebrew University, Professor Vladimir Ze'ev

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Khanin of Bar-Ilan University and Professor Binyamin Neuberger of the Open University of Tel Aviv.

He continued to serve as reviews editor for *The Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* and as Tutorial Secretary for the BA programme in Hebrew and Jewish Studies. He also organized the Centre's Isaiah Berlin Public Lectures in Middle East, this year delivered by Avraham Sela, Shlomo Ben-Ami and Shlomo Avineri.

His research focused on aspects of Israel's constitution, especially the electoral system. In connection with this he participated in panel discussions on Israel's elections at the New North London Community Centre and at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and presented analyses of the election results at the Sephardi Centre in London, at the London Jewish Cultural Centre together with Israel's former Foreign Minister Shlomo Ben-Ami, and on two occasions at the Middle East Centre in panel debates with Professor Avi Shlaim. In February he lectured on Israel's elections at Chatham House in London and in April on Israel's elections and changes in public opinion at the political science department in Ravenna, Italy.

He lectured on the Middle East conflict at the Oxford Department of Continuing Education and at Thames Valley Limmud conference in October; the Oxford United Nations Society and the Limmud national conference in Nottingham in December; in Turin at the Italy-Israel Friendship Association in March; as well as in various Jewish community centres across the UK. In November he gave a seminar on Israel's religious status quo for the Oxford University Anthropology department's seminar on 'The Nation State and Religious Identity' and participated in a day-conference on 'Religion and Ideology' in the post-9/11 world at Chatham House, as well as a panel debate on anti-Semitism with *The Times's* columnist Michael Gove. In January he attended a Ditchley Park conference on terrorism. In March he participated in a panel debate on Israel and the media with *The Guardian's* columnist David Hearst at Wolfson College. In April he discussed Carlo Panella's biography of the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein at a panel debate in Bologna, Italy. In May he delivered the annual memorial lecture at the Finchley Progressive Community Centre, and then travelled to Rome to participate in a seminar organized by the Italian magistrates' and barristers' association 'Magistratura Democratica', where he lectured on the Middle East after Operation Iraqi Freedom.

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In June he spoke at the Society for Jewish Study in London and gave a three-session seminar at the Birmingham Mosaic programme on 'The Paradox of Israel: Society, Memory, Identity and Conflict'.

He appears regularly on the Italian radio news channel *Radio 24*, and since October 2002 has published some thirty weekly articles and essays in his column for the Italian daily *Il Foglio*.

Dr David Patterson

Dr Patterson organized and attended meetings of the Board of the American Friends of the Centre in New York in October 2002 and May 2003, and continued to serve on the Centre's Fundraising Committee. In July 2002 he lectured to the Council of Christians and Jews in Oxford on 'The Crisis of Faith in Modern Jewish Literature' and in November to the University of the Third Age, Oxford, on 'The Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies: Origins and Aspirations'. In April 2003 he attended a conference on Aharon Appelfeld in Cambridge. He continues to work with Professor Ezra Spiceland on a translation of Brenner's novels. In June 2003 he was awarded a CBE for Services to Jewish Studies in the Queen's Birthday Honours List.

Dr David Rechter

Dr Rechter worked on a history of the Jews of Habsburg Bukovina during sabbatical leave in Michaelmas Term. He served as Director of Studies of the MSt in Jewish Studies, as well as convening (together with Professors R. J. W. Evans and R. Crampton) a seminar in Modern European Jewish History for the European Studies Centre, St Antony's College, and the Modern History Faculty. He was invited to join the Executive of the Leo Baeck Institute, London, and the Committee of the British Association of Jewish Studies.

Dr Alison Salvesen

Dr Salvesen, who has been appointed Fellow in Jewish Bible Versions, was invited to join the Executive Committee of the Hexapla Institute. In November, at the Society of Biblical Literature in Toronto, she was involved in discussions on the Institute's project to produce a new critical edition of the Jewish Greek revisions of the Septuagint. She also read a paper on the significance of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion for the study of antiquity, especially rabbinics and patristics, to the

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International Organisation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. She spoke on the same subject to the Texthistorisch Werkgezelschap 'P. A. H. de Boer' at Leiden University in March, and to the Septuagint Seminar at Reading University in June. In September she gave a paper on attitudes to prayer and the sacrificial cult in the Targum and Syriac versions of I Samuel, at the Fifth World Syriac Conference in Kerala, India, and in February delivered another to the seminar entitled 'Origen, Jerome and the Hebraization of Scripture' at the Centre for Jewish-Christian Relations in Cambridge. She worked on the database of fragmentary Jewish Greek versions of the book of Exodus during her sabbatical leave in Michaelmas and Trinity terms.

During Hilary Term she lectured on 'Jewish and Christian Bible Interpretation' for the Centre's MSt course, and also taught reading courses in elementary Syriac and on Targum Isaiah to graduates in the Oriental Institute. She served as internal examiner for an Oxford DPhil thesis on angelology in antiquity.

Dr Joseph Sherman

In September 2002 Dr Sherman delivered a paper entitled 'The Non-Reflecting Mirror: Gogol's Influence on Sholem Aleichem' at the biennial conference of the Russian Neo-Formalist Circle at Mansfield College, Oxford, which this year focused on the work of Nikolai Gogol. In October he gave a talk entitled 'Isaac Bashevis Singer and the Nobel Prize for Literature' at the annual Thames Valley Limmud, held in Reading. In November he addressed a Chabad group at Hertford College on 'The Myth of the Jewish Pope in Yiddish Literature', and lectured on 'The Jews of Lithuania: The South African Connection' at a symposium on the Jews of Lithuania convened by YIVO in New York. In December, at the annual Modern Language Association Convention held this year in New York, he received the first award of the Yakov and Fenia Leviant Prize for Yiddish Translation, given for his translation of Isaac Bashevis Singer's novel, *Shadows on the Hudson* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1998).

In February 2003 he lectured on 'The Lithuanian-Jewish Diaspora: South Africa as a Case Study' to the Jewish Genealogical Society of Great Britain at Finchley Synagogue, London, and in May read a paper entitled 'Reforming through Fiction: Ayzik-Meir Dik (1807–1893) and the Yiddish Bestseller' at the East and East-Central Europe Seminar at

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Oriel College, Oxford. He was also a guest of the University of Haifa, and gave lectures there entitled 'David Bergelson's Play *Prince Reuveni* and the Moscow State Yiddish Theatre', 'The Myth of the Jewish Pope in Yiddish Literature', 'Race and Racism as Narrative Strategies in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*' and 'Isaac Bashevis Singer: An English or a Yiddish Writer?'

In Trinity Term he collaborated with Professor Henrietta Mondry - a guest of the University on the Oxford University/Canterbury, New Zealand Exchange Programme - on a paper examining Jewish identity in the writings of Ilya Ehrenburg. He also presented a paper entitled 'Bergelson and Chekhov: The Power of Understatement' at the fifth Mendel Friedman Yiddish Conference, 'Yiddish and the European Literary Tradition: Interactions and Influences', convened by the European Humanities Research Centre at St Hugh's College.

He continued to expand his teaching programme, delivering a series of four University lectures on Yiddish with Dr Kerstin Hoge during Michaelmas Term and another four during Hilary Term. In these Dr Sherman focused on Yiddish literature, and Dr Hoge on Yiddish language. In Hilary Term he again offered his course entitled 'Questions of Jewish Identity in Yiddish Literature' to students on the MSt programme. He also developed an undergraduate course on 'Dissolution and Fragmentation in Yiddish Literature'.

He was elected Academic Director of the Centre from Trinity Term 2003 until the end of the 2004 academic year and was elected a member of the Editorial Board of the New Yiddish Library, Yale University Press. He continues to be associate editor of *Slavic Almanach* and Honorary Research Associate, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Dr Joanna Weinberg

In Michaelmas Term 2002 Dr Weinberg served as Director of Studies of the MSt in Jewish Studies, and in Trinity Term replaced Professor Goodman (on leave) as Chair of the Management Committee of the Oxford University Teaching and Research Unit for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. Her teaching this year included courses on rabbinic and medieval Hebrew literature and medieval Jewish history. She also taught courses on Midrash at Leo Baeck College-Centre for Jewish Education, London, and continued to serve as external examiner to the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Department of University College London.

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She delivered a paper on Azariah de' Rossi at the University of Bologna in January and at the Society for Jewish Study in March. She gave lectures on rabbinic views on the creation of Adam at the Summer Study Week at Leo Baeck College-Centre for Jewish Education and together with Dr Piet van Boxel on the censorship of the Mahzor at the British Association for Jewish Studies conference held in Durham in July. Her work on the edition and translation of the Italian work of Azariah de' Rossi on the Syriac Gospels, to be published by the Warburg Institute, is nearly completed.

Visiting Fellows' and Scholars' Report

Professor Fred Astren (Skirball Fellow)

Professor Astren of San Francisco State University, who stayed at the Centre from 6 January to 6 June 2003, conducted research and began writing an article on the Jews of Palestine and Syria during the Muslim conquests of the seventh century. Jewish references in Muslim-conquest narratives cannot be used definitively as historical evidence, and recent critical approaches to medieval Arabic historical writing on early Islam suggest that what is known of Jewish history in the period requires reconsideration.

A large component of his work was directed towards evaluating the impact of medieval Islamization on Jews of the Middle East. This process took some four centuries and affected Jews differently according to region and period. Professor Astren is writing an article about the state of scholarly work on this overlooked subject. First, the Arabic *hadith* literature, which purports to record traditions of the prophet Muhammad, contains material indicating both the presence of Jewish converts to Islam and the relationship of the evolving Muslim tradition to those Jews (and Christians) who did not convert. Second, the contemporaneous geonic *responsa* literature requires expert examination in relation to this subject. Third, archaeological sources for Palestine offer data on Jewish communities that need to be included in historians' models. Fourth, mixed Judeo-Muslim identities in early Islam are suggested in some sources (Jewish and Muslim) corresponding to known Muslim-Zoroastrian, Muslim-Mazdakite and possibly Muslim-Christian hybrid identities.

Professor Astren delivered a David Patterson Seminar (see pages 59–60) and a lecture at the Oriental Institute entitled 'Early Islam and Jewish Sectarianism'.

Ehud Ben-Ezer (Hebrew Writer Fellow)

Ehud Ben-Ezer, Hebrew Writer Fellow at the Centre from 5 March to 5 July 2003, carried out research for a historical novel entitled *Vcha'aretz Tira'ad*, 'After the Tumult', beginning in the early nineteenth century and set in Safed, Jerusalem, Petah-Tikva, Haifa, Cairo and Tel Aviv.

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Some chapters have already appeared in a volume of short stories entitled *Efrat* (1978), but he has now written those set in Safed in the 1830s, focusing especially on the massacre of 1834 and earthquake of 1837. On a previous stay at the Centre in 1998 he wrote a novel entitled *Hamoshava Sheli*, 'My Village', published in 2000, and both for that and the present project he found the Muller Library a valuable source.

He delivered a David Patterson Seminar (summarized on pages 60–1 of this *Report*) about his aunt Esther Raab (1894–1981), based on his biography entitled *Yamim shel La'ana ve-Devash*, 'Days of Gall and Honey' (1998).

Magen Broshi (Skirball Fellow)

Magen Broshi of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, who stayed at the Centre between 9 September 2002 and 9 February 2003, worked mainly on a book about everyday life in the Qumran community, based on data from the Dead Sea Scrolls, the contemporary writings of Philo, Josephus and Pliny and archaeological discoveries of the 1950s and 1990s.

He also lectured on 'Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Ten Contending Theories' at Wolfson College; 'Purity and Pollution at Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls' at New College; 'Was There Agriculture at Qumran?' at Brown University, Providence, and 'Seven Crucial Junctions in Ancient Israel' at Manchester University and as a David Patterson Seminar, summarized on pages 61–2 of this *Report*.

Professor Sergio DellaPergola (Skirball Fellow)

Professor Sergio DellaPergola of the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem stayed at the Centre from 2 October 2002 to 7 February 2003 and worked on several aspects of contemporary Jewish population trends in Israel and the Diaspora. He focused on developing the conceptual and empirical framework for studying a population affected not only by biological determinants such as births and deaths, but by cultural factors, such as the willingness to identify with a given community, its culture, symbols, institutions and other members. Attention was paid to translating analytic findings into policy propositions relevant to the management of Jewish affairs in a context of growing assimilation in the Diaspora and of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Israel.

Professor DellaPergola wrote five papers during his stay: 'Sephardi

and Oriental Migrations to Israel: Global, Regional and Local Aspects', to be published in R. Simon and R. Hart (eds) *Diaspora and Jewish Migrations* (SUNY Press) 37 pp.; 'Jewish Demography: Current and Expected Trends and Policy Implications', to appear in the proceedings of the *Jerusalem Conference on Jewish Demography*, 14 pp.; 'Israel and the Jewish People in the 21st Century: Demographic Aspects', *Haumah* 150 (Winter 2002-3) 12-21 (in Hebrew); 'Population Projections for Jerusalem Municipality, 2000-2020: Portrait of the Present and its Implications', to appear in M. Cohen (ed.) *New Jerusalem City Plan and Program*, Vol. 4 (Jerusalem Municipality: Masterplan Division) (in Hebrew), 36 pp.; and 'Les Juifs de France: valeurs et identité', to appear in *L'Arche* (Paris) 7 pp.

He prepared two encyclopaedia entries: 'A Changing World Jewry, Late 20th - Early 21st Centuries: Views from Demography', to appear in *Historical Atlas of the Jewish People* (Jerusalem: Carta) 15 pp.; and 'Jewish Women in Sociodemographic Perspective', to appear in D. Ofer and P. Hyman (eds) *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopaedia* (Jerusalem) 11 pp.

He also wrote a book review on M. B. Hart, *Social Science and the Politics of Modern Jewish Identity* (Stanford University Press, 2000) 4 pp., to appear in *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* (New York), and newspaper articles on the results of the 2000-1 US National Jewish Population Survey including 'Where Did 500,000 Jews Disappear?' *Haaretz*, 13 October 2002, and 'Instead of Fighting Numbers, Study the Causes of Dwindling Population', *Forward*, 25 October 2002.

He lectured at the General Assembly of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (Paris, 17 November), the General Assembly of the United Jewish Communities (Philadelphia, 23 November), the International Conference on Jewish Demography (Jerusalem, 1-3 December), the Herzliya Conference on Israel's National Security (Herzliya, 4 December), British Friends of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (London, 16 January), SOAS Centre for Jewish Studies (London, 22 January) and St Antony's College (Oxford, 4 February). He also conducted a debate, jointly with Professor Ilan Peleg, on the January 2003 Israeli elections (Yarnton, 30 January).

A summary of the lecture he delivered while at Yarnton appears on pages 62-3 of this *Report*.

Professor Yuval Dror

During his stay at the Centre from 1 July to 30 September 2002, Professor Yuval Dror of the Tel Aviv University School of Education drafted five chapters of a sequel to his previous book, *The History of Kibbutz Education: Practice into Theory* (Peter Lang, 2001), which he completed during his previous stay at the Centre. In his new book he will examine the concentric environments of the Kibbutz, Labour Movement and Zionism, drawing on recent research in fields such as education, nationalism, patriotism and civil religion. He will examine how a national (and/or ethnic) system can educate towards national (and/or religious) identity, and what means and structures were and are still used to educate towards national Zionist-Jewish identity.

He presented papers on the new project at the International Standing Conference for the History of Education in Paris and the Joint ANZ and UK History of Education Associations at Swansea, and also discussed it with colleagues from the British Centre for Durkheimian Studies at the University of Oxford, Plymouth University, the National Foundation for Educational Research at Slough and at Yarnton.

Professor Jonathan Goldstein

Professor Jonathan Goldstein of the State University of West Georgia, who stayed at the Centre from 4 February to 7 June 2003, continued his research on modern Far Eastern history, updating his *China and Israel, 1948–98*, completed during a 1999 sabbatical at the Centre, for translation and publication in China in 2004. He also contributed a chapter entitled ‘The Republic of China and Israel, 1911–2003’ to Efraim Karsh’s *Israel: The First Hundred Years*, volume 4: *Israel and the World* (London, forthcoming 2004). He completed articles entitled ‘Singapore, Manila, and Harbin as Reference Points for Asian “Port Jewish” Identity’, for *Jewish Culture and History*; ‘Did China Have a Jewish President?: Tracing the Liu Shaoqi (1898–1969) Saga’, for *Points East* and the *Bulletin of the Igud Yotzei Sin*; and ‘A China Trader Turns China Historian: Robert Waln, Jr, as America’s First Sinologist’, for *The American Asian Review*.

He lectured to the University of Oxford China Seminar on ‘The Republic of China and Israel, 1911–2003’; to the Jewish Historical Society of England, London, on ‘Singapore, Manila, and Harbin as

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Reference Points for Asian "Port Jewish" Identity"; and at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London on 'Harbin and Singapore Jewry in Light of the Sorkin Thesis' and 'The Jews of India, China and Japan: Comparative Perspectives'. In addition he wrote about Israel for newspapers in Anniston, Alabama, and Carrollton and Atlanta, Georgia.

While at the Centre Professor Goldstein was awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities grant which extended his stay to August 2003, enabling him to participate in a summer workshop at Yarnnton on the early anti-Semitism, organized by Professor Irven Resnick of the University of Tennessee.

Dr Admiel Kosman (Hebrew Writer Fellow)

Dr Admiel Kosman of Bar-Ilan University stayed at the Centre from 17 February to 17 June 2003 and worked on his eighth volume of poetry. This deals with Jewish prayer and includes poems for festivals and special days of the Jewish year and is to be published by 'Hakibutz Hame'uchad' in an album-format with twelve colour paintings by Maya Cohen Levi. He also worked on a new book on the history of the kiss in the Jewish tradition, focusing on its role as a gesture in talmudic literature, the kiss of peace in the Christian tradition and the farewell kiss for the dead.

A poem written by Dr Kosman while he was in Yarnnton, and a summary of a lecture he gave, appear on pages 34-8 and 65-6 of this *Report*, respectively.

Professor Jacob Lassner

Professor Jacob Lassner of Northwestern University, Chicago, stayed at the Centre from 25 June to 24 August 2002 and collaborated with Professor Ilan Troen on a book analysing the historical and cultural background of the current Arab-Israeli conflict. The modern dispute is viewed against the background of Jewish-Muslim relations over the past 1300 years, themselves the outcome of still more ancient history, as well as of contemporary influences. He also completed an essay on the formation of group identity and the growth of national consciousness, designed to form the core of a series of invited lectures delivered in 2002-3.

Professor Henrietta Mondry

Professor Henrietta Mondry of the University of Canterbury, New Zealand, stayed at the Centre from 3 May to 15 June 2003 as part of the Oxford University/Canterbury, New Zealand, Exchange Programme and worked on an interpretation of Ilya Ehrenburg's little-studied novel, *The Stormy Life of Lazik Roitslyanets* (1928). When it was first submitted for publication, Stalin's henchman Lazar Kaganovich declared its theme to be a manifestation of 'Jewish bourgeois nationalism'. As a result it was published in the Soviet Union only in the 1990s after the collapse of Communism. Ehrenburg's Jewish identity has been discussed in recent years by scholars such as Nakhimovsky, Sicher and Bloom, but this novel has not received the close reading it deserves.

Together with Dr Joseph Sherman she demonstrated that the figure of Lazik is built on the tradition of the little hero in Russian realist literature, emerging as the grotesque in Gogol's writing. Ehrenburg exposes the absurdities of early Soviet culture and shows that despite internationalist rhetoric, Jews continued to be treated in the USSR as a subordinate ethnic 'Other'. The new study will show how Ehrenburg depicts Lazik's 'Otherness' not only in terms of religious and cultural differences from the dominant culture, but as an essentialist concept constructed on turn-of-the-century beliefs in the racially different nature of the Jewish physique.

Professor Judith Page (Skirball Fellow)

Professor Judith Page of the University of Florida stayed at the Centre from 9 January to 9 June 2003 and drafted a book tentatively entitled *Imperfect Sympathies: British Romanticism and Judaism*. In this she argues that, although sympathy for outcasts and minorities is a wide-ranging cultural ideal during the Romantic period in Britain (1770–1830), ideas about Jews and Judaism do not enter British texts unencumbered by authors' own prejudices, cultural stereotypes, political ideologies or failures of imagination. The texts revealing these limitations are often fascinating records of the struggle between the sympathetic ideal and the reality of Jewish experience in Britain. The result, to play on Charles Lamb's term, is an imperfect sympathy, and usually a text that cannot quite contain its own literary representations. Professor Page gave a David Patterson Seminar on the production of

Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* in the Romantic period, and also presented Shylock and *The Merchant of Venice* at the Romantic Realignments Seminar at University College, Oxford. She particularly benefited from the collection of British literary texts in the Bodleian Library, including a copy of the first book of poetry published by a Jewish woman, Emma Lyon, in 1812.

A summary of the lecture she delivered while at Yarnton appears on pages 71–2 of this *Report*.

Professor Ilan Peleg (Skirball Fellow)

Professor Ilan Peleg of Lafayette College, Pennsylvania, stayed at the Centre from 2 September 2002 to 1 February 2003 and pursued his research on changes in the Israeli political landscape within the broader framework of the worldwide transformation of political systems. His link with St Antony's College assisted him in developing this dual Israel-centred and comparative project.

He wrote a paper on 'Jewish and Democratic State', a formula adopted by the Israeli parliament and courts particularly over the past fifteen years, which has been vigorously challenged. Versions were presented as a David Patterson Seminar (reproduced on pages 5–20 of this *Report*), to a course on Middle East politics at St Antony's College and in Haifa University's Sociology Department Seminar. He also wrote a paper entitled 'Conflicting Visions for Contemporary Israel' which he presented at St Antony's College Israel Seminar.

In addition he wrote the introduction and first three chapters of a book tentatively entitled 'Democratizing the Ethnic State: Political Transformation in the Twenty-first Century', comparatively examining a pattern of which Israel is one example, and lectured on this at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Haifa University and the Oriental Institute, Oxford.

Professor Peleg benefited from meeting scholars at the Centre who have contributed to *Israel Studies Forum: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, of which he is editor, and at the end of January 2003 participated on a panel on the Israeli elections.

Hava Pinhas-Cohen (Hebrew Visiting Writer)

During her stay at the Centre from 19 September 2002 to 19 January 2003, Hava Pinhas-Cohen worked on several poetic projects and

continued to edit *Dimui*, the literary and cultural magazine which she founded and runs. She completed a volume entitled *Mashiach* (to be published by the Kibbutz Hameuchad Press) for which she won the Alterman Prize, and wrote two parts of a new collection, *The Gardener*, which attempts to open a dialogue between contemplative thought and lyrical poetry. She also finished three short stories for a book tentatively entitled *Pirkei Almanut*, 'Chapters in Widowhood', bridging personal and contemporary social experiences in Israel.

In addition Ms Pinchas-Cohen worked on an essay about the links between modern poetry and midrash, in which she discusses the poetry of Yehuda Amichai, Amir Gilboa, Admiel Kosman and others; and on the introduction to an exhibition catalogue for Nehama Golan and Pessy Girsh, who explore the relationship between visual expression and the use of Jewish sources in contemporary Israeli arts. She further translated poems by Elizabeth Bishop into Hebrew for *Dimui* magazine. She discussed her own poetry at Dr Glenda Abramson's Seminar on Jewish Literature at the Institute of Oriental Studies, and contemporary Hebrew literature both in a David Patterson Seminar and at the Limud Conference in Nottingham.

An example of her work and an interview with her appeared in the Centre's *Newsletter* 5 (spring 2003).

Zvi Ra'an

Zvi Ra'an of the Wydra Institute of Haifa University stayed at the Centre between 2 July and 30 September 2002 and completed the historical sections of *The Broken Crescent*, a book describing Modern Israel's partial success in breaking out of her geo-political isolation. When a peace agreement seemed imminent in the late 1990s he conducted research on the possibly catalytic effect of Israel's economy on the Middle East, emphasizing the country's potential as a transportation gateway to the region. Her isolation from 1948 to 1979 had stimulated the rapid development of the country's merchant fleet, aviation and ports.

He examined the hypothesis that a peace agreement with Israel's neighbours and the creation of a Palestinian State would encourage regional social and economic development, and also researched the development of Palestine/Israel's ports and aviation networks and of the Jewish merchant navy prior to the establishment of the State, as well

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as the emergence of Israel's national carrier, Zim Navigation, as a leading round-the-world shipping service. He discovered primary sources in the personal-correspondence archives of St Antony's Middle East Centre and complementary material in Oxford University libraries, the Centre's Library and the archives of the Wydra Shipping and Aviation Research Institute of the University of Haifa.

He also wrote a review of the French translation of Simon Dubnow's autobiography and began a paper on 'The Legacy of Dubnow and Israel's New Historians'.

Johanna Reuling (Visiting Research Student)

Mrs Reuling, a doctoral student from the Catholic Theological University of Utrecht, in The Netherlands, stayed at the Centre from 25 April to 21 June 2003 and wrote the introduction to her dissertation provisionally entitled *After Eden. Church Fathers and Rabbis on Gen. 3:16-21*. This deals with the common assumption that Rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity have different understandings of the human condition ('after Eden'), and examines the aims and methods of reception history, especially relating to the differences between Patristic and Rabbinic literature. The thesis as a whole will scrutinize the understanding of the primordial decrees in a selection of Patristic and Rabbinic documents from before the early fifth century CE.

Professor Ray Scheindlin

Professor Ray Scheindlin of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, stayed at the Centre from 1 July to 31 August 2002 and continued his research into the poetry of Judah Halevi. For his forthcoming book on pilgrimage he made extensive use of the two manuscripts of Halevi's collected poems in the Bodleian Library. He also began work on a translation of the Hebrew poetry of Joseph Sarfati, based on the manuscript of his collected poems in the Bodleian, and prepared a course on Islam and Judaism, benefiting from consultations with Ronald Nettler and from access to the Centre's Library.

Professor Ezra Spicehandler

Professor Ezra Spicehandler of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, stayed at the Centre from 2 October 2002 to 1 March 2003 and continues to collaborate with Dr David Patterson on their translation of the

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writings of the Hebrew novelist Yosef Hayyim Brenner. They completed the key works of Brenner's Russian and London periods and the related notes and glossary, leaving only the introductions to individual works to be prepared. Acknowledgement will be made to the Centre and its staff in the introduction to this volume.

Professor Spicehandler also completed an English translation of the extended article by Hayyim Nahman Bialik on the paintings and sketches of the Russian-Jewish artist Leonid O. Pasternak (1862–1945).

Professor Ilan Troen

Professor Ilan Troen of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev stayed at the Centre from 8 July until 15 August 2002 and completed *Imagining Zion: The First Century of the Zionist Settlement Experience* (Yale University Press), a book based in part on research in the Centre's Kressel Collection. He also completed a paper entitled 'Settlement and the State of Israel', which appeared in *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, edited by Professor Martin Goodman, edited a special issue of *Israel Studies* on 'Memory and Identity in Israel: New Directions', and began to collaborate with Professor Jacob Lassner, who was also visiting the Centre, on an inquiry into how interpretations of the past continue to shape the current Arab-Jewish conflict.

Publications

Centre Publications

- Journal of Jewish Studies*, edited by Professor Geza Vermes and Dr Tessa Rajak, volume 53:2 (2002)
- Journal of Jewish Studies*, edited by Professor Geza Vermes and Dr Tessa Rajak, volume 54:1 (2003)
- Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 2001–2002*, edited by Dr Jeremy Schonfield (2002)
- Shimon Shamir, 'Acceptance of the Other: Liberal Interpretations of Islam and Judaism in Egypt and Israel', with an introduction by HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal, The Twenty-first Sacks Lecture, *Occasional Papers* 5 (2003)
- Rafael Scharf, 'Extenuating Circumstances? A Personal Memoir of Polish-Jewish Relations', The Fourth Goldman Lecture (2003)
- Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies: Visiting Faculty, 1972–2002* (2003)

Fellows' Publications

- ABRAMSON, GLENDA, 'Bialik's "Tsafririm": Innocence and Experience', in William Cutter and David C. Jacobson (eds) *History and Literature: New Readings of Jewish Texts in Honor of Arnold J. Band*, Providence: Brown Judaic Studies (2002) 265–78
- 'Modern Hebrew Literature', in Martin Goodman (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, Oxford University Press (2003) 515–40
- 'A Reasonable Rapture', *CCAR Journal* (Spring 2003) 49–68
- (editor) *The Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 1:2 (2002), 2:1 (2003)
- GOODMAN, MARTIN (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2002)
- 'The Nature of Jewish Studies', in M. Goodman (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2002) 1–13
- 'Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period', in M. Goodman (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2002) 53–78
- (joint editor) *Representations of Empire: Rome and the Mediterranean World*, Oxford: The British Academy (2002)

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- ‘The Problems of Jewish Studies’, *Zutot* 2 (2002) 182–8
- OTTOLENGHI, EMANUELE, ‘The New Warfare’, *The Jewish Chronicle*, Friday 12 July 2002
- ‘Jews for Palestine’, *The Jerusalem Post*, Thursday 29 August 2002
- ‘Surviving Without Governing: Israel’s Direct Elections of the Prime Minister’, *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica* 2/2002, August 2002 (in Italian)
- “‘Palestinians Are to Blame for the Failure to Find Peace’”, A Response to John Pilger’, *The Daily Mirror*, Monday 16 September 2002
- ‘The Oslo Process and the Second Intifada: Explaining Failure’, *Afriche e Orientali*, October/November 2002 (in Italian)
- ‘Israel’s Direct Elections of the Prime Minister: The Not So Unforeseeable Consequences of Electoral Reform’, *Israel Studies Forum* 18,1 (Fall 2002)
- ‘This Futile Struggle’, *The Guardian*, 20 December 2002
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*Dissertations Submitted at the Centre, 2003**

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* For the MSt degree 2003, except that of Robert Williamson which was for the Diploma in Jewish Studies 2002. All dissertations recorded here are available for consultation in the Leopold Muller Memorial Library.

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Dr Patterson's interest in Hebrew and Jewish *Wissenschaftsgeschichte* is apparent in a number of his own studies and articles, of which a few may be mentioned here: 'Hebrew Studies', in *The History of the University of Oxford, Vol. V: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. L. S. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchell (Oxford, 1986), pp. 335–50; 'The Renaissance of Jewish Learning in Post-World War II Europe', in *Jewish Centers & Peripheries: Europe between America and Israel Fifty Years After World War II*, ed. S. I. Troen (New Brunswick, N.J., 1999), pp. 323–34; and 'The Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies', in *The Jewish Year Book*, ed. S. Massil (London, 2001), pp. 41–7. His interest in bibliography is reflected in his articles 'Jewish Studies: A Major Rescue Operation' in the *Times Literary Supplement* (London), 16 April 1976, p. 470, and 'Hebraica in Helsinki', *Ibid.*, 29 October 1976, p. 1372. Mention should also be made of the two bibliographies, prepared under Dr Patterson's aegis, of

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[A complete bound set of the printed finding aids for these projects is held

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APPENDIX

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Books Acquired for the Library Through Special Funds and Endowments

A) Books Acquired Through the Generosity of the Isaiah Berlin Fund

Haumann, Heiko, *A History of East European Jews* (Budapest, New York, 2002)

Katsh, Abraham I., *Yiggal Hazon: A 13th Century Barcelona Manuscript of Unpublished Poems from the Golden Age of Spain in the Baron David Guenzburg Collection in the Lenin Public Library in Moscow* (Jerusalem, 1979)

Katz, Jacob, *Anti-Semitism: From Religious Hatred to Racial Rejection* (Tel Aviv, 1979)

Neusner, Jacob, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia, I: The Parthian Period* (Leiden, 1969)

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Neusner, Jacob, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia, III: From Shapur I to Shapur II* (Leiden, 1968)

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Rengstorf, Karl Heinrich, *The Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*. 2 Vols (Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2002)

B) Yizkor Books Acquired Through the Generosity of the Catherine Lewis Foundation*

Berdyczew: *Geven amol a shtet Berditshev* ['There Was Once a Town Called Berditshev'], Zvi Kaminski (Paris, 1952)

Bialystok: *Khurbn Bialystok* ['The Destruction of Bialystok'], S. Kot (Buenos Aires, 1947)

Csenger: *Sefer yizkor le-kedoshei Csenger, Porcsalama ve-ha sevivah*

* Titles followed by an asterisk appear in the work in question.

Books Acquired for the Library Through Special Funds and Endowments

- [‘Memorial Book of the Martyrs of Csenger, Porcsalma and Environs’], Sh. Friedmann (Tel Aviv, 1966)
- France, Yugoslavia, Greece: *Yidn unter der italyenisher okupatsye* [‘Jews Under the Italian Occupation’], Leon Poliakov, tr. Ester Shtarkshtayn (s.l., s.d.)
- Galicia: *Pinkes Galicia* [‘Memorial Book of Galicia’], ed. N. Zucker (Buenos Aires: Former Residents of Galicia in Argentina, 1945)
- Goniadz: *Zekher le-hayehab ve-hurbanah shel k”k Goniadz* [‘In Memory of the Life and Destruction of Goniadz’], N. Artsiel-Halpern (s.l., s.d.)
- Jonawa: *Yanove oyf di breges fun Vilje: tsum ondenk fun di khorev-gevorene yidishe kehile in Yanove* [‘Yizkor Book in Memory of the Jewish Community of Yanova’*], ed. Sh. Noy (Tel Aviv: Jonawa Society, 1972)
- Korczyna: *Korczyna: sefer zikaron* [‘Korczyna: Memorial Book’] (New York: Committee of the Korczyna Memorial Book, 1967)
- Kosow: *Sefer Kosow Galicia ha-mizrahit* [‘Memorial Book of Kosow – Kosow Huculski’*], eds G. Kressel and L. Oliczky (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kosow and Vicinity in Israel, 1964)
- Kovno: *Kovno, ha-yahadut be-hurbanah* [‘The Destruction of Kovno Jewry’*], ed. L. Garfunkel (Jerusalem, 1959)
- Krakow: *W trzecia rocznice zaglady getta w Krakowie* [‘The Third Anniversary of Destruction of the Ghetto of Cracow’], eds M. Borowicz, N. Rost and J. Wolf (Krakow, 1946)
- Krzywicze: *Ner tami: yizkor le-Krivitsh* [‘Kryvitsh Yizkor Book’*], ed. M. Bar-Ratzon (Tel Aviv: Krivitsh Societies in Israel and the Diaspora, 1977)
- Latvia: *Yidn in Letland* [‘Jews in Latvia’], eds M. Bobe *et al* (Tel Aviv: Association of Latvian and Estonian Jews in Israel, 1971)
- Lenin: *Kehilat Lenin: sefer zikaron* [‘The Community of Lenin: Memorial Book’*], ed. M. Tamari (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Lenin in Israel and the USA, 1957)
- Lithuania: *Bleter fun yidish Lite* [‘Lithuanian Jews: A Memorial Book’*], ed. J. Rabinovich (Tel Aviv: Hamenora, 1974)
- Lithuania: *Pinkas ha-medina* [‘The Book of the Land (of Lithuania)’], S. Dubnow (Berlin, 1925)
- Lodz: *Hurbn Lodz. 6 yor Nazi gehenem* [‘Destruction of Lodz. Six Years of Nazi Inferno’], ed. I. Tabakblatt (Buenos Aires, 1946)

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- Macedonia: *Geut va-shever: prakim be-toldot yehudey Makedonia* ['Prime and Destruction: Episodes in the History of the Jews of Macedonia'], Geni Lebel (s.l., s.d.)
- Miskolc: *Kedoshai Miskolc ve-ha-svivah: ha-kehillot me-Hidasnemeti ad Mezokovesd u-me-Oz ad Szerenc* ['Martyrs of Miskolc and Vicinity: The Communities from Hidasnemeti to Mezokovesd and from Ozd to Szerenc'], Shlomo Pasternak (Bnei Brak, 1970)
- Monastir: *Ir u-shmah Monstir* ['A City Called Monastir'], Uri Oren (Tel Aviv, 1972)
- Nowy Targ: *Sefer Nowy Targ ve-ha-svivah* ['Remembrance Book of Nowy Targ and Vicinity'*], ed. Michael Walzer-Fass (Tel Aviv: Townspeople Association of Nowy Targ and Vicinity, 1979)
- Opoczno: *Sefer Opotsnah: yad va-shem le-kehillah she-harva* ['The Book of Opoczno'*], ed. Yitshak Alfasi (Tel Aviv: Association of Emigrants from Opoczno and Vicinity, 1989)
- Oradea: *Sefer zikaron le-yahadut Grosswardein-Oradea-Nagyvarad ve-ha-svivah, mishnat yisoda ve-ad-hurbanah* ['Memorial Book to the Jews of Grosswardein-Oradea-Nagyvarad and Environs from its Origins to its Destruction'], ed. Zvi Grossman (Tel Aviv: Grosswardein Society in Israel, 1984)
- Ostrowiec: *Ostrovce, geheylikt dem ondenk fun Ostrovtsse, Apt...* ['Ostrovtsse, Dedicated to the Memory of Ostrovtsse, Apt...'], (Buenos Aires: Former Residents of Ostrovtsse... in Argentina, 1949)
- Paris: *Yidn in Pariz: Materyaln far Yidisher Geshikhte* ['Jews in Paris: Materials on Jewish History'], Y. Kornhendler (s.l., s.d.)
- Pinczow: *Sefer zikaron le-kehillat Pintshev: in Pintshev togt shoynt nisht* ['A Book of Memory of the Jewish Community of Pinczow, Poland'*], ed. M. Shener (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Pinczow in Israel in the Diaspora, 1970)
- Piotrkow Trybunalski: *Piotrkow Trybunalski ve-ha-svivah* ['Piotrkow Trybunalski and Vicinity'*], eds Y. Meltz and N. Lau (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Piotrkow Trybunalski in Israel, 1965)
- Plonsk: *Sefer Plonsk ve-ha-svivah* ['Memorial Book of Plonsk and Vicinity'*], ed. Sh. Zemah (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Plonsk in Israel, 1963)

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- Podlasie: *Podlasie in Umkum* ['Destruction of Podlasie'], ed. M. Faygenboim (Munich, 1948)
- Poland: *Megiles Poyln* ['The Scrolls of Poland'], Leo Finkelstein (Buenos Aires, 1947)
- Romania: *Teg fun Veg: Kronik fun yetsties Rumenye nokh der Hitler-mapole biz der etablrung fun medinat Yisroel* ['On the Road: Chronicle of the (Jewish) Exodus from Romania from the Fall of Hitler to the Establishment of the State of Israel'], Tani Solomon-Maaravi, tr. H. Robinson (s.l., s.d.)
- Romania: *Yahadut Romania be-maavak hatsalatah* ['Romanian Jewry Fighting for Redemption'], T. Lavi (s.l., s.d.)
- Saloniki: *In Memoriam. Hommage aux victims Juives en Grece* ['In Memoriam. Homage to the Jewish Victims in Greece'], ed. M. Molho (Thessaloniki, 1973)
- Slovakia: *Shoat Yehudei Slovakia. Tmunot ve-mesmakhim Bratislava* ['The Destruction of Slovakian Jewry: Photographs and Documents'], F. Steiner (Bratislava, s.d.)
- Sokolow: *In shotn fun Treblinka. Khurbn Sokolow-Podlaski* ['In the Shadow of Treblinka. The Destruction of Sokolow-Podlaski'], S. Polakiewicz (Tel Aviv: Sokolow-Podlaski Society, 1957)
- Sosnowiec: *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca* ['Destruction of Sosnowiec Jewry'], Nathan Elias Szternfinkiel (Katowice, 1946)
- Tarnow: *Yahadut Tarnov ve-irgunei ha-noar* ['Jews of Tarnow and the Youth Movements'], E. Ramon (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, s.d.)
- Tiszafured: *A Tiszafuredi Zsidóság Története és Demográfiája*, Orbanne Szego Agnes (Tiszafured, 1995)
- Turzec: *Kehilot Turzec ve-Jeremicze: sefer zikaron* ['The Communities of Toorets and Yeremitz: Book of Remembrance'], eds M. Walzer-Fass and M. Kaplan (Israel: Turzec and Jeremicze Societies in Israel and America, 1978)
- Uscilug (Ostila): *Le-zekher kehilat Ostila* ['In Memory of the Uscilug Community'], (s.l., s.d.)
- Vilna: *Vilner Geto, 1941-1944* ['The Vilna Ghetto, 1941-1944'], Avraham Sutzkever (s.l., s.d.)
- Vilna: *Yerusholaym de-Lita in kamf un umkum: zikbroynes fun Vilner geto* ['Jerusalem of Lithuania in War and Destruction: Recollections of the Vilna Ghetto'], Mark Dworzecki (s.l., s.d.)
- Warsaw: *Azoy iz es geven ...Hurbn Varshe* ['Once Upon a Time ...

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- Destruction of Warsaw'], eds J. Turkow, Y. Ben and T. Raykh (Buenos Aires, 1948)
- Warsaw: *Der oyfshtand in Varshaver Geto: 19-ter April-16-ter Mai 1943* ['The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising: 19 April – 16 May 1943'], Y. Kermisz (s.l., s.d.)
- Warsaw: *Geshikhte fun Yidn in Varshv* ['History of the Jews in Warsaw'], Yakov Shatzky (s.l., s.d.)
- Warsaw: *Pinkes Varshv* ['Record Book of Warsaw'], eds P. Katz *et al* (Buenos Aires: Residents of Warsaw and Surroundings in Argentina, 1955)
- Warsaw: *Varshaver beyf: mentshn un geshehnishn* ['Courtyards of Warsaw: People and Events'], A. Teitlboim (Buenos Aires, 1947)
- Zolkiew: *Zagłada Żydów Zolkiewskich* ['The Destruction of Zolkiew Jewry'], G. Taffet (Lodz, 1946)

C) Books Acquired Through the Generosity of Jack Lunzer

- Yadin, Yigael (ed.), *Masada: Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965. Final Reports*. 6 Vols (Jerusalem, 1989–99)
- Reif, Stefan, *Hebrew Manuscripts at the Cambridge University Library: A Description and Introduction* (Cambridge, 1997)
- Reif, Stefan, *The Cambridge Genizah Collections: Their Contents and Significance* (Cambridge, 2002)
- Schrekenberg, H., *Bibliographic zu Flavius Josephus* (Leiden, 1968)
- Boucher, W., *Spinoza in English: A Bibliography from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Leiden, 1991)

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- Adelson, A., Lapidés, R. (eds), *Lodz Ghetto: Inside a Community Under Siege* (New York, 1989)
- Apel, Dora, *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing* (New Brunswick, NJ and London, 2002)
- Gertner, Jehoshua and Danek, *Home is No More: The Destruction of the Jews of Kosow and Zabie* (Jerusalem, 2000)
- Goldhagen, D. J., *A Moral Reckoning: The Role of the Catholic Church in the Holocaust and its Unfulfilled Duty of Repair* (Brown, 2002)
- Huberband, Shimon, *Kiddush Hashem: Jewish Religious and Cultural*

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Life in Poland During the Holocaust (Hoboken, NJ and New York, 1987)

Lerer Cohen, R., Issroff, S., *The Holocaust in Lithuania, 1941–1945*. Vols 1–3 (Jerusalem, 2002)

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Talmud:

The Babylonian Talmud, Hebrew-English Edition. 28 Vols (New York, 1980)

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Gaster, T., *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect: In English Translation with Introduction and Notes* (London, 1957)

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Leaney, R., *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning* (London, 1966)

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Roth, C., *The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford, 1958)

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Texts:

Diez Macho, Alejandro, *Neophyti 1. Targum Palestinac ms de la Biblioteca Vaticana, tomo II: Exodo* (Madrid-Barcelona, 1970)

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De Moor, Johannes C. (ed.), *A Bilingual Concordance to the Targum of the Prophets*. 20 Vols (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1995)

Translations:

Volume 3, *Targum Neofiti, Leviticus*, tr. M. McNamara. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Leviticus*, tr. M. Maher (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1994)

Volume 4, *Targum Neofiti 1, Numbers*, tr. M. McNamara. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Numbers*, tr. E. Clarke (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1995)

Volume 5A, *Targum Neofiti 1, Deuteronomy*, tr. M. McNamara (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1997)

Volume 5B, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Deuteronomy*, tr. E. Clarke (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1998)

Volume 10, *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets*, tr. D. Harrington and A. Saldarini (Edinburgh, 1987)

Volume 11, *The Isaiah Targum*, tr. Bruce Chilton (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1987)

Volume 12, *The Targum of Jeremiah*, tr. R. Hayward (Edinburgh, 1987)

Volume 13, *The Targum of Ezekiel*, tr. S. Levy (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1990)

Volume 15, *The Targum of Job*, tr. C. Mangan. *The Targum of Proverbs*, tr. J. Healey. *The Targum of Qohelet*, tr. P. Knobel (Edinburgh, 1991)

Volume 17A, *The Targum of Canticles*, tr. P. Alexander (Collegeville, Minnesota, 2003)

Volume 19, *The Targum of Ruth*, tr. D. R. G. Beattie. *The Targum of Chronicles*, tr. J. Stanley McIvor (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1994)