

REPORT OF THE
OXFORD CENTRE FOR
HEBREW AND
JEWISH STUDIES

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2004–2005

OXFORD CENTRE FOR
HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

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Preface

A THEME LINKING several of the essays in last year's *Report* was religion and democracy. HRH Prince El Hassan, Governor of the Centre, led the discussion. This year the theme is religion and science, and again we have a Governor to take the lead. Baruch Blumberg was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1976 for his discovery nine years earlier of the hepatitis B virus, followed in 1969 by his invention (together with Irving Millman) of the first hepatitis B vaccine. In the autobiographical sketch requested of Nobel prizewinners he wrote:

I received my elementary education at the Yeshiva of Flatbush, a Hebrew parochial school, and, at an early age, in addition to a rigorous secular education, learned the Hebrew Testament in the original language. We spent many hours on the rabbinic commentaries on the Bible and were immersed in the existential reasoning of the Talmud at an age when we could hardly have realized its impact.

That Dr Blumberg's remarks on the nature of scientific enterprise carry the authority of a great scientific mind goes without saying. What is striking is the harmony that he articulates between that enterprise and his early religious schooling. His reflections are a world away from the strident recriminations of religious and bio-evolutionary fundamentalists, each of whom regards the other's philosophy as a poisonous snare to the human intellect.

While Blumberg's outlook may be described as Maimonidean in character, Shlomo Sela's essay on Hebrew scientific terminology takes us back to the era of Maimonides himself. Among other things, it serves as a reminder of the leading role of Arabic in a key phase of early scientific endeavour. Reverting to modern times, Henrietta Mondry's piece about Vasily Rozanov sheds light on a pseudo-scientific aberration. The protagonist's admiration for Jewry is not calculated to give them comfort. With a friend like that they have little need of enemies; and indeed the friend himself can only too easily turn into an enemy. On a more communal note, our library assistant, Małgorzata ('Zosia') Sochańska, provides a survey of the Centre's outstanding collection of *Yizkor* books.

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The OCHJS's nomenclature and status within the Oxford University community has undergone further development. Recent decades have seen a proliferation of bodies 'associated with' but not formally part of the University. By no means all these organizations are academic in character, and the precise nature of their relationship with the University varies. The University Council has now decided (in July 2005) to discontinue the existing terminology of 'association' and to provide a more explicit constitutional framework for a number of academic centres hitherto listed under the 'associated' label. The OCHJS is accordingly about to become a 'Recognized Independent Centre' of the University.

The new status involves formal commitment to a range of practices—in governance, publicity, academic activities, employment and fund-raising—virtually all of which the Centre has already long been following. Furthermore, existing arrangements with the University whereby the Centre's Fellows occupy positions and have office accommodation at the Oriental Institute remain unaffected. The relevant section of the Institute is now officially designated The Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit, a welcome simplification from its previously more cumbersome title.

The key reality behind these institutional arcana—and the point merits annual recapitulation—is that it is the OCHJS which furnishes the bulk of the University's research and teaching resources in Jewish Studies. It does so, moreover, not only on the basis exclusively of its own philanthropic fund-raising, but in an entrepreneurial spirit, giving long-term appointments to established scholars even when its funding sources for more distant years are not yet guaranteed.

Besides the constitutional realm, the real-estate front too has seen a good deal of activity in the past twelve months. In the summer of 2004 the Centre acquired Perry Orchard, a four-bedroom house in Church Lane, effectively on the curtilage of Yarnton Manor. Perry Orchard is intended to serve as the residential accommodation of future Presidents. Its acquisition accordingly has released for sale the main house at Exeter Farm (on the Cassington Road), which is being placed on the market as I write this Preface. In the meantime, adjoining the Cassington Road, the Centre has sold No. 2 Church Lane, the historical village Clerk's house. The combined result of these transac-

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tions is to give the Centre's site a more compact and economical character.

At the same time reconstruction work has begun (in July 2005) on the derelict buildings of Mead Farm at the southern end of Church Lane. The first phase of the works is scheduled for completion in spring 2006. Much of it will provide additional accommodation for the Leopold Muller Memorial Library.

Such accommodation is needed partly to prepare for the eventual disposal of the outhouses at Exeter Farm, and partly to provide space for new library acquisitions. After the Foyle-Montefiore and Hugo Gryn Collections in 2003-4, together with the Schandel-Lipson Montefiore Archive, the past year has seen further major additions to the library's current and prospective resources. These include the Loewe Collection of Judaica pamphlets, the working rabbinical library of Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs and, from Jerusalem, the Copenhagen Family Collection, chiefly on European Jewish history, above all in the Low Countries. Fuller details are set out in the Librarian's report on pages 107-23. The handover of the Loewe pamphlets was the occasion for Professor Rapahel Loewe to deliver some lighthearted reminiscences of his childhood and schooling in interwar Oxford. In purely quantitative terms the Copenhagen Collection dwarfs the other items, consisting as it does of more than 20,000 volumes. It is being held in professional storage until the current Phase I building works at Mead Farm are completed and the books can be shelved.

The Centre's usual flow of unusual discourses has in the past year included two more Isaiah Berlin Public Lectures on Middle East Dialogue—by Michael Leeden ('America's Mission in the Middle East') and jointly by Dr Sari Nusseibeh and Admiral (Ret.) Ami Ayalon updating their project for a peace settlement in Israel/Palestine. I was particularly happy to welcome Dr Nusseibeh, now President of Al Quds University, who more years ago than either of us cares to remember was my economics pupil as an undergraduate at Christ Church. The texts of three earlier talks in the Isaiah Berlin series have recently been published in a special number of the journal *Israel Studies* (Vol. 10, No. 2, Summer 2005), with Emanuele Ottolenghi as Guest Editor.

On other topics, Joseph Sherman gave a Stencl lecture on the

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(Yiddish) literary achievements of David Bergelson, and also organized in August 2005 a two-day colloquium at Yarnton Manor on this writer. He explains the history of the Stencl Lectures on pages 63–6 below. To help launch, or re-launch, their recent books, Hadassah Ben-Itto (after a long and distinguished career as a judge in the Israeli courts) lectured under the auspices of Jewish Book Week about *The Lie That Wouldn't Die: The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; and Professor Ritchie Robertson about *Heinrich Heine (1797–1856): Jewish Thinker, Good European, Citizen of the World*. Dr Ada Rapoport-Albert of University College London delivered, in her compelling thespian style, the fifth Goldman lecture on the subject of 'Messianic Sectarianism in Eighteenth-century Poland: Jacob Frank and the Filipovtsy'.

The Centre has entered into a collaborative arrangement with the European (Paris-based) branch of the American Joint Distribution Committee, commonly known as 'the Joint' or the JDC. This (for those unaware of its history) is a celebrated Jewish philanthropic organization founded early in World War I to meet temporary welfare needs occasioned by the outbreak of that conflict. Its services have been in demand—somewhere—ever since. The collaborative arrangement provides for the JDC to hold its own colloquia at Yarnton Manor from time to time on public-policy issues affecting the world Jewish community.

Our warmest congratulations go to Professor Philip Alexander, of Manchester University, past President of the Centre (1993–5), on his election to Fellowship of the British Academy. The Centre's Governors have particular pleasure in recording that since July 2005 they have a second Israeli colleague (alongside Shlomo Ben-Ami) in the person of HE (former) Ambassador Moshe Raviv. Ambassador Raviv had several tours of duty in the United Kingdom during his diplomatic career, and, besides being familiar with the progress of OCHJS, won particular esteem among the British public for his judicious and humane presentation of Israel's point of view.

On the staff side we congratulate Tali Argov, Lecturer in Modern Hebrew, on the award of her PhD from the Hebrew University. We also welcome Simon Ryde, a long-time Oxford resident with family business interests in property development, who joins us part-time as Estates and Investment Bursar. Simon's arrival indicates not an

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increase in the manpower budget but rather a new (and forward-looking) job-share: our Bursar Peter Da Costa has simultaneously moved to a part-time basis to match Simon's appointment.

Shortly before going to press, we were saddened by the death (on 25 September 2005) of Dr Lionel Kochan, long-time Oxford resident and Senior Associate of the Centre, prolific historian and regular lecturer to Centre audiences. His scholarly writings spanned an unusual range, from the Russian Revolution to the Jewish view of idolatry. Finally, the Centre bade farewell at the end of July 2005 to its Domestic Supervisor Sylvia Hawkins, who leaves us after thirty years' service at Yarnton Manor—almost as long as the Centre has been located there. Not only her colleagues at the Centre, but the steady sequence of academic visitors and graduate students will remember vividly her and her late husband Alan's devotion to their responsibilities, and especially Sylvia's tireless efforts to ensure that buffets were delicious, apartments comfortable and domestic budgets underspent. We wish her many years of continued activity and happy retirement.

September 2005

PETER OPPENHEIMER
President

*Science and Religion*¹

BARUCH S. BLUMBERG

PRESIDENT PETER OPPENHEIMER has asked me to write for this *Report* an essay on the connection between religion, in particular the Jewish religion, and the life and practice of science. I am not an expert, but will attempt to describe what I believe are religious and scriptural influences that affected my perceptions of the scientific endeavour.

My qualifications for speaking on this subject are mixed. I have been a scientist for more than fifty years and am interested in the process of science, that is, the means by which scientists, particularly biological scientists, practise their disciplines. I had a reasonable education in Hebrew and the Jewish canon of scriptural texts as a child as I attended a Hebrew day school, and have retained an interest in Hebrew and Jewish scholarship since that time.

The first part of this paper will be a brief review of the scientific contributions of my colleagues and myself. It will be followed by a discussion of my perceptions of the effects of religious tradition on my scientific work.

Scientific Research

My research began in 1957 with an interest in understanding inherited biochemical and immunological differences between various individuals and populations to determine how these relate to differential susceptibility to disease. We identified and studied the distribution of these traits in many populations and diseases. As part of the programme we tested the sera of patients who had received many blood transfusions. We inferred that if patients were transfused with the blood of a donor who had inherited a protein variant which the recipient had not, then the recipient (transfused) patient could develop an antibody, a reaction against the transfused protein. The antibody could then be used to detect the inherited variant in blood samples from other individuals.

¹ Adapted from a paper presented at a colloquium, 'Science et Sens', at UNESCO, Paris, 24 May 1997.

Using this technique, inherited variation that related to disease susceptibility could be identified. We found a complex system of inherited variants of the low density serum lipoproteins. Studies of the variation have been of interest in cardiovascular and other diseases, because some variants appear to predispose to these conditions.

We continued our search for additional variants and identified another antibody that, we soon learned, detected the surface protein of the hepatitis B virus. Inherited differences between individuals determined whether a person infected with HBV would become a carrier of the virus - that is, become chronically infected with the virus and have an increased liability of developing disease - or would develop a protective antibody in his or her blood. Usually, the infected individual would have one or the other response in the earlier stages of infection.

HBV is a widely distributed and very common virus. Chronically infected individuals are particularly common in Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, the Amazon basin, and the islands of the Pacific. It causes acute and chronic hepatitis - an inflammation of the liver cells - and primary cancer of the liver, one of the commonest cancers in the world. It is estimated that there are 375 million HBV carriers in the world (contrast with about 45 million carriers of HIV) and that it causes about 1.1 million deaths a year, one of the greatest infectious disease killers. There are several other viruses that infect the liver which are likewise of great public health importance.

Our discoveries allowed the detection of HBV in donor blood. Control measures have effectively eliminated post-transfusion hepatitis due to HBV in the countries where testing is in use. We also invented a vaccine which protects against infection with HBV that is now widely used; vaccination programs are in place in more than 120 countries. There has been a dramatic drop in the number of HBV carriers. For example, in Taiwan where the vaccination program has been in place for more than ten years, the prevalence of infected carriers has dropped from about 15% before vaccination to 2% or even lower since the program has been in effect. In addition, there has been a measurable decrease in the incidence of primary cancer of the liver; the prevalence in the vaccinated groups has already decreased by about one-half and it is highly likely that the decreases will be even greater in the near future.

This research project, which commenced as an esoteric interest in inherited biochemical differences, resulted in the introduction of medical

and public health measures that have saved many lives and are likely to save millions more in the future. It has been a gratifying experience from which my colleagues in the field and I have derived great satisfaction. The Talmud, in its typically hyperbolic style, teaches us that the saving of a single human life is the equivalent of saving the whole world. The statement may be exaggerated, but it is a great comfort to physicians, scientists, and others whose labours have contributed to life-saving measures.

The Concept of Order in the Cosmos

The creation story and the chronological historical accounts in the Bible, which often include cause-and-effect sequences, support the concept of the existence of an ordered world. The recognition that there is an order, no matter how complex, means that it is possible to comprehend nature. If no order existed there would be no logical, reasonable, or validateable method to understand the Cosmos. That is, if there were no order in nature, the scientific process could not be used to understand it. But there is an order, and the Hebrew Bible tells us so, even though it does not provide the details. The accumulation of detailed data, and the imperative to understand them, is a task for humans.

Order the Animals

Early in the biblical creation story, which has its own confusions because of the apparent superimposition of several accounts, God creates many beings and then orders Adam to name them.

And the Lord God said: 'It is not good that the man should be alone: I will make a help meet for him'.

And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof.

And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field; but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him. (*Genesis 2:18-20*)²

² The Bible translations are taken from the Authorised Version, with modifications, and the New JPS Translation.

It is fascinating that the order to name the animals is interspersed between the time when God declares the necessity for a mate for Adam, and then realizes it. There appears to have been a pause in the female-making process to define the need of humans to be scientists.

Naming the animals is the first order given to newly created humanity. That is a remarkable assignment. Naming is part of the process of classification, a major task of science. It implies the creation of classes which have observable similarities sufficient to group them together and observable differences which distinguish them from other classes. In science we are constantly discovering new things; new species of animals or plants in previously unstudied areas, new proteins and other biochemicals, new genes whose functions link them with some and separate them from other genes. The responsibility of classification has been assigned to humans.

The process of naming, of classifying, requires the accumulation of detailed data, a characteristic of science. Bronowski and Mazlish³ describe the particular genius of Leonardo Da Vinci in his role as a scientist and technician: 'he made a single profound discovery. He discovered that Nature speaks to us in detail, and that only through the detail can we find her grand design.' Leonardo's meticulous drawings are a moving example of this concern with detail. The accumulation of these details, as much as the formulation of the grand principles of science and nature, is a responsibility of the contemporary scientist.

Alon Goshen-Gottstein⁴ has commented on the amplification process that is described in Genesis. The unity ('God alone') that existed in the pre-Creation period, is separated into many entities during the process of Creation. They are numerically ordered ('First day, Second day,...' etc.) and are often opposites. For example, there are light and darkness, upper and lower waters, land and sea, plants and animals and, finally, man and woman. Creation changes unity into duality and then multiplicity. Creation is realized in a number of stages, not one, evolutionary in their character. Multiplicity, that is, diversity, is a hallmark of the ongoing creative process. Its modern reflection is an attempt to deal with the complexity of nature, now aided by powerful and widely

³ J. Bronowski and B. Mazlish (eds) *The Western Intellectual Tradition: From Leonardo to Hegel* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1993).

⁴ Alon Goshen-Gottstein, 'Creation', in A. A. Cohen and P. Mendes-Flohr (eds) *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought* (New York: Scribner's, 1987) 114-15.

available computers that allow the generation and ordered accumulation of massive amounts of data and an appreciation of how they interact.

Our studies of inherited genetic variation in susceptibility to disease, described above, are an example of the use of the knowledge of diversity to understand human biology and disease prevention. Goshen-Gottstein notes that humans have a role in this process: 'one may develop further series of interdependent pairs of opposites to capture the full range of diversity within creation. Thus the door is open for current and future generations to elaborate upon the composite nature of creation, as upon the modes of rediscovering unity, which must be the outcome of the recognition of the antinomies inherent in creation.'⁵

Naming or classification is a creative process. New natural entities are constantly being discovered or even produced synthetically. Examination of any of the scientific journals reveals a whole host of new names and new entities in each issue. Humans are constantly adding to the known cosmos. And classifications change as more and more knowledge accumulates. Even in the established sciences of Botany and Zoology, plant and animal species and genera are often renamed and reclassified. The explosive growth of Molecular Biology has introduced many new possibilities for even more discovery and classification of natural entities. It vastly increases the detail that can be used to distinguish new species. Is scientific discovery an act of creation or does it disclose something that was always there? I will leave this question for minds more profound than my own.

Species can be eliminated by human activity. There is a great concern over the power of humans to change the environment which can encourage some species and diminish or even eliminate others. The Hebrew Bible and its interpretations emphasize the human responsibility to other species; that humans must act as stewards and custodians over nature. The rabbinical interpretations recommend the benevolent treatment of domestic animals and the correct use of crop fields, stressing the requirement of responsibility and guardianship.

The Creator, by his example, encourages the act of creation and, presumably, this encouragement extends to the human co-creator. After

⁵ Ibid. 115.

the daily creations the Bible declares that each of the acts 'was good'. After the sixth day comes the declaration: 'And God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day.' (*Genesis* 1:31)

This can be taken as an encouragement, even an imperative for humans to pursue the act of co-creation. It not only should be done, but it is a good thing to do. And, the rabbinical message is to be enthusiastic about it. Dr Arnold Eisen, Chair of the Department of Religious Studies at Stanford University, discussed this concept with me. He stressed the life-affirming character of co-creation, the need to study and meditate day and night, the joy of learning and discovery, the concept that life is not only a passage from here to there but a 'now' that should be fully occupied with activity. If there is one lesson I have learned as a scientist, it is the need for intense activity and enthusiasm, of persistence, of sensing the joy of discovery.

The Requirement to Understand Nature

The biblical canon has frequent references to the *obligation* for study and understanding of nature. In Job, humans are challenged to know the workings of the cosmos, but also confronted with the immensity, the power and the mystery of God-created nature

I will ask and you will inform me. Where were you when I laid the foundations of the earth? Declare, if you have understanding. Who has laid the measures thereof, if you know? Or who has stretched the line upon it? Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened? Or who laid the corner stone thereof; When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy? Or who shut up the sea with doors, when it brake forth, as if it had issued out of the womb? (*Job* 38:3-8)

And later,

Have you penetrated to the sources of the sea, or walked in the recesses of the deep? Have the gates of death been disclosed to you? Have you seen the gates of deep darkness? Have you surveyed the expanses of the earth? If you know these - tell Me. (*Job* 38:16-18)

These could be interpreted as a caution to humans, that they cannot achieve God's wisdom; they can also be read as a challenge to seek new knowledge, as exploring humans have. But God, speaking from the

storm, makes it clear to Job that there is still much that is unknown and fearsome. Humans may be encouraged to know, but the importance of humility in the face of the creative power is forcibly declared.

Humility

Of all the traits the scientists needs, humility is the greatest. The more we learn, the more we learn about what we don't know. When a hypothesis is tested, the process of testing generates more data. This data, in turn, can be used to generate more hypotheses and they too can be tested with yet more data. Then this data generates even more hypotheses. We end up with a great deal of knowledge, often enough to apply to a useful end, but we also are made aware that there are still more questions to be answered. Our understanding is never perfect. When we realize that we have made a great discovery and a portion of possible knowledge is revealed to us, we are also made aware of all that is not known that has been revealed to us by the same process. The more we know the more we know about what we don't know.

What are the limits of human knowledge? Deuteronomy provides an indication of the limits, but doesn't define them: 'The secret things belong unto the Lord our God: but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law.' (*Deuteronomy 29:29*) God retains the secret things, but assigns the revealed to humans. However, there is no definition of the distinction between the secret and the revealed. It is a challenge to humans to discover the unknown. We must broaden our knowledge of the revealed and, since there is no definition of the unknown, there is no obvious limit. As scientists advance in their solution of problems they always reveal more of the unknown. Humans gain understanding but they also create the unknown. It is as much of an obligation to raise questions as it is to answer them so that the unending quest will continue.

Conclusion

From a very early time the concept has prevailed that the Bible, although divine in its inspiration, is to be analysed by humans. A great body of interpretive literature has built up over the course of many

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generations. I don't find contradictions between the Bible and the consequences of scientific inquiry. If humans are meant to continue the process of discovery and creation, then there are no precepts in scripture that impose restrictions upon the search for knowledge. Moral and ethical principles of religion, on the other hand, have a great bearing on how the products of science should be used.

The pursuit of scientific knowledge can be exciting and rewarding, but it can also be perplexing, frustrating, and refractory to understanding. At times it appears that the complexity and mysteries of nature are so great that they are beyond our puny powers of comprehension. Scientists, awestruck by the difficulties that appear to confront them, can lose their courage to continue. In such circumstances, it is comforting to know that nature is meant to be understood, that we march under a banner that proclaims knowledge and that our efforts to understand are likely to be rewarded if we prevail.

*Hebrew Scientific Terminology in the Middle Ages**

SHLOMO SELA

TODAY HEBREW is a language like any other. One can tell jokes in Hebrew, have a conversation or write a book about any subject, and still perform Jewish rituals in Hebrew as in the past. In short, Hebrew today is a *complete* language, no longer a limited *holy tongue*, but a language that has undergone a rapid process of secularization. The theme of this article is that in the twelfth century, generations before the crystallization of modern Hebrew, another remarkable renaissance of the Hebrew language took place. I shall try to show that it too was closely related to a secularization of Hebrew as well as to the rise of medieval Hebrew science and philosophy.

A striking piece of evidence concerning these processes may be found not in Hebrew, but in English, more precisely in Middle English, in the introduction to the *Treatise on the Astrolabe* written by Geoffrey Chaucer and dedicated to his son in c. 1391. The astrolabe was an instrument of Greek invention employed by astronomers and astrologers in antiquity and the Middle Ages to solve technical problems relating to the position of the heavenly bodies. Chaucer's monograph was the first competent work written in English to teach the use of the instrument. Chaucer was well aware that he was by no means a trailblazer, so felt obliged to explain in the introduction why there was need for yet another book on the subject. He wrote as follows:

This tretis, divided in 5 parties, wol I shewe the under full light reules and naked wordes in Englissh, for Latyn ne canst thou yit but small, my litel sone. But natheles suffise to the these trewe conclusions in Englissh as wel as sufficith to these noble clerkes Grekes these same conclusions in Grek; and to Arabiens in Arabik, and to Jewes in Ebrew, and to the Latyn folk in Latyn.¹

* A version of this paper was presented as a David Patterson Seminar, at Yarnton Manor.

¹ G. Chaucer, 'A Treatise on the Astrolabe', in *The Riverside Chaucer* (Oxford, 1987) 662.

In the first place, what is remarkable in this citation is that, besides presenting what he deemed to be a justification for the composition of the work, Chaucer encapsulates the major stages of the history of science from antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages, as seen from the perspective of a fourteenth-century intellectual. He names first a Greek and then an Arabic phase. A third, Jewish phase, characterized by casting scientific contents into a Hebrew mould, is finally followed by a Latin phase, with which he is himself identified.

A second, interrelated point also emerges. We all know how quickly nowadays scientific theories and scientific instruments become obsolete. Geoffrey Chaucer refers to the history of the astrolabe, a scientific instrument, and in this context describes the previous contribution of the *Grekes in Grek*, the *Arabiens in Arabik*, the *Jews in Ebrew*, and of the *Latyn folk in Latyn*. His words make it clear that, in his opinion, the history of the astrolabe from antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages should *not* be interpreted, as one might expect nowadays when referring to a scientific instrument, as a series of gradual improvements in its physical configuration. Rather, in Chaucer's awareness, the history of the instrument's development consists of the transmission of the astrolabe *from one language into another*. The same applies to the general history of science. In short, the history of science from antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages consisted of the transference of Greek science from the Greek language into Arabic, from Arabic into Hebrew, from Greek, Arabic and Hebrew into Latin, and finally into the modern European languages (as in the case of English, embodied by Chaucer).

Chaucer's reference to the work of the *Jewes in Ebrew* also refers to a general cultural phenomenon – the process of secularization of the 'holy tongue' and the development of 'medieval Hebrew science'. This is a remarkable chapter in the general history of ideas, as well as in the intellectual history of Jewish culture in the Middle Ages. What, then, were the historical foundations of the cultural and linguistic phenomenon within whose framework *Jewes* composed scientific works *in Ebrew*? To answer this question, we must turn back in time and explore the link between Jews and the sciences.

In the middle of the eighth century, with the completion of the Islamic conquest of the eastern, southern and part of the western shores of the Mediterranean, many Jewish communities came under the

emerging power and culture of Islam. Jews managed to integrate successfully into the ruling society without losing their religious and national identity. They willingly adopted the Arabic language, spoke it fluently, wrote it in Hebrew letters (Judeo-Arabic), and employed Arabic in the composition of their literary works. The general attraction of Islamic culture and the openness of Muslims to cooperation in scientific and cultural matters led to the participation of Jews, together with Muslims, Christians and members of other communities, in the acceptance of the Greek world view and its integration into Arabic culture and language. The scientific output of scholars of Jewish descent was no different in character from that of Muslims or members of other religious communities, either in its content or in the language in which it was couched. This phenomenon is especially noticeable in Andalusia, that is, Muslim Spain, where Jewish scientists and intellectuals made a significant contribution.

New historical vicissitudes in the Iberian Peninsula, however, doomed this brief marriage between Andalusian Jewish intellectuals and the Arabic language. As a counterweight to the declining Muslim power and growing sway of the northern Christian kingdoms, two Berber dynasties, the Almoravides (1090) and the Almohades (1145), successively conquered al-Andalus and caused a substantial alteration in the Iberian political regime and cultural climate. In brief, these traditionalist Muslim regimes put an end to the earlier relative tolerance towards non-Muslims. Under compulsion to embrace Islam, many families of the resident minorities of Christians and Jews opted to abandon Muslim Spain. The majority crossed from al-Andalus to Christian Spain, but many Jewish families abandoned the Iberian Peninsula altogether and emigrated to southern France, Italy or the Orient.

As a result of their physical detachment from Muslim Spain, Jewish intellectuals gradually severed their links with Arabic and found another linguistic vehicle for expressing their intellectual aspirations. As those who settled in Christian lands integrated in their new environment, a remarkable transition from Arabic to Hebrew occurred. The preference for Hebrew of Jews in the Latin West reflected a number of factors. First, most Jews did not have linguistic access to the Latin scientific literature which had begun to circulate in Western Europe at the end of the eleventh century. Secondly, Jews led a special professional life and had inferior legal status in medieval Europe. These elements on their

own prompted Jews to create an alternative scientific corpus written in Hebrew.

Thirdly, however, many of the translators and authors of Hebrew texts also emphasized the cultural and even 'nationalistic' aspect of their work. In other words, the Hebrew language served as a symbol of their cultural identity in the broadest sense. In their confrontation with the extensive Arabic literature and Latin scholarship the Jewish elites were eager to prove to Gentiles, and to themselves, that their own ancient language was not inferior, and could be as useful as Arabic and Latin. Thus, Hebrew became the common written language for Jewish communities, a kind of *lingua franca* of the Western as well as Oriental Diaspora.

The transition from Arabic to Hebrew is especially noticeable in the composition of works on secular subjects, mainly sciences and philosophy. In contrast with the previous contributions of Jews to science – written in Arabic and largely devoid of specific Jewish imprint – the new 'medieval Hebrew science' that emerged from the twelfth century to the end of the Middle Ages featured a robust and continuous flow both of original Hebrew compositions and of translations into Hebrew, conveying, with a clearly Jewish character, the Greco-Arabic world view to Jewish audiences.

Let us emphasize that this transition was the passage from a language which had already proved itself able to handle the reception of Greek science and philosophy, to a language previously used almost exclusively for religious and liturgical purposes. In other words the switch from Arabic to Hebrew involved the creation of a new Hebrew vocabulary. Two questions follow. First, how was the new Hebrew vocabulary created? And second, what strategies were adopted to further the process?

In tackling these questions, I shall here deal only with the first stage – which is perhaps the most creative and fascinating – of the process of secularization of the 'holy tongue' and the development of 'medieval Hebrew science'. I shall focus my attention on the linguistic strategy of four outstanding twelfth-century Jewish intellectuals: Judah Ibn Tibbon (c. 1120–c. 1190), Maimonides (1135–1204), Abraham Bar Hiyya (c. 1065–c. 1140) and Abraham Ibn Ezra (c. 1089–c. 1167).

Judah Ibn Tibbon's life epitomizes the fate of those Jews who were expelled from al-Andalus and thereby compulsorily detached from the Arabic language. He was born in Granada around 1120, and was forced

to abandon al-Andalus as a consequence of the invasion of the Almohades in 1145. He emigrated to southern France, where he practised medicine and won fame as a translator. Indeed, he was known to subsequent generations as the 'father of translators' for his pioneering achievements in rendering Arabic into Hebrew. And yet, notwithstanding the fact that he bequeathed to succeeding generations a remarkable list of Hebrew translations, he did not conceal his admiration and yearning for the superseded Arabic language. In the introduction he composed for his Hebrew translation of *Hovot ha-Levavot* ('Duties of the Heart') by Bahyah Ibn Paquda, he wrote that Jews in Islamic lands were compelled by their interest in secular studies to cultivate Arabic instead of Hebrew, because of its richness and lucidity. Judah Ibn Tibbon did not feel any embarrassment in highlighting the inferiority of the holy tongue as a vehicle for expressing scientific ideas. Arabic, he declares, 'is in fact a most comprehensive language, full of resources concerning every subject. It satisfies the necessities of all those who speak or write this language. Its expressions are exact and clear, and it reaches to the heart of all questions, much more than is possible in Hebrew. For what has remained of the Hebrew language is not more than the biblical books, and these are not sufficient for our needs.'²

Maimonides presents a slightly different model. His historical fate was similar to Judah Ibn Tibbon's. He too was compelled to abandon al-Andalus as result of the invasion of the Almohades in 1148. But Maimonides took up residence in Fustat, the Old City of Cairo, so, unlike Judah, remained under the sway of the Arabic language. Maimonides was not only an outstanding author of rabbinical literature, but also a philosopher of stature, an eminent physician and a competent writer on astronomical subjects. An overall scrutiny of his writings, however, reveals a striking dichotomy. By and large, Hebrew was the language of his religious and halakhic writings, and Arabic that of his works on 'external sciences'. In this regard the Maimonidean model embodies the tendency to preserve for as long as possible the attachment to Arabic.

From a purely chronological perspective, Abraham Bar Hiyya should be credited with the title of genuine pioneer. Very little is known of his life, except that he was a scion of an important Jewish family, a fact indicated by his title *ha-Nassi* (the Prince), and by the probability that he

² Introduction to the Hebrew translation of Bahyah Ibn Paquda, *Sefer Hovot ha-Levavot*, ed. Zifroni (Jerusalem, 1969) 2.

occupied a post in the Arabic kingdom of Zaragoza-Lerida, as suggested by his appellation *Savasorda*, a corruption of *Sahib-al-Shurta*, that is, chief of the guard.

Bar Hiyya's work falls into five main categories: astronomy, mathematics, Jewish calendar, astrology and philosophy. But the main fact is that he wrote all his literary work in Hebrew, an unprecedented endeavour. His motivations and purposes are illustrated in his introduction to *Yesodey ha-Tevunah u-Migdal ha-'Eminah* ('Foundations of Understanding and Tower of Faith'), the first Hebrew scientific encyclopedia:

I did not undertake this task of my own will, or to gain glory. Rather, many among the great in my generation, whose advice I am obliged to take, have urged me to do so because there was not a single book written in Hebrew on these matters in the whole land of *Sarfat* [France].³

Bar Hiyya highlights the idea that he feels prompted to satisfy a new demand for Hebrew scientific literature. This was not a solitary statement. He reiterated the point in the introductions to his other scientific works. It is also remarkable that in those similar passages Bar Hiyya did not try to convey either a view about Hebrew as a language of science or an outline of his prospective linguistic strategy. Researches into his vocabulary show an eclectic attitude. He coined new scientific Hebrew terms by taking words from the classical Hebrew lexicon – the Bible and the Mishnah – and modifying their meaning. These were words of 'Hebrew body and Arabic soul'. But at the same time he was not embarrassed to borrow Arabic terminology and introduce Arabic words directly into the Hebrew language through transliteration.

We turn now to Abraham Ibn Ezra. The vicissitudes of his life as well as the organization and scope of his literary production emerge as the very embodiment of the passage from Arabic to Hebrew and the rise of 'medieval Hebrew science'. Ibn Ezra's literary output was not written in Muslim Spain where he was born and grew up. His first works date from the time he abandoned al-Andalus and arrived in Latin Europe, aged fifty, in Rome in 1140. Thereafter he led the life of an intellectual wanderer, roaming through Italy, France and England, teaching and writing prolifically, almost exclusively in Hebrew, on a wide variety of subjects. His literary career extended to the end of his life.

³ *La obra enciclopédica Yesode ha-Tevunah u-Migdal ha-'Eminah de R. Abraham Bar Hiyya ha-Bargeloni*, edición crítica por José M. Millás Vallicrosa (Madrid-Barcelona, 1952) 10 (Hebrew section).

The fact that Ibn Ezra commenced his literary activities so late, and in Hebrew, strongly suggests that the message he intended to transmit in this language became vitally relevant only after he emigrated from Muslim Spain and arrived in Latin Europe. The implication is that had he not abandoned al-Andalus and changed his linguistic vehicle from Arabic to Hebrew, he would in all likelihood have remained unknown, instead of becoming a prolific writer and one of the most original medieval thinkers.

Ibn Ezra rose to fame principally because of his outstanding Hebrew biblical exegesis. But he also wrote religious and secular poetry, a series of religious-theological monographs, grammatical treatises and a scientific corpus of roughly thirty volumes. The latter, which recalls Bar Hiyya's contribution, falls into four parts: (1) mathematics, astronomy, scientific instruments and tools; (2) Jewish calendar; (3) astrology; (4) translations from Arabic into Hebrew.⁴

Of the four Jewish intellectuals considered here, Ibn Ezra may be the one who adopted the most original and creative terminological strategy. He wrote, for the first time in Hebrew, at least five treatises dealing directly with Hebrew grammar. Yet surprisingly, we must look elsewhere for a clear statement of his views on the Hebrew language, namely at the introductions to the various versions of his *Keli ha-Nehoshet* ('The Instrument of Brass'), or 'The Book of the Astrolabe'.

Why should Ibn Ezra have chosen such a purely scientific treatise as the place to reveal his view of the Hebrew language? He was the first Jewish scientist to write a manual in Hebrew on the use of the astrolabe, and he actually produced three different versions of that work. Geoffrey Chaucer was in all likelihood pointing to the figure of Ibn Ezra when he referred, in the passage cited at the beginning of this article, to Jews writing in Hebrew about the astrolabe. Now a technical treatise like this was precisely where he was most likely to encounter terminological and translation difficulties when writing in Hebrew. Indeed, Ibn Ezra began the second version of *Keli ha-Nehoshet* by noting that 'it is difficult to translate from one language into another, and it is especially difficult to translate into the holy tongue, since we know of it only the part that is extant in the Bible'.

⁴ S. Sela, 'Abraham Ibn Ezra's Scientific Corpus – Basic Constituents and General Characterization', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* x (2001) 91–149.

He expanded on the subject in the introduction to the third version, as follows:

Abraham the Spaniard, the son of Me'ir, the son of Ezra, the author, said: Everyone, having an understanding of what he hears, knows that the holy tongue was the most comprehensive since it was the first among the languages of all the nations. But, since the holy people were exiled from their Holy Land, they intermingled with other nations, learnt their languages, and so forgot their own language and were left only with the books of the prophets. But all those words which the prophets had no need for in their works do not appear at all in Scripture. Therefore it is difficult to create new nouns, that is, to translate them from one language into another.⁵

Two main issues are touched on here. On the one hand, Ibn Ezra wanted to identify the chief cause of his quandaries as the writer of a Hebrew manual for the astrolabe. In his opinion the main difficulty lies in the historical fact that the Jews, the natural masters and speakers of the Hebrew language, after being exiled, abandoned their original language and were compelled to use the languages of other nations. Moreover, since the prophets had not deemed it necessary to address every concept and employ the related words in their books, the biblical vocabulary still available has many linguistic deficiencies. On the other hand, Ibn Ezra was also pointing at a solution, albeit a partial one, to his terminological problems. His statement that Hebrew was the first and most comprehensive of all languages hints that it was created on the basis of a divine blueprint as a perfect language, with the broadest possible semantic compass. Hence it could express every nuance of reality and included the terminology needed to deal with science in general, including with the astrolabe and its uses in particular. The underlying message is that Ibn Ezra would not have encountered serious difficulties in writing about the astrolabe had the Jews not been exiled and in consequence forgotten most of the original vocabulary of Hebrew. Moreover, he seems to express the idea that since the original Hebrew language was not completely lost, he might still be able to solve his terminological difficulties without recourse to other languages. The vocabulary of biblical

⁵ *Keli ha-Nehoshet, third version, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Hébr. 1054, fol. 4b :*

ואם אברהם בן מאיר בן עזרא הספרדי המחבר. כל מבין לשמוע ידע כי לשון הקדש היתה רחבה מכל לשונות הגוים, כי היא היתה הראשונה לכולם. ובעבור גלות עם הקדש מאדמת הקדש התערבו בגוים וילמדו לשון עם ועם, ונשכחה לשונם מפיהם ולא נשאר בידיהם רק ספרי הנביאים, ואשר לא הוצרכו בספריהם לדבר בו, לא מצאנוהו כתוב, על כן יקשה לחדש שמות והטעם לתרגם אותם השמות מלשון אל לשון אחר.

Hebrew, a surviving remnant of the ancient Hebrew language, 'the first and most comprehensive of all languages', can still be drawn on.

How should we regard Ibn Ezra's statement? Is it mere wishful thinking, a kind of rhetorical flourish? I believe, on the contrary, that it represents a sincere ideological declaration of intent. Ibn Ezra, a biblical commentator as well as a scientist, considered himself qualified to revive the semi-extinguished holy tongue, to restore original scientific meanings that had been forgotten, a task which involved mining the biblical text to rediscover a set of original Hebrew scientific terms. In other words, he believes that the biblical text can provide words endowed with the original scientific meaning. They are not many, but they are key words that express fundamental aspects of reality. I offer two examples.

The first refers to the concept of the *seven climates*. A common ancient and medieval assumption was that the inhabited area of the earth, the *oikumene*, was divided into 'seven climates', bands of earth extending in latitude between two parallels where common phenomena were to be found, such as prevailing weather or the length of the longest day in summer. The concept was originally developed by Greek sciences, and crystallized into the Greek word *klima*. Afterwards, the term *klima* was conveyed into Arabic as the word *'iglim*. This in turn was later transferred to Hebrew, Jewish translators coining the new cognate Hebrew *'aqlim*. Abraham Bar Hiyya, for example, adopted and frequently used this term in his scientific treatises. The word *'aqlim* is still used in modern Hebrew, to mean 'climate'. Ibn Ezra for his part, as a scientist dealing with astronomy and astrology, could not do without the concept of the 'seven climates'. However, he avoided the Hebrew word *'aqlim* and instead employed (in a variety of contexts) the peculiar Hebrew expression *gevulot 'ares*, meaning literally 'borders of the earth'.

Why did he do this? Ibn Ezra revealed his reasons not in a scientific treatise, but in his biblical commentary on Psalms, where he furnished *gevulot 'arets* with the following explanation:

'Thou hast set all the borders of the earth [*gevulot 'arets*]: thou hast made summer and winter' [*Psalms* 74:17] – ... It is meant that *ha-shiv'ah gevulot* [that is, the seven climates] stand forever, and the inhabited part of the earth will not change; and the reason for writing 'summer and winter' is because the overwhelming majority of the inhabited part of the earth is in the north and only a slight part is in the south; and the reason for mentioning this

together with the *gevulot 'arets* [literally, 'borders of the earth'] is that when in one place it is summer, in the other it is winter.⁶

We notice that in this biblical commentary the Hebrew expression *gevulot 'arets* is completely identified with the concept of 'seven climates': the *gevulot 'arets* are seven in number, exactly as the seven climates; they are described as stretching from north to south and constituting the inhabited part of the earth; and they are assigned a specific weather for a specific season. Moreover, in Ibn Ezra's opinion, the seven climates, the seven *gevulot*, or *gevulot 'arets*, will 'stand forever' because they are a physical reality created as part of the divine plan described in Genesis. We conclude that Ibn Ezra invariably employed the Hebrew biblical form and shunned the use of the other word, *'aqlim*, because the concept of 'seven climates' has its genuine expression in the biblical term *gevulot 'arets*, which features in *Psalms* 74:17.

Another bizarre Hebrew word used frequently by Ibn Ezra is that employed to express the concept of centre: *mutsaq*, whose literal meaning is 'solid', 'stable' or 'strong'. The normative word for 'centre' established in medieval Hebrew was *merkaz*, which is a cognate from the Arabic *markaz*. That word is still used with the meaning of 'centre' in modern Hebrew. (For a number of years this was the title given to the OCHJS's own Newsletter!) A perusal of Ibn Ezra's output, however, reveals that he avoided the normative Hebrew *merkaz* and maintained the use of *mutsaq* with obstinate consistency throughout his literary work.

The explanation is that *mutsaq* appears several times in the biblical repertoire, while *merkaz* is completely absent from biblical and talmudic vocabulary. Ibn Ezra's opinion about the original and genuine meaning of *mutsaq* is given in his commentary on Job, where the word figures several times. In relation to *Job* 38:38 he observes cryptically that '*mutsaq* is a point', while his comment on *Job* 36:16 explains that *mutsaq* is the centre point of a circle. On *Job* 37:10 he says that 'the meaning of *mutsaq* is the earth, which stands as a point in the middle of the spheres'.

⁶ Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Commentary on Psalms* 74:17, *Miqra'ot Gedolot* (Venice, 1525; reprinted Jerusalem 1972):

הוזכר כי השבעה גבולות הם נצבים לעולם ולא יתחלף היישוב וטעם קיץ וחורף בעבור היות רוב היישוב בפאת שמאל וקצתו בפאת דרום וטעם להזכיר זה עם גבולות ארץ כי בהיות במקום אחד קיץ הוא במקום אחר חורף.

These three statements show the semantic field of the word *mutsaq* being gradually widened by Ibn Ezra. Starting from the notion of 'point', it extends to the concept of the 'geometric centre of a circle'. On the basis of this interpretation and the prevailing geocentric model, the word is further viewed as a synonym for the 'earth' itself, presented as 'the cosmic centre of the spheres'. In view of this semantic excursus, it is unsurprising that the biblical *mutsaq* found its place throughout Ibn Ezra's literary work, not only in his biblical commentaries but in his scientific corpus.

I have discussed in some detail only two examples, but there are others. For the concept of astrological judgements Ibn Ezra used, for the first time, the word *mishpatim*, that is, 'judgements', acknowledging that he took this from *Psalms* 19:10. For the concept of planets, he used the word *meshartim*, that is, 'assistants', from *Psalms* 103:21. And to describe 'nature' he avoided the use of the normative Hebrew *teva*, which comes from the Arabic and is still used in modern Hebrew, and employed instead the peculiar word *toledet*, which he took from the book of Genesis.⁷

All these terms, and particularly the manner in which their use was justified, lead to the conclusion that Ibn Ezra was ideologically motivated consistently to prefer biblical words to other more customary expressions. In his view biblical vocabulary occasionally offers authentic scientific terms to represent the most central concepts of nature, and he considered these to be a relic of the original Hebrew language – 'the most comprehensive and the first among the languages of all the nations'. To restore them to use was the quintessence of his terminological strategy. Peculiar as the strategy may appear, it must be seen as part and parcel of the intellectual climate and historical circumstances from which Ibn Ezra sprang. His preference for avoiding Arabic scientific vocabulary was a response, idiosyncratic perhaps, but consistent, to the challenge of separation from Arabic culture and language that he and his generation were forced to confront.

⁷ For these terms, see S. Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003) 116–37.

*Russian Politics of the Jew's Body: The Case of Vasily Rozanov**

HENRIETTA MONDRY

VASILY ROZANOV (1856–1919) was a turn-of the-century Russian thinker whose generic philosophy of sexuality was designed to rehabilitate the human body from its underprivileged status in Christianity. In order to counter Christian beliefs on the sinful nature of the animal/human body Rozanov sought alternative belief systems on the body and sexuality in other cultures. Judaism became his main object of interest and he identified non-ascetic attitudes towards matters of human sexuality from sources in some ways linked to Judaism and the life of contemporary Russian Jewry.

While contemporary European culture was commonly obsessed with matters related to the Jewish body, Rozanov's evaluation of it was markedly different from others. Western scientific and quasi-scientific discourses marked the Jewish body as anomalous, but Rozanov, who agreed with this characterization, gave it a positive evaluation. Anomaly implied for him possessing a set of biological features which proved the archaic nature of the Jew's body. This was conceived by him as a unique survival from biblical times, and he believed that as a biological organism it carried impulses and signs from a number of ancient narratives. He believed in the historical accuracy of episodes in the Hebrew Bible involving sexual transgression, and in his view the prohibition of certain forms of sexual behavior in Leviticus constituted proof of ancient Hebrews' transgressive sexual practices, including incest and homosexuality. One of his most striking fantasies was that ancient Hebrews had sexual contacts with celestial Watchers. This allowed him to propound the mystical nature of sexuality, and the view that it makes possible the crossing of boundaries between physical and metaphysical bodies. Such crossing of boundaries leads to the rehabilitation of body and sexuality, and for him the Jew's body was a tool in his self-styled 'mission of sexuality'.

* A version of this paper was presented as a David Patterson Seminar.

His politics of the Jew's body were linked also to Russian politics. He demonized the Jews for what he saw as political activities directed at the destruction of the Russian monarchy. In the turmoil prior to the Russian revolution of 1917 he used his fantasies as a weapon against politically active Russian Jews, exposing the alleged anomalous nature of Jews. Anomaly was for him at this point a negative category, and his views on the Jew's body converged with the anti-Semitic discourse of turn-of-the-century Europe. After the revolution, however, and before his death in 1919 Rozanov returned to his positive evaluation of the Jewish body and Jewish sexuality, and ordered the burning of his anti-Jewish books. Against his will his anti-Semitic pamphlets nonetheless survived. They were reprinted in the 1930s in Sweden and used by Nazis as proof of the racial degeneracy of Jews. His work was banned in the Soviet Union, yet the anti-Jewish writings he had ordered to be destroyed were published in post-Soviet Russia in 1996.

One constant in Rozanov's work—the theme of incest—illustrates the dynamics of his interaction with Jewish sexuality and forms the structure around which Rozanov builds his politics of Jewish sexuality.¹ This paper will discuss Rozanov's manipulation of incest as a marker of Jewish sexuality and his fluctuating view of this behaviour. We compare his work with theories of incest held by contemporary authors both Jewish (Sigmund Freud and Otto Rank) and non-Jewish (Edward Westermarck). We also explore formative influences underlying Rozanov's quasi-political, subjective views.

Incest and the Jews as a Theme in Scientific Discourse

Sander Gilman's studies of the perception of Jewish sexuality in the work of turn-of-the-century European thinkers have established incest as one of the most significant among the sexual perversions attributed to Jews in (quasi) scientific discourses. While criminal statistics show a very low incidence of incest among Jews, Gilman shows that a belief in the incestuousness of Jews was remarkably persistent in the forensic and anthropological literature of the time. Jewish levirate marriages – the

¹ Aleksandr Etkind is mistaken when he says that sexuality in Rozanov 'is centered not around incest, as with Freud', but 'around family life' (*Eros Nevozmozhnogo: istoriia psikhhoanaliza v Rossii* [Moscow: Gnosis, 1994] 44). On incest as a charge against evil Others in rabbinic literature, see Michael L. Satlow, *Tasting the Dish: Rabbinic Rhetorics of Sexuality* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

marriage between a man and the widow of his dead brother who has died childless² – as well as marriages between first cousins, were viewed as examples of brother-sister incest. Michael Satlow discusses the part played by Jewish marriage practices in the perpetuation of fantasies about Jewish tendencies to incest in European discourse.³ In Russia, a belief in brother-sister incest among Jews was arguably reinforced by the Russian words for male and female cousins—*dvoiurodnii brat* (secondary or second-order brother) and *dvoiurodnaiia sestra* (secondary sister) for first cousins, and tertiary, quaternary etc. brother and sister for more distant degrees of cousinhood. Edward Westermarck's voluminous *History of Human Marriage* (1891) sees levirate marriages among Jews as a means for preserving racial boundaries and incest as a marker of Jewish ethnopsychology, partly due to the presence of incest stories in the Old Testament.⁴ Whether an inherited sign or a manifestation of psychoneuroses, the supposed tendency to incest among the Jews was taken as a strong indicator of a pathological and racially coded Jewish sexuality.

The ideological association of Jews with incest was reinforced with the emergence of the Vienna school of psychoanalysis, which considered incest as a kernel of unconscious drives. According to Gilman the fact that the psychoanalytical movement was perceived by some as a Jewish phenomenon was due, in part, to the popular association of the Jews with consanguineous marriages.⁵ Freud was aware of this perception of psychoanalysis, and Yerushalmi has shown that Freud's 'courtship' of Jung was largely to ensure the presence of a non-Jewish member in the psychoanalytical movement.⁶ Ironically, when Jung defected from Freud, he was quick to accuse Freud of an incestuous love of his 'sister', Minna Bernays, who was in fact Freud's sister-in-law.⁷ The

² Definition from the Glossary of the 1952–1961 printing of the *Soncino Talmud*, at <http://www.come-and-hear.com/tglossary.html#LEVIRATE> Accessed 27 September 2004.

³ Satlow (see n. 1).

⁴ Sander L. Gilman, 'Freud and the Sexologists: A Second Reading', in Sander L. Gilman *et al* (eds) *Reading Freud's Readings* (New York: SUNY Press, 1994) 47–76. On Westermarck's popularity in Russia during the modernist period, see Erik Naiman, *Sex in Public: The Incarnation of Early Soviet Ideology* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997).

⁵ Gilman, 'Freud and the Sexologists' (see n. 4).

⁶ Yosef Hyaim Yerushalmi, *Freud's Moses: Judaism Terminable and Interminable* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1991).

⁷ Gilman, 'Freud and the Sexologists' (see n. 4) 36.

idea that psychoanalysis was a Jewish movement also sprang from the perception that the Jewish psyche was 'special', Freud's Oedipal theory being seen as yet another aberration of the Jewish mind.⁸ Partly in response to this view, Otto Rank's extensive study, *The Incest Theme in Literature and Legend* (1906/1912), aimed to show the universal nature of unconscious desires for sibling unity and parent-child incest.⁹ In his book, the biblical story of Lot and his daughters features alongside incest accounts from the myths and legends of most of the ancient and modern nations. Rank even cites a story included in a German collection of fairy tales, dated 1850, about a Russian king who has an incestuous love relation with his daughter.¹⁰

In his twenty-year long musings about Jewish sexuality Rozanov repeatedly refers to the Lot story, the Song of Songs, and the marriage of Abraham and Sarah as examples of Jewish father-daughter and sibling incest. But what makes Rozanov's work on incest so different from that seen in other contemporary discourses is his enthusiastic evaluation of this phenomenon.¹¹ If Freud shocked his contemporaries by unravelling matters of children's sexuality and making incestuous fantasies part of both unconscious desires and conscious day-dreaming, Rozanov (in 'Family Romances', 1909) went even further. While Freud, in *Three Essays* (1905), had proposed that the erection of 'barriers against incest' was a necessary 'cultural demand' of human progress,¹² Rozanov maintained that incestuous drives were good *because* they were characteristic of the privileged sensuous cultures of the past and a marker of the body and psyche of ancient peoples, the Egyptians and the Hebrews. As constructed by him, contemporary Jews, who had survived as a race due to the maintenance of racial purity, were the only truly ancient people

⁸ Sander L. Gilman, *Freud, Race and Gender* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993).

⁹ Otto Rank, *The Incest Theme in Literature and Legend (Fundamentals of the Psychology of Literary Creations)*, trans. Gregory C. Richter (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1992).

¹⁰ Rank ([see n. 9] 313, 357) cites Friedrich von der Hagen's 1850 collection *Gesamtabenteuer* and the story 'The Russian King's Daughter' and also mentions the highly fashionable novel by M. Artsybashev, *Sanin* (1907), which deals with sibling incest.

¹¹ In 1903 the Russian code of law defined incest as intercourse 'between blood relations in direct descent, siblings, and a small circle of in-laws', and acknowledged the need to punish those guilty of offenses as defined by the Church. See Laura Engelstein, *Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1992) 46. Engelstein also notes that, as a means of rejecting bourgeois moral codes, incest was a fashionable topic in Russian fin-de-siècle literature.

¹² Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, The Penguin Freud Library, Vol. 7 (London: Penguin, 1991) 148.

still extant with all the associated hereditary drives. Freud was trying to de-stigmatize Jewish sexuality by showing the universal nature of incestuous motives, but Rozanov reaffirmed the notion of a racially peculiar Jewish sexuality. Freud abandoned phylogenetic arguments, but Rozanov rooted them in the Jewish people.¹³

The Sexual Otherness of Jews

Rozanov first argues that Jewish sexuality is of a special type, explicable by the special nature of the Jewish body and psyche, in his *Judaizm* ('Judaism') (1903). His Jew, marked by physiological and archaic Otherness, owes his visibility among the European nations to his physical features: 'When at times we look attentively at the small figure of a Jew, this always tiny, often hunchbacked, infinitely tired small figure, we think: "he looks as if he came from another world"'. In any case, for a number of nations—Greeks, Romans, Germans, French, a Ukrainian Danila—we can think such thoughts only about the Jews.¹⁴

Jews are made out to be the sole carriers, among ancient and contemporary nations alike, of special, atavistic and supernatural features. But Rozanov's atavistic Jew is not a generic Agasfer, the *juif errant* of the European romantic tradition. The Jew's secret knowledge is quite specifically revealed by his sexuality, of which incest is the key feature. Rozanov reminds his readers that Sarah was Abraham's 'sister', 'if not from the same womb [*edinoutrobnaiia*], then of the same blood [*edinokrovnaia*]' (*Judaism*, 117). The word 'blood' marks the Jewish nation as one built on consanguineous, incestuous genealogies. Rozanov identifies the 'otherworldliness' (*potusvetnost*) of the Jews in the placenames Sodom and Gomorrah, where, according to him, Jews 'entered the territory of either light, or darkness', the territory of 'beyond' the norms of this world (117, 118). In the language of post-Nietzschean Russian modernism, the territory of 'beyond' means beyond the moral values of good and evil. In Rozanov's taxonomies, this moral beyond is where sexual taboos are transgressed.

In his construction of Jewish sexuality in *Judaism*, Rozanov uses Jewish sources and slanderous anti-Semitic interpretations of these sources

¹³ On the lapses by Freud and Rank into phylogenetic arguments, see Yerushalmi (see n. 6) esp. 30.

¹⁴ V. V. Rozanov, *Judaizm*, in *Taina Izrailia* (St Petersburg: Sofia, 1993) 105–227, 115.

indiscriminately. He cites *The Talmud* in the Russian translation of N. Pereferkovich, the anti-Semitic works of Russian Jewish converts to Christianity such as Semen Tseikhanshtein's *Avtobiografiia pravoslavnogo evreia* ('The Autobiography of a Russian Christian Orthodox Jew') (1850), and I. Liutostansky's *Talmud i evrei* ('Talmud and the Jews') (date uncertain). From these sources Rozanov constructs the Jewish body as oversexed in a Weiningerian way, forged through the rituals of circumcision and *mikveh* which give genitalia metaphysical significance in Jewish culture.

In *mikveh* bathings Rozanov finds fuel for his fantasy of the communal character of Jewish sexuality, aroused by physical closeness. Tsenkhan-shtein's description of sabbath meals as filled with the sensuous aromas of food and wine enables Rozanov to eroticize the atmosphere and to compare the shared celebration of sabbath with the physical, communal closeness of Jewish bodies during *mikveh*. Jews emerge from Rozanov's text with libidinal drives satisfied in the simultaneous copulation of the whole Jewish nation during the night of sabbath: 'The secret mystery of *mikveh* consists in the mysterious mutual touching of the *skin* of every Jew and Jewess to *everyone* and *everybody*. Everyone in a very unique and special way joins in (they even take a sip [of water]!) with the rest of the communal body of all of the local Jewry, since it would be impossible to join the body of the whole [Jewish] world, but it would be good if it was the body of the whole [Jewish] world! Sabbath is the day of mysterious mutual touches, entered through the *mikveh*.' (*Judaism*, 133) The image of a collective Jewish body forms a trope for collective coitus. Rozanov perpetuates the fiction that incest is a prevailing feature of Jewish sexuality. Boundaries are transgressed by incestuous sexual arousal both within individual families and the larger collective family of the Jewish nation.

The motif of Jewish incestuousness is particularly marked in Rozanov's *Magicheskaiia stranitsa u Gogolia* ('Gogol's Magical Page') (1909), based on Nikolai Gogol's *A Terrible Vengeance* (1835), the story of a wizard's love for his own daughter.¹⁵ Gogol leaves the wizard's ethnicity vaguely orientalized but undefined, while Rozanov identifies him as a crypto-Jew largely on the basis of his incestuous desires.¹⁶ Rozanov

¹⁵ V. V. Rozanov, 'Magicheskaiia stranitsa u Gogolia', in *Sobranie sochinenii: O pisatel'stve i pisateliakh*, ed. A. Nikoliukin (Moscow: Respublika, 1995) 383–421.

¹⁶ For a detailed analysis of Rozanov's manipulation of Gogol and his works for the purposes of his body politics see H. Mondry, 'Gogol's Body, Rozanov's Nose', *Essays in Poetics* 28/8 (2003) 72–87.

claims that Gogol's story is the Russian/Ukrainian equivalent of the story of Lot and his daughters. But his evaluation of the Lot motif is affirmative. As in the earlier *Judaism*, Jews are depicted as 'atavistic' (404) people who preserve the instinctive drives of the Ancients. The archaization of Jews is evident even in his choice of epigraph—an extract from Clement of Alexandria's *Stromati* that refers to incestuous practices among the Magi. He alludes also to Egyptian, Persian and Jewish customs, placing them on a single Orientalist continuum, citing the marriage between Isis and Osiris of Ancient Egypt as an example of brother-sister love, and the story of Adam and Eve as the Jewish equivalent, along with the following extract from The Song of Songs: *Nevesta moia,/ Sestra moia,/ Laski tvoje/ Slashe vina* ('My bride,/ My sister,/ Your caresses/ Are sweeter than wine') (393). Rozanov manipulates his data to build a phylogenetic argument that incestuous desire is transmitted from one generation to another within a single racial group, and to argue that since only the Jews, among all the ancient nations that he names, have survived as a racial group with definite ethnic boundaries, only they have inherited this atavistic feature.

Rozanov's subjectivity is clear if one compares his approach to that of Otto Rank in *The Incest Theme*, where he discusses the same data in the chapter 'Incest in Historical Times: Tradition, Customs and Law'. For Rank, marriages such as those in Ancient Persia between blood relatives, between Isis and Osiris in Egyptian mythology, and sibling marriages and marriages between parents and children in Ptolomean Egypt, are evidence of the absence of neuroses and repression in ancient civilizations due to the lack of Oedipal hatred. Like Rozanov, Rank mentions the surviving custom of a bride being addressed as 'sister', but here the Song of Songs appears alongside examples from other cultures: 'the custom of addressing the marriage partner with the term designating the originally permitted, related sexual object (sister, cousin, etc.). This custom is observed in many cultures (cf. the Egyptians, the Bataks and the Arabs; the Song of Solomon).'¹⁷ For Rank, the existence of such a custom does not represent an endorsement of incest in these cultures, but illustrates the strength of incest prohibition.

In Rozanov's understanding, the way the Jewish nation had maintained archaic incestuous desires should be regarded by Russians as

¹⁷ Rank (sec n. 9) 350.

exemplary. He exoticizes Jewish sexuality and praises levirate marriages. In an article dating from 1903 he challenges the Russian law that criminalized marriages between first cousins, citing Queen Victoria and Prince Albert as an example of a happy and successful marriage of that type.¹⁸ In 1909 Rozanov re-addresses this theme in *Gogol's Magical Page*, lauding the advantages of blood marriages among Jews over marital prohibitions among Christians. Within the context of contemporary debates on the moral status of the Russian family, the Jewish family has definite psychological advantages:

Everybody who knows those cold, hostile, envious feelings around inheritance in the relations between brothers, (or) brothers and sisters among *Christians* will understand the great change made by this law among the Jews: 'A husband loves a healthy wife,/ A brother loves a rich sister'. Such is the nature of our [Russian] relationships that a brother who always over-spends on women finds a refuge in his sister's purse when she marries a rich man, and he thus exploits both his sister and his brother-in-law. This kind of relationship developed habitually: as a result of sexual habits, which play an all-consuming part in human life, [Russian] sisters in their own right are not interesting to their brothers, brothers and their children are of no interest to brother or sister.... As a result of the law among the Jews, all child rearing is directed towards the family, rather than away from it, and the children multiply without leaving the family boundaries. It is sufficient for a father and mother to marry their daughter to an outsider, or even to the mother's brother; this daughter will give birth to many daughters who will marry. Procreation is guaranteed if there is a husband, wife and one of their brothers; from this the whole nation can emerge. ('Gogol's Magical Page', 388)

One should recall here the linguistic point noted above that in Russian the words 'brother' and 'sister' also encompass cousinhood of any degree. Rozanov's quasi-sociological musings on the differences between Russian and Jewish families is not confined to the topic of Jewish marital laws. His imagination takes him further, and from marriages that he deduces are permitted by the *Talmud* he moves on to the sphere of sibling and father-daughter incest. In this extension of the discussion, Jews are said to transgress incest prohibitions as a result of their special capacity to be excited and intoxicated by near blood relatives:

¹⁸ V. V. Rozanov, 'Dary Tsertsery (Shekhiny)', in *Sobranie sochinenii: Vo dvore iazychnikov*, ed. A. Nikoliukin (Moscow: Respublika, 1999) 254-64.

But with the Jews, the whole of their blood is aroused towards consanguinity; with the strange whisper of *Talmud* about uncles and their nieces, it is all directed here, not only towards nieces and uncles, but mainly towards brothers and sisters and, further, towards the whole circle of relatives.... The nearer to this border, the more *sacred*: but it is frightening to *transgress* this border—it is a terrible sin, death, one worth dying for. But... the human soul always goes further than the physical matter, and the heat of the Jew's soul, always so phallic, transgresses even further, much further than it is taught in the Bible and explained in '*Talmuds*,' which extend the soul: The sugar of my daughter is allowed, but my sugar—not... (*Gogol's Magical Page*, 393)

In the same text Rozanov criticizes Christ for his politics of breaking family ties, and blames Christianity for the current crisis of the Russian family. The warmth and feasibility of the Jewish family is explained by the 'magic' effects of close blood ties, and the erotic aura of the Jewish family is juxtaposed to the cold and ascetic relations of the Christian one (415). The psychologically viable Jewish family is held up as an example to the adulterous and immoral Russian family.

Westermarck and Freud on Incest

Rozanov's construction of the Jewish family as especially close is particularly interesting when read alongside Edward Westermarck's influential model of incest-prohibition.¹⁹ Westermarck's approach to the phenomenon of incest, unlike that of Freud (and Rank), has at its core the concept of biological incest-aversion. He maintains that there is a 'remarkable absence of erotic feelings between persons living very closely together from childhood', and that for such persons 'sexual indifference is combined with the positive feeling of aversion when the act is thought of'.²⁰ In contrast, for Freud any love, including sympathies among friends and love among family members, is linked with libidinal forces,²¹ including, for example, the sensations of a breastfeeding mother and suckling child. While for Freud this idea was held to apply universally, for Rozanov it was specific to Jewish culture. Indeed, while Rozanov held Westermarck's model of biological incest-aversion to be

¹⁹ Edward Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, 5th ed., 3 vols (London: Macmillan, 1925).

²⁰ *Ibid.* vol. 2, 192.

²¹ Sigmund Freud, 'Instincts and their Vicissitudes', in *On Metapsychology: the Theory of Psychoanalysis*, The Penguin Freud Library, vol. 2 (Penguin: London, 1991) 105–38.

true for the Christian-Russian family, he turned it on its head in relation to the Jewish family. Far from impairing erotic desire, he thought that the special closeness among Jewish family members stimulated it. The key to his argument is of course the supposed archaic nature of such desire. According to Rozanov, Jews had culturally, psychologically and physiologically preserved this ancient desire, which other cultures should make it their goal to nurture and revive.

Freud, in the chapter entitled 'Archaic and Infantile Features' of his *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (1916), debates the Westermarckian and general biological model of incest aversion. Like Rozanov, Freud regards incest prohibition as evidence of how common and strong incestuous desire is. The very title of his chapter creates a nexus between the archaic and the infantile. But Freud, unlike Rozanov, treats incest prohibition as something imposed by culture and education. He views positively the cultural, civilizing model of the super-ego, and places incest within the boundaries of the archaic/infantile repressed. He argues with Westermarckian views, saying that they understate the power of incestuous drives and the need for forceful cultural prohibitions. Freud reduces Westermarck's argument for the existence and efficacy of universal safety mechanisms—in the biological and social aversions to incest—*ad absurdum*: '[A]n avoidance of incest would be secured automatically, and it would not be clear why such severe prohibitions were called for, which would point rather to the presence of a strong desire for it. Psychoanalytic researches have shown unmistakably that the choice of an incestuous love-object is, on the contrary, the first and invariable one.'²²

In the same chapter, Freud speaks of the arrogance that leads humans to think they are wholly separate from animals, maintaining that, of features which are treated as 'perverse', a 'disregard of barriers between species, and incest (the prohibition against seeking sexual satisfaction from near-blood relations)... have not existed from the beginning; they were only gradually erected in the course of development and education' (245). In another chapter, 'The Development of Libido', he makes it clear that psychoanalytic theory does not treat primitive people as an exception in the mechanisms of incest prohibition: 'Among the primitive people living today, among savages, the prohibitions against

²² Sigmund Freud, *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, Penguin Freud Library, vol. 1 (London: Penguin, 1991) 247.

incest are even very much stricter than among ourselves' (378). In his model, as in Rank's, racist arguments are absent. If a regression to incest occurs in an adult individual, it is a matter of neuroses and psychopathology, and not a marker of psychoethnicity.

It has been noted that Freud's and Rank's Jewishness played a role in their gradual rejection of phylogenetic arguments in matters of psychopathology and interpretations of sexuality.²³ Says Rank: 'Psychoanalysis corrected the immoderate overvaluation of hereditary and phylogenetic influence' which, as he reminds his readers, became fundamental to Jung's model, with its 'untimely introduction of the phylogenetic point of view into analysis'.²⁴ Rank also criticizes Jung's attempt to explain the phenomena of individual psychology by means of 'uninterrupted ethnological material' (192), and we know that Jung's phylogenetic ethnopsychology culminated in his becoming a Nazi sympathizer.²⁵ The view that ethnicity is a marker of psychological difference has proven particularly controversial and dangerous in Jewish history.²⁶ Freud's persistent strategy of safeguarding psychoanalysis from being labelled a Jewish movement becomes even more understandable in the light of the Rozanov case. Rozanov's statement that 'moral prohibitions [on incest] are one thing, but matters of character are another, totally different thing' (*Gogol's Magical Page*, 419) is not particularly problematic taken on its own. What is problematic is both his construction of a unified type of Jewish body and psyche, and his fabrication of a causal link between the so-called atavistic nature of Jewish people and their alleged proneness to incest.

Rozanov's admiration for Jewish sexualities, indeed for Jewish 'incestualities', quickly turned to hatred when political developments made Russians the alleged victims of Jewish peculiarities. The archaic and atavistic can easily be reassessed as perverse, and Freud's 'barriers of disgust' imposed by 'culture and education' can be re-erected overnight. In Rozanov's case, the disgust was a product of Russian Christian culture, and Jews, with their allegedly perverse and anomalous sexualities, became the objects of his loathing.

²³ Gilman (see n. 4).

²⁴ Otto Rank, *The Trauma of Birth* (New York: Dover Publications, 1993) 191.

²⁵ Yerushalmi (see n. 6).

²⁶ See Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

Incest as a Culture-specific Phenomenon

Between 1911 and the Russian revolution of 1917, Rozanov continued to write about anomalous Jewish sexuality. The Beilis Affair (a ritual-murder accusation) almost coincided with Stolypin's murder by the Jewish revolutionary Bogrov,²⁷ and Rozanov penned several articles later collected in *Olfactory and Tactile Attitude of Jews Towards Blood* (1914), in which he attacks the perverted, anomalous Jews, who, he claims, are driven by atavistic natures to commit sadistic murder. He mentions the 'archaic, atavistic brain cells' (337) that have survived only among Jews and which are 'unconsciously' responsible for their pathological behavior. Jewish incestuousness remains a theme of his at this period, where the rhetoric of a Russian patriot is interspersed with wild fantasies about sexual transgression among Jews, in which the evil Jewish Other is accused of violating several sexual prohibitions in the book of Leviticus. Rozanov's aphorisms, published in *Mimoletnoe* ('Transient Matter') (1914), after the defeat of the rightist press in the Beilis Affair, include the following:

... and I shall guide you, you 'wonderful Endymions', through the stench and the blood,—I shall shove you into Sodom as though it were your native land, for in *Genesis* 13 it is written: 'and Lot chose for himself (when he separated from Abraham, so that the flocks and the herds of the nephew and the uncle should not be mixed) *the valley of Jordan, where stood the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah...*' I shall show you that this is not an 'allegory', not 'a matter of chance', because I've no doubt you well remember how 'your father' appeared to your mentor in the sodomite way, *modo sodomico...*

The Jews approach the Russians with this sodomite smile of a bisexual being, with the soft step of a sodomite, and say: 'What a talented nation you are', 'what broad hearts you have', and beneath this is heard merely – 'give me, empty person, everything you can', 'yield to me in everything, person without talent'.

But the Jews, who had an 'understanding of everything', introduced into the mode of circumcision, as a necessary part,—this *actus sodomicus*, which while performed with the baby does not seem as anything special, but obliquely shows the meaning of the first coitus, towards the accomplishment of which the whole of Israel is being called upon.²⁸

²⁷ See Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *Dvesti let vmeste (1795–1995)*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Russkii put', 2001).

²⁸ V. V. Rozanov, *Sobranie sochinenii: Mimoletnoe*, ed. A. Nikoliukin (Moscow: Respublika, 1997) 209, 259, 474, respectively.

Rozanov at once both captures and distorts the logic of *Leviticus* 18 and 20—grouping together such transgressions as incest, homosexuality, adultery and bestiality—and assigns multiple forms of forbidden behaviour to Jews. In the first of the above aphorisms he creates a cluster of homosexuality and father-daughter incest (the story of Lot in Sodom), converging homosexuality and father-son incest. In the second he presents Jews as bisexual beings open to sexual encounters with both men and women and, in addition, implies that promiscuous adultery is part and parcel of the smiling ‘approach’ of these transgressing creatures. In the third statement he again groups a number of sexual violations: homosexual and paedophile contact by fellatio between an adult male and a male infant—which he says occurs ‘obliquely’ in the ritual of circumcision—converges with an act which crosses boundaries between human and non-human (divine) beings, and incest between a son and his divine father. It is clear from *Mimoletnoe* that Rozanov picked up several themes constituting forbidden sexual practices in *Leviticus* and made a full and creative use of what anthropologist Françoise Heritier has recently called ‘the subterranean and obscure progression of associative thought’ in *Leviticus* 18 and 20, where verses on forms of incest alternate with verses on other sexual offences, and make multiple clusters of sexual transgression.²⁹

Two years after *Mimoletnoe*, in 1916, Rozanov published *Poslednie list'ia* (‘Last Leaves’).³⁰ Here the theme of Jewish communal coitus during sabbath, already encountered in *Judaism*, reappears, although the theme has now acquired some ambivalence. His musings lack the quasi-political rhetoric of the time of the Stolypin murder and the Beilis Affair, and although his fantasies are built around the same elements as before, their evaluative tone betrays his personal needs. His subjective, voyeuristic gaze turns on his own projected desires:

On my way from Sakharna to Petrograd in early August I went through Rybnitsa (‘a shtetl’). An indescribable sight. What struck me most of all was the absence of any light, and all the doors were open. Not half open, but fully open. And I recalled from the *Talmud*, and immediately it dawned on me, that Yids have a form of *khlystovshchina*. (*Last Leaves*, 37)

²⁹ Françoise Heritier, *Two Sisters and Their Mother. An Anthropology of Incest*, trans. Jeanine Herman (New York: Zone Books, 1999) 66.

³⁰ V. V. Rozanov, *Sobranie sochinenii: Poslednie listiia*, ed. A. Nikoliukin (Moscow: Respublika, 2000).

The mystery of Israel, its deepest secret, is, without doubt, the group sin (*sval'nyi grekh*), 'all on top of one another'. There is no doubt about it. But this had happened in such a mysterious way, that 'all on top of one another' is performed in the name of 'Our One and Only Jehovah'. (*Last Leaves*, 146)

Rozanov's references to *khlystovshchina* and *sval'nyi grekh*, both euphemisms for the alleged group sex rites of the Russian *khlysty* sect, are of particular significance. In 1914 he had authored a quasi-ethnographical study of the Russian mystical sects of the *khlysty* and the *skoptsy*, in which he denied the existence of group sex 'rejoicings' among them.³¹ Exploiting the widely held belief that group sex did take place among the *khlysty*, so that he could establish a link between the sexual transgressions of Russian sectarians and Jews, and to do so only two years after *Transient Matter*, points to his need to project sexual fantasies onto the Jewish body. It was fashionable among Russian intellectuals in the 1900s to 'recreate' ancient group sex rites, and Rozanov was a keen participant in Viacheslav Ivanov's 'Friday parties' and orgiastic dance parties visited by Rasputin,³² even arranging meetings with Rasputin to question him on 'group rejoicings'.³³ Rozanov's attempts to develop a parallel between Russian and Jewish sexual practices may therefore be seen as an indication of a personal need to create links between Russian (i.e. his own) and Jewish bodies.³⁴

Underlying Rozanov's fantasies about Jewish sexuality is a belief in the 'metaphysical' connection between God's body and the human—primarily Jewish—body. For Rozanov, circumcision manifests this link. Whereas in *Transient Matter*, in 1914 circumcision is described as an oblique act of sodomy perpetrated on a child by a Jewish man, in *Last Leaves* it is presented as an *actus sodomicus* between the Jewish God and the circumcised Jew. Significantly for the typology of Jewish sexuality in anti-Semitic discourses, if Jews in Rozanov emerge as 'gender benders', then the Jewish God must also be assigned an indefinite sexuality:

³¹ V. V. Rozanov, *Apokalipticheskaia sekta (Khlysty i skoptsy)* (St Petersburg, 1914).

³² See Zinaida Gippius, 'Zadumchivyi strannik', in D. K. Burlaka (ed.) *V. V. Rozanov: Pro et Contra*, Vol. 2 (St Petersburg: RKhGI, 1995) 143–85.

³³ See Edvard Radzinsky, *Rasputin: The Last Word* (St Leonard: Allen and Unwin, 2000) 306–7; also V. V. Rozanov, 'Pis'ma k E. Gollerbachu', *Izbrannoe* (Munich: A. Neimanis, 1970) 515–64.

³⁴ See Aleksandr Etkind, *Khlyst: sekty, literatura i revoliutsiia* (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 1998).

Scholars, approaching pedagogy 'sideways', have completely forgotten what circumcision is. Thus Gladkov (67 years old, who wrote 'Old Testamental History'), told me at the door, when we were parting:

– I, V.V., do not agree that circumcision is God given, because I do not understand: what does God need it for?!!

I almost collapsed. My soul was crying 'HELP'

Indeed, what does God need it for??? What does He *need*(!) it for?

– God, what *did* you *need* it for?!!

– 'Needed'. Not only needed, but it is the only thing that God really had a need for. And He did not ask Abraham for anything other than that, like when parents give their daughter out to marriage; then they ask (or think): 'does he have THAT...?'

God, my God, must one believe that circumcision was agreed on between Abraham-the-groom and God-the bride?

...And I will renounce any idea, apart from this one, that 'the naked bridegroom, Abraham, having been chased by Bride-Jehovah God for a long time', said:

–Well, all right.

And... from that time onwards Yids say that 'only' they know God: but they never say what this 'knowing' is. (*Last Leaves*, 39–40)

Rozanov sees this multiple transgression of sexual barriers between species (heavenly and earthly, physical and metaphysical) as proof of Jews' secret knowledge of the mystical value and 'goodness' of sexual transgressions. By this logic, all forms of sexual prohibition in the book of Leviticus are proof of the special nature of Jewish sexuality. In Rozanov's thinking, the mere existence of prohibition means that transgressions have taken place:

In the *Talmud*—it is very strange to read (and exciting), how priests chose for sacrifice virginal male and female animals. The very word 'he-, she-animal' must have excited Jews... In their thoughts when 'choosing their victims' they must have become virtual sodomites, and spiritual sodomy is, no doubt, the main nervous stem of ancient Israel. In the *Talmud*... as in Leviticus, forms of punishments are mentioned for Judea's males and females for 'sleeping with animals'. One has to point out that the law not only threatens, it also reminds. 'Where there is law, there is crime.' And it lures...

Ah, God! What is there to explain. 'Every breath glorifies God's name.' (*Last Leaves*, 53)

Howard Eilberg-Schwartz's monograph *God's Phallus and Other Problems for Men and Monotheism* is devoted to the problems of God's

sexuality and that of Israelite men, exploring the implications for Jewish males of God's maleness, or of his having a sexed body. God's having a phallus leads to the feminization of Jewish men, who are part of the collective concept of Israel as the bride of God. Eilberg-Schwartz recalls how, in various biblical episodes, the male gaze has to be averted from the body of God, interpreting these stories as part of ancient Israelite prohibitions against homoerotic desire and father-son incest. The story of Noah's sons walking backwards in order to cover their father's naked body while averting their eyes is read as a story of prohibition of father-son incest and a means of ensuring that heterosexual desire remains the norm. Eilberg-Schwartz also shows how a focus on heterosexual incest leads to neglect of the question of how social prohibition on incest between sons and fathers develops. He reminds us that Freud developed a theory on this issue: '[A] child has polymorphous sexuality that is only organized along heterosexual lines by forces of the Oedipal complex. In the passive version of this complex, the son wishes in some sense to become a woman so that he can be the object of his father's desires. But his narcissistic attachment to his penis makes him repudiate these wishes and identify, not with his mother, but with his father.' (*God's Phallus*, 92) Eilberg-Schwartz sees the story of Noah and his sons as a myth that symbolically expresses and institutionalizes heterosexual desire as the norm.

Eilberg-Schwartz's study includes the topic of sexual relations between men and God – also a favorite theme of Rozanov. Eilberg-Schwartz concentrates on the story in which God visits Lot in the form of two angels, and the men of Sodom and Gomorrah come seeking them, demanding, 'Bring them to us, that we may know them' (*Genesis* 19). Eilberg-Schwartz notes that the biblical term 'to know' frequently connotes sexual intimacy (*Genesis* 4:1, 17, 25, 19:5, 8, 24:16, 38:26) and that therefore, 'from the narrator's (and hence the reader's) standpoint, the men of Sodom desire to have intimacy with divine men' (95). In addition, he stresses that the story is not only about the abhorrent nature of homosexual rape, but also about men seeking intimacy with divine beings: 'This desire reverses another hierarchy, that between heaven and earth' (95).

As a keen reader of the Hebrew Bible, Rozanov spun these ambiguities and tensions in the text into an exotic fantasy of the transgressive sexualities of Jews. But while his imaginative capacity is undeniable, the

politics of his interpretation is skewed: what the culture of ancient Israel prohibits and restricts Rozanov turns into a prescription for permission and permissiveness. Clearly, biblical stories featuring topics of potential homosexual encounters function as attempts to avert homosexual desire as well as to prohibit father-son incest, be it the story of Noah and his sons, the men of Sodom and the divine men, or God turning away from Moses. All these, as well as the story of Lot and his daughters, are part of a strategy to keep the integrity of Israelite lineage. As Eilberg-Schwartz puts it, 'male-male sexual acts were considered alien and hence were linked to the stereotyping of its proximate others, the Canaanites' and 'The same strategy is used to defame the Moabites and Ammonites, who are descended from the incestuous union of Lot and his daughters (*Gen.* 19:30–8), which repeats in significant ways the story of Noah and his son Ham'—who did not turn away from his father's nakedness (*God's Phallus*, 93–4). As a result of this strategy, Israel is depicted in the Bible as one of the few genealogical lines untainted by sexual perversions. Needless to say, Rozanov turns this tactic on its head and uses the story to tarnish the Jews, ignoring the distinction between various biblical nations and ethnic groups.

By 1916 Rozanov's evaluation of Jewish sexuality was moving towards the positive once more. In line with his essentialist approach to the Jewish body, he accepts Jewish sexuality holistically, with all its transgressions: incest becomes a Jewish culture-specific phenomenon. Freud and Rank viewed the prohibitions against incest and other forms of sexual transgression as proof of the existence of universal desires that must be subject to prohibition. They also viewed various religions, myths and the fear of God as projections of a repressed fear of punishment for Oedipal desire.³⁵ Similarly, Freud did not treat circumcision as a phenomenon specific to Judaism. Rather he saw it (and the castration complex linked to it) as a universal remnant of the ancient threat of castration by a punishing and jealous father.³⁶ In contrast, Rozanov

³⁵ On Rank's deviation from the interpretation of myths as projective phenomena, and the irony in his later coming close to Jung's astral explanations, see Peter L. Rudnytsky's 'Introductory essay', in Rank (see n. 9) xii–xxxv.

³⁶ In 1933 Freud stated that there was a time in history when castration was performed by jealous fathers, and that 'hints at this punishment must regularly find a phylogenetic reinforcement in [a boy]. It is our suspicion that during the human family's primeval period castration used actually to be carried out by a jealous and cruel father upon growing boys, and circumcision, which so frequently plays a part in puberty rites among

posits Jewish culture as God-given, and on this basis makes a claim for a special Jewish immunity to the 'barriers of disgust' that other cultures have established in order to avoid incest and other sexual taboos. In advancing these phylogenetic arguments, Rozanov attributes to Jews a special type of knowledge, intuitive or mystical, which may not be clear even to themselves: 'In the meantime, in the Song of Songs, it is vividly expressed that the one lying in the dark speaks of someone whose ear is not close by, but is somewhere *afar*, and she calls him from *afar* "he": Such a mode of speech is possible only as an inner one, as a whisper, because there is no one there over the shoulder. Nobody has noticed this before, not a single one from among all the commentators. Even the great Rabbi Akiba, even if he knew, was silent about it. (*Last Leaves*, 71)

In this fantasy of extraterrestrial coitus, barriers are dismantled between physical and metaphysical bodies. In this passage 'he' is not the King Solomon who, in *Gogol's Magical Page*, was identified as the brother of his bride. To the notion of sibling incest found in that earlier interpretation, Rozanov now adds supernatural and cosmological dimensions. Within Rozanov's phylogenetic world, only Jewish bodies are privileged to be open to such encounters with the divine body. In appreciating the subjective forces underlying Rozanov's interpretation, it is significant that he claims to be the first commentator to have made this important discovery, or at least the first to speak of it. This is not the first time that he compares himself with the famous Rabbi Akiba, martyred by the Romans. In *Sakharna* (1913)³⁷ Rozanov and the great Jewish sage are interchangeable in the *mutatis mutandis* fashion: 'In short, Rabbi Akiba was the "Rozanov of the first century AD", the same sort of ignoramus, the same sort of genius, the same sort of sage and poet, and "Rozanov" is "Rabbi Akiba of the twentieth-century", also "the shepherd and ignoramus", who knows all things. And he now deigns to blurt out Akiba's secret, for now it seems that "everything is coming to an end" and "nothing is necessary".' (*Sakharna*, 239)

This claim is made in the context of the Beilis Affair, and Akiba's secret relates specifically to the mysteries of Jewish rituals, including the

primitive peoples, is a clearly recognizable relic of it.' Sigmund Freud, *New Introductory Lectures to Psychoanalysis*, The Penguin Freud library, Standard Edition, vol. 2 (London: Penguin, 1991) 117.

³⁷ V. V. Rozanov, *Sakharna* (Moscow: Respublika, 1998).

allegation that Jews used Christian blood for ritual purposes—the blood libel. But in *Last Leaves* the knowledge to which Rozanov lays claim relates particularly to the mysteries of Jewish sexuality. In both references to the Jewish sage, Rozanov assigns himself special powers of insight into the mysteries of Jewishness, its collective body and sexualities, and in both cases there is a strong desire to penetrate the secrets of Judaism and to link himself with the Jewish collective body.

Rozanov's apparent search for a personal connection to Jews can be explained by his belief in the special, privileged and chosen nature of Jewish bodies as the only ones to be resurrected physically. His desire to be part of the collective Jewish body becomes particularly transparent in the last year of his life, when his fears about personal salvation are laid bare beneath his construction of the exotic Other.

The Mysterious Relation Between a Russian and a Jewish Soul

In 1912 Rozanov told his Jewish correspondent Mikhail Gershenzon the reasons for his change in attitude towards the Jews, stating in a letter that it was the involvement of Jews in Stolypin's murder that had caused his change of heart. Their participation in terrorist acts had shown that they were capable of godless behavior. Rozanov's reference to political events here is, quite simply, a red herring. His political responses, although they map out the trajectory of his Judeophilia/Judeophobia, are not the only cause of his changing approach. Yet his letter is of interest as a confession of his faith in, and fear of, the Jewish God: 'I am in an anti-Jewish mood (whether they killed Stolypin or not, they felt they had the right to kill Russians just for the sake of it), and (forgive me) I have the same feeling as Moses did, when he saw an Egyptian kill a Jew. I feel pain, I am even frightened (of Jehovah), but this is a fact and where am I to hide it?'³⁸

Rozanov's sincerity in expressing his fear of 'Jehovah' is confirmed by events in his life. He took the death of his son in the First World War as proof of the omnipotence of the Jewish God and as a punishment for his anti-Jewish writing during the Beilis Affair. In 'Address to the Jews' in his last book, *Apokalypsis Nashego Vremeni* ('Apocalypse of Our Times') (1918), where he orders that all his anti-Jewish books be

³⁸ 'Perepiska V. V. Rozanova i M. O. Gershenzona., 1908–1918', *Novyi Mir* 3 (1991) 215–42, 227 (letter dated January 1912).

destroyed, he writes: 'I learned that the God of Israel is alive—is alive and continues to punish, and I became horrified'.³⁹ In the same text he even mentions 'some kind of mysterious relation between a Russian and a Jewish soul' (185). The lexical choice is illustrative, as *rodstvo* ('relation') means being of the same hereditary stock or in a relationship of kinship.

In *Apocalypse*, Rozanov returns to biblical incest themes, but now the story of Lot is interpreted as proof of the exemplary honesty of the Jews, who did not hide such occurrences in their history. He retells the sabbath story of the Jewish village Rybnitsa, but his earlier (1916) demonization gives way to idealization and admiration of the 'happening'. Rybnitsa, once said to be covered by deep darkness, is, in its 1918 reworking, symbolically lit by wondrous light:

The whole of Rybnitsa was lit with lights... 'Here it is, the Sacred Night of the Orient', – I thought. 'Here it is, all in the fire of passions, where the Heaven is fiery, where the Heaven came down onto Earth, where a tree brings fruit twelve times a year (Apocalypse), where a grandmother – daughter – grandson – grandfather – son – lots of sons – daughters – granddaughters – and male neighbours – female neighbours – all of them having taken the blessed *mikveh* – all of them during the same night, the same hour and almost the same minutes are joined under the cupola of the heaven, are lit by the evening dawn and by the first morning stars.' (*Apocalypse*, 77–8)

In this fantasy of the all-encompassing simultaneous coitus of multiple members of one great Jewish family, the event is presented as a mystical rite. Earthly bodies metamorphose into heavenly bodies, and the barriers between the physical and the metaphysical are removed. But most importantly for understanding the etiology of Rozanov's fantasy, this passage is preceded by reminiscences on his own childhood sexuality where he recalls that, as a five-year-old boy, he was aroused by secretly observing a woman in her early forties and her teenaged daughter undressing. This voyeuristic experience relates to bath-house visits with his mother, and he confesses to being attracted to women's stomachs, including the 'wrinkled stomach' of his mother (76).⁴⁰ Typically, he

³⁹ V. V. Rozanov, *Sobranie sochinenii: Apokalypsis Nashego Nremeni*, ed. A. Nikoliukin (Moscow: Respublika, 2000) 185. Rozanov also cites the murder of the arch-anti-Semite M. O. Menshikov by the Bolsheviks as an act of God. Once more, his interpretation of political events appears to conceal the real reason for his fears.

⁴⁰ Rozanov called his wife Butiagina 'mamochka' in all of his texts.

frames his personal sensations in terms of incest archetypes: 'In essence, it all is motherhood, and a man's, boy's, child's instinct to unite with "the mother". Here is Oedipus, husband and Adonis.' (76)

There is one more case that serves to illustrate Rozanov's alignment of his own sexuality with the Jews' incestual quest. In letters dictated not long before his death, dated 10 and 17 January 1919, Rozanov asks the Jews to forgive his sins against them and, in a second letter dated the same day, asks his stepdaughter to forgive his 'great sins against her'.⁴¹ Rozanov's contemporaries liked to gossip about his much-advertised affection for his stepdaughter. Aleksandr Benua, for example, elaborates on the rumours that he was in love with both his wife and his step-daughter from his wife's first marriage. But for the purpose of this discussion it is not important whether he had relations with her or even imagined himself in love with her.⁴² What is important is that it again allows him to imagine in himself a likeness to Jewish bodies (as in the case of Rabbi Akiba). His belief in the special, exclusive nature of Jewish bodies with their metaphysical, incestuous sexuality, ultimately manifested itself in his desire for a commonality with these bodies, both physically in life and metaphysically in death. In the end the politics of his own body, based on narcissistic interests of self-preservation, are more powerful than the national politics of Russia. Although still quoted by neo-fascists and members of the Black Hundred in Russia,⁴³ Rozanov's obsession with the Jews had very little to do with the feelings of a Russian patriot. He is interesting rather as an example of a self-invented and self-styled crypto-Jew in the cultural formation of Russian modernism, a man who attributed to himself all the fantasized attributes of Jewish 'perversions'.

⁴¹ V. V. Rozanov, 'Pis'ma 1917–1919 godov', *Literaturnaiia ucheba* 1 (1990) 70–88, 85.

⁴² A. Benua, 'Religiozo-filosofskoe obshchestvo', in D. K. Burlaka (ed.) *V. V. Rozanov. Pro et contra*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg: RKHGI, 1995) 132–42, 139.

⁴³ Quotations from Rozanov's anti-Jewish books are regularly published by the Black Hundred newspaper *Chernaia sotnia*. See 'Aleksandr Men' i delo Beilisa', in a special issue of *Chernaia sotnia*, nos 9–11, 1995.

The Yizkor Book Collection *

MAŁGORZATA SOCHAŃSKA

BOOKS COMMEMORATING a world that no longer exists are not a new phenomenon in Jewish culture. The custom of preserving the names of the dead and of recording acts of martyrdom goes back to the early Middle Ages. The *Memorbücher* of Ashkenazi Jewry, found in Germany, Switzerland and Alsace until as late as the eighteenth century, record names of important religious and community leaders and martyrs who died during anti-Jewish pogroms. The lists of such names were read out in synagogues during memorial services.

The first modern Memorial Books, often referred to as Yizkor books – *Yisker bikher* in Yiddish, *Sifrei-yizkor* or *Sifrei-zikaron* in Hebrew – emerged as a response to the First World War and the pogroms that followed it. One such early Memorial Book is the volume on Proskurov, a *shtetl* in Eastern Galicia, published in New York in 1924 (*Khurban Proskurov; tsum ondenken fun di heylige neshomes...*; NY, 1924). In February 1919 Proskurov suffered a vicious pogrom during which some 1500 Jews were murdered and thousands more injured. The book contains the names of all the victims as well as a chronicle of this pogrom, printed in parallel columns of Hebrew and Yiddish, recalling the format of traditional Jewish Bibles, in which the original Hebrew appears together with an Aramaic translation.

Memorial Books as a Response to the Shoah

A large number of Memorial Books were published in response to the Nazi Holocaust. Producing them became a cultural focus for Holocaust survivors striving to preserve the memory of a prewar world.

* Thanks to the ongoing support of the Catherine Lewis Foundation and the 2004 Lewis Grandchildren's Trust, the Centre's Library currently holds over 850 *Yizkor* Books, on which the above article is based. The collection, the largest of this literature in Europe, is housed in the Catherine Lewis Room of the Library, which offers readers a quiet working space, with internet facilities for searching the 'JewishGen Yizkor Book Project' and the 'ShtetlSeeker' for locating required sites. The online catalogue of the collection is accessible on the website homepage of the Library.

Recording the existence of Jewish *shtetlekh* and giving shape to memories of destroyed communities gave testimony of a vanished world and commemorated those who had once been part of it.

Memorial Books are a valuable source of information on the traditions that marked everyday life in a *shtetl*. They devote attention to important community members: rabbis, scholars, writers and political activists; contain descriptions of synagogues, public libraries, clubs and self-aid and communal organizations; and record events such as demonstrations, pogroms and important fairs. They give an account of the economic life of a *shtetl*, discussing different Jewish trades and occupations, as well as Jewish business and commerce. Some also give us an insight into the relationship between Jews and their non-Jewish neighbours. They describe factors major and minor: the rise of the *Haskalah*, the emergence of Zionism, the Jewish labour movement, political parties, youth movements, trade unions, revolutionary activities, Modern Hebrew and Yiddish language schools, and the background to the great migration, to name a only a few themes.

A large proportion were written by Polish Jews and deal with places that lay within Poland's interwar borders and which, although practically unknown in Polish cultural history, are significant in Jewish history. This is not to say that Polish Jews showed more interest in their native towns than Russian Jews, but merely that Polish Jews who survived the Holocaust were more likely to reach the West and to be in a position to publish memorial volumes concerning their hometowns. This was less likely to be the case for Jews from places within the Soviet Union, for instance.

Writers of Memorial Books were not constrained by the size of the Jewish community in their town. The community of Chorostków, a *shtetl* in Eastern Galicia with 350 Jewish families, was as likely to have a memorial book as Łódź, with its 200,000 Jews. Indeed, the majority of Memorial Books are devoted to *shtetlekh* rather than major cities and cannot be taken to reflect accurately the actual settlement pattern of prewar Polish Jewry, over one-third of whom lived in Poland's three largest cities, i.e. Warsaw, Łódź and Lwów.

Since their main readership was the community of survivors and émigrés from the *shtetl* itself, and since many readers would know the authors or editors personally, Memorial Books were almost always printed in editions of less than 1000 copies. Without the financial sup-

port of a government or any other agency, the books were produced by independent *Landsmanshaft* societies, the mutual-aid and fraternal societies which were the key social organizations of Jewish emigrants from East European *shtetls* now living in the United States, Argentina, Israel and elsewhere.

While most *Yizkor* books were written by survivors who had moved to the West, some were composed in Displaced Persons' camps, where survivors were already working to reassemble the remnants of their destroyed communities. A notable example of such an effort is the volume on the destruction of Częstochowa (*Churban Czenstochow*; Germany 1948). What makes it particularly interesting is that it is one of very few Memorial Books to be published in Yiddish written in Latin characters, in perfect Polish orthography. (Plate 1) Since the frontispiece of the book features its title in Hebrew characters the reason for the Latin transcription of the Yiddish is unlikely to have been the lack of a Hebrew font. It is more likely that the editors and contributors to the volume spoke Yiddish fluently but, having been educated in Polish schools, never learnt to read or write in Hebrew characters.

Languages

As the *Yizkor* book of Częstochowa illustrates, *shtetl* inhabitants often knew the local vernacular, such as Polish, Ukrainian or Lithuanian, but spoke Yiddish among themselves. Hebrew was the language of the book, traditionally known to men and later on to proponents of Zionist ideology. *Yizkor* books were published in a variety of languages, and occasionally entirely in Yiddish. They were mostly published in Argentina, a community closely tied to the Yiddish language, or in the United States in the immediate postwar years. In Israel some were published wholly in Hebrew. Exceptionally, books published in the Diaspora are entirely in English. The majority of Memorial Books are published in both Hebrew and Yiddish, sometimes with an introduction or summary in English. The material in bilingual books varies – some articles are published in both languages, some in one only. The material in the Yiddish section is usually popular, while that in the Hebrew section tends to be more scholarly.

DOS KULTURELE LEBEN.

A ongezeen ort hot farnumen dos szul-wezn in Czenstochow. Ale politisze partejen hobn zich bamit cu hobn eigene szuln. Fun di wichtikste dercijungs-ansztalten ken men ojsrechenen folgnde:

Kiader-hejm, ojf der Krotke 22, gegrindet durch der amerikaner arbeterschaft ojfn nomen fun farsztorbenem bundiszn tuer Wladimir Medem. Mit der kinder-hejm hot ongefirt froj Brener Jadzia. Kinder-hejm ojf der Przemyslowa 6, organizirt durch der gezelschaft „Dobroczytnosc“. Folks-szule ojfn nomen fun I. L. Perec ojf der Krotka 28 mit jidiszer unterrichts-szprach. In der szule hobn bakumen bildung un dercijung di kinder, wos hobn zich rekrutirt fun di arbeter un folks szichtn. Di szule iz geworn gelejtet durch der partej fun „Bund“ unter der onfirung fun Refoel Federman un L. Brener. Algemejne szule, in welche es iz a grojse ojfmerksamkeit gewidmet geworn far der hebrejiszer szprach. Zi iz gewen ajngeordnt in najem hojz, wos di Kehile-Farwaltung hot ojfgebojt far a 3-ter jidiszer gimnazje ojf ek Jasnogorska un ek Waly Dwernickiego



Bilo Nr. 3. Folks-szule Nr. 13. Ojf der rechter zajt sztejt di szul-farwalterin **frl. Szacher**. Zi iz, in der erszter akcje fun likwidirn dos grojse geto, awekgeszikt geworn kejn Treblinke un dort umgekumen.

Titles

Much about the origins and intent of a Memorial volume is revealed by its title. Sometimes the name of the *shtetl* alone suffices – as in the case of the book devoted to Jews from Aleksandrów (*Aleksander*; Tel Aviv, 1968) or the book of Lithuania (*Lite*; Tel Aviv, 1951–65). Usually, however, the name of a *shtetl* is preceded by words such as *Yizker-bukh* in Yiddish or *Sefer yizkor* or *Sefer zikaron* in Hebrew, terms suggesting a link with the medieval Ashkenazi tradition of *Memorbücher*, as in the case of volumes devoted to the Jews of Rzeszów (*Kehilat Raysha; sefer zikaron*; Tel Aviv, 1967), Włodawa (*Sefer zikaron Wlodawa ve-ha-sevivah*; Tel Aviv, 1974), (Plate 2) Puławy (*Yizker – bukh Pulawy*; New York, 1964) or Tomaszów Lubelski (*Sefer zikaron shel Tomaszow-Lubelski*; Jerusalem, 1972). Use of the word *sefer*, ‘book’, in the title may even suggest that the volume is to be regarded as a holy text bearing rabbinical approval, a ritual object through which the holy memory of the martyrs and their community will be preserved. The designation of the word *pinkas* in the title, on the other hand, suggests a replacement of a lost town chronicle – as in the case of volumes devoted to the communities of Będzin in the Zagłębie region in Upper Silesia (*Pinkas Bendin*; Tel Aviv, 1959), or the volume dedicated to the whole region, *Pinkas Zaglebie* (Tel Aviv, 1972).

Title pages

Title pages of Memorial Books often feature symbols of mourning and of life destroyed. The most typical image is perhaps that of a burning *shtetl*, as depicted on the title page of the Cieszanów volume (*Sefer zikaron le-kehila kedosha Cieszanow*; Tel Aviv, 1970), with the inscription in both Hebrew and Yiddish which reads: ‘My shtetl is burning’. (Plate 3) Another characteristic motif is a mournful, ghostly figure rising from a grave, wrapped in a prayer shawl, covering his eyes with his hands, as seen on the frontispiece of *Sefer Kosow* (Tel Aviv, 1964). The title page of *Sefer zikaron le-kehillat Tomaszow Mazowiecki* (Tel Aviv, 1969) features further characteristic motifs: an overturned menorah, gravestones, gallows, a crowd of people with yellow stars on their sleeves at the ramp of a concentration camp, the letters of the word *yizkor* forming a face with tears dripping down the page. (Plate 4) On

ספר זכרון
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בהשתתפות

אירגוני

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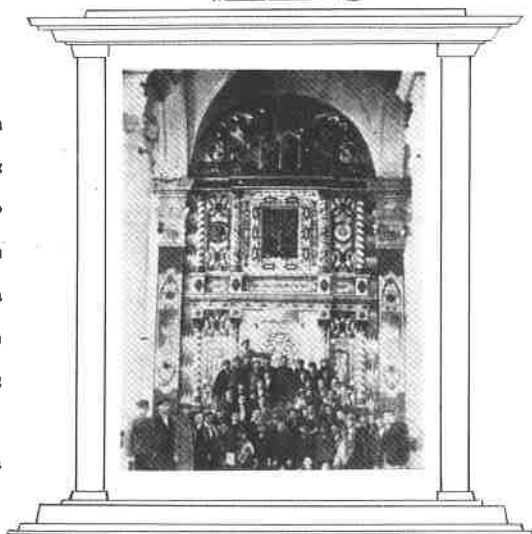
ולדאבה

בצפון-

ודרום-

אמריקה

1974



הוצא לאור

ע"י אירגון

יוצאי

ולדאבה

והסביבה

בישראל

תל-אביב

תשל"ד

Plate 2 The title page of the volume on Włodawa and vicinity, illustrating the use of the Hebrew term for 'Memorial Book'.



עבודת-יד ומתנת הצייר מר יעקב גרבל ורעייתו שושנה לבית שמוקלר

Plate 3 The title page of the volume on Cieszanów, with its characteristic flame motif.



Plate 4 The title page of the Tomaszów Mazowiecki volume, which includes a number of motifs illustrating destruction.

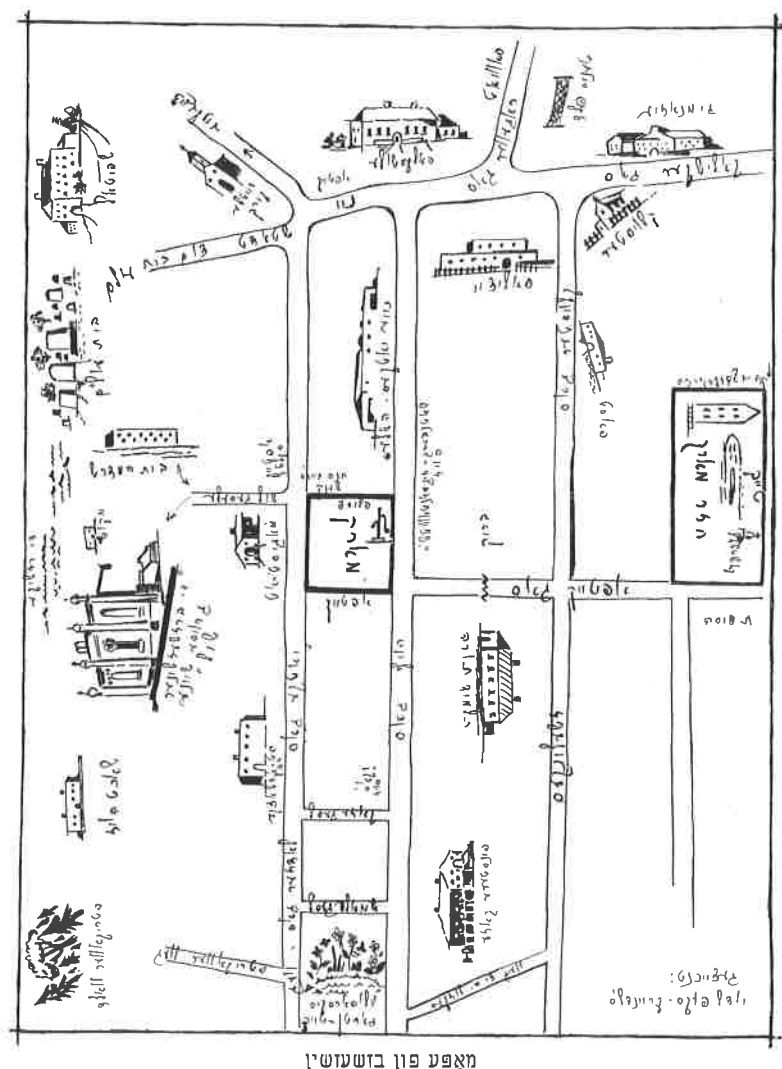


Plate 5 The hand-drawn map of Brzeziny included in the volume on the town.

the title page of *Pinkas Zyrardow* (Buenos Aires, 1961) one can see again a burnt *shtetl* behind barbed wire, with the inscription in Yiddish: *nit fargesn, nit fargebn*, 'do not forget, do not forgive'. The title page of the Chelm volume, *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehillat Chelm* (Tel Aviv, [1980–1]) features more gravestones and candles, and a mournful figure of a pious Jew reading a holy text, his arms stretched out to the sky from the flames, and the inscription *le-zekher kedoshei Chelm*, 'to the holy martyrs of Chelm'. Yet another important image that sometimes recurs on *Yizkor* books' title pages is that of a severed tree, with a small shoot growing from its stump, as portrayed on the title page of *Ayaratenu Visotsk; sefer zikaron* (Haifa, 1963). The small shoot indicates the community of survivors from Wysock, the contributors to the volume.

Maps

The inside covers of many books bear maps. Some of these are regional, showing the relation of the *shtetl* to neighbouring locations. Others are schematic representations of the *shtetl*'s layout, often drawn from memory, as in the book of Brzeziny (*Bzhezhin yisker-bukh*; New York, 1961), which features a hand-drawn map with most important buildings indicated on it. (Plate 5) Jewish institutions are sometimes marked with the Star of David or menorah. On the map of Rudki (in *Rudki; sefer yizkor le-yehudei Rudki ve-ha-seviva*; Tel Aviv, 1978) one can see drawings of both Catholic and Orthodox churches in a circle, probably to emphasize the separation of the two worlds. The legend beneath it states in both Polish and Hebrew that the map has been recreated from memory so is not to scale. In the map of Kalusz (in *Kalusz; hayeha ve-hurbana shel ha-kehila*; Tel Aviv, 1980) one again sees a clear division into two separate worlds: non-Jewish institutions or street-names are in Polish written in Latin characters, while Jewish ones are in Hebrew characters.

Content

Memorial Books often divide the history of a location into pre-1914, interwar, and Holocaust sections. In addition they contain sections or chapters on characteristics of a *shtetl* and on institutions such as social, political and cultural organizations. The Holocaust, given its role in shaping the survivors' memory, understandably often determines the composition of a *Yizkor* book.

Most books begin with a substantial account of the history of the town from the time of its first Jewish settlement. These are frequently largely based on articles found in publications such as Polish encyclopedias. Others are original essays of value to contemporary scholars of the early history of Jews in Poland. *Pinkes Młave*, edited by Jacob Shatzky, a well-known historian of Polish Jewry (and of Warsaw Jewry in particular), and published in New York in 1950, features a section on the history of Jews in Mława written by Dr Judah Rosenthal, himself born in Maków, who later became Professor at the College of Jewish Studies in Chicago. The volume devoted to the Jewish community of Kołomyja (*Pinkes Kolomey*; New York, 1957), edited by the Yiddish essayist and literary critic, Shlomo Bikel, contains a chapter on the history of the town by Nathan Michael Gelber, Jewish historian and Zionist leader, originally from Galicia.

The second section, the interwar period, is usually the largest. Here one finds information about the economic, social and cultural life of the *shtetl*, the occupations of its inhabitants and its political, social and cultural organizations and institutions. This section is also devoted to recollections. The book of Stolpce (*Sefer zikaron: Steibts-Sverzhnye...*; Tel Aviv, 1964) contains an article by Shneur Zalman Shazar, third President of the State of Israel, entitled 'My Stolpce'. Shazar was born in Mir, near Minsk, but his family moved to Stolpce after a disastrous fire when Shazar was only three years old, and he spent his youth there. The book of Płońsk, *Sefer Plonsk ve-ha-sevivah* (Tel Aviv, 1963) contains a piece by David Ben-Gurion, himself born in Płońsk, entitled 'My Youth in Płońsk'.

Most of the illustrations included in Memorial Books appear in the interwar section. Volumes occasionally contain hundreds of photos, maps or sketches: pictures of rabbis and members of various Jewish institutions and organizations, photographs of synagogues and of schools, residential buildings and streets. One also finds reproductions from the local Jewish press. In short, Memorial Books are illustrations of interwar Jewish life.

The interwar section includes linguistic and folkloric material as well, such as customs relating to particular holidays, characteristic sayings and even lists of individuals' nicknames and explanations of how they had acquired them. The aforementioned *Pinkas Bendin*, for instance, describes chronological strata of Yiddish phonology used in different parts of the town. The book of Chełm, mentioned above, a town

known in Jewish folklore for its fools, contains a section on Chelm in Yiddish folklore. Among literary works published in Memorial Books one finds writings by established authors. For example, in the previously mentioned *Pinkes Mlawe* there are a number of literary items by the Yiddish writer Yosef Opatoshu, a native of this town, as well as writings by less-well-known other local literati.

The third section, on the Holocaust period, contains dates and descriptions of the setting up and liquidation of ghettos, as well as lists of restrictions imposed by Nazis. It includes detailed accounts of how certain individuals escaped, where they hid, who helped them and so forth. Descriptions of events that took place during the Holocaust may be especially harrowing, untrained writers expressing pure emotion without employing literary devices. Some uniquely preserved photographs from the Holocaust period are reproduced, as well as documents or private letters. The Holocaust section often concludes with lists of names of people from the *shtetl* who perished, as was the custom in traditional *Memorbücher* of Ashkenazi Jewry.

Many Memorial Books refer to the period after the War, when the survivors came back to their *shtetls*, usually only for a short period of time. Reluctant to portray their communities as entirely obliterated, Memorial Books often conclude with the ongoing activities of the *Landsmanshaftn* in various corners of the world. (Plate 6) In this section one may come across descriptions of memorial services held yearly by *Landsmanshaftn*, as well as photos of monuments erected to commemorate their perished brothers and sisters.

Conclusion

It is estimated that more than a thousand East European Jewish communities have been commemorated in Memorial Books. These volumes range in size and format from the now crumbling, thin, paperbound volumes produced in displaced persons camps shortly after the Second World War (such as the previously mentioned volume *Churban Czenstochow*), to the four large-format volumes devoted to every aspect of the history and daily life of the Jews of Slonim, *Pinkas Slonim* (Tel Aviv, [1962-79]). Even at the time of writing, sixty years after the end of the War, new memorial books are being published and some of the older ones appearing in English translation.



Plate 6 The *Landsmanshaft* of Zagłębie in Canada.

Memorial Books can serve as an important primary source for the study of Jewish life in Poland in the twentieth century, and are of use to scholars of local history or of the history of certain movements or periods. Their narratives provide detailed information on matters such as daily life, institutions, personalities and schools. Since most of the survivors were young adults when the War ended, Memorial Books are particularly useful for studying the culture of Jewish adolescence in Polish towns between the two wars. Recently, because of their genealogical interest, third- and fourth-generation Western European or American Jews turn to *Yizkor* books for data. The lists of names included in such books provide basic information on family history.

Memorial Books present an image of a time when life was spiritually and emotionally warm, if physically precarious. The book on Rudki (*Rudki; sefer yizkor le-yehudei Rudki ve-ha-seviva*; Tel Aviv, 1978) refers to the town as 'the Anatevke of our youth and childhood dreams',

linking it with Sholem Aleichem's fictional *shtetl*, the home of Tevye the Milkman. This evocation points towards the ironic yet affectionate image of the *shtetl* sketched by the classical writers of modern Yiddish literature.

Many historians who have used Memorial Books have been critical of their tendency to sacrifice accurate facts for mood and sentiment. But the volumes should be perceived not as inadequate academic histories, but as the records of simple people trying to preserve a glimpse of the world they knew, loved and lost. One could say that the Memorial Books represent less the Jewish community as it was, than the one that is remembered and recreated.

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The A. N. Stencl Lectures in Yiddish Studies

JOSEPH SHERMAN

IN THE COURSE of a long life, the distinguished Yiddish poet Avrom-Nokhem Stencl (1897–1983) not only published some forty volumes of verse, edited his own journal for nearly half a century and led a regular literary circle, but was among those few whose followers venerated him as a sage and around whom numerous myths developed, one of which maintained that he never ceased to pine for the lost love of his youth, the German-Jewish poet Else Lasker-Schueler (1869–1945).

For nearly fifty years Stencl lived alone in a modest, book-lined apartment in Whitechapel, the immigrant quarter of London's East End that he designated 'the last *shtetl*'. He lived his life only for Yiddish, which he insisted on speaking to everyone, from café waiters to bus conductors. For him, Yiddish was neither a cultural nor a literary activity, but the only possible medium of communication. Material things held no interest for him; his portion in eternity, it was said, consisted exclusively of a limitless love for Yiddish in and of itself.

Stencl's life can be divided into three periods: his childhood and youth in Poland, from his birth into a distinguished Hasidic rabbinical lineage in 1897 until his twenty-first year in 1919; his years in German Expressionist circles in Berlin and Leipzig from 1921 until the rise of Nazism in 1936; and his life in Whitechapel after fleeing Germany in 1936 until his death on 23 January 1983.

By his own admission, Stencl was an unruly boy uninterested in study, and he could barely recall attending *kheyder*, although in adolescence, out of respect for his observant father, he wore traditional earlocks and a beard. As a youth he worked as a labourer, nurturing dreams of emigrating to *Erets-yisroel* and becoming a *halutz*. In 1919, during the peace that followed the First World War, he left his birthplace in Czenstochow and, having passing briefly through Germany, went to work on a farm in Holland where other hopeful *halutzim* were preparing for settler life in Mandate Palestine. In 1921, the year in which

the New York Yiddish newspaper *Morgn-zhurnal* published his earliest poems, Stencl moved to Berlin where, like other aspirant writers, he joined its bohemian café life.

By the mid-1920s the young Stencl was already regarded as a literary *wunderkind*, chiefly through well-received German translations of his poems and dramas. The honoraria he earned defrayed the costs of publishing his work in its original Yiddish, of which approximately eleven small volumes appeared. His greatest success was *Fisherdorf* ('Fishermen's Village', 1933), which Thomas Mann praised in a review: 'Stencl's passionate poetic emotion and his love for the "warm steaming earth" are wholly unselfconscious and even the prose writer may envy Stencl's image-making power. I believe that people will be talking about this new personality.'

Stencl managed to hold out in Hitler-ruled Berlin until 1936, the year in which his last three Berlin publications appeared. But his situation, under Gestapo surveillance, grew critical, and German friends in anti-fascist literary circles hid him, enabling others to assist his escape to London. Whitechapel in the mid-1930s was still a vibrant Yiddish centre in which Morris Myer's Yiddish daily *Di tsayt* flourished and Yiddish journals and books were regularly published. Stencl threw himself wholeheartedly into this Yiddishist activity. Having arrived in November 1936, he was able, before the year was out, to produce a slim volume of verse entitled *Letste nakht* ('Last Night') and to establish his own literary circle.

During the grim years of the Second World War, Stencl spared no effort to boost the morale of working-class Jews in the East End through the medium of Yiddish. He founded a regular series of *literarische shabes-nokhmitiks* ('literary Saturday afternoons'), at which writers, singers and actors lectured and performed, and at irregular intervals he began issuing booklets, under such titles as *Farveynte teg* ('Bleary Days'), *Brenendike gasn* ('Burning Streets') and *Yidish shafn in London* ('Yiddish Creativity in London'), which the Whitechapel Yiddish-speaking public affectionately dubbed *Shtentsls heftlekh* ('Stencl's Pamphlets'). Under his indefatigable editorship these publications later developed into the regular periodical *Loshn un lebn* ('Language and Life'), a series that ceased publication only with his death. Stencl's 'literary Saturday afternoons' grew into a permanent weekly Whitechapel event organized by Stencl's circle, *Fraynt fun yidish loshn* ('Friends of

The A. N. Stencl Lectures in Yiddish Studies

the Yiddish Language'), at which for decades Yiddish writers from the world over were delighted guests.

Stencl strove to import the concept of 'Whitechapel' into Yiddish literature. He attributed the decline of the district's Yiddish-speaking immigrant community to the ravages of the Holocaust, and wrestled continuously with this debility in his poems. Heaping scorn on the new generation of Jews who lightly abandoned their Yiddish heritage in favour of an anglicized Judaism, he strove in his work to ensure that the Whitechapel he had known and loved would remain forever a Jewish *ir vo-em beyisrael*, 'a mother city of the people of Israel'.

From a poet of villages, woods and sea, Stencl gradually developed into a poet of the metropolis, yet the authentic voice of Bible, Talmud and Kabbalah – the entire spiritual heritage of Judaism – can be heard throughout his *oeuvre*. His was a major voice in twentieth-century Yiddish letters, and his entire corpus, housed after his death in the archives of the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies, awaits the thorough scholarly examination it richly deserves.

The Avrom-Nokhem Stencl Lectures in Yiddish Studies

The series of lectures in Yiddish Studies that bears his name was instituted in 1983, the year of Stencl's death, by Dr Dovid Katz, formerly Woolf Corob Fellow in Yiddish Studies at what was then the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies. The lectures were named in recognition of Stencl's half-century of work for Yiddish in Britain, and in honour of the man and his vision.

These special lectures were originally given annually at the Oxford Yiddish Summer Programme until 1994, some of them published in booklet form with the assistance of a grant from the Dov Biegun Memorial Fund. When the Yiddish Summer Programme ceased to be offered, there was a hiatus in the series which was restored in 2005 under the joint sponsorship of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies and the Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages and Literatures, University of Oxford.

List of A. N. Stencl Lectures

The following A. N. Stencl Lectures have been delivered so far. Some have been published and are available for purchase from the Centre, except for those marked *.

- 1 A. N. Stencl: Poet of Whitechapel *S. S. Praver* (1983)
- 2 Morris Winchevsky's London Yiddish Newspaper: One Hundred Years in Retrospect *William J. Fishman* (1984)
- 3 Yiddish Creativity in the Ghettos and Camps: On Holocaust Folklore and Folkloristics* *Dov Noy* (1985)
- 4 Vilna, Jerusalem of Lithuania *Leyzer Ran* (1986)
- 5 The Weinreich Legacy *Robert D. King* (1987)
- 6 From Czar to Glasnost: Yiddish in the Soviet Union *Schneier Levenberg* (1988)
- 7 Memories of London Yiddish Theatre *Bernard Mendelovitch* (1989)
- 8 Translations Into and From Yiddish *Mordechai Litvine* (1990)
- 9 The Children's Literature of Isaac Bashevis Singer* *Chone Shmeruk* (1991)
- 10 The Life and Works of Rokhl Korn* *Itche Goldberg* (1992)
- 11 Puddles or Mainstream: The Stencl Legacy* *Leonard Prager* (1993)
- 12 Vilna, My Vilna *Abraham Karpinowicz* (1994)
- 13 'Exquisite Complexity': The Prose Style of Dovid Bergelson (1884–1952) *Joseph Sherman* (2005)

THE ACADEMIC YEAR

Michaelmas Term 2004

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

Jewish History, 200 BCE to 70 CE *Jonathan Kirkpatrick*

Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period
(*Convened by Jonathan Kirkpatrick*)

Eusebius' Interpretatio Christiana of Philo's *De Vita
Contemplativa* *Dr Sabrina Inowlocki*

The Lives of the Prophets: The Syriac Tradition
Dr Sebastian Brock

Aspects of Leisure, Pleasure and Therapy in the Rabbinic
Literature *Professor Estée Dvorjetski*

Paying Rome: The Census and the Revolt *Dr James McLaren*

The Septuagint as a Window on the World of Hellenistic Judaism
Professor Robert Hiebert

A Rabbinic Homily on Sacrifice and its Hellenistic and Christian
Context *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Priesthoods in the Ancient World: Authority and Traditions
(*Convened by Simon Price and Jonathan Kirkpatrick*)

Defining the Priest, Inside and Out *Jonathan Kirkpatrick*

Bacchic Priesthoods *Scott Scullion*

Priesthood in the Levant, 63 BC-AD 284: Indigenous, Greek and
Roman *Ted Kaizer*

Was there a Christian Priesthood before Constantine?
Mark Edwards

Jewish Priests after 70 *Professor Philip Alexander*

A High-priestly Couple in Ptolemaic Egypt *Professor John Baines*

Priests and Law in Republican Rome *John North*

Concluding Discussion *Simon Price*

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

The Academic Year

Wisdom of Solomon *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Patristic Texts on Exodus *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Jewish Liturgy *Dr Jeremy Schonfield*

Rabbinic and Medieval Hebrew Texts *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Set Texts in Jewish Studies *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Judaism and Islam: Medieval Intellectual and Cultural Traditions

Ronald Nettler

Modern European Jewish History *Dr David Rechter*

Yiddish Language and Literature

(*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*

Fiddler on the Train: A Look at Sholem Aleichem

Dr Joseph Sherman

Questions of Jewish Identity in Yiddish Literature *Dr Joseph Sherman*

A History of Modern Israel *Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi*

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

Ronald Nettler

Witnessing the Holocaust *Dr Zoë Waxman*

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

Salah Shabbati Efraim Kishon (1964)

Sch'hur Shmuel Hasfari (1994)

The Big Dig Efraim Kishon (1969)

The Clean Sweep Eitan Even (2002)

Total Love Erez Laufer (2000)

Bonjour Monsieur Shlomi Shemi Zarkin (2003)

The Wisdom of the Pretzel Ilan Heitner (1998)

Broken Wings Nir Bergman (2002)

Biblical Hebrew Classes *Dr Jill Middlemas*

Modern Hebrew Classes *Tali Argov*

Yiddish Language Classes *Dr Kerstin Hoge and Dr Joseph Sherman*

The David Patterson Seminars

(Convened by Dr Joseph Sherman)

A Child at Gunpoint: On the Well-known Photograph of a Boy in the
Warsaw Ghetto (1943) *Professor Richard Raskin*

Losing the (Israeli) Plot: Contemporary Israel in the Prose of Orly
Kastel-Bloom *Tali Argov*

The Septuagint as a Reflection of its Hellenistic Jewish Context
Professor Robert Hiebert

Hybridism of Sounds: Primo Levi between Judaism and Literature
Professor Sergio Parussa

Representing Medieval Jewish Usurers : From a Theological to an
Economic Vocabulary *Professor Giacomo Todeschini*

The *Geber's* Correction in Lamentations 3 as Proto-Midrash
Dr Jill Middlemas

'Appoint a King to Govern Us, Like Other Nations' – The Problem
with Kingship in the Hebrew Bible *Madhavi Nevader*

The Twelfth-century Renaissance of the Hebrew Language: Strategies
for the Creation of a New Scientific Hebrew Terminology
Dr Shlomo Sela

Special Lectures

Turkey, Greece, Israel: East-Mediterranean Politics

Dr Amikam Nachmani

(Convened by Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi)

Isaiah Berlin Public Lecture in Middle East Dialogue

America's Mission in the Middle East *Dr Michael Ledeen*

Hilary Term 2005

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

The Study of Ancient Israelite Religion *Madhavi Nevader*

The Diaspora in the Roman Empire: Jews, Pagans and Christians to 450 CE *Professor Fergus Millar*

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

(*Convened by Jonathan Kirkpatrick*)

Deities, Heroes and Worshipers: Religious Themes in the Hellenistic Art from Israel *Dr Ada Erlich*

Jews and Judaism in Stone (*Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* I-III, 2004) *Professor Fergus Millar*

Romans, Jews and Christians on the Names of the Jews (200 BCE-300 CE) *Professor Martin Goodman*

Reflections of Rome in 1 & 2 Maccabees *Dr Liv Yarrow*

The Septuagint between Jews and Christians
Professor Tessa Rajak

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

Introduction to Septuagint Studies *Dr Alison Salvesen*

I Esdras and the Exagoge of Ezekiel Tragicus *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Patristic Writers on Exodus *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Exodus 1-15 (Greek) *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Targum Aramaic *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Rabbinic and Medieval Hebrew Texts *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Midrash *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Introduction to Talmud *Dr Norman Solomon*

Talmud Seminar *Dr Norman Solomon*

The Religious and Cultural Legacy of Moses Maimonides
Dr Joanna Weinberg

Yiddish Language and Literature

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

Miese Ganoven who Keep Shtum: Yiddish Borrowings into German and English *Dr Kerstin Hoge*

Israel Joshua Singer and Yiddish Realist Fiction
Dr Joseph Sherman

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

The Jewish Pope *Dr Joseph Sherman*

Seminar in Modern European Jewish History

(*Convened by Dr David Rechter*)

Community in Transit: Jewish Migrants from East Central Europe in Berlin after the First World War
Dr Tobias Brinkmann

Recent Trends in the Representation of Holocaust Testimony and Holocaust Memory *Dr Zoë Waxman*

Jewish Universalism and the Interactions of Educated Jews and Protestants in Nineteenth-century Germany *Uffa Jensen*

Making the Jews Ugly: Aesthetics, Politics and Religion in Modern European Thought *Professor Leah Hochman*

Spot the Jewish Connection: Understanding Anti-anti-Semitic Discourse in Imperial Germany *Dr Lars Fischer*

Jewish – Non-Jewish Relations in Imperial Russia: The Case of Kiev *Dr Natan Meir*

Red Vienna, Cultural Policy and Jewish Identity: The Example of David Joseph Bach *Dr Lisa Silverman*

From Revolution to 'Cultural Work': The Transformation of the Jewish Labour Bund's National Programme in Tsarist Russia, 1905–1914 *Professor Joshua Zimmerman*

Means of Representation: Jews Reading and Writing Themselves, 1919–1973 *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Set Texts in Modern Hebrew Literature *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Biblical Hebrew *Dr Timothy Edwards and Dr Jill Middlemas*

The Academic Year

Modern Hebrew *Tali Argov*

Yiddish Language Classes *Dr Kerstin Hoge and Dr Joseph Sherman*

The David Patterson Seminars

(Convened by Dr Joseph Sherman)

Jewish Physicians as the Medical Other in Medieval Islam: Between
Intercommunal Competition and Secular Cooperation

Dr Peter Pormann

Rich Jews and Poor Jews in Eighteenth-century Europe

Dr Lionel Kochan

Mapping the Bible in Early-modern Europe *Dr Zur Shalev*

Rethinking Sir Moses Montefiore *Dr Abigail Green*

Isaac Bashevis Singer and Literary Modernism *Hugh Denman*

Biblyotek grininke beymelekh: A Case Study in the Discourse of Yiddish
Children's Literature *Dr Kerstin Hoge*

Russian Politics of the Jew's Body: The Case of Vasily Rozanov

Professor Henrietta Mondry

The Languages of the Jews *Professor Benjamin Hary*

Special Lectures

Isaiah Berlin Public Lecture in Middle East Dialogue:

Israelis and Palestinians: Where Should We Go from Here?

Dr Sari Nusseibeh and Admiral (Ret.) Ami Ayalon

Lecture in Association with Jewish Book Week on Tour

The Lie that Wouldn't Die *Hadassah Ben-Itto*

The Thirteenth Stencil Lecture

'Exquisite Complexity': The Prose Style of Dovid Bergelson
(1884–1952) *Dr Joseph Sherman*

Trinity Term 2005

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

Hebrew Prose Composition *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Hebrew Composition *Madhavi Nevader*

Grinfield Lecture Series on the Septuagint
(*Convened by Dr Alison Salvesen*)

Old Greek and Later Revisers: Can We Always Distinguish Them?
Professor Peter Gentry

Hexaplaric Readings for Genesis and Their Reception by the Church
Dr Baster Haar Romery

Hexaplaric Readings for Exodus *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Rabbinic Hebrew Texts *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Talmud Seminar *Dr Norman Solomon*

Medieval Hebrew Texts *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

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

Pleasing Britain, Serving Hitler: The Hungarian Political Elite and the Revision of the Treaty of Trianon, 1933–1941
Professor Tibor Frank

An Empress Thwarted – Maria Theresa and the Jews of Prague, 1745
Dr Lionel Kochan

‘The Sword Hanging Over Their Heads’: The Significance of Pogrom for Jewish life and Self-understanding in Fin-de-siècle Eastern Europe
Dr Natan Meir

The Polish Underground and the Jews During World War Two: The Historiographical Controversy
Professor Joshua Zimmerman

Geza von Hoffman: Founder of Hungarian Racial Hygiene?
Dr Marius Turda

The Duke of York as King of Hungary? Britain and the Hungarian Conspiracy of 1788–1790
Dr Orsolya Szakály

The Academic Year

From Despised to Protected: Yiddish in the Language Strategy of Orthodox Jewry in Hungary (Eighteenth – Early-twentieth Centuries) *Szonja Komoróczy*

Keeping the Peace of the Manor: Manor Court and Villages in Early-seventeenth-century Hungary *Dr Tadaki Lio*

Set Texts in Modern Hebrew Literature *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Biblical Hebrew *Dr Timothy Edwards and Dr Jill Middlemas*

Modern Hebrew *Tali Argov*

Yiddish Language Classes *Dr Kerstin Hoge and Dr Joseph Sherman*

The David Patterson Seminars

(*Convened by Dr Joseph Sherman*)

Against all Odds: the Renaissance of Hebrew Literature

Dr David Patterson, CBE

Reading Faces, Reading Souls: Jews, Judaism and Physiognomy in

Modern Europe *Professor Leah Hochman*

The Problem of Free Will and Divine Wisdom as a Link between

Dante Alighieri and Medieval Jewish Thought

Dr Sandra Debenedetti-Stow

Exile and Interpretation: Popper's Reconstruction of Western Political

Thought *Dr David Weinstein*

1929: An End of Modernism in Yiddish Literature?

Dr Mikhail Krutikov

Jews and Pagans in Roman Palestine *Jonathan Kirkpatrick*

The Attitude of the Polish Home Army to the Jewish Question

During the Holocaust *Professor Joshua Zimmerman*

Martin Buber and the Myth of Judaism *Dr David Groiser*

Special Lectures

Heinrich Heine (1797–1856): Jewish Thinker, Good European, Citizen of the World *Professor Ritchie Robertson*

Trinity Term 2005

The Third Bertelsmann Lecture in the series entitled 'Stalin and Hitler: Dictatorship and Social Catastrophe'

Nazi Persecution of the Jews and German Public Opinion
Professor Robert Gellately

The Fifth Goldman Lecture

Messianic Sectarianism in Eighteenth-century Poland: Jacob Frank and the Filipovtsy *Dr Ada Rapoport-Albert*

MSt in Jewish Studies *University of Oxford*

TWENTY STUDENTS studied at the Centre this year. Eighteen candidates graduated, some of whom had studied in a previous academic year and returned to Oxford to complete the MSt.

The Faculty

Courses and languages presented in the MSt programme were taught by Fellows of the Centre; by Dr Timothy Edwards, Oxford, Professor Fergus Millar, Emeritus Professor of Ancient History, Oxford University; Dr Jeremy Schonfield, Mason Lecturer; Dr Norman Solomon, Senior Associate; and by Dr Zoë Waxman, Mansfield College. Dr David Rechter served as Director of Studies and Martine Smith-Huvers, Student Registrar, administered the course with the assistance of Sue Forteath.

Courses

Students studied Biblical Hebrew, Modern Hebrew or Yiddish. In addition, they chose five courses from the list below and submitted dissertations. The following courses were offered during the 2004–2005 academic year:

- A Modern History of Israel *Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi*
- 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 *Jonathan Kirkpatrick*
- Jewish Liturgy *Dr Jeremy Schonfield*
- Judaism and Islam: Medieval Intellectual and Cultural Traditions
 - Ronald Nettler*
- Means of Representation: Jews Reading and Writing Themselves 1919–1973 *Dr Glenda Abramson*
- Modern European Jewish History *Dr David Rechter*
- Questions of Jewish Identity in Yiddish Literature
 - Dr Joseph Sherman*

- Targum Aramaic *Dr Alison Salvesen*
- The Diaspora in the Roman Empire: Jews, Pagans and Christians to 450 CE *Professor Fergus Millar*
- The Religious and Cultural Legacy of Moses Maimonides
Dr Joanna Weinberg
- The Rise of Normative Judaism and Christianity *Dr Piet van Boxel*
- The Study of Ancient Israelite Religion *Madhavi Nevader*
- Witnessing the Holocaust *Dr Zoë Waxman*

Languages:

- Biblical Hebrew (elementary) *Dr Timothy Edwards*
- Biblical Hebrew (elementary, intermediate and advanced)
Dr Jill Middlemas
- Modern Hebrew (elementary and intermediate) *Tali Argov*
- Yiddish (elementary and advanced) *Dr Kerstin Hoge*
- Yiddish (advanced) *Dr Joseph Sherman*

The Students

The students came from Australia, Croatia, Czech Republic, Germany, Israel, Malta, Poland, the Netherlands, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

Sarah Yael Eisenman (*b.* 1979) graduated in History at the University of Berkeley in 2001, having written a dissertation on ancient Jewish and Egyptian relations. She then moved to Manhattan and worked for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), an organization committed to the restoration, rescue and relief of Jewish communities around the world. She eventually became Deputy Regional Specialist for Africa/Asia and Central/Eastern Europe. In the summer of 2002 she participated in excavations at Qumran, serving as on-site representative for the California State University, Long Beach Judean Desert Project. She decided to study in Oxford since she believes that understanding Jewry's past is essential if one is to plan for its future needs. She submitted a dissertation entitled "Community" in Post-Communist Jewish Community Building: A Reevaluation'.

Thomas Dominic Feeney (*b.* 1982) became interested in Jewish Studies during his second year at high school when, after reading the Hebrew Scriptures he decided to find out more about Judaism and the Hebrew language. He graduated in Philosophy and Theology at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, in 2004, worked as a research assistant and was involved in projects concerning conscientious objection and 'just war' theory. On leaving Oxford he intends to continue his Jewish studies, besides working on the philosophy of interpretation and language as a tool for understanding Scripture. He also looks forward to focusing on Mishnah, Talmud and related literary traditions. His dissertation was entitled 'Saadia Gaon's Departure from Kalam Atomism'.

Tereza Gafna Foltýnová (*b.* 1979) has an MA in English Language and Literature and Social Science from Charles University, Prague, and since 2000 has been studying for an MA in Jewish Studies. She has worked since 1997 in the Jewish Museum in Prague as a tutor and workshop co-ordinator in the Culture and Education Centre, introducing young visitors to Jewish culture, values and history and promoting intercultural dialogue. She took sabbatical leave in 2003–4 to participate in a one-year programme of intensive textual and historical study at Paideia, the European Institute for Jewish Studies in Sweden, and decided to come to Oxford to explore further the power and potential of Jewish classical-text study. On her return to Prague she hopes to help the Museum construct a series of interactive workshops and adult-education programmes on Jewish history and society for Jews and the non-Jews. Her dissertation was entitled 'The Biblical Story of Hagar and Ishmael in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer'.

Aleksandra Geller (*b.* 1983), who graduated in Anthropology from the University of Warsaw in 2004, is interested in the development of Ashkenazic Jewry and the cultural gap that developed between East and West European Jews in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She came to Oxford to expand her knowledge of Judaism and its roots, and to explore the earliest period of Jewish-Christian relations, and intends to pursue an academic career in the field of Jewish-Polish

relations. Her dissertation was entitled 'Warsaw and Vilna: Two Competing Centres of Jewish Culture during the Interwar Period'.

Shari Goldman Gottlieb (b. 1981) graduated from Yale University in May 2003 with a BA in Judaic Studies and Literature. She is a published poet. Her primary academic interest at Yale lay in the nature of Jewish narrative and the way it is used to construct identity. She hopes eventually to carry out research into the oral traditions of modern Spanish Jews, building on previous field work on the oral traditions of Jewish communities in Spain and Portugal that are in danger of being lost. Her dissertation focussed on 'The Nazir, the Sotah, and the Barren Woman: A Rabbinic Triumvirate'.

Michael Edward Hammer (b. 1980) graduated in Theology and English Literature from Georgetown University, Washington DC, in 2002, and then took a Master of Divinity course at the Nazarene Theological Seminary in Kansas City. He financed his studies by teaching English and debating skills at a local school and serving as Director of Youth and Music Ministry at the Arrowhead Community Chapel, a new church in Kansas City. His primary interest is in the New Testament, but he came to Oxford because he felt he needed a grounding in the Jewish roots of Christianity and in Jewish thought in order to understand it fully. His dissertation was entitled 'Authority, Proclamation and Deeds of Power: Jewish Sources and the Beginning of Jesus' Ministry', and he completed the MSt with distinction.

Christoph Hilmes (b. 1978) studied Philosophy and Rhetoric at Eberhard-Karls-Universität before transferring to Humboldt-Universität, Berlin, where he expects to graduate in Protestant Theology in 2006. He came to the Centre to deepen his knowledge of non-Christian views of biblical texts, history and traditions, and because courses on Septuagint and Jewish and Christian Bible translation – such as those on offer in the MSt programme – are rarely offered at German theological faculties. His dissertation was entitled 'Responses to Destruction and Exile in the *Book of Ezekiel*'.

Julia Megan Glanville Jenkin (b. 1981) received a first-class Honours degree in Latin from Royal Holloway College, University of London,

in 2003, having also studied Ancient Greek and Greek and Roman History and won various prestigious language prizes. She initiated a revival of the Classics Society and directed a production of *Lysistrata* among other activities. She came to the Centre in order to explore the background to examples of 'anti-Semitism' she had noticed in writers such as Appian and Diodorus Siculus while working as a library assistant in the British School, Athens. She gave a paper on the evidence for anti-Semitism in the late Second Temple Period in Athens in April 2004, and would like to pursue the subject at doctoral level. She felt the MSt would provide a firm grounding on which to build. Her dissertation was entitled 'The Use of the Synagogue as a Political Space in 1st and 2nd Century C.E. Rome'.

Esther Sarah Jilovsky (*b.* 1979) has a Diploma in Modern Languages, a BA in Linguistics and a BA (Hons) in German from the University of Melbourne, Australia. While taking a summer course in Modern Hebrew at Tel Aviv University, after her first degree, she met her Israeli relatives for the first time and observed Israeli approaches to Holocaust commemoration. After graduation she visited the birth-place of her grandparents in Eastern Europe and various Holocaust-related sites, realised how the Holocaust had affected her family and decided to focus on German Studies in her Honours year. With the help of two scholarships she spent a term at Humboldt University, Berlin, experienced German responses to the Holocaust and witnessed contemporary German efforts to come to terms with the past. She hopes to research Holocaust remembrance in Germany and Australia, focusing on the extent to which individual memory shapes tangible expressions of collective memory such as museums and memorials. Her dissertation was entitled 'Writing the Past: Negotiating Identity in the Shadow of the Holocaust'.

Matthijs Kronemeijer (*b.* 1974) studied Arabic Language and Culture at Utrecht University, and Theology at the Catholic Theological University of Utrecht, while also working as a Junior Researcher at the University of Nijmegen, teaching Classics at Gymnasium Haganum in The Hague, and undertaking various freelance projects for the Catholic Council for Israel. He came to the Centre to supplement his knowledge of Judaism, to learn Modern Hebrew and to improve his

Midrashic Hebrew in preparation for his doctoral studies. He hopes to work in the field of inter-religious dialogue and reconciliation, strongly believing that religious traditions can contribute to world peace. He completed the MSt in Trinity Term, having applied for suspension of status last year. His dissertation was entitled 'Narratology and the Reading of Midrash: A Tradition on "And I will beautify" (Exodus 15:2) in the Mekhilta de R. Ishmael'.

Dennis Mizzi (*b.* 1983) gained a first-class Honours degree in Archaeology from the University of Malta in June 2004, focusing on Near Eastern archaeology and ancient Israelite society. The MSt course attracted him as an opportunity to study Hebrew intensively, without losing sight of archaeology, culture and history. He hopes to study Hebrew Bible at doctoral level. His dissertation was entitled 'The Essenes in the Literary Sources: Fact or Fiction?'

Michal Molcho (*b.* 1975) graduated in History at Tel Aviv University in 2002 and completed a Masters' degree in Ancient Greek and Roman History at Oxford in 2004. She became interested in the relations between the Greek and other civilisations of the Near East and Levant from the archaic Greek period onwards, and decided to approach the study of the same period from the Jewish point of view. She applied to the MSt programme partly to learn more about her own history and tradition, and partly as a stepping stone towards doctoral studies. Her dissertation was entitled 'The Place of the Temple in Graeco-Roman Judaism'.

Kelly Jean Murphy (*b.* 1979) became interested in Jewish Studies during her undergraduate years at Mary Washington College, where she wrote a thesis entitled 'Modern Messianic Fervor and the Chabad-Lubavitch'. She later took an MA in Religious Studies at the Divinity School of Chicago University, focusing specifically on the Ancient Near East, Hebrew language, the Hebrew Bible and the history of its interpretation. She came to the Centre to fill gaps in her knowledge and improve her Hebrew skills, and sees her future in Hebrew Bible studies. Her dissertation was entitled 'The God Who Answers By Fire: Deuteronomic Polemics Against Ba'alism'.

Elena Okolovich (*b.* 1976) has been involved in Jewish Studies for ten years, qualifying as a teacher of Yiddish and teaching at Touro College, Moscow, from 1993 to 1995. She is also interested in the Hebrew Bible and Talmud, and to study these in the original languages she completed an MA in Linguistics and Hebrew at the Jewish University in Moscow in 2002. She subsequently took a course in intensive textual studies at Paideia, Sweden, in 2003–4, conducted entirely in English. Her main academic interest lies in the field of Yiddish folklore with a particular focus on demonology, preternatural phenomena and fabulous beasts, and hopes to unearth and preserve as much authentic evidence on the subject as possible. She believes that by translating this into Russian and English she will make a contribution to world folklore in general and Jewish folklore in particular. She hopes to continue her studies at doctoral level. Her dissertation entitled ‘Some Fabulous Creatures in Ashkenazi Jewish Folklore: Their Genesis, Attributes and Functions’ won the prize for the best dissertation.

Celia Abigail Siegel (*b.* 1980) graduated in History and Semitic Studies at the University of Sydney in 2002, with a dissertation on the Israel-Palestine conflict and its presentation by left-wing Jewish scholars. She also studied Hebrew, and has since been employed as a tutor by the Joint Committee for Jewish Higher Education, and has taught courses on ‘Jewish Nationalism and Statehood’ and the ‘Modern Jewish Experience: From Emancipation to the Holocaust’ at the University of New South Wales. She saw the MSt in Jewish Studies as a stepping stone towards research for a PhD. Her dissertation was entitled “‘Ethnic Trauma’ in the “Eichmann Affair”: The Social Context of Historiography’.

Maja Starcevic (*b.* 1975) graduated in Slavic Languages and Literatures and English Literature at the University of California in 1998, took an MA in Comparative Literature at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, in 2003, and has since worked as a freelance literary translator. She has also taught Business English in Zagreb. During her postgraduate studies she published a paper on Bible translation and hopes to write a doctoral thesis on the ‘imaginative exegesis’ of Genesis, Exodus and Job in the works of both Jewish

and non-Jewish writers of the modernist period. She took the MSt course in order to gain more specialized knowledge of the linguistic, historical and theological aspects of the Hebrew Bible and to learn about modern Jewish history and literature, and hopes to introduce this kind of scholarship in Croatia where there has so far been little non-Catholic-oriented research or teaching of Hebrew and Jewish Studies. Her dissertation was entitled 'The Midrashic Process and Modernist Literature: Critical Approaches'.

Matthew Connor Sullivan (*b.* 1981) graduated in Religious Studies at Gardner-Webb University, North Carolina, in 2003, but was aware of the Christian orientation of most of the courses he took. He explored his interest in the rise of anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism within the Church in his undergraduate thesis, and hopes to pursue doctoral research in the field of Jewish-Christian relations, focusing primarily on the formative years of both Rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity, in order to promote understanding and to contribute to the realm of Jewish-Christian scholarship in some way. He came to Oxford in particular to acquire Hebrew language skills essential for his future research. His dissertation was entitled 'Jacob and Esau in Jewish and Christian Thought: A Study of Jacob Neusner and Genesis Rabbah'.

David Charles Tollerton (*b.* 1982) graduated in Theology at Oxford Brookes University in 2004, having written a thesis on the thinking of Qoheleth in the book of Ecclesiastes. He also carried out an independent study of human stewardship of the environment, focusing largely on the interpretation of texts from the Hebrew Bible. He took the MSt course to learn Hebrew language, and to deepen his knowledge of Jewish history, religion and culture so that he could study the Hebrew Bible from a Jewish rather than a Christian standpoint. He hopes to carry out further research in this field. He submitted a dissertation entitled 'An Assessment of Richard L. Rubenstein's Critique of the Book of Job as a Resource for Theological Discourse after the Holocaust'.



End-of-year Party

The end-of-year party was held at Yarnton Manor on 22 June 2004. The President, Peter Oppenheimer, addressed the students and their guests, as well as the fellows, teachers, staff and their partners. The Academic Director, Dr Joseph Sherman, presented Elena Okolovich with the prize for the best dissertation.

Acknowledgements

The Centre would like to record its gratitude to The Skirball Foundation, New York, that has assisted with scholarships this academic year.

MSt in Jewish Studies, 2003–2004

Front Row (left to right)

Dr Timothy Edwards, Professor Martin Goodman, Peter Oppenheimer (PRESIDENT),
Dr David Rechter, Dr Joseph Sherman, Madhavi Nevader, Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi,
Dr Jeremy Schonfield, Dr Alison Salvesen, Tali Argov

Second Row (left to right)

Dr Zoë Waxman, Dr Kerstin Hoge, Jonathan Kirkpatrick, Christoph Hiles (Germany),
David Tollerton (UK), Lyubov Osinkina (Russia), Kelly Murphy (USA)

Third Row (left to right)

Esther Jilovsky (Australia), Aleksandra Geller (Poland), Sarah Eisenman (USA),
Tereza Foltýnová (Czech Republic), Maja Starcevic (Croatia), Michal Molcho (Israel),
Elena Okolovich (Russia)

Fourth Row (left to right)

Matthew Sullivan (USA), Peter Calley (USA), Julia Jenkin (UK),
Martine Smith-Huvers (STUDENT REGISTRAR), Michael Hammer (USA)
Dennis Mizzi (Malta), Matthijs Kronemeijer (the Netherlands),
Thomas Feeney (USA), Shari Goldberg (USA)

The David Patterson Seminars

Losing the (Israeli) Plot: Contemporary Israel in Orly Kastel-Bloom's Prose *Tali Argov*

Orly Kastel-Bloom (*b.* 1960) has established herself over the past decade as one of Israel's most innovative and influential writers, with four collections of short stories and five novels, several of them translated into foreign languages, and international accolades to her credit. Her central theme – the transformation of contemporary Israel following the disintegration of the Zionist collective identity – remains a taboo subject for many Israelis, or at least a question without an answer. But she tackles it head-on in her short story *The Death of Ben-Gurion* (1998), that has been translated into English by the lecturer.

Like many of Kastel-Bloom's characters, the protagonists inhabit a post-modern Israeli scene, yearning for a sense of reality and identity. Yet the Zionist hope that Israel would satisfy the existential needs of the Jewish people remains unrealized, and moments of significance dissolve as her characters become aware of the lack of a unifying super-narrative. With subtle humour she shows an Israel dogged by self-doubt and hopelessness that permeate even the 'old elites' with which Kastel-Bloom's characters appear to be associated.

Isaac Bashevis Singer and Literary Modernism *Hugh Denman*

Isaac Bashevis Singer distanced himself from the leftward leanings of other members of the Warsaw Yiddish Writers' Club, frequently claiming to have little in common with contemporary Yiddish writers other than with his close friend Arn Tseytlin. He did this to emphasize what he regarded as his own more authentic Jewishness, and to repudiate the literary 'modernism' that he affected to despise. Yet textual analysis reveals that his stories, with their much vaunted 'beginning, middle and end', are not as lacking in 'modern' narrative techniques as the author wished to suggest. His imagery subliminally conveys an epistemological perplexity corresponding to a modern reader's experience of the universe, suggesting that even if Bashevis Singer was not

strictly an 'avant-garde' writer, his position vis-à-vis literary 'modernism' was more complex than is generally acknowledged.

Rethinking Sir Moses Montefiore *Dr Abigail Green*

Sir Moses Montefiore (1784–1885), President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, towered over nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewry, dominating its development in the Victorian era. By his death he had become a national symbol. Through high-profile personal interventions in Russia, Morocco, Romania and elsewhere he pioneered, with the support of the British Foreign Office, a diplomatic approach to the problem of Jewish persecution. The breadth of his contacts with individual communities brought the Jewish world together in a new way, while his travels and philanthropy played a central role in the formation of modern Jewish consciousness. His close involvement with Palestinian Jewry has led many to see him as a founding father of modern Israel.

Montefiore has so far been the subject of remarkably little serious scholarly research. The lecturer is drawing on exciting new material for her new biography and exploring the links between the Montefiore myth and his international activities on behalf of Jews and non-Jews alike. In the Jewish world his travels, particularly those to Jewish communities in Europe and the Middle East, his fundraising campaigns and diplomatic triumphs provided the focus for an emergent Jewish nationalism that became evident in the worldwide celebrations held to mark his 100th birthday in 1884.

He was also celebrated in the non-Jewish world as a philanthropist whose generosity stretched beyond his immediate community. The length of his life, his perceived role as an agent of British and Western civilization in the East and his unique public image as a quasi-biblical patriarch only added to his appeal. Montefiore's concern with Jewish causes fitted into a wider spectrum of humanitarian activity that included support for anti-slavery and for the Christian victims of massacres in Syria in 1860, as well as ostentatiously unsectarian donations to Jews, Christians and Muslims in Palestine and Persia in the 1870s. His contribution was important even in a century during which this kind of trans-denominational humanitarian activity was more widespread than historians have hitherto appreciated.

The Languages of the Jews *Professor Benjamin Hary*

Sociolinguistic studies are designed to analyze language-use according to variables such as speakers' places of birth and domicile, their age, gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, occupation and education. Given that distinctive ethnicity, religious affiliation and identity are also variables, it should be asked whether Jews speak and write differently from non-Jews, much as young people speak and write differently from older ones. Wherever they lived, Jews have indeed tended to speak and write in a manner that differs somewhat from non-Jews around them. In some cases they merely add a few Hebrew or Aramaic words, but in others they use a language largely unintelligible to outsiders. The spectrum of Jewish linguistic practice includes twenty or so languages, such as Judeo-Arabic, Yiddish, Judeo-Italian and Ladino.

The Jewish linguistic spectrum includes all Jewish speech and writing, wherever Jews distinguish themselves from their surrounding environment by ritual practice, characteristic foods and different clothing. It extends to the use of Yiddish words among secular Jews in America today. Central questions today are: do Jews speak different languages, dialects, 'ethnolects' or 'religiolects'; what are the similarities and differences between Jewish languages in different times and places; how do Jewish languages differ from related non-Jewish ones; in what ways are these bearers of Jewish culture; and how does language help construct identity and create community boundaries?

The lecturer also analysed the literary genre of verbatim translations into Jewish languages of sacred texts such as the Bible or the Passover Haggadah.

The Septuagint as a Reflection of its Hellenistic Jewish Context
Professor Robert Hiebert

The legend that the Hebrew Bible was translated into Greek by seventy-two Jewish elders under Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt during the third century BCE is recorded in *Aristeas to Philocrates*, often known as the *Letter of Aristeas*. The reported purpose of this undertaking was to produce a version of the Pentateuch for inclusion in the Alexandrian library. But critical scholarship has shown that the

intended readers were Greek-speaking Alexandrian Jews who no longer understood Hebrew well enough to read their own Scriptures. Furthermore, although the *Letter* indicates that the translators collaborated and produced a consensus, the final text exhibits considerable heterogeneity in translation technique. The term *Septuagint*, meaning 'seventy', was originally applied only to the Greek translation of the Torah, but eventually became attached also to the rest of the Hebrew Bible, and ultimately to several non-canonical books of the Graeco-Roman period, some of which had been composed in Greek.

The Septuagint contains evidence throughout of the Hellenistic Jewish context in which it was produced, and the lecturer discussed the question of its origins and surveyed the evidence for both Israelite/Jewish and Greek/Egyptian traditions and culture in the books of Genesis and IV Maccabees. The lecturer's current projects include preparing a translation of Genesis for the *New English Translation of the Septuagint*, due to be issued by Oxford University Press, and critical edition of IV Maccabees for the series *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum graecum*, issued by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Reading Faces, Reading Souls: Jews, Judaism and Physiognomy in Modern Europe *Professor Leah Hochman*

Physiognomy, the pseudo-science of 'reading' faces, enjoyed a popular eighteenth-century revival thanks largely to the work of Johann Caspar Lavater, a Swiss pastor known also for his attempt to convert the most famous Jew of the time, the Berlin philosopher Moses Mendelssohn. To support the idea that external appearance both represents internal character and actually causes it, Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente* (1775-8) was lavishly illustrated with hundreds of specially commissioned engravings, drawings and silhouettes.

Lavater beautifies Mendelssohn, reading into his face the attributes he admires. But on closer examination the pictures Lavater uses make a different case. The illustrations are designed to show how facial features enable one to distinguish between good and bad people, and one assumption is that faces encased in full beards show stupidity, brutality, corruption and betrayal. Beards, far more than other facial features, were a defining distinction of Jews in the eighteenth century and were required by both Jewish law and a decree by Frederick the

Great of 1748. Jewish men were forbidden to shave, to distinguish them from the general populace. Bearded images of Jews, Turks and Arabs in Lavater's work invoke a constant refrain of negative reinforcement. The commercial and social success of his book multiplied these silent condemnations by encoding an entire system of nonverbal prejudice and portraying a hierarchy of 'moral' qualities.

While Lavater would not have supported the racially based physiognomy that later emerged in Europe, concretizing the correlation of national characteristics and moral potential, he is partly responsible for generating it.

***Biblyotek Grininke Beymelekh: A Case Study in the Discourse of Yiddish Children's Literature* Dr Kerstin Hoge**

The interwar period saw the development of a secular Yiddish school system in Poland and Lithuania which brought with it the need for appropriate, child-oriented reading material. The gap was filled, at least in part, by Yiddish children's journals such as the fortnightly *Grininke beymelekh* ('Little green trees'), published by the well-known educator Shloyme Bastomski in Vilna (1914-15, 1919-39). Like the Yiddish schools themselves, *Grininke beymelekh* aimed to foster socialist values and a Yiddish identity among the young. It included a wide variety of both original and adapted material, ranging from poetry and prose by well-established writers to travel and popular-science pieces, as well as translations from other children's literatures. Some of the articles serialized in the journal were republished after 1928 in book form, in the so-called *Biblyotek grininke beymelekh* ('Little green trees library').

Two aspects of the language used in Yiddish writing for children in particular are worth investigating. First, while it is commonly held that texts written by adults for younger readers make use of 'simpler language', it is rarely made clear whether texts for children involve a smaller vocabulary, include definitions of 'difficult' words, or mirror the speech of children. In the case of Yiddish a special problem is posed by words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin, for which Yiddish maintains the original spelling, while those from other component languages are spelled phonemically. Second, in the charged atmosphere of East European politics in the early twentieth century the Yiddish

language itself served as a battleground for national and cultural conflict. Writers' ideological backgrounds and agenda manifest themselves even in children's literature in the language used, adding a layer of meaning which may either support or undermine the message conveyed by the textual content.

The lecture focused on the linguistic characteristics of two travelogues by Helene Khatskels that appeared in the *Biblyotek grininke beyemelekh* in 1931, entitled *Araber* ('Arabs') and *In erets-yisroel* ('In Palestine'). Khatskels' travelogues present the author's conflicted stance towards Zionism. She was an ardent Bundist and later Communist who nevertheless visited and served as an adviser to the Zionist youth village in Ben Shemen. Her conflict finds expression in the treatment of Yiddish words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin. In these two texts they are relatively few in number and type, but occur in their traditional spelling rather than in the phonemicized so-called Soviet orthography.

Jews and Pagans in Roman Palestine *Jonathan Kirkpatrick*

There is something of a black hole in our knowledge of the history of Palestine between the Jewish revolts against Roman rule and the transformation of the region into a focus of Christian pilgrimage under Constantine and his successors. How does one define a Jew in this period, and how do we recognize a Jew in our evidence? Furthermore, how did Jews interact with their pagan neighbours? Rabbinic texts have much to say on the presence of pagan religious activity in the vicinity of the Rabbis, but it is often difficult to use. For example, we read of pagan gods who were last heard of centuries before in biblical texts and who presumably were no longer worshipped, despite the Rabbis' assertions. The regular mention of the Roman god Mercury by name, however, is the sort of thing that gives us a window into real contemporary pagan society.

Another underrated form of evidence comes in numismatic form. Many cities in Palestine minted civic coins from the first to the mid-third centuries, and many portray pagan gods, probably illustrating the society from which they come. Most interesting are those from the rabbinic centres of Tiberias and Sephphoris, which initially display innocuous non-figural images, but later have images of gods. Does

this represent a pagan takeover in these cities, or perhaps pagan assimilation on the part of the Jewish populations, or at least of their elites? Coins of Nablus are instructive. This city, founded by the Romans in Samaritan territory, also begins with non-figural coins, presumably reflecting Samaritan sensibilities. In due course the Samaritan cult of Mount Gerizim becomes paganized, and the coins reflect this with numerous images of pagan gods. If the parallel holds, a similar change in Jewish attitudes to pagan religion may be behind the coins in the Galilee. This must certainly be speculative, but at the very least it helps challenge our assumptions about what it meant to be a Jew at this period and about the strength of the division between Jews and pagans.

Rich Jews and Poor Jews in Eighteenth-century Europe

Dr Lionel Kochan

Dr Kochan questioned the value of referring to Jews as 'one people' rather than noting conflicts of interest and of status within Jewish society. He quoted a seventeenth-century poetic dialogue between a rich and poor Jew in which the former taunts the latter with his poverty and its disadvantages. He then outlined the role of wealthy Ashkenazi and Sephardi pioneer settlers in Prussia, Holland, England and Prague, and analysed the dominant role of the wealthy in the government of these new *kehillot*. The dominant principle of 'no *binyan*, no *minyan*' ('no private initiative, no community') was opposed by R. Menahem Krochmal of Nikolsburg, among other rabbis, who argued that the rich must share power with the poor if they are not to be disenfranchized and alienated from the *kehillah* altogether. The failure to avert conflict, especially in financial matters, is illustrated by many internal disputes over taxation.

Eighteenth-century immigration westwards from Eastern Europe exacerbated the problem of poverty, as did the natural growth of the poorer Jewish population. This undermined the viability of the *kehillah* throughout Central and Western Europe, as did the subversion of religious authority by the Haskalah. The movement towards emancipation at the end of the eighteenth century was encouraged by Mendelssohn's distorted presentation of Jewish history as devoid of a political element. By this time the *kehillah* had become an instrument

of the Gentile state in integrating the Jewish minority, particularly in the case of the consistorial system introduced by Napoleon throughout the French empire. This survived the collapse of the empire and set a model for the new relationship between community and state.

1929: An End of Modernism in Yiddish Literature?

Dr Mikhail Krutikov

Modernist writers and artists in various parts of Europe responded innovatively to the crisis before, during and after the First World War. But with the Wall Street Crash, the beginning of the collectivization campaign in the Soviet Union, and anti-Jewish violence in Palestine in 1929, Yiddish poets in particular returned to more traditional imagery.

The Warsaw writer Alter Kacyzne, a leading avant-garde poet of the early 1920s, expressed his longing for a lost world in a poem entitled 'Wailing Wall', combining a modernist aesthetic of ugliness with solace for the alienated individual. By 1929 his former colleague Uri Zvi Greenberg had turned from poetic iconoclasm to champion right-wing Zionist ideology and had emigrated to Palestine. In 'A Letter from the Mother', one of his few Yiddish poems of that year, Greenberg turned to the sentimental image of the Jewish mother to celebrate a new Zionist community. In the Soviet Union, Der Nister, a symbolist writer who had thrown in his lot with the Communist State, made a final attempt to assert modernist principles in his artistic representation of reality. His last symbolist tale, 'Under a Fence', remains one of the most poignant expressions of the impossibility of modernist creativity under a totalitarian regime.

Kacyzne, Greenberg and Der Nister each confronted the failure of the modernist project which, although it continued to flourish in Yiddish literary circles in Poland and America, could no longer claim to offer universal solutions to the deepening crisis in world affairs.

'Appoint a King to Govern Us, Like Other Nations' – The Problem with Kingship in the Hebrew Bible *Madhavi Nevader*

The problem of kingship in the Hebrew Bible, unlike most other biblical debates, is one of few to which there is a seemingly simple answer. The removal of Zedekiah from the Judahite throne by

Nebuchadnezzar in 587 BCE was deemed a catastrophic failure by the Bible's theologians. Later authors took two approaches to it. On the one hand, they set out to explain the existence and apparently divine approval of an institution which came to an end at the hand of a foreign oppressor, and on the other hand, attempted to provide a model of restored kingship which takes this failure into account.

The most comprehensive theological 'explanation' appears in texts known as the Deuteronomistic History (more specifically 1 *Samuel* 8–12), which deems the monarchic institution a 'foreign' concession to a rebellious people, thereby providing a failsafe theological explanation for the institution's failure. Its very existence was an act of rebellion and political sedition against God as Israel's only legitimate monarch. In describing the attempt to restore the monarchy, many of the models put forward retain elements of Israelite kingship ideology prevalent in the 'pre-exilic' context, but redefine the function of the monarch either by removing or redistributing its power. Major texts from the exilic and early post-exilic periods – including *Isaiah* 40–55, *Ezekiel* 40–48 and major sections of the Priestly Source – ascribe ultimate royalty to the deity, while redistributing functional elements of the pre-exilic monarch to traditionally non-royal figures, such as Israel (*Isaiah* 40–55), humanity (*Genesis* 1) or the priesthood (*Leviticus*, *Ezekiel* 40–48).

Hybridism of Sounds: Primo Levi between Judaism and Literature *Professor Sergio Parussa*

Primo Levi said repeatedly, when asked about his attitude towards Judaism, that before being deported to Auschwitz he had been merely an Italian boy from an integrated Turin Jewish family, his Jewish identity defined mostly from without. But his interest in Jewish culture and thought grew steadily over the years, his notion of Jewish identity intertwining with his notion of writing. On several occasions he stated that without Auschwitz he would never have become a writer, as if the act of writing were an act of testimony. But if writing is born out of a need to testify, a tension is unavoidable between the work of the witness and of the writer of fiction. Including ethics within the literary discourse opens up the literary text to the rhetorical needs of the witness and sets it free from the strict rules that confine writing to a

purely aesthetic and self-referential work of language.

The lecturer described how testimony in the act of writing frames Levi's idea of literature and makes his literary works a powerful comment on writing. For Levi, literature consists not only of the aesthetic use of language, but of a broader search for the resources that language makes available to attain ethical goals. Words are tools with which to achieve clarity of expression and engage the reader in an ethical response. His work constitutes a challenge to the Italian literary tradition, with its strict hierarchy of literary genres, its careful distinctions between what can and cannot be considered literature, and its privileging of form over content and of aesthetics over ethics.

Against All Odds: the Renaissance of Hebrew Literature

Dr David Patterson, CBE

The revival of Hebrew as a spoken language and of Hebrew literature as a mirror of Israeli society has had a complex history. Originally conceived as a bridge for a young Jewish generation from the medieval to the modern world, first in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century and later in Czarist Russia from the middle of the nineteenth, the revived language was initially circumscribed by neo-biblical patterns. Only over the next century was it able to shake off these shackles, in prose via the work of Mendele (S. J. Abramowitsch) and in poetry with C. N. Bialik. The contribution of the literary to the revived spoken language was later balanced by the incorporation of spoken Hebrew into Hebrew literature.

Later stages of the renaissance in the first decades of the twentieth century were stimulated by the physical movement of Hebrew writers from Europe to the land of Israel, and by the struggle to inject some sort of reality into the image of the land as a way of attracting Hebrew readers from Eastern Europe to settle there. During the First World War the centre of Hebrew creativity shifted to the USA, where local elements were incorporated. Palestine under the British Mandate became increasingly the home of both literary and spoken Hebrew, and since the State of Israel was created in 1948, some three generations of native-born Israeli men and women have produced a fully-fledged and increasingly important literature.

**Jewish Physicians as the Medical Other in Medieval Islam:
Between Intercommunal Competition and Secular Cooperation**
Dr Peter Pormann

Scholars of the Middle Ages used to paint a picture of harmonious coexistence between Muslims and *dhimmis* ('People of the Book', such as Jews and Christians living under Muslim tutelage). S. D. Goitein described the members of the Mediterranean medical milieu during the medieval period as the 'torchbearers of secular erudition, the professional expounders of philosophy and the sciences [...], disciples of the Greeks, heirs to a universal tradition, a spiritual brotherhood which transcended the barriers of religion, language, and countries'. But in the last two decades the idea of a 'Golden Age' of boundless tolerance in the medieval Islamic world has been challenged by Bernard Lewis and Mark R. Cohen.

Jewish physicians during the Abbasid heyday (ninth and tenth centuries) played a significant role as providers of health care to the general Muslim community, although their importance was eclipsed by that of Christian practitioners. In many instances all worked harmoniously side by side. The vizier 'Ali ibn 'Isá (*d.* 946) gave specific orders that Jews and Christians should receive treatment in hospitals, and in many respects Muslim public-health initiatives transcended confessional barriers. A Muslim physician, for instance, could have a Jewish apprentice and vice versa. Medical and scientific discourse, based to a large extent on Greek ideas, was secular in the sense that references to religious beliefs did not come into play.

Equally, however, a hospital physician working in Baghdad in the 920s and 930s, named al-Kaskari, displayed anti-Jewish prejudice in his medical compendium by stating that Jewish physicians were 'fond of using falsehood and deceit', and al-Jawbari, a reformed trickster and mountebank, insinuated that Jews would kill their patients for personal gain. The picture which emerges is therefore more nuanced than some have argued. The medieval Muslim medical milieu was certainly tolerant compared with others, but was not without inter-communal tensions and rivalries.

A Child at Gunpoint *Professor Richard Raskin*

The photograph of the boy with his hands raised, taken in the Warsaw ghetto in 1943, is considered one of the most haunting images of the Holocaust, but very little research had been done into the origins, dissemination, meanings and properties of the photo until the publication of the lecturer's *A Child at Gunpoint: A Case Study in the Life of a Photo* (2004), based largely on new research carried out in Warsaw and Washington, DC. He discussed the SS report in which the photograph first appeared, four claims concerning the identity of the boy in the photo, the fate of the SS trooper holding the child at gunpoint, competing assumptions as to who took the picture and also the present whereabouts of the original. He considered possible reasons for the unique status of this picture, its role in films such as a BBC mini-series as well as in paintings and poetry, the interest taken in this photo by Holocaust-deniers, and recent uses of the photo in the 'war of images' in the Middle East.



Mapping the Bible in Early-modern Europe *Dr Zur Shalev*

Scriptural geography, popular among Jewish and Christian exegetes since late antiquity and highly relevant at a period when the Bible provided the main paradigm for human history, grew in sophistication thanks to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century innovations in cartography and topography, and became fraught with controversy in the wake of the Reformation. For early-modern scholars, *geographia sacra* encompassed not only the description of the Holy Land, but the post-diluvial dispersion of peoples over the globe, the topography of sacred sites and the spread of Christianity. The lecturer focused on the work of the Spanish biblical scholar Benito Arias Montano (1527–98), who studied *geographia sacra* as editor of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. His case demonstrates how the meaning of early-modern sacred geography emerges only when it is examined in the context of contemporary religious, intellectual and political trends.

The Problem of Free Will and Divine Wisdom as a Link between Dante Alighieri and Medieval Jewish Thought

Sandra Debenedetti Stow

Dante, like Jewish mystics between the late thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries, was concerned with the problem of mediated creation and the modalities of the relationship between Creator and creation, a central concern also of Neoplatonic philosophy in the twelfth century. The lecturer examined the central theories of the Roman kabbalist Menahem Recanati to show how a knowledge of Jewish mysticism contributes to an understanding of the mystical dimension of Dante's thought and his social goals.

Instead of seeking complete detachment from the mundane, as in the mystical *contemptus mundi* of Richard of St Victor, Recanati stresses the importance of the effort of each believer in activating the flow of Divine Blessing on an entire community. Recanati does not perceive the highest stage of mystical union of the soul with the Creator as a permanent state resulting in death, but admits the possibility of a less permanent cognitive mystical union of both mind and soul. The mind rises and, according to its strength, opens up to different levels of supernal knowledge, while the soul reaches a temporary

state of *devequt* (literally 'adherence') with the Divine Presence, the *Shekhinah*. It is through the participation of a mediating metaphysical agent, which Recanati identifies as *Sefirat Malkhut* ('The Reign', the last and closest of the Divine spheres), that this process of elevation becomes possible. The mystical process depends for its success on the level of metaphysical power with which the individual intellect establishes a connection. Furthermore, since the process is perceived as a movement of intellectual self-comprehension, and since it is the individual who imagines and 'draws' the 'form' he aspires to in his intellect, he is fully involved in the process as a *subject* of knowledge.

The stress on free choice and individual effort for the benefit of the entire community, and on the participation of a metaphysical mediating agent who sustains this effort, makes Recanati's mystical system a useful tool for interpreting Dante's text. Recanati's belief in the existence of an active individual intellectual soul, within the frame of a general Neoplatonic worldview, constitutes a platform for understanding the development of Dante's mystical search and his detachment from the intellectual cognitive effort propounded by his friends of the *Stilnuovo* circle, based on their Averroistic belief in the mingling of all souls in one entity in the supernal world.

Examining the evolution of Dante's thought in accordance with Recanati's mystical system shows Beatrice to be the allegorical representation of Divine Wisdom, a divine mediator bestowing the emanating flow on the minds of the chosen few. The *Vita Nuova* represents the first stage on the way to mystical ecstasy, although only to a lower level of knowledge. In the *Convivio* ('Banquet') the second stage of the mystical process is reached, involving the elevation of both mind and soul. Here the poet succeeds in climbing to a higher level of speculative knowledge, as the *form* of the *donna gentil*, the 'gentle lady', guides him towards philosophical perfection. Dante becomes worthy of Beatrice's elevating potential only with the *Commedia*, where he feels he is invested with the prophetic mission of heralding the need for a radical social renewal. This level is reserved for the 'chosen', the very few who reach the stage of detachment from sensible experience and can be transformed into a spiritual entity. At this point, as in Recanati's system, God crowns the soul, irradiating it with his elevating influx.

Representing Medieval Jewish Usurers: From a Theological to an Economic Vocabulary *Professor Giacomo Todeschini*

The longest-lasting Jewish stereotype of the Middle Ages, the image of usury as a typical Jewish profession, is still accepted as reality by many historians. But it is now possible to show that this is founded less on economic reality than on the inner logic and vocabulary of Christian economics. Medieval Latin sources on economic subjects are usually ecclesiastical ones devoted to the real and symbolic representation of Christian society. They depend on traditional ecclesiastical vocabulary and linguistic styles concerning either the earthly or the eternal happiness of Christians.

Christian economic thought is itself based on a semantic ambiguity. The fruitfulness of money and wealth is discounted since their origin lies in the human desire for possession. The acquisition of money is a manifestation of private avarice or carnality, and therefore of infidelity. But the growth of monetary wealth may be affirmed as holy and ethically good when it involves the economic and symbolic increase of Christian communities and ecclesiastical properties, representing the development of the Church as earthly manifestation of Christ's Body.

Investment and banking as metaphors of Christian spiritual activism become a common image from the second century, implying the economic nature of Christian moral identity. From the second to the twelfth centuries, three principal Christian linguistic procedures of exposition and demonstration shape Christian economic thought: exegetical/metaphorical, polemical/political and juridical. This linguistic process defines a twofold economy: a positive one concretized by the commercial or financial activity of *Christifideles*, and a negative one represented either symbolically or in reality by Jewish transactions. As a result of Jewish resistance to conversion their specific economic culture is depicted as a form of avarice (*avaritia*, *tenacia*, *protervia*). Jewish economic activity is suspected, from the twelfth century, because it takes place outside the ecclesiastical space, of being a sort of usury or economic strategy aimed to damage Christian society.

Exile and Interpretation: Popper's Reconstruction of Western Political Thought *Professor David Weinstein*

Popper, exiled in 1937 from the Viennese Jewish intellectual culture that nurtured him, read his existential predicament into his interpretations of canonical texts, transforming the history and practice of Western political thought. For him, the epoch's political emergency was simultaneously an intellectual one, leading him to wield the history of political thought as an anti-totalitarian weapon, forged on the anvil of an idiosyncratic conception of historicism. Popper practised, rather than just renarrated, the history of political thought mediated through the prism of his ambivalent Jewish identity and flight from fascism. The lecturer explored systematically the interconnections between his exile, Jewish identity, anti-historicism, interpretative methodology and construction of political theory's canon.

The Attitude of the Polish Home Army to the Jewish Question During the Holocaust *Dr Joshua Zimmerman*

The attitude of the Armia Krajowa or AK – the official Polish military resistance – to Nazi exterminationist policies is among the most sensitive issues to emerge from the study of wartime Polish-Jewish relations. Scholars since the 1980s have reconstructed the complex local and national sub-divisions, departments, policies and objectives of the AK, as well as its heroic sacrifice in the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944. But they have tended to avoid the question of the military underground's attitude towards the Jewish population of occupied Poland. The subject is presented, if at all, in the form of one-sided generalizations about Polish aid to Jewish victims.

Jewish historians, by contrast, have been sharply critical of the AK's alleged reluctance to help Jews, and of what they claim was its hostility towards Jewish resistance groups and fugitives. Particular controversy has arisen over the AK's response to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, the lack of Jewish representation in the AK, hostile policies vis-à-vis Jewish fugitives from ghettos and camps from 1942, and the attitudes of the AK's High Command in Warsaw. The debate has revolved around widely divergent interpretations of documents and even unresolved disputes over the authenticity of certain Home Army

The Academic Year

records. The lecturer argued for a less selective use of documentation, for a re-examination of the major sources and for the uncovering of new documents in order to support a more balanced view of this complex relationship.

CONTINUING ACTIVITIES

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library

FOR THE LIBRARY the past academic year has been noteworthy in several respects. Its facilities and services have been greatly improved and its holdings significantly enhanced through major donations.

Online Catalogues

Over the past three years the accessibility of the holdings has been a primary focus of the Library's policy. This academic year has seen a major step forward with the completion of the online catalogue of the Western languages holdings, which are now fully integrated into the Oxford Libraries Information System (OLIS). This incorporation, already resulting in increased numbers of outside readers, will enhance the position of the Library within Oxford University.

Good progress has been made with the cataloguing of the Hebrew and Yiddish holdings, and the catalogue of the Yiddish collection is now available online. With 10,000 titles having been catalogued to date, it is expected that all Hebrew volumes will be online by the end of next academic year.

Of the special collections acquired in the course of last academic year, the Shandel-Lipson Archive – including letters, pamphlets and diaries concerning Sir Moses Montefiore – has been catalogued and is now available on the Library's website. It is hoped that by the end of next academic year the Foyle-Montefiore Collection will be online.

Acquisitions

The Library's holdings have been augmented by many donations, for which the Centre is extremely grateful. A list of donors and the acquisitions made possible through the generosity of the Hans and Rita Oppenheimer Fund and the Isaiah Berlin Fund may be found on pages 184, 197–8 of this *Report*.

Thanks to the Catherine Lewis Foundation and the 2004 Lewis Grandchildren's Trust, 143 *Yizkor* books were acquired during the past academic year, bringing the total of this extraordinary collection to 850

volumes. The new acquisitions are listed on pages 184–97 of this *Report*. In addition, the collection as a whole is described on pages 49–62 above.

This academic year has brought three other major collections to the Library, which not only double its holdings to about 90,000 volumes but – more importantly – transform it into a major research library for Rabbinic literature and Modern European Jewish history.

The Library of Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs

The Rabbinic holdings of the Library will be expanded significantly by Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs's decision to donate his library to the Centre. This decision followed extensive deliberations and discussions with his family, colleagues and friends, whose desire it was to keep the library intact and accessible when Rabbi Jacobs and Mrs Shula Jacobs have to leave their St Johns Wood residence.

This exceptionally rich working library of one of the world's most distinguished rabbinic scholars and authors – Louis Jacobs himself has written over fifty books and a great many articles – contains almost 14,000 volumes. There is probably no better way to describe these than by looking at the scope of his own publications. Titles such as *Studies in Talmudic Logic and Methodology* (London 1961), *Structure and Form in the Babylonian Talmud* (Cambridge 1991), *A Tree of Life: Diversity, Flexibility and Creativity in Jewish Law* (Oxford 1984), *Theology in the Responsa* (London 1975), *Hasidic Prayer* (London 1993), *Symbols for the Divine in the Kabbalah* (London 1984) and *A Jewish Theology* (New York 1974), indicate that Louis Jacobs's library is an 'Encyclopaedia of Judaism', which may be consulted on all major aspects of Jewish Studies including Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash, Responsa, Liturgy, Hasidism, Mysticism, Kabbalah, Philosophy and Theology.

Many of Rabbi Jacobs's publications include extensive quotations or consist mainly of texts accompanied by short introductions and concise comments, intended to give the reader access to the wealth of source material in his library. A good example is his *Jewish Mystical Testimonies* (New York 1977), an anthology of mystical texts from the Bible to writings of the twentieth century. In the introduction Louis Jacobs spells out his own role as follows: 'Each text is prefaced by an introduction and is followed by a comment which seeks to elucidate the text. Wherever possible, however, the texts have been allowed to speak for them-

selves' (p. ix). By placing each author and work in its historical context, explaining the fundamental concepts and if necessary providing 'a skeleton outline' of the text and some concise comments, Louis Jacobs becomes a facilitator, equipping the reader with the indispensable tools for discovering a range of mystical texts, of which his library contains such an admirable collection.

Other text-based publications include *Studies in Talmudic Logic and Methodology* (London 1961), *The Talmudic Argument: A Study in Talmudic Reasoning and Methodology* (Cambridge 1984), *Teyku: The Unsolved Problem in the Babylonian Talmud: A Study in the Literary Analysis and Form of the Talmudic Argument* (London, New York 1981) and *Structure and Form in the Babylonian Talmud* (Cambridge 1991). Generations of students in Rabbinics, both Jews and Christians, have profited immensely from the literary analysis and critical examination of form and redaction of the Babylonian Talmud presented in these studies. By discussing a large number of talmudic passages Louis Jacobs has created a series of hermeneutical keys that give the reader access to the core of Rabbinic literature as contained in his own library.

A considerable number of his publications, however, aim at a readership beyond that of scholars and are meant for a wider, general public. His books on Jewish ethics and faith, such as *The Moral Values of Judaism* (Community publication, n.d.), *Jewish Values* (London 1960), *The Book of Jewish Values* (Chappaqua, NY 1983) and *The Book of Jewish Belief* (New York 1984), are meant partly to dispel fallacies and to expound the moral values of Judaism. His controversial view on the revelation from Sinai set out in *We Have Reason to Believe. Some Aspects of Jewish Theology Examined in the Light of Modern Thought* (London 1957; 4th rev. ed. 1995) is widely accepted among scholars in Rabbinics, but was stormily debated within the Jewish community. Though more pastoral and popular in approach, these books reflect equally their provenance: the library of Louis Jacobs. *A Guide to Yom Kippur* (London 1957) may serve as an example. Not intended as a scholarly exposition on Jewish liturgy, it was written for the Jewish community and, between the lines, for the non-Jew for whom he wanted to provide correct information about his Jewish faith. In the introduction Rabbi Jacobs – convinced that 'there can hardly be a Jew with a soul so dulled that this day has lost its appeal for him' – reveals himself to be a caring pastor, reaching out to all members of his community when explaining

the significance of the Day of Atonement: 'The significance of the day lies in its all-embracing character. No man is so good, so pious, so worthy as to be absolved from throwing himself on God's abundant mercies. No man is so depraved as to be incapable of invoking God's mercies. No man is so unlearned that his voice cannot be heard by God even if his knowledge of Hebrew is so slender that the prayers have no meaning for him. There is a lovely Hasidic tale of a poor, untutored lad who brought with him to the Synagogue on *Yom Kippur* the whistle he used while watching his father's sheep. Unable to follow the prayers, the boy played his whistle in recognition of the glory of God. And all the great Rabbis present said where their prayers had failed, the simple, sincere tune of the shepherd boy had succeeded in opening the gates of Heaven' (p. 3).

After such an introduction one might expect merely a simple explanation of the services for *Yom Kippur*. However, the analysis of the structure of the services meant to guide the reader through the liturgy is preceded by a theological reflection on fasting and embedded in a historical setting of the festival, which includes an overview of its biblical roots, the development of the liturgy in Rabbinic literature, a sketch of *Piyyutim*, the Hasidic traditions and the customs and practices in *Yeshivot*. Here we see a scholar at work who wishes to evoke awareness of the historical development of Jewish liturgy and of the diversity of Jewish traditions. It is the hallmark of Louis Jacobs to use the library of the scholar – in this case the fine liturgy section – for the pastoral aims of the Rabbi, thus backing up his pastoral instructions by an historical approach and critical analysis of the tradition.

Rabbi Jacobs's library will enrich the holdings of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library immensely. Particularly noteworthy are the sections on Kabbalah, Mysticism and Hasidism, subjects virtually non-existent in the Centre's Library previously. The section on Halakhah, containing *Responsa* from early to modern times, is unique, and as such will be a welcome addition to the library resources in Oxford. Thus the Leopold Muller Memorial Library has become an exceptional resource for the study of Rabbinic Judaism (probably the only one of its kind in Europe), for which the Oxford Centre expresses its deep gratitude and appreciation to Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs. His library is to be known as the Louis Jacobs Collection and will be moved to the Centre's premises in gradual stages, beginning in the near future. Rabbi Jacobs commented

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library

that he is 'delighted that my library will find such a suitable home at Yarnton Manor'.

The Copenhagen Library

Another donation which has substantially enhanced the Library's holdings is the library of the late J. H. Copenhagen, transferred to the Centre by his family.

Origins

The initial steps in forming this collection were taken by Isaac H. Copenhagen (1846–1905), a *Sofer Stam* (a scribe of Jewish religious texts such as Torah scrolls) and Hebrew teacher in Amsterdam. His son Haim I. Copenhagen (1874–1942) qualified at the Joods Israelitisch Seminarium, the rabbinical Seminary in Amsterdam, and also learned Classical Greek and Latin, French, German and English. This helped him to enrich the collection inherited from his father, which he named *Otsar Haim* (literally 'a treasure of life' or 'a living treasure'). He listed its volumes and designed an ex-libris. Its central theme was the history of Dutch Jewry. As Haim's son, Jacob H. Copenhagen (1913–1997) was inducted into this world of books and enjoined to maintain it.

The Holocaust

After the first month of Nazi Occupation in 1940 Jacob realized that the now sizeable library could not be preserved where it was. He started to move it from his parents' home to the premises of a Jewish school where he was on the teaching staff. His parents' neighbours were Nazi sympathizers who would have had little hesitation in reporting the hiding of Jewish treasures to the Germans. As they occasionally visited the apartment to avail themselves of the telephone, Jacob did his best to conceal the removal of books by placing other volumes to fill the gaps on the shelves.

The books in the Jewish school would be regarded as belonging to the school. But the removal of the ex-libris was essential, so that their origin could not be traced, removal of Jewish property having been declared punishable. With the passage of time the Jewish school was scheduled for closure. Fewer and fewer pupils were attending, many having already been deported with their families. So the books were again at risk. Jacob

ALPHABETVM

E B R A I C U M

V E T V S,

Interpretationes connexionesq; nomi-
num Alphabeti, ex Hieronymo & Eusebio.

*C. Sententia Veterum sapientum triplici
characterē, Ebraico, Latino, & Gra-
co, secundum antiquam scribendi con-
suetudinem.*

Omnia recens edita, & notis illustrata,

per

I. DRVSIVM ALDENARDENSEM.

Editio altera melior & auctior.

*monasterii
Long. J. mauri*



J. Iovin. de marnia

Catal. Inscript. 1702

Louis de Sirrey

FRANKE RAE

Excudebat Ægidius Radaeus,

Ordinum Frisæ Typographus.

1 6 0 9.

סֵפֶר תְּהִלִּים

נרעם עס רב הציון על ידי
פרנקיסקוס רפלנגיום פה
לידא העיר המהוללה במדינת
הולנדיאה בסנת סנכ לפך

Psalterium.



LYGD. BATAVORVM,
EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA,
Apud Franciscum Raphelengium.
clō. Io. xciij.

Continuing Activities

started to transfer them to the building next door, which served as an ordinary school. The most precious items were hidden.

Moving Hebrew books around during the Occupation was a dangerous activity. A partial solution was provided by Jacob's friend, Johannes Alderse-Baars, who was at the time studying to become a clergyman. If stopped by the Germans, he would maintain that these Hebrew books were needed for his studies. The moment came when Jacob had to abandon the books where they were – dispersed in several places – and go into hiding himself to save his life. With the help of the Dutch resistance and righteous Gentiles he was indeed saved. Most of his family perished in Auschwitz and Sobibor.

After the Holocaust

After the liberation Jacob started to piece the library back together. Some books were returned at once. Many others were missing. Those which had remained in the Jewish school building were confiscated by the Nazis along with the school's own books. After a relatively short interval, they were returned from Germany. Those which had remained in the Copenhagen parental home had apparently vanished. Books belonging to the collection turned up periodically, however, even many years after the War, identifiable from the contours and remnants of Haim's ex-libris. Some are rumoured still to be held in Russian archives, although there is no proof of this.

The unparalleled history of the Holocaust inspired J. H. Copenhagen to add to the collection many books on this subject, to trace and illuminate the fate of European Jewry. But the field turned out to be too broad to cover. So he decided to concentrate on the Holocaust in the Low Countries (Belgium and The Netherlands), together with other material on the history of Dutch Jewry, including Surinam and the Dutch Antilles.

He enhanced his knowledge of librarianship by taking courses on the subject, and eventually became a librarian by profession. In 1965–9 he was librarian of the celebrated Ets Haim Library of the Jewish Portuguese community in Amsterdam, which owned rare Hebraica and many manuscripts. After emigrating to Israel in 1969, he served as Librarian for the Israel Broadcasting Authority. His combined knowledge of Dutch Jewish history on the one hand and librarianship on the other benefited the maintenance and development of his own library.

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library

Cataloguing was improved and more topics were recognized and included as individual subjects in their own right. Although a private collection, the library came to constitute a valued resource for a considerable range of researchers.

Purpose of the Collection

The initial motivation for forming the collection was simply the pleasure of collecting books, while also registering historical data on Dutch Jewry and preserving its literary output. With the Holocaust another motive was added: to record and commemorate what had been annihilated and to describe the process of destruction. This purpose is captured by the utterance, attributed in the Talmud (*Avodah Zarah* 18a) to Rabbi Hanina ben Teradya in the course of his martyrdom mentioned in the Yom Kippur liturgy, of how *gewillin nisrafsien ve'otiyot porchot*, '[parchment] rolls are burned, but [their] words [literally: letters] fly [upward]'. The sentence appears in the ex-libris placed in all items of the collection from the early 1950s onwards, to indicate that the library represents the remnants of a once flourishing Jewish family and community.

Summary of the Contents

The material comprises nearly 30,000 titles arranged by subject and catalogued according to authors' names. It also includes old etchings on Dutch Jewish themes, an extensive archive of newspaper cuttings and over 300,000 fiches recording facts and data likewise arranged by subject. An account of one particular topic – the (approximately) 208 Jewish physicians who perished in the Holocaust – was privately published by J. H. Coppenhagen as *Anafiem Gedoe'iem*, and re-published after his death under the joint auspices of the Ministry of Public Health and Welfare and the Association of Dutch Physicians (Rotterdam: Erasmus Publishing, 2000).

Literary and Typographical Output

The beginning of literary production and printing by Jews in the Netherlands coincides to a large extent with the Dutch Golden Age. The Coppenhagen Library contains an extraordinary and valuable collection of seventeenth-century Hebrew books printed in places such as Amsterdam, Leiden, Utrecht and Franeker. There are numerous Hebrew Bibles (most of the Amsterdam editions are there), Hebrew

סדר העבודה

בתקופת שלש מאות שנה לעת נוסדה
הקהלה הקדושה של אשכנזים
בעיר אמסטרדם המהוללה
אור ליום עש"ק י"ט מרחשון שנת תרצ"ז לפ"ק

ORDE VAN DEN DIENST

TER GELEGENHEID VAN DE

PLECHTIGE HERDENKING

VAN HET

300-JARIG BESTAAN

DER HOOGDUITSCH-JOODSCHE GEMEENTE
(NEDERLANDSCH-ISRAËLIETISCHE
HOOFDSYNAGOGUE TE AMSTERDAM)

TER GROOTE SYNAGOGUE DER GEMEENTE

OP DONDERDAG 19 MARCHESWAN 5696
14 NOVEMBER 1935

DES AVONDS TE 8 UUR

Plate 3 Service on the occasion of the commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the Ashkenazi Community in Amsterdam.



Plate 4 The ex-libris used in the Copenhagen Library since the 1950s.

grammars and dictionaries by Christian Hebraists (such as Joh. Buxtorf and Joh. Leusden) as well as Jews (such as Elijah Levita's talmudic dictionary *Sefer ha-Tishbi* of 1541), works by Christian Hebraists on Jewish ethnography, Latin translations of Maimonides, the works of Menasseh ben Israel and virtually all the publications from his printing house. There is an exquisite collection of seventeenth-century and later Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books for the annual cycle, including the High Holy Days and special occasions, some with translations into Dutch or Yiddish. The Library furthermore has a section on Jewish-Christian relations also from the seventeenth century onwards, containing works in Dutch such as Phil. Van Limborch, *Vriendelijke onderhandeling met den geleerden Jood* (Amsterdam 1735). A bibliographical section on Dutch printing (Jewish and general) is a welcome addition to the existing bibliographical holdings of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library.



Plate 5 *Seder Tefillot* (Prayer Book). Joshua Zarfati and Joseph Atthias, Amsterdam 1658.

ORDE
VAN DEN DIENST
TER GELEGENHEID VAN DE
PLECHTIGE HERINWIJDING
DER
„NIEUWE SYNAGOGE”
VAN DE
NEDERL. ISRAËL. HOOFDSYNAGOGE
TE AMSTERDAM
OP DONDERDAG 2 SIWAN 5683
17 MEI 1923



Plate 6 Service on the occasion of the solemn re-inauguration of the
New Synagogue in Amsterdam on 17 May 1923.

ODE

TANT

EN L'HONNEUR

DE L'ANNIVERSAIRE DE S. M.
LE ROI DES PAIS BAS.

QU'A L'OCCASION DU RETABLISSE-
MENT DE S. M. LA REINE.

SUIVI

D'UNE PRIERE ANALOGUE POUR
TOUTE LA MAISON ROYALE.

PAR

ABRAHAM BELAIS,
Rabbin de Nice.

Traduit par A. C. CARILLON.

AMSTERDAM, IMPRIMERIE DE
DAVID PROOPS JACOBSZON,
Rapenburgstraat No. 157.

1827.

Plate 7 Ode on the Occasion of the Anniversary of the King of the Netherlands. David Proops, Amsterdam 1827.

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library

Dutch Jewry

About 40 per cent of the holdings comprises material concerning Dutch Jewry, in particular the various communities in the Netherlands which were decimated or annihilated during the Nazi period. It includes the following categories:

- a. Monographs and pamphlets (often difficult to obtain) concerning Dutch-Jewish communities. The pamphlets vary from sermons and special liturgies to eulogies for special occasions. There is a large collection concerning the loyalty of Jewish communities to the Royal family.
- b. Information, some on microfiche, about Jewish life before the War, such as Jewish trade from 1932 to 1940 and the 'Weekly for the Jewish Family' from 1870 to 1940.
- c. General information on social, economical and cultural conditions in the Netherlands (mainly Amsterdam).
- d. The Second World War and (Jewish) resistance.
- e. The Holocaust, with a large section on Anne Frank.
- f. Anti-Semitism.
- g. Newspaper cuttings on various topics related to Dutch Jewish subjects or persons.

Acknowledgement

The Centre is most grateful to the Coppenhagen family for their extraordinarily generous donation and is honoured to be the custodian of this unique collection. Complementing the Foyle-Montefiore Collection, it makes the Centre's Library a leading resource for the history of European Jewry.

The Loewe Collection

This assemblage, which has been very fully catalogued by Professor Raphael Loewe, its last possessor, comprises an accumulation of scholarly (and some other) correspondence, together with a substantial number of offprints, unpublished typescripts of translations of Hebrew poetry and so on, together with some ephemeralia of Jewish interest, copies of which are unlikely to have found their way into other libraries owning significant Judaica sections. The main collection grew over the

Continuing Activities

lifetimes, spanning approximately a century, of two scholars whose work, while including academic address to the Hebrew of the Bible, was primarily focused on late-antique and medieval Judaism, Anglo-Jewish history etc: Herbert Loewe (1882–1940), Reader in Rabbinics at Cambridge, and his elder son Raphael Loewe (*b.* 1919), Professor of Hebrew at University College London. It includes a few items of Louis Loewe (1809–1888), Herbert Loewe's grandfather, who, because of his competence both in European and Semitic languages and also in Turkish, was picked by Sir Moses Montefiore to act as his 'oriental secretary' and close confidant. Louis Loewe became the first Principal of the Judith, Lady Montefiore College at Ramsgate.

The collection, which has been acquired through the generous support of Peter and Catherine Oppenheimer and Judith and Peter Wegner, comprises about 5000 items, kept in uniform boxes with lists of contents on the outside of each; but Professor Loewe is constantly assembling and cataloguing additional material.

The following list of its current sections gives an indication of its range. But it should be understood that some of the section-titles have, over the years, become inadequate pointers to their content: thus 'Grammar' subsumes much language or linguistic material transcending that label.

| | | | |
|------------------------|----------|----------------------------|----------|
| Anglo-Jewish | 8 boxes | Grammar | 5 boxes |
| Anti-Semitism | 6 boxes | Halakhah | 5 boxes |
| Apocrypha and Josephus | 2 boxes | Hasidism | 1 box |
| Apologetics and | | History | 17 boxes |
| Disputations | 1 box | Jewish-Christian Relations | 3 boxes |
| Arabic | 5 boxes | Judaeo-Romance | 1 box |
| Archaeology | 8 boxes | Liturgy | 9 boxes |
| Belles Lettres | 3 boxes | Massorah | 1 box |
| Bible | 12 boxes | Medical History | 2 boxes |
| Biblical Iconography | 2 boxes | Midrash | 4 boxes |
| Bibliography | 11 boxes | Mishnah | 2 boxes |
| Biography | 10 boxes | New Testament | 4 boxes |
| Calendar | 1 box | Palestine, Zionism, Israel | 3 boxes |
| Catalogues | 6 boxes | Philosophy | 4 boxes |
| Dead Sea Scrolls | 2 boxes | Poetry | 5 boxes |
| Education | 3 boxes | Politics | 2 boxes |
| Ethics | 2 boxes | Qabbalah | 2 boxes |

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library

| | | | |
|------------|---------|----------|----------|
| Samaritan | 1 box | Talmud | 2 boxes |
| Septuagint | 2 boxes | Targum | 2 boxes |
| Sermons | 3 boxes | Theology | 10 boxes |
| Sociology | 2 boxes | Travel | 1 box |
| Syriac | 2 boxes | Vulgate | 2 boxes |

Staff

The improvement of facilities and services in the Library and the completion of the online catalogues of various collections could not have been achieved without a dedicated and professional staff. It is only with such a devoted team that the extraordinary collections that have come to the Centre this academic year can be integrated into the Library.

The Oxford Levantine Archaeology Laboratory

AN INTERNATIONAL conference on radiocarbon dating and the Hebrew Bible was organized by the Centre's Oxford Levantine Archaeology Laboratory and held at the Centre in September 2004. Opening remarks from HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan were delivered by Dr Ghazi Bisheh, formerly Director General of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, and participants included leading archaeologists working in Israel and Jordan. Among these were Professor Amihai Mazar (Hebrew University), Professor Israel Finkelstein (University of Tel Aviv), Dr Ilan Sharon (Hebrew University), Dr Ayelet Gilboa (Hebrew University), Dr Sue Sherratt (University of Oxford), Professor Andrew Sherratt (University of Oxford), Dr Hendrik Bruins (Ben-Gurion University), Professor Thomas Levy (organizer, University of California, San Diego), Dr Nava Panitz-Cohen (Hebrew University), Dr Norma Franklin (University of Tel Aviv), Dr David Ilan (Hebrew Union College), Dr Daniel Master (Wheaton College), Professor William Dever (University of Arizona) and Dr Anabel Zarzecki-Peleg (Hebrew University).

Biblical scholars and Egyptologists who attended included Baruch Brandl (Israel Antiquities Authority), Dr Stefan Munger (Switzerland), Dr Andrew Shortland (University of Oxford), Professor William Schniedewind (University of California) and Professor Baruch Halpern (Penn State University). Dendrochronology was represented by Dr Mayanne Newton (Cornell University), while the radiocarbon dating specialists included Dr Thomas Higham (organizer, University of Oxford), Dr Christopher Bronk Ramsey (University of Oxford), Professor Hans van der Plicht (University of Groningen), Dr Elisabetta Boaretto (Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot) and Dr George Burr (University of Arizona).

High-precision radiocarbon dating is now used to solve a wide range of chronological, historical and social issues by a number of Levantine archaeologists working on the Iron Age (c. 1200 – 586 BCE) in Israel, Jordan, Palestinian territories, southern Lebanon, Syria and the Sinai.

The background of the book cover is a black and white photograph of an ancient Egyptian wall. It features rows of hieroglyphs and a large, partially visible carved figure of a person in traditional Egyptian attire, including a long kilt and a long, thin staff or scepter. The figure appears to be standing and facing left. The wall is made of large, rectangular stone blocks.

THE BIBLE AND RADIOCARBON DATING

Archaeology,
Text and Science

Edited by
Thomas E. Levy and
Thomas Higham

Continuing Activities

Importing methods such as these, as well as statistical modelling, into the repertoire of the 'biblical archaeologist' is revolutionizing the field and making it a world leader in the study of history, historical texts and material culture.

A book edited by Professor Thomas Levy and Dr Thomas Higham of the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit, published by Equinox Publishing Ltd (London), represents aspects of this new dialogue between archaeologists, Bible scholars, Egyptologists and scientists specializing in radiocarbon-dating methods, making the interplay between the archaeological record and text available to the wider, rather than merely specialist, public.

It takes the pulse of how archaeology, science-based research methods and the Bible are interacting at the beginning of the twenty-first century. It does so by bringing together a team of leading archaeologists, Egyptologists, Bible scholars, radiocarbon-dating specialists and other researchers concerned with the historicity of Hebrew Bible narratives.

Yiddish in St Petersburg

DR GENNADY ESTRAIKH (Rauch Visiting Associated Professor of Yiddish Studies, New York University) and Dr Mikhail Krutikov (Assistant Professor of Jewish-Slavic Cultural Relations at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor), both of whom are Research Associates of the Centre, continued to work on a three-year project of facilitating Yiddish studies in St Petersburg, in cooperation with the Judaica Programme at the St Petersburg European University. They were supported by a grant from the Hanadiv Foundation.

Dr Estraiikh conducted seminars at the St Petersburg European University in May 2004 and 2005. The first series was devoted to Yiddish literature and literary life in interwar communist circles and was based on Dr Estraiikh's book *In Harness: Yiddish Writers' Romance with Communism* (Syracuse UP, 2005). In May 2005 he concentrated on literary images of Jewish colonization projects in the Crimea, Birobidzhan and other areas of the Soviet Union. Dr Krutikov took part in an academic conference on the fate of East European Jews during the Great War, the Russian Revolution and the Civil War, jointly organized by the International Center for Russian and East European Jewish Studies, St Petersburg, and the St Petersburg European University. He is planning a further series of seminars on twentieth-century Yiddish culture.

Journal of Jewish Studies

THE *Journal of Jewish Studies*, which continues to appear biannually, is edited by Professor Geza Vermes FBA, FEA, and Dr Sacha Stern, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Dr Sarah Pearce retired as Reviews Editor, to be succeeded on 1 January 2005 by Dr Jonathan Campbell, of the University of Bristol. Mrs Margaret Vermes continues as administrator, and under her care the digitization of the first fifty years of the *Journal* is nearing completion.

Volume 55, no. 2 includes a wide variety of articles, including 'How Jewish is Jewish Family Law' by Professor Bernard Jackson; an account of the involvement of two Victorian Scottish ladies from Cambridge in Solomon Schechter's recovery of the Cairo Genizah manuscripts, by Professor Stefan Reif; and a survey of the part played by dogs in ancient Jewish society by Professor Joshua Schwartz.

Volume 56, no. 1 contains studies on 2 Maccabees by Nigel M. Kennell, on Josephus by Joseph Sievers and Sabrina Inowlocki, on Jewish inscriptions from Smyrna by E. Leigh Gibson, and on mid-nineteenth-century Polish Jewish history by Marcin Wodziński.

Each volume ends with the usual substantial reviews section.

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 the EAJS Secretary, Dr Sacha Stern (School of Oriental and African Studies, London). In July 2004 the EAJS held its annual colloquium at Yarnton on the theme of 'Epigonism and the Dynamics of Jewish Culture', under the direction of Dr Shlomo Berger and Professor Irene Zwiep (Universiteit van Amsterdam), with the assistance of Professor Steven Harvey (Bar-Ilan University).

Twenty participants from Britain, Canada, Germany, Israel, the Netherlands and the United States explored the topic in relation to the history of literature, history, music and the arts, as well as philosophy and science from the time of Maimonides, via Nissim of Marseilles to Albert Einstein. The outcome was a critical, highly interdisciplinary debate on the definition of (Jewish) epigonism and its constituents, and on the boundaries and possibilities of paradigms in Jewish intellectual history in the broadest sense. The colloquium opened with a lecture-cum-recital by Dr Zechariah Plavin (Jerusalem Academy of Music).

The subsequent Colloquium, under the direction of Professor Nicholas de Lange (Cambridge), was held in July 2005 on 'The Teaching of Hebrew in European Universities'. It will be described in the next *Report*. The EAJS has also made substantial progress on the creation of its website and on-line directory of Jewish Studies in Europe, which is due to be launched early in 2006. The project is managed at Yarnton by Dr Garth Gilmour and funded by the Hanadiv Charitable Foundation.

Looted Art Research Unit

THE LOOTED ART RESEARCH UNIT is today the major expert body internationally researching looted art and expanding the range of information and resources available. This role is reflected in the wide range of inquiries and requests for assistance received from governments, institutions, art-trade agencies and individuals from across Europe, North and South America and Australia.

Family-tracing projects have been a particular growth area. An increasing number of Austrian and German museums and libraries have requested help from the Unit to locate the heirs of victims of Nazi confiscations whose cultural property has been identified in those institutions. This property includes paintings and drawings, books and manuscripts, finely crafted watches and clocks and other objets d'art.

The work is complex, and the Unit has developed a particular expertise in the investigation required to pursue it to a successful outcome. Not only have seventy years elapsed since some confiscations, but the lack of documentation, emigration, displacement and the deaths of original owners and their families necessitate the development of research avenues and resources as international as they are diverse.

The families being traced currently span ten countries: Argentina, Austria, Australia, Canada, the Czech Republic, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States. Research includes locating marriage, divorce, death, will and probate records, passenger lists and ship manifests, immigration, naturalization, social and educational records, as well as obituaries, burial and cemetery records. The trail of any one family is often scattered through numerous repositories over continents and time. Successful research can bring the restitution not only of an object, but of a history previously lost or destroyed, as well as the documenting of lives and personal trials formerly unrecorded.

Sources consulted include the British Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia, the County Clerk's Office in New York, the Czech Refugee Trust Fund (CRTF), the Hebrew Immigration Aid Society (HIAS), the Jewish Cemetery Trust Necropolis in Australia, the Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada in Winnipeg, the National



Antonio Canale called Canaletto, *The Rialto Bridge in Venice*, oil on canvas, 148 x 204 cm
Seized from the Edmond de Rothschild Collection at Chateau Ferrières in June/July 1940 and accessioned into the Linz collection in April 1943.

Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn, *Self portrait*, 1669, oil on canvas, 59 x 51 cm
Confiscated from the Rijksmuseum (where it was on loan) following the flight of the Jewish owners and heirs of the Kappel Collection, the Rathenau siblings of Berlin, to England, and accessioned into the Linz collection as Führerbau Inv. No. 1434, 1940.



Archives in Washington, DC, and the Nationalfonds in Austria. A further network of volunteers and researchers carries out investigations at newspapers, cemeteries, government offices and archives throughout the world.

The object database of the Central Registry of Information on Looted Cultural Property 1933–1945 at <www.lootedart.com> has recently been enriched by data from *Die Kunstsammlung Hermann Görings. Ein Provenienzbericht der Bayerischen Staatsgemälde-sammlungen* by Ilse von zur Mühlen (2004). The book is the result of provenance research carried out by the Bavarian State Painting Collections into 126 works of art in their possession from the art collection of Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring. In addition, the Central Registry is currently adding data and images from two other sources. One is the report by Dr Walter Schuster, director of the Linz City Archive, entitled *Die 'Sammlung Gurlitt' der Neuen Galerie der Stadt Linz*. It examines the activities of the notorious Berlin art dealer and publisher Wolfgang Gurlitt during the Nazi period, and his postwar role in the creation of the Neue Galerie der Stadt Linz, now the Lentos Kunstmuseum Linz, as well as the city's acquisition of part of Gurlitt's collection for the Gallery. The report has nine sections, including a catalogue of all 700 acquisitions of the Gallery between 1947 and 1957. The other recent source is the 2004 book *Hitlers Museum. Die Foto-alben 'Gemäldegalerie Linz': Dokumente zum Führermuseum* by Birgit Schwarz, which presents detailed information on nineteen of the thirty-one photo albums of looted artworks gathered for Hitler's planned museum in Linz.

All these sources have until now been available only in German. The addition of the translated and expanded data to the Central Registry's database considerably enhances the resources accessible not only to private researchers, but to international and national research projects.

The Central Registry's internship programme continues to be in demand. The latest recruits, variously from Bulgaria, Germany, Israel, the United Kingdom and United States, have backgrounds in art history, classics, history, languages, law and European Studies. Volunteers also help with the work of the Unit. In the first half of 2005 the Registry received a large number of applicants for the four-week, full-time placements, and was able to place six volunteers following a competitive application and interview process.

Looted Art Research Unit

The staff has been enhanced by the arrival of Jennifer Anderson in January 2005. She studied Arts History and Classics and has an MA in Art History and a Curatorial Diploma from York University, Toronto. She previously worked as a researcher in the Documentary Art Department at the National Archives in Ottawa and as a provenance researcher at the Art Gallery Ontario.

Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies

THE INSTITUTE for Polish-Jewish Studies, an associated institute of the Centre, this year published volume 17 of *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, edited by Antony Polonsky. Focusing on 'The Shtetl: Myth and Reality', it contains eighteen papers, examining the concept of the shtetl as understood in literature, history and sociology, illustrated with case-studies from the eighteenth century onwards. The volume also includes four other papers, a documentary section on Polish-Soviet relations in the late 1940s, a special section analysing the Polish-Jewish incidents in Przytyk in 1936, a full complement of book reviews, and three obituaries. In November a one-day international conference, convened by Professor Jonathan Webber, was held to launch the volume and to discuss the shtetl not only from a historical point of view, but to explore how the lost world of the shtetl is being remembered and presented in Poland today. The conference, which was co-sponsored by the Polish Cultural Institute and held at the Polish Embassy in London, was opened by a presentation given by the Polish Ambassador. Papers were given by scholars from England and Poland; and the conference concluded with the screening of a powerful film, *Hiding and Seeking: Faith and Tolerance after the Holocaust*, which explores the theme of Jewish religious intolerance in the context of attitudes towards Polish Catholic rescuers of Jews in Poland during the Holocaust. The conference was full to capacity, and there was lively discussion throughout, particularly following the film.

The Website of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies

THIS YEAR the website received over 6000 visitors. The most popular areas were the termly lecture lists and the news bulletins. Details of Fellows' publications were added to the site, and the 2004 Financial Report was made available for download. The site continues to provide details on how to apply for scholarships and fellowships, and full information on the MSt in Jewish Studies. Past students of the Centre have also contributed their own news for the Alumni section of the web site. To attract financial support, a downloadable version of the support form for Friends of the Centre is available on the website home page.

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

Fellows' Reports

Dr Glenda Abramson

Dr Abramson delivered a paper entitled 'Exile, Imprisonment and Imagined Landscapes' at a conference of the International Comparative Literature Association in Hong Kong in August 2004. During Michaelmas Term she was Visiting Scholar at Hebrew Union College in New York. She gave a paper entitled 'Heredity and Freedom: The Ghosts in Oz's "Strange Fire"' in a conference on the work of Amos Oz held at the University of Pennsylvania in October, and a public lecture entitled ' "Into the Darkness": Hebrew/Jewish Writers Describe their Experiences in the First World War' at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in November. In Hilary Term 2005 she taught a new course for the MSt programme entitled 'Means of Representation: Jews Reading and Writing Themselves, 1919-1973', and she gave a paper entitled 'The City in the Work of S. Y. Agnon' at the seminar on Middle Eastern Literatures at the Oriental Institute, Oxford, in May 2005.

Dr Abramson was Chairman of the Sub-Faculty of Near Eastern Studies in the Oriental Faculty from 2002 to 2004, chairs the Fellowships and Visitors Committee for the Centre, and continues to serve as editor of *The Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, of which volume 4 is currently appearing.

Professor Martin Goodman

Professor Martin Goodman was on research leave throughout the year for the final part of his period as a British Academy Research Reader. He completed his long-term project of a comparison between Rome and Jerusalem in the early centuries of the Common Era and submitted it to Penguin Books for publication in 2006. In September 2004 he gave a lecture on 'Fifty Years of Study of Judaism in Late Antiquity' at the annual conference of the British Association for the Study of Religions. In March he gave a Magic Lecture in Princeton and a lecture at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. In April he spoke at the University of Michigan on 'Judaism and Jewish Ethnicity in Antiquity' in a conference on 'Jewishness and Secularism in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives'.

Ronald Nettler

Ronald Nettler taught a course in Michaelmas Term entitled 'Judaism and Islam: Medieval Intellectual and Cultural Traditions' for the MSt in Jewish Studies, and another on 'Islam and the Middle East in the Twentieth Century: Islamic Thought' for the MPhil and MSt degrees in Modern Middle Eastern Studies. In Hilary and Trinity terms he taught tutorials based on texts for the MPhil options, and DPhil readings in 'Ibn 'Arabi texts jointly with Professor Van Gelder. He continued his research on medieval Jewish and Islamic interaction in religious thought, Jewish Sufism in late-medieval Egypt, 'Ibn 'Arabi and modern Islamic thought in the Middle East.

Madhavi Nevader

Madhavi Nevader taught biblical Hebrew language and texts to undergraduates and MSt students, and in Hilary Term gave a seminar on Ancient Israelite Religion. She delivered a David Patterson Seminar entitled, "Appoint a King to Govern Us, Like Other Nations" – The Problem with Kingship in the Hebrew Bible', and gave a paper to the Old Testament Graduate Seminar entitled, 'When did Yahweh become King of Israel?' She continued to work on her DPhil thesis throughout the year.

A summary of the David Patterson Seminar she gave appears on pages 95–6 of this *Report*.

Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi

Dr Ottolenghi spent the summer of 2004 editing the first three Isaiah Berlin Public Lectures in Middle East Dialogue, held under the auspices of the Centre between March 2003 and March 2004. They were published in a special section of the journal *Israel Studies*. In September he attended the annual Herzliya Conference on Global Terrorism at the Inter-Disciplinary Center in Herzliya, Israel, and participated in the annual Anglo-Italian Colloquium in Certosa Pontignano seminar in Siena, Italy. In October he lectured at the Brighton Limmud on Israel's defensive barrier in the West Bank, and in early November attended a Ditchley Park conference on the Middle East. In late November he participated in a conference commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the death of General and Senator Giuseppe Ottolenghi in Sabbioneta,

Italy, and delivered an address entitled 'The Ottolenghi Families During Emancipation as a Mirror of Italian Jewry'.

In Michaelmas Term he taught a course entitled 'A History of Modern Israel', and organized a film series on Israeli Cinema and an Isaiah Berlin Public Lecture in Middle East Dialogue delivered by Dr Michael Ledeen.

During sabbatical leave in Hilary Term Dr Ottolenghi spent three months as a visiting scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, where he finished writing and coediting a book on Israel's constitutional law and government system to be published by Giapichelli Editore, together with one colleague from the University of Siena and another from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He contributed two out of the seven chapters as well as the introduction and the conclusion to the book. He also completed a chapter on Italian anti-Semitism for a book being published by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, London. While in Washington he worked additionally on the subject of EU-Israel relations, transatlantic relations with regard to the Middle East, and in particular the Israeli-Palestinian dispute and ways to address the conflict. Out of this research emerged an article for *Commentary* on European anti-Semitism; a chapter in the English version of a book on Israel to be published by Frank Cass on the Israeli-European-American triangular relation; and an article on the media and Israel, co-authored with a colleague from the American Enterprise Institute, to appear in the *Middle East Quarterly*. He also wrote a briefing on European identity and immigration policies for *European Outlook*, the AEI in-house publication, commenting on the role of the Holocaust in Europe's new identity, and two book reviews, one of them on Dan Leon (ed.) *Who's Left in Israel?* for the *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, and the other on Jacqueline Rose's *The Question of Zion* for *The Washington Times* and for *Israel Studies*.

In February he addressed the American Enterprise Institute's Friday forum on 'Making Sense of European Anti-Semitism', and participated in a Washington Institute for Near Eastern Policy panel discussion on Transatlantic Relations, following President Bush's visit to Europe (see *Policy Watch* 967, available on the Institute's website at www.washingtoninstitute.org). In March he spoke at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies Masters Program in International Affairs, Middle East Studies lunch seminar, on 'Making Sense of Ariel

Sharon's Disengagement Plan'. In the same month he was a guest of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, where he offered a breakfast briefing on 'Explaining the Transatlantic Rift on the Middle East: A View from Europe', and gave the inaugural lecture for the newly established Institute for the Study of Global Anti-Semitism and Policy, at Yale's Jewish Centre in New Haven. He also lectured on European anti-Semitism to members of the Joint Action Committee for Political Affairs (JACPAC) in Washington, DC, and at Baltimore Hebrew University.

In May he attended the annual America Israel Political Action Committee (AIPAC) policy conference in Washington, DC, and in June participated in a two-day Italian-American colloquium in Lucca, Italy, on transatlantic relations, sponsored by the Magna Carta Foundation, Rome, and gave a lecture on 'The Middle East Conflict: Which Way Forward?' at the Fondazione CaRisBo in Bologna, Italy.

He appears regularly on the Italian News Radio Channel *Radio 24*, continues to contribute regularly to the Italian daily *Il Foglio* (over forty op-eds and analysis pieces in the past twelve months), has a regular column in the Italian Jewish monthly *Shalom*, and contributes to Israel's English-language daily *The Jerusalem Post*. Since September 2004 he has regularly contributed a monthly executive briefing ('Insight') to the British Labour Friends of Israel.

Dr David Patterson, CBE

David Patterson continued his cooperation with Ezra Spicehandler on the translation of Y. H. Brenner's novels. Their translation of Bialik's stories under the title *Random Harvest and Other Novellas* was republished by the Toby Press. He submitted papers to two *Festschriften*, one for Professor Edward Ullendorff and one for Professor Alan Crown, lectured to the University of the Third Age in Oxford and delivered papers in Manchester and Israel. He also gave a paper in the David Patterson Seminar Series entitled 'Against All Odds: The Renaissance of Hebrew Literature', and examined a doctoral thesis for University College London. He attended a meeting of the Board of the American Friends of the Centre in New York.

A summary of the lecture he delivered at Yarnton appears on page 97 of this *Report*.

Dr David Rechter

Dr Rechter continued his research on a synthetic history of the Jews of Habsburg Bukovina from the late-eighteenth century to the First World War, and on the politics of Jewish diaspora nationalism in the Austrian empire, with a particular focus on Galicia. He additionally collected material for a source book he is editing on Jewish politics and the Jewish Question in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe. Besides his regular teaching, examining and administrative duties, he served as Director of Studies for the MSt in Jewish Studies and Chairman of Graduate Examinations for the Faculty of Oriental Studies. He continued his work on the Executive Council of the Leo Baeck Institute in London, the foremost international body devoted to the study of the history of German-speaking Jewry, as well on the Committee of the British Association of Jewish Studies and the editorial board of *The Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, as in the past two or three years. In Hilary Term he convened a seminar on Modern European Jewish History at the European Studies Centre, speakers at which included Dr Tobias Brinkman and Dr Natan Meir (University of Southampton), Professor Leah Hochman (University of Florida), Dr Lisa Silverman (University of Sussex) and Professor Joshua Zimmerman (Yeshiva University). In Trinity Term he convened a Modern History Faculty seminar on East and East-Central Europe with Professor R. J. W. Evans.

Dr Alison Salvesen

Dr Salvesen was this year appointed a Supernumerary Fellow and Tutor in Oriental Studies at Mansfield College, with pastoral responsibility for students reading Arabic, Hebrew or Jewish Studies. In Michaelmas Term she gave a survey course on 'Jewish and Christian Bible Interpretation' and in Hilary Term a reading course on 'Targum Aramaic', both for the MSt in Jewish Studies. She also gave classes on the Septuagint and Hellenistic Jewish texts for the MSt in Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period at the Oriental Institute. During Professor Williamson's sabbatical leave in Trinity Term she took over the 'Biblical Hebrew Prose Composition' class for the Hebrew BA. She also supervised two dissertations for the MSt, and the work of three doctoral students at the Oriental Insitute.

In July 2004 she delivered a lecture entitled 'Midrash in Greek? An

Exploration of the Versions of Aquila and Symmachus', on the relationship of the second-century Jewish Greek Bible versions to rabbinic midrash, at the British Association for Jewish Studies conference on Midrash held at Yarnton Manor under the presidency of Dr Joanna Weinberg. In September she delivered a paper entitled 'Jacob of Edessa and the Syrohexapla: The Interchange of Syriac and Greek Scripture', on the text of Exodus in the version of the seventh-century Syriac scholar-bishop Jacob of Edessa, at the Symposium Syriacum held in Kaslik, Lebanon. The proposed entry of Turkey into the European Union has encouraged greater openness within Turkey towards its ethnic minorities, including the 'Suriani' or Syrian Orthodox Christians who use dialects of Aramaic in their daily speech and liturgy. Dr Salvesen was among several European academics invited to a conference on Aramaic entitled 'The Language of Jesus', which was held at the Swedish Consulate in Istanbul. She spoke on Jacob of Edessa's consciousness of his Aramean heritage, which appears to have been derived from and shaped by his knowledge of the Bible and by the residence of Abram and Jacob in Aram.

In May Dr Salvesen attended a symposium in Princeton, New Jersey, which met to discuss the influence of a formative work in Syriac studies, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, written by Robert Murray in 1975. She presented a paper on early Syriac theological attitudes towards childhood entitled 'Without Shame or Desire', in which she noted the connection made in the fourth and fifth centuries between the nature of the First Adam (before he sinned and was expelled from the Garden of Eden) and interpretations of Jesus's injunction to become as little children.

Also in May, she and her two collaborators in the Hexapla Project, Professor Peter Gentry of Louisville, Kentucky, and Dr Bas ter Haar Romeny of Leiden University, delivered the three Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint for 2005. Her paper, on 'Hexaplaric Additions to Exodus', described how the later Jewish Greek revisers of the shorter Greek text of Exodus 'filled in' the differences between the Septuagint and Masoretic Hebrew texts, and how these additions entered Christian manuscript tradition.

Dr Joseph Sherman

Dr Sherman, the Centre's Woolf Corob Fellow in Yiddish Studies, gave a number of lectures overseas during this centenary year of the Yiddish

Continuing Activities

Nobel Laureate Isaac Bashevis Singer, on whose work he is a specialist. In July he was a guest of Mandelbaum House, University of Sydney, and delivered one lecture in Yiddish entitled 'Reconsidering the Fiction of Israel Joshua Singer' to the Kadimah Society, Melbourne, and another on 'Shaping Yiddish in South Africa: An Overview' to the Sydney Friends of Yiddish. He also participated in a conference on 'Yiddish in the Southern Hemisphere' organized by the University of Sydney, at which he presented a paper entitled 'Yiddish in South Africa: Between Zionism and Apartheid'.

In August he was an instructor at the Strasbourg Yiddish Summer Programme, taking charge of the Level 3 (advanced) course, which focused on 'The Myth of the Jewish Pope in Yiddish Literature', through close readings of stories from the *Mayse-bukh* (1603) and the works of Ayzik-Meyer Dik (1874), Isaac Bashevis Singer (1946) and Y. Y. Trunk (1958). In October he lectured on 'Isaac Bashevis Singer and the Yiddish Literary Tradition' and 'Moral Evasion in Isaac Bashevis Singer's Autobiographical Fiction' at an international Isaac Bashevis Singer Centenary Commemoration entitled 'The Landscape of a Writer', organized by Warsaw's Shalom Foundation in collaboration with the Polish National Library.

In November he was a guest of Amsterdam's Stichting Jiddisj (The Dutch Yiddish Foundation) and delivered a public lecture entitled 'The Moral Universe of Isaac Bashevis Singer' at the Centenary Tribute to Isaac Bashevis Singer that formed part of its International Jewish Music Festival. In December he delivered a public lecture entitled 'Isaac Bashevis Singer un di yidishe literarishe traditsye', as guest of the Salomo-Birnbaum-Gesellschaft für Jiddisch in Hamburg.

Closer to home, in February 2005 he delivered the thirteenth Annual A. N. Stencl Lecture in Yiddish, entitled "Exquisite Complexity": The Prose Style of Dovid Bergelson (1884–1952)', under the joint auspices of the Centre and the Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages and Literatures. The background to this lecture series is outlined on pages 63–6 of this *Report*.

Dr Sherman continues to serve as co-editor of *Slavic Almanac* (University of South Africa) and on the Editorial Board of the New Yiddish Library (Yale University Press). He was Book Reviews Editor for the *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* and Associate Editor of *The Mendelev Review* until September 2004.

He has continued also to serve as the Centre's Academic Director, and remains an Honorary Research Associate of the School of Languages and Literatures, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Dr Joanna Weinberg

Joanna Weinberg continued to chair the Oxford University Teaching and Research in Jewish Studies Unit (now renamed the 'Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit'). She taught rabbinic and medieval Hebrew texts for the BA and a course on Maimonides for the MSt in Jewish Studies, and served as convenor of the MSt in Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period. She also continued to teach for the Theology Faculty.

Her second book, an edition of a unique work on the Syriac New Testament by Azariah de' Rossi, was published by the Warburg Institute in May.

In October she gave a paper entitled 'Weeping for Erasmus in Hebrew and Latin' at the conference on 'Hebrew into Latin, Latin into Hebrew' held at the Warburg Institute. In November she delivered the Leo Baeck Lecture at the University of Durham. In April she delivered a paper at the annual conference of the Renaissance Society of America. In June she gave a paper entitled 'Tell Me What You Read and I Will Tell You Who You Are: The Italian Jews of the Sixteenth Century and Their Books' at a conference devoted to the Jews of Italy held at the University of Munich.

She continued to serve as external examiner for the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at University College London.

Visiting Fellows' and Scholars' Reports

Hugh Denman

Hugh Denman, of University College London, who has been based at the Centre since 4 October 2004, continued work on his forthcoming *Guide to Yiddish Literature*. He also contributed articles on a number of Yiddish authors to the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* and the forthcoming revised edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. In October he gave a lecture on Judeo-Romance and the genesis of the Yiddish language to the Romance Linguistics Seminar of Oxford University. In November he spoke on 'Motivation und Motivik im Werke I. B. Singers' to the Salomo-Birnbaum-Gesellschaft für Jiddisch of the University of Hamburg for the centenary of Isaac Bashevis Singer's birth. In December he delivered a paper on 'Isaac Bashevis Singer e la Polonia', to the 'Ricordando Singer' Colloquium at La Sapienza University in Rome. An augmented version of this will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Rassenga Mensile di Israel*. In February he delivered a David Patterson Seminar on Singer's involvement with the modern movement. He spent April as a guest lecturer at the Katedra Judaistyki of the Jagellonian University, Cracow, and in May contributed to a seminar at the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest.

A summary of the lecture he delivered while in Yarnton appears on pages 88–9 of this *Report*.

Professor Stephen Geller

Dr Stephen A. Geller, Professor of Bible at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, who stayed at the Centre from 1 June to 31 August 2004, worked on his commentary to the Book of Psalms, to be published in the Hermeneia series by Fortress Press. This literary reading, which uses the techniques and insights of modern literary criticism as well as the traditional methodologies of historical-critical scholarship, is due to appear in 2006.

Professor Geller also wrote a long article on the institution and role of the Sabbath in the major biblical theological traditions, based on a literary-religious analysis of Exodus 16, which appeared in the Spring 2005 edition of the journal *Interpretation*. The covenantal Deutero-

nomic tradition views the Sabbath mainly as a day of rest and recreation, while in the priestly tradition it is a memorial of creation and a symbolic device to introduce a radically new concept of time. While time in ancient religions was determined by cyclical mythical patterns, the biblical priestly tradition introduced the idea of recurring time that combined cyclical myth and historical typology. This was marked by the new institution, or understanding, of the Sabbath and the idea of the seven-day week.

Professor Benjamin Hary (Skirball Fellow)

Professor Benjamin Hary of Emory University, Atlanta, GA, who stayed at the Centre from 7 February to 7 July 2005, continued his research into Jewish languages in general and Judeo-Arabic in particular. He made important progress on his forthcoming volume on Jewish languages in diverse communities, areas and times, for which he has established a sociolinguistic framework. He also completed critical editions of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Egyptian Judeo-Arabic translations of the books of Genesis and Esther and of the Passover Haggadah, and designed a linguistic model for these 'sacred translations', characterized by literary-interpretive linguistic tension. His forthcoming two-volume publication on Egyptian Judeo-Arabic translations of sacred Hebrew texts will include the critical editions as well as a detailed theoretical analysis of the translations.

Professor Hary was able to consult several Egyptian Judeo-Arabic manuscripts at the Bodleian Library and at the Genizah Unit in Cambridge during his stay, and delivered lectures at the Centre, the University of Manchester and, during a short visit, at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

A summary of the lecture he delivered while in Yarnton appears on page 90 of this *Report*.

Professor Robert Hiebert (Skirball Fellow)

Professor Robert Hiebert of Trinity Western University, Langley, British Columbia, stayed at the Centre from 2 September 2004 to 2 February 2005 and worked on the preparation of a critical edition of the original Greek version of IV Maccabees for the series *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum graecum*. This involved creating an electronic database of the collations of the more than seventy extant Greek manuscripts and

the Syriac translation of IV Maccabees; checking readings in five Syriac manuscripts housed in the Bodleian, British and various Cambridge libraries; and analysing the text-critical value of the *Passio Sanctorum Machabaeorum*, a Latin composition based on IV Maccabees. The latter has proven to be a less important textual witness than the Syriac translation. The database, which should be completed by the end of 2005, will be an essential tool for the next phase of this project – reconstructing the original Greek text, preparing the apparatus of variant readings and writing the detailed introduction to the edition of IV Maccabees. The target date for completing the project is 2007.

He also presented a David Patterson Seminar on the Septuagint and a paper to the Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period entitled ‘The Septuagint as a Window on the World of Hellenistic Judaism’. In addition he worked on a *Festschrift* article entitled ‘Preparing a Critical Edition of IV Maccabees: The Syriac Translation and the *Passio Sanctorum Machabaeorum* as Witnesses to the Original Greek’, and wrote a peer review of a PhD dissertation entitled ‘The Peshitta and Syro-Hexapla Translations of Amos 1:3–2:16’, submitted by Petronella S. Verwijs to the Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden series.

A summary of the lecture he delivered while at Yarnton appears on pages 90–1 of this *Report*.

Professor Leah Hochman (Skirball Fellow)

Professor Leah Hochman of the University of Florida stayed at the Centre from 17 January to 17 June 2005 and wrote several new chapters of her book on ascribing aesthetic and anthropological ugliness to Jews and Judaism in eighteenth-century Germany and England. She completed an analysis of the four-volumes of the German and English editions of Johann Caspar Lavater’s *Physiognomical Fragments* held by the Bodleian Library, the work that revived the pseudo-science of ‘reading faces’ for the modern age and whose huge popularity makes its discussion of Jews and Jewish faces particularly important. Lavater’s personal charisma, his close associations with leading philosophers of his time, including the *juif de Berlin*, Moses Mendelssohn, and his attempts to effect a mass conversion of Jews, need to be seen in the context of his views concerning ‘Jewish’ religion and physiognomy.

Professor Hochman completed a separate study of the iconography

of portraits and pictures of Moses Mendelssohn based on the holdings of the Taylorian Institute and Sakler Library. The Centre's own resources enabled her to write a substantial section on the anthropological understanding of Jews during the debate on their emancipation. The recently acquired Foyle-Montefiore Collection contains several key anti-Emancipation treatises, including a rare copy of Grattenauer's *Wider die Juden*. She also revised two chapters on eighteenth-century philosophical aesthetics, dealing with Hogarth's depiction of Jews and the rise of philosophical aesthetics in British and German contexts. She delivered a David Patterson Seminar, as well as a lecture entitled 'Making the Jews Ugly: Aesthetics, Politics and Religion in Modern European Thought' to the Seminar in Modern European Jewish History.

A summary of the lecture she delivered while at Yarnton appears on pages 91–2 of this *Report*.

Professor Henrietta Mondry (Skirball Fellow)

Professor Henrietta Mondry of the University of Canterbury, New Zealand, who stayed at the Centre from 1 February to 6 July 2005, completed her monograph entitled *Russian Populist Writers and the Jews*, which deals with the response to the Russian pogroms of the 1880s and to the Kishinev pogrom of 1903 of two populist writers, Gleb Uspensky (1843–1902) and Vladimir Korolenko (1853–1921).

She examined a newly discovered piece by Uspensky concerning a letter from a Russian peasant written six months before the start of the wave of pogroms in March 1880. This reveals that a declassed group of Russian peasants, no longer involved in farming, constituted the main pogrom element in the 1880s, and that the violence in the Pale of Settlement was motivated by economic competition, religious hatred and fear of the arrival of capitalism in the countryside.

Korolenko's journalistic texts, a decade later, reveal that the 1903 pogrom and the anti-Jewish writings that appeared during the Beilis Affair of 1911–1913 were encouraged by the Russian State. Korolenko's humorous short story *Yom Kippur* describes Ukrainian peasants' hostility to their Jewish neighbours and reveals that greed and desire for Jewish property were among the factors for anti-Jewish activities in the Pale.

Professor Mondry's book, published in St Petersburg in late 2005, is a polemical response to Alexander Solzhenitsyn's two-volume history of

Continuing Activities

Jews in Russia, *Two Hundred Years Together* (2002), which distorts the position of Russian populist writers vis-à-vis the problem of anti-Jewish violence in Russia.

A version of the lecture she delivered while in Yarnton appears on pages 27–47 of this *Report*.

Professor Benjamin Neuberger

Professor Benjamin Neuberger, of the Open University of Israel, was a non-resident Visiting Scholar at the Centre from 30 September 2003 to 30 June 2005 and a Senior Associate Member at St Antony's College. During this period he prepared a book on religion and state in democracies and wrote articles for scholarly journals or chapters in books which included: 'The Arab Minority in Israeli Politics – Between Ethnic Democracy and Democratic Integration', 'New and Old Arab Political Elites in Israel', 'Parties and Cleavages in Israel', 'Israel's Ethno-cultural Parties', 'Israel's Non-Religious Parties on the Issue of State and Religion', 'Emotions, Realpolitik and Morality in German-Israeli Relations', 'African Nationalism – From Pan-Africanism to the Territorial Nation-State' and 'Understanding the Twentieth Century – The Rise and Fall and Re-emergence of Totalitarian Discourse'.

Professor Sergio Parussa (Skirball Fellow)

Professor Sergio Parussa of Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., stayed at the Centre from 6 September 2004 to 6 February 2005 and drafted a book on Jewish-Italian literature from the emancipation to the present. In this he examines the ways in which the Jewish-Italian literary experience has been articulated over the past two centuries, completing a theoretical introduction to the notion of Jewish-Italian literature and investigating the dialogue with Judaism and specific contributions to the Italian literary tradition in the works of Umberto Saba and Giorgio Bassani.

He also wrote a paper on notions of literature, testimony and Judaism in the works of Primo Levi, versions of which were presented as a David Patterson Seminar and at the Italian Studies Seminar at Christ Church, Oxford. A final version appeared in an anthology of essays entitled *The Legacy of Primo Levi*, published by Palgrave Macmillan. In addition he wrote an essay on Giorgio Agamben's book *The Day of Judgement* – a meditation on literature, photography and messianic time – published in *Journal of Italian Studies*.

Professor Parussa particularly benefited from access to the collections of modern literature at the Taylorian Institute and from discussions with scholars of Jewish and Italian Studies at the Centre and the University in general.

A summary of the lecture he delivered while at Yarnton appears on pages 96–7 of this *Report*.

Dr Shlomo Sela (Skirball Fellow)

Dr Shlomo Sela of Bar-Ilan University stayed at the Centre from 8 September 2004 to 8 February 2005 and was able to examine each astrological and astronomical Hebrew manuscript held in Oxford libraries as part of his research into the transmission of medieval Hebrew scientific literature.¹

He identified the source of each text included in a vast mid-thirteenth-century astrological and astronomical anthology by an anonymous scholar who, although he prefaced each text with an introduction and notes, neglected to reveal the origin of most passages and significantly altered some of them. Dr Sela presented his findings to a workshop devoted to the study of Abraham Ibn Ezra's scientific works in Hebrew and Latin at the Warburg Institute, London.

He also prepared a scientific edition of *Sefer ha-Te'amim* ('Book of Reasons'), a Hebrew astrological treatise by Abraham Ibn Ezra which survives in two versions. He collated fourteen manuscripts to establish the text of each, translated them into English, drafted two commentaries and discovered hitherto unknown bibliographical data.

During his stay he delivered lectures at the universities of Birmingham and Manchester, and delivered a David Patterson Seminar, a version of which appears on pages 15–25 of this *Report*.

Professor Giacomo Todeschini (Skirball Fellow)

Professor Giacomo Todeschini of the University of Trieste, who stayed at the Centre from 1 October 2004 to 1 March 2005, continued his research into links between views in Christian theology, Canon Law and Rabbinic culture concerning infamy and exclusion from public life between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. This will enable him to

¹ A. D. Neubauer (ed.) *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in the College Libraries of Oxford* (Oxford, 1995) [2012–2082] cols 687–714; [2399–2400] cols 842–842; [2518–2519] cols 904–5; [2527] col. 909.

define the formation of a juridical notion of out-groups in Western Europe in relation to the Christian theological paradigm of Jewish infidelity or infamy. He examined Latin manuscripts and critical editions of legal and exegetical works describing judicial procedures from Jewish and Christian points of view in the Bodleian Library, and drafted a book on divergent Jewish and Christian representations of shameful behaviour and of infamy as a legal criterion which excludes from witnessing.

He delivered a lecture on 'Trustfulness and Avarice as Economic-religious Elements of the Christian *Infamia Facti* Vocabulary' at the Centre for Jewish Studies, University of Manchester, and delivered a David Patterson Seminar, a summary of which appears on page 102 of this *Report*.

Tamas Visi (Visiting Research Student)

Tamas Visi of the Central European University, Budapest, who stayed at the Centre from 6 October to 3 November 2004, worked on early supercommentaries to Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary to the Torah. He consulted microfilm and microfiche copies of manuscripts and early printed works in the Muller and Bodleian libraries, and was able to make substantial progress with his doctoral thesis.

Dr Katarína Wiecha

Dr Wiecha of Comenius University, Bratislava, who stayed at the Centre from 8 October 2004 to 25 June 2005, worked on a project entitled 'Matzevah – The Last Witness of Hasidism in North-eastern Slovakia: Social-religious Analysis of a Movement', which includes research on the Hasidic cemetery in Bardejov, a town in eastern Slovakia.

She was able to complete a paper entitled 'The Mystical Nihilism of Frankism' for publication in *Acta Judaica Slovaca*, and another on 'The Messianic Consciousness of Jacob Frank', which she delivered as a lecture in Oxford.

Professor Joshua D. Zimmerman (Skirball Fellow)

Professor Joshua Zimmerman of Yeshiva University, New York, who stayed at the Centre from 28 February to 27 June 2005, continued work on a monograph on the reaction of the Polish Underground and its military wing to the annihilation of Polish Jewry. He benefited from

access to archives and libraries in Oxford and London, which made it possible to carry out research on the attitudes of the Polish underground to the 'Jewish Question' during the Holocaust. The General Sikorski Historical Institute and the Polish Underground Movement Study Trust in London house official documents and underground publications of the Polish Home Army relating to Jewish matters during the War, while the Leopold Muller and other libraries in Oxford, as well as the University Library of Southampton, contain related historical writings primarily in Yiddish, Polish and English. He lectured at the Centre, Oriel College and St Antony's College, Oxford, and went on to conduct further research at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington.

A summary of the lecture he delivered while at Yarnton appears on pages 103-4 of this *Report*.

Publications

Centre Publications

- Journal of Jewish Studies*, edited by Professor Geza Vermes and Dr Sacha Stern, volume 55:2 (2004)
- Journal of Jewish Studies*, edited by Professor Geza Vermes and Dr Sacha Stern, volume 56:1 (2005)
- Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 2003–2004*, edited by Dr Jeremy Schonfield (2004)

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- ABRAMSON, GLENDA, *The Encyclopedia of Modern Jewish Culture*, London and New York: Routledge (2005; two volumes)
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- 'Don't Postpone Arab Democracy', *The Jerusalem Post*, 30 November 2004
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- 'One Authority, One Law, and One Army in Palestine', *Newsday*, 26 January 2005
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- 'America and the Middle East: Which Way Forward?' *Atlantide 2* (June 2005, in Italian)
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*Dissertations Submitted at the Centre, 2005**

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

- Eban, Abba, *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984)
- Ellenson, David, *After Emancipation. Jewish Religious Responses to Modernity* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2004)
- Faber, Seth, *An American Orthodox Dreamer. Rabbi Joseph Soloveitchik and Boston's Maimonides School* (Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press, 2004)
- Goetschel, Willi, *Spinoza's Modernity: Mendelssohn, Lessing and Heine* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004)
- Kessler, Edward (ed.) *A Reader of Early Liberal Judaism. The Writings of Israel Abrahams, Claude Montefiore, Lily Montagu and Israel Mattuck* (London, Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2004)
- Slezkine, Yuri, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004)

B) Yizkor Books Acquired through the Generosity of the Catherine Lewis Foundation and the 2004 Lewis Grandchildren's Trust*

- Bacau:** *Kehilat Bacau; historiyah yehudit mefo'eret* ['The Community of Bacau; Jewish History'], [by] Meir Eibeshits, [ed.] Y. Voladi-Vardi (Tel Aviv: Hasofrim, 1990) 240 pp. (H)
- Baranowicze:** *Baranovitsh in umkum un vidershtand* ['Baranowich in

* An asterisk (*) after an English title indicates that the title translated was supplied in the work itself. Otherwise the titles have been translated by the compiler.

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- Martyrdom and Resistance'*], ed. Y. Foxman (New York: Baranowicher Farband of America, 1964) vol. 1 only; 5, 107 pp. (Y)
- Beltsy:** *Sefer Baltsi Bessarabia; yad ve-zekher le-yahadut Beltsi* ['Beltsi Bessarabia; A Memorial to the Jewish Community'*], eds Yosef Mazur, Misha Fuks (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Beltsy, 1993) 655 pp. (H)
- Belsen:** *Belsen* (Tel Aviv: Association of Displaced Persons in the British Zone, 1958) 191 pp. (H)
- Berezno:** *Mayn shtetele Berezne* ['My Town, Berezne'], [by] G. Bigil (Tel Aviv: Berezner Society in Israel, 1954) 182 pp. (H, Y)
- Biala Podlaska:** *Sefer Biala Podlaska* ['Book of Biala Podlaska'], ed. M. J. Feigenbaum (Tel Aviv: Kupat Gmilut Hesed of the Community of Biala Podlaska, 1961) 501 pp. (H, Y)
- Bialobrzegi:** *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Bialobrzeg* ['Memorial Book of the Byalovzig Community'*], ed. David Abraham Mandelboim (Tel Aviv: Council of the Town of Bialobrzeg, 1991) 396 pp. (H)
- Bialystok:** *Mul mavet orev. Yehudey Bialystok be-milhamat ha-olam ha-shniya 1939-1943* ['Facing Death; The Jews in Bialystok During the Second World War, 1939-1943'], by Sara Bender (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1997) 379 pp. (H)
- Braslaw:** *Emesh shoa; yad le-kehilot/gevidmet di kehiles Braslaw...* ['Darkness and Desolation; In Memory of the Communities of Braslaw, Dubene, Jaisi, Jod, Kislowyszczyna, Okmienice, Opsa, Plusy, Rimszany, Slobodka, Zamosz, Zaracz'*], eds Machnes Ariel, Klinov Rina ([Israel]: Association of Braslaw and the Surroundings in America; Ghetto Fighters' House and Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1986) 636 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Brzezany:** *Brzezany, Narajow ve-ha-seviva; toldot kehilot she-nehrevu* ['Brzezany Memorial Book'*], ed. Menachem Katz (Haifa: Brzezany-Narajow Societes in Israel and the United States, 1978) 28, 473 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Brzozow:** *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Breziv (Brzozow)* ['A Memorial to the Brzozow Community'*], ed. Avraham Levite ([Israel]: The Survivors of Brzozow, 1984) 348, [16], 195 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Byten:** *Pinkas Byten* ['Memorial Book of Byten'], eds D. Abramowich, M. W. Bernstein (Buenos Aires: Former Residents of Byten in Argentina, 1954) 605 pp. (Y)
- Ciechanowiec:** *Ciechanowiec; mehoz Bialystok, sefer edut ve-zikaron*

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- [‘Ciechanowiec-Bialystok District; Memorial and Records’*], ed. E. Leoni (Tel Aviv: The Ciechanovitzer Immigrant Assoc. in Israel and the USA, 1964) 936, 78 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Crimea:** *Yahadut Krim me-kadmuta ve-ad ha-shoa* [‘The Jews of Crimea from Their Beginnings until the Holocaust’], ed. Yehzekel Keren (Jerusalem: Reuben Mass, 1981) 337 pp. (H)
- Dabrowica:** *Sefer Dombrovitsa* [‘Book of Dabrowica’], ed. L. Losh (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Dabrowica in Israel, 1964) 928 pp. (H, Y)
- Daugavpils:** *Le-zekher kehilat Dvinsk* [‘In Memory of the Community of Dvinsk’], (Haifa, [1975]) 63 pp. (H)
- Dawidogrodek:** *David-Horodoker memorial book*, tr. from Yiddish and part of the Hebrew original by Norman Herman (Oak Park, MI: Author, 1981) 129 pp. (E)
- Des:** *Des...*, *Bethlen*, *Magyarlapos*, *Retteg*, *Nagyilonda es környeke* [‘Des..., Bethlen, Magyarlapos, Retteg, Nagyilonda and Vicinity’], ed. Z. Singer (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Des, [197-]) 683 pp. (Hu)
- Dokszyce:** *Sefer yizkor Dokszyce-Parafianow* [‘Dokszyce-Parafianow Book’*], ed. D. Shtokfish (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Dokszyce-Parafianow in Israel, 1970) 350 pp. (H, Y)
- Dolhinov:** *Esh tamid-yizkor le-Dolhinow; sefer zikaron le-kehilat Dolhinow ve-ha-seviva* [‘Eternal Flame; Memorial Book for the Community of Dolhinow and its Vicinity’], eds Josef Chrast, Matityahu Bar-Razon (Tel Aviv: Society of Dolhinow Emigrants in Israel, [1984-5]) 718 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Dumbraveny:** *Haya haytah ayarah: monografiya tsiyurit al-ayarati Dumbroven she-be-Bessarabia* [‘Once There was a Village; A Descriptive Monograph on My Village of Dumbroven in Bessarabia’*], ed. H. Toren (Jerusalem: Adim, 1973) 198 pp. (H, Y)
- Dynow:** *Khurbn Dynov, Sonik, Dibetsk* [‘The Destruction of Dynow, Sanok, Dubiecko’], [by] David Moritz (New York, [1949-50]) 156 pp. (Y)
- Dzialoszyce:** *Sefer yizkor shel kehilat Dzialoszyce ve-ha-seviva* [‘Yizkor Book of the Jewish Community in Dzialoszyce and Surroundings’*], (Tel Aviv: Hamenora, 1973) 44, 423 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Eger:** *Yehudey Erlau* [‘The Jews of Eger’], eds Arthur Abraham Ehrenfeld-Elkay, Tibor Meir Klein-Z’ira (Jerusalem: Eger Commemorative Committee, 1975) 64, 36, 100 pp. (H, Hu)

- Gabin:** *Gombin; dos lebn un umkum fun a yidish shtetl in Poyln* ['Gombin; The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Town in Poland*'], eds Jack Zicklin *et al.* (New York: Gombin Society in America, 1969) 228, 162 pp. (Y, E)
- Gargzdai:** *Sefer Gorzd, (Lita); ayara be-hayeha u-be-bilyona* ['Gorzd Book; A Memorial to the Jewish Community of Gorzd*'], ed. Yitzhak Alperovitz (Tel Aviv: The Gorzd Society, 1980) 79, 417 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Gora Kalwaria:** *Megiles Ger* ['The Scroll of Ger'], ed. Gregorio Sapozikow (Buenos Aires: Ger Societies in Argentina, Israel and the United States, 1975) 512 pp. (Y)
- Gorlice:** *Sefer Gorlice; ha-kehila be-vinyana u-ve-hurbana* ['Gorlice Book; The Community at Rise and Fall*'], ed. M. Y. Bar-On. ([Israel: Association of Former Residents of Gorlice and Vicinity in Israel], 1962) 338 pp. (H, Y)
- Gura Humorului:** *Ayara be-drom Bukovina; koroteha shel kehila yehudit* ['Gura Humora; A Small Town in Southern Bukovina; The History of its Jewish Community*'], ed. Shraga Yeshurun (Jurgran) (Israel: Former Residents of Gura Humora in Israel, 1992) 386, 16, 15 pp. (H, G, Ro)
- Huedin:** *Zikhrontai me-Banfi-Hunyad; sefer zikaron li-yehudey Banfi-Hunyad* ['Igyemlekszem Huedin/Banffy-Hunyadra* – 'My Memories of Banffy-Hunyadi'], [by] Eliezer Laci Klepner (Tel Aviv: Author, 1990) 38, 19, [13], 100 pp. (H, Hu)
- Husiatyn:** *Kehilatiyim Husiatyn ve-Kopyczynce* ['Two Communities: Husiatyn and Kopyczynce*'], [by] Abraham Backer (Tel Aviv: Husiatyn Society, 1977) 286 pp. (H, Y)
- Indure:** *Amdur, mayn geboyryn-shtetl* ['Amdur, My Hometown'], [by] Iedidio Efron (Buenos Aires, 1973) 252, 33 pp. (Y, S)
- Jaroslaw:** *Sefer Jaroslaw* ['Jaroslav Book*'], ed. Yitzhak Alperovitz (Tel Aviv: Jaroslaw Society, 1978) 371, 28 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Jezierna:** *Sefer Jezierna* ['Memorial Book of Jezierna*'], ed. J. Sieglman (Haifa: Committee of Former Residents of Jezierna in Israel, 1971) 354 pp. (H, Y)
- Jozefow:** *Sefer zikaron le-kehillat Jozefow u-le-kedoshaha* ['Memorial Book to the Community of Jozefow and its Martyrs'], ed. Azriel Omer-Lemer (Tel Aviv: Jozefow Societies in Israel and the USA, 1975) 462 pp. (H, Y)

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- Kalisz:** *The Kalisz book*, ed. I. M. Lask (Tel Aviv: The Societes of Former Residents of Kalisz and the Vicinity in Israel and the USA, 1968) 327 pp. (E)
- Kamieniec-Podolski:** *Kamenetz-Podolsk: A Memorial to a Jewish Community Annihilated by the Nazis in 1941*, ed. Leon S. Blatman (New York, 1966) 142 pp. (E)
- Karpatalja:** *Sefer shefer harere kedem: golat Karpatorus-Marmarosh be-tifartah u-ve-hurbanah* ['Book of the Beauty of the Mountains of Yore; The Karpatorus-Marmarosh Diaspora in its Glory and Destruction'], [by] Shlomo Rosman (Brooklyn: Zichron Kedoshim, 1991) 528 pp. (H)
- Kedainiai:** *Keydan: sefer zikaron* ['Keidan Memorial Book'], ed. Josef Chrust (Tel Aviv: Keidan Societies in Israel, South America and the United States, 1977) 39, 313 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Khotin:** *Sefer kehilat Khotin (Bessarabia)* ['The Book of the Community of Khotin (Bessarabia)'], ed. Shlomo Shnitovitzer (Tel Aviv: Khotin (Bessarabia) Society, 1974) 333 pp. (Y)
- Kishniev:** *Yeshivat Kishniev* ['The Yeshiva in Kishniev'], (Tel Aviv: Association of the Students from Yeshiva in Kishniev, 1962) 191 pp. (H)
- Kisvarda:** *Sefer yizkor le-kehilat Kleinwardein ve-ha-seviva* ['Memorial Book of Kleinwardein and Vicinity'], (Tel Aviv: Kleinwardein Society, 1980) 79, 190 pp. (H, Hu, E)
- Klobucko:** *Sefer Klobutsk; mazkeret kavod le-kehila ha-kedosha she-hushmeda* ['The Book of Klobucko; Memorial of a Sacred Community Which was Destroyed'], (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Klobucko in Israel, 1960) 439 pp. (Y)
- Kolbuszowa:** *Pinkas Kolbishov (Kolbasov)* ['Kolbuszowa Memorial Book'], ed. I. M. Biderman (New York: United Kolbushover, 1971) 793, 88 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Kosice:** *Divrei yamei kehilat Kosice* ['The Story of the Jewish Community of Kosice*'], [by] Yehuda Shlanger (Hebrew section) and Artur Görög (Hungarian section), (Bene Brak, 1991) 378, 92 pp. (H, Hu)
- Krakow:** *Memorial journal in honor of Jews from Cracow perished 1939-45* (Jamaica, NY: New Cracow Friendship Society, 1967) 180 pp. (E)
- Krasnobrod:** *Krasnobrod, sefer zikaron* ['Krasnobrod; A Memorial to

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- the Jewish Community'*], ed. M. Kushnir (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Krasnobrod in Israel, 1956) 526 pp. (H, Y)
- Krynki:** *Krinik in khurbn; memuarn* ['Krinki en ruines'*], [by] Alex Sofer (Montevideo: Los Comites de Ayuda a los Residentes de krinki de Montevideo y Buenos Aires, 1948) 269, [27] pp. (Y)
- Kurow:** *Yisker-bukh Koriv; sefer yizkor, matsevet zikaron la-ayaratenu Koriv* ['Yizkor Book in Memoriam of our Hometown Kurow'*], ed. M. Grossman (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kurow in Israel, 1955) 1148 columns. (Y)
- Kurzeniec:** *Megilat Kurenits: ayarah be-hayeha u ve-mota* ['The Scroll of Kurzeniec; The Town Living and Dead'], ed. A. Meyerowitz (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kurzeniec in Israel and in the USA, 1956) 335 pp. (H)
- Kuty:** *Kitov iri; bnei Kuti mesaprim et sipur ha-ir* ['Kitov My Hometown; Survivors of Kitov Tell the History of Their Town'*], ed. Dr Hayim Zins (Tel Aviv, 1993) 286 pp. (H)
- Lachowicze:** *Lachowicze, sefer zikaron* ['Memorial Book of Lachowicze'], ed. J. Rubin (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Lachowicze, [1948-9]) 395 pp. (H, Y)
- Lancut:** *Lancut; hayeha ve-hurbana shel kehila yehudit* ['Lancut; The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Community'*], eds M. Waltzer, N. Kudish (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Lancut in Israel and USA, 1963) 465 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Lanowce:** *Lanovits, sefer zikaron le-kedoshei Lanovits she-nispu be-shoat ha-natsim* ['Lanowce; Memorial Book of the Martyrs of Lanowce who Perished in the Holocaust'], ed. H. Rabin (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Lanowce, 1970) 440 pp. (H, Y)
- Latvia:** *The Jews in Latvia*, eds M. Bobe *et al.* (Tel Aviv: Association of Latvian and Estonian Jews in Israel, 1971) 384 pp. (E)
- 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) 407 pp. (H, Y)
- Lithuania:** *Yahadut Lita* ['Lithuanian Jewry']*] vol. 4, ed. Leib Garfunkel (Tel Aviv, 1984). 512 pp. (H)
- Lodz:** *Yiddish Lodz; a yiskor bukh*, (Melbourne: Lodzer Center, 1974) 13, 243 pp. (Y, E)
- Lodz:** *Zikhroynes fun Lodzer getto* ['Memories of the Lodz Ghetto'], by Yankl Nirenberg (Buenos Aires, 1996) 118 pp. (Y)

- Lomazy:** *Sefer Lomaz; ayarah be-hayeha u-ve-khilonah* ['The Book of Lomazy; The Town in her Life and Downfall'], ed. Y. Alperovitz (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Lomazy in Israel, 1994) 266, 70 pp. (H, Y)
- Lomza:** *Lomzhe; ir oyfkum un untergang* ['Lomza; In the Memory of Jewish Community'*], ed. H. Sobotko (New York: American Committee for the Book of Lomza, 1957) 371 pp. (Y)
- Mad:** *Ha-kehillah ha-yehudit shel Mad, Hungaria* ['The Jewish Community of Maad, Hungary'*], ed. Arich Lewy (Jerusalem: Mad Commemorative Committee, 1974) 154, 31 pp. (H, E, Hu)
- Merkine:** *Meretsh, ayarah yehudit be- Lita* ['Merkine'*], ed. Uri Shefer (Tel Aviv: [Society of Meretsh Immigrants in Israel], 1988) 195 pp. (H)
- Miedzyrzec:** *Di yidn-shtot Mezritsh; fun ir breyshts biz erev der velt-milkhome* ['Historia de Mezritsch (Mezritsch Podlasie); su poblacion judia'*], [by] Meir Edelboim (Buenos Aires: Sociedad de Residentes de Mezritsch en la Argentina, 1957) 424 pp. (Y)
- Michow:** *Michov (Lubelski); sefer zikaron le-kedoshei Michow she-nispu be-shoat ha-natsim ba-shanim 1939-1942* ['Michov (Lubelski); Memorial Book to the Martyrs of Michow who Perished in the Nazi Holocaust, 1939-1942'], ed. Hayim Rabin ([Israel]: Former Residents of Michow, 1987) 343 pp. (H, Y)
- Mielec:** *Melitser Yidn* ['Mielec Jews'], [by] Shlomo Klagsbrun (Tel Aviv: Nay-Lebn, 1979) 288 pp. (Y)
- Mielnica:** *Melnitsah; pelek Vohlin, Ukraina; sefer hantsaha, edut ve-zikaron le-kehillat Melnitsah* ['Mielnica; Vohlyn District, Ukraine; Memorial Book for the Jewish Community'], ed. Yehoshua Lior (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Mielnica in Israel and the Diaspora, 1994) 276, 78 pp. (H, E)
- Mikulince:** *Mikulince: sefer yizkor* ['Mikulince Yizkor Book'*], ed. Haim Preshel ([Israel]: The Organization of Mikulincean Survivors in Israel and in the United States of America, 1985) 356, 266 pp. (H, E)
- Nagybanaya:** *Gal-'ed le-yahadut Nagy Banyá, Nagysomkut, Felsobanya, Kapolnok Monostor veba-sevivah* ['Emlek konyv Nagybanaya, Nagysomkut, Felsobanya, Kapolnok Monostor es korneye; zsidóságának tragédiajáról'* 'A Monument to the Jews of Nagybanaya, Nagysomkut, Felsobanya, Kapolnok Monostor and Vicinity'], ed. I. Kohen (Tel Aviv: Organization of Former Inhabitants of Baia-Mare (Nagybanaya) in Israel, 1996) 591 pp. (H, Hu, E)

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- Novoseltystia:** *Talkut ayarat ha-teomim, Novoselitsa: pirke zikhronot ve-hivui* ['Novoselitsa: An Historical Compilation on the Twin Towns'], [by] Y. Kapri (Israel, 1963) 140 pp. (H)
- Ostrog:** *Ven dos lebn hot geblit* ['Ostrog: When Life was Blooming'], [by] M. Grines (Buenos Aires, 1954) 471 pp. (Y)
- Ostrow Lubelski:** *Sefer yizkor Ostrow-Lubelski – Yisker bukh Ostrow-Lubelski* ['Memorial Book Ostrow-Lubelski*'], ed. David Shtokfish (Israel: Association of Former Residents of Ostrow-Lubelski in Israel, 1987) 422 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Otwock:** *Khurbn Otwock, Falenits, Kartshev* ['The destruction of Otvotsk, Falenits, Kartshev'], [by] B. Orenstein ([Bamberg]: Former Residents of Otvotsk, Falenits and Kartshev in the American Zone in Germany, 1948) 87 pp. (Y)
- Paks:** *Mazkeret Paks* ['Paks Memorial Book'], ed. David Sofer (Jerusalem, 1972–3) vol. 3 only; 172 pp. (H)
- Papa:** *Sefer zikaron Papa; le-zekher kedoshei ha-kehila ve-yishuvei ha-seviva* ['Memorial Book of Papa; In Memory of the Community's Martyrs and of the Surrounding Settlements'], [by] Jehuda-Gyula Lang (Israel: Papa Memorial Committee, [1972–]) 28, 188 pp. (H, Hu)
- Pinsk:** *Maftshot shemot ha-ishim ve-ha-yishuvim shel sifre Pinsk* ['Index to Names of People and Places in the Pinsk Books'], ed. Z. Rabinovitch (Haifa: Association of People from Pinsk-Karlin in Israel, 1982) 68 pp. (H)
- Pinsk:** *Studies in Pinsk Jewry*, by Wolf Zeev Rabinovitch (Haifa, 1983) 163 pp. (E)
- Plock:** *Plock; bletlekh geschikhte fun yidishn lebn in der alter heym* ['Plock; paginas de historia de la vida judia de Allende el Mar*'], ed. Yosef Horn (Buenos Aires: Sociedad de Residentes de Plock en la Argentina, 1945) 255 pp. (Y)
- Podwolzyska:** *Sefer Podwolzyska ve-ha-seviva* ['The Book of Podwolzyska and Environment; Podvolcisk Book*'], eds Z. Levinson, D. Brayer, A. Ahuviah (Haifa: Podwolzyska Community in Israel, 1988) 207 pp. (H; introd. E)
- Pokrzywnica:** *Sefer Pokshivnitsa* ['Memorial Book of Koprzywnica'], ed. E. Erlich (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Koprzywnica in Israel, 1971) 351 pp. (H, Y)
- Postyen:** *Gedenkbuch der Gemeinden Piastany, Vrbove, Myjava, Bre-*

- zova] und Umgebung*, [by] Sh. Grunwald (Jerusalem, 1969) III, [10] pp. (G)
- Proskurov:** *Khurbn Proskurov; tsum ondenken fun di beylige neshomes vos zaynen umgekumen in der shreklikher shkhite, vos iz ongefirft gevoren durkh di haydamakes* ['The Destruction of Proskurov; In Memory of the Sacred Souls Who Perished During the Terrible Slaughter Committed by the Haidamaks'], (New York, 1924) III pp. (Y, H)
- Pruzana:** *Pinkes fun der shtot Pruzhane* ['Memorial Book of Pruzana'], eds G. Urynski, M. Wolanski, N. Zuckerman (Pruzana: Wydawnictwo 'Pinkos', 1930) 326 pp. (Y)
- Przedecz:** *Sefer yizkor le-kedoshei ir Pshaytsh korbanot ha-shoa* ['Memorial Book to the Holocaust Victims of the City of Pshaytsh'], eds Moshe Bilavsky *et al.* (Tel Aviv: Przedecz Societies in Israel and the Diaspora, 1974) 400 pp. (H, Y)
- Radziwillow:** *Radziwillow; sefer zikaron* ['A Memorial to the Jewish Community of Radziwillow, Wolyn*'], ed. Y. Adini (Tel Aviv: The Radziwillow Organization in Israel, 1966) 438, [15] pp. (H, Y)
- Rafalovka:** *Ner tamid; le zekher ha-ayarot Rafalovkah ha-yashanah, Rafalovkah ha-hadasha, Olizarka, Zalutsk ve-ha-seviva* ['Perpetual Light; Memorial for the Towns of Old Rafalovka, New Rafalovka, Olizarka, Zoludzk and Vicinity'], eds Pinkas and Malka Hagin (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Rafalkovka, Olizarka and Zoludk in Israel, 1996) 530 pp. (H, Y)
- Rakospalota:** *Toldot kehilat Rakospalota* ['History of the Rakospalota Community'], [by] Rachel Aharoni (Tel Aviv, 1978) 52, 204 pp. (H, Hu)
- Ratno:** *Yisker-bukh Ratne; dos lebn un umkum fun a yidish shtetl in Volin* ['Memorial Book of Ratno; The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Town in Wolyn'], eds Y. Botoshansky, Y. Yanasovitch (Buenos Aires: Former Residents of Ratno in Argentina and the USA, 1954) 806 pp. (Y)
- Rohatyn:** *Kehilat Rohatyn ve-ha-sevivah* ['Rohatyn; The History of a Jewish Community*'], ed. M. Amihai (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Rohatyn in Israel, 1962) 362, [15], 62 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Rowne:** *Le-zekher Rowne* ['In Memory of Rowne'], ed. A. Gal (Israel: Beit-sefer Savyon, 1967) 54 pp. (H)
- Ryki:** *Tizker bukh tsum fareybikn dem ondenk fun der khorev-gevorener*

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- yidisher kehile Ryki* ['Ryki; A Memorial to the Community of Ryki, Poland'*], ed. Shimon Kanc (Tel Aviv: Ryki Societes in Israel, Canada, Los Angeles, France and Brazil, 1973) 611 pp. (H, Y)
- Rypin:** *Hantsahat kehilat Ripin-Polin* ['Memorial to the Jewish Community of Rypin, Poland'], (Bnei Brak, 1966) 64 pp. (H)
- Sahy:** *Ner tamid; le-zekher yahadut Ipolysag ve-ha-sevivah* ['Orokmeccses; Sahy – Ipolysag es kornyekc'* – 'Eternal Light; In Memory of the Jews of Ipolysag and Vicinity'], eds S. Asher, J. Gidron (Kfar Vradim, 1994) 358 pp. (H, Hu)
- Sarnaki:** *Sefer yizkor le-kehilat Sarnaki* ['Memorial Book of the Community of Sarnaki'], ed. D. Shuval (Haifa: Former Residents of Sarnaki in Israel, 1968) 415 pp. (H, Y)
- Satu Mare:** *Zekhor et satmar; sefer ha zikaron shel yehudei Satmar* ['Remember Satmar; The Memorial Book of the Jews of Satmar'], ed. Naftali Stern (Bnei Brak, 1984) 160, 240 pp. (H, Hu)
- Shumla** (Bulgaria): *Yehudei Bulgaria – Kehilat Shumla* ['The Jews of Bulgaria – The Community in Shumla'*], [by] Benjamin J. Arditti (Tel Aviv: Community Council, 1968) 179p. (H)
- Sokoly:** *Sefer zikaron le kedoshei Sokoly* ['Memorial Book of the Martyrs of Sokoly'], ed. M. Grossman (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Sokoly, 1962) 625 pp. (Y)
- Sokoly:** *Sokoly – be-ma'avak le-hayim* ['Sokoly – In a Struggle for Survival'], ed. Shmuel Klisher (Tel Aviv, Sokoly Society, 1975) 438 pp. (H)
- Stefanesti:** *Mi-Stefanesti le-erets-yisrael: sipurah shel ayarah* ['Din Stefanesti spre Eretz-Israel: saga unui orasel'*], [by] Idel Nachberg-Evron (Haifa: Author, 1989) 181 pp. (H)
- Stepan:** *Ayaratenu Stepan* ['The Stepan Story: Excerpts'*], ed. Yitzhak Ganuz (Tel Aviv: Stepan Society, 1977) 4, 364 pp. (H, E)
- Stoczek Wegrowski:** *Pinkes Stok (bay Vengrov); matsevet netsah* ['Memorial Book of Stok, near Wegrow; Eternal Memorial'], ed. I. Zudicker (Buenos Aires: Stok Societies in Israel, North America and Argentina, 1974) 654 pp. (H, Y)
- Stramtura:** *Agadot Strimtera; sipura shel kehila yehudit me-reshita ve-ad abrita* ['Tales of Strimtera; The Story of a Jewish Community from its Beginning to its End'], [by] Sh. Avni (Tel Aviv, Reshafim, [1985–6]) 270 pp. (H)
- Stryj:** *Haze'akah ha-ilemet, toldeot yehudei ha-ir Stryj, Galitsiyah ha-*

- mizrahit, Polin, be-et milkhemet ha-olam ha-shniyah* ['The Mute Cry; History of Jews of Stryj, Eastern Galicia, Poland, During the Second World War'], [by] Y. Nusenblat (Tel Aviv: Bamot le-sifrut u-le-omanut, 1988) 289 pp. (H)
- Suprasl:** *Hayim u mavet be-tsel ha-ya'ar: sipurah shel Suprasl ha-yehudit, ayarah be-mizrakh Polin* ['Life and Death in the Shadow of the Forest: The Story of Suprasl, a Shtetl in Eastern Poland']*], [by] Yaacov Patt ([Israel]: Committee of Former Supraslers, 1991) 182, 60 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Szamosujvar:** *Sefer zikaron shel kedoshei ayaratenu Szamosujvar-Iklad ve-ha-seviva...* ['Memorial Book of the Martyrs of Our Town Szamosujvar-Iklad and Surroundings'], eds M. Bar-On, B. Herzhkovits (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Szamosujvar-Iklad and Surroundings in Israel, 1971) 190, 90 pp. (H, Hu)
- Szczebrzeszyn:** *Sefer zikaron le-kehillat Shrebreshin* ['Book of Memory to the Jewish Community of Shrebreshin']*], ed. Dov Shuval (Haifa: Association of Former Inhabitants of Shrebreshin, 1984) 518 pp. (Y, H, E)
- Szczekociny:** *Pinkas Szczekociny* ['A Memorial to the Jewish Community of Szczekociny']*], ed. J. Schweizer (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Szczekociny in Israel, 1959) 276 pp. (H, Y)
- Szczuczyn:** *Hurban kehillat Szczuczyn* ['The Destruction of the Community of Szczuczyn'], (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Szczuczyn in Israel, 1954) 276 pp. (Y)
- Szumsk:** *Szumsk... sefer zikaron le-kedoshei Szumsk...* ['Szumsk... Memorial Book of the Martyrs of Szumsk...'], ed. H. Rabin (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Szumsk in Israel, 1968) 477 pp. (H, Y)
- Tarnobrzeg:** *Kehilat Tarnobrzeg-Dzikow (Galicia ha-ma'aravit)* ['The Community of Tarnobrzeg-Dzikow (Western Galicia)'], ed. Y. Y. Fleisher (Tel Aviv: Tarnobrzeg-Dzikow Society, 1973) 379 pp. (H, Y)
- Trembowla:** *Sefer yizkor le-kehillat Trembowla, Strusow ve-Janow ve-ha-seviva* ['Memorial Book for the Jewish Communities of Trembowla, Strusow, Janow and vicinity']*], (Bnei Brak: Trembowla Society, [1981?]) 379 pp. (H, E)
- Tykocin:** *Sefer Tiktin* ['Memorial Book of Tiktin'], eds M. Bar-Yuda, Z. Ben-Nahum (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Tiktin in Israel, 1959) 606 pp. (H)

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- Ukraine:** *Yidn in Ukraine* ['Jews in the Ukraine'*], vol. 2, eds M. Osherowitch, J. Lestschinsky *et al.* (New York: Association for the Commemoration of the Ukrainian Jews, 1961-7) 145 pp. (Y)
- Ungvar:** *Shoat Yehudey rusiah ha-karpatit – Uzhorod* ['The Holocaust in Carpatho-Ruthenia – Uzhorod'], [by] Dov Dinur (Jerusalem: Section for the Holocaust Research, Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; World Union of Carpatho-Ruthenian Jews; and Hebrew Schools, [1983]) 6, 123, 15 pp. (H)
- Ungvar:** *Ungvar*, by Y. Spiegel (Tel Aviv: Author, 1993) 278, 48 pp. (H)
- Vilna:** *Bleter vegn Vilne, zamlbukh* ['Pages about Vilna; A Compilation'], eds L. Ran, L. Koriski (Lodz: Association of Jews from Vilna in Poland, 1947) 77 pp. (Y)
- Vilna:** *Vilner almanakh* ['Vilna Almanac*'], ed. A. I. Grodzenski (Published in 1939 by 'Ovnt Kurier'; reprinted ed. Isaac Kowalski (Brooklyn, NY, 1992) 367, 46, 25 pp. (Y, E)
- Warka:** *Vurke; yizker bukh* ['Vurka; Memorial Book'], (Tel Aviv: Vurka Societies in Israel, France, Argentina, England and the United States, 1976) 407 pp. (H, Y)
- Wieliczka:** *Kehilat Wieliczka; sefer zikaron* ['The Jewish Community of Wieliczka; A Memorial Book*'], ed. Shmuel Meiri (Tel Aviv: The Wieliczka Association in Israel, 1980) 160, [9], 93 pp. (H, Y, E, P)
- Wielun:** *Sefer zikaron le-kehillat Wielun* ['Wielun Memorial Book*'], (Tel Aviv: Wielun Organization in Israel and the Memorial Book Committee in USA, 1971) 534, 24 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Wierzbnik:** *Sefer Wierzbnik-Starachowice* ['Wierzbnik-Starachowitz; A Memorial Book*'], ed. Mark Schutzman (Tel Aviv: Wierzbnik-Starachowitz Societies in Israel and the Diaspora, 1973) 29, 399, 100, 83 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Wolkowysk:** *Hurban Wolkowysk be-milhemet ha-olam ha-sheniya 1939-1945* ['The Destruction of Wolkowysk During the Second World War 1939-1945'], (Tel Aviv: Committee of the Former Residents of Wolkowysk in Eretz-Israel, 1946) 96 pp. (H)
- Wolkowysk:** *Le-zekher kehillat Volkowisk* ['In Memory of the Wolkowysk Jewish Community'], (Haifa, Jerusalem, 1993) 50 pp. (H)
- Wolkowysk:** *The Volkowysk Memorial Book*. Translated by Jacob S. Berger (Mahwah, NJ, 2002) 744 pp. (E)

- Wyszogrod:** *Wyszogrod; sefer zikaron* ['Vishogrod; Dedicated to the Memory of the Vishogrod Martyrs who Died by the Hands of the Nazis and their Henchmen, 1939-45'*], ed. H. Rabin ([Tel Aviv]: Former Residents of Vishogrod in Israel and the United States, [1971]) 316, 48 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Yugoslavia:** *Toldot yehudei Yugoslavia; kerekh rishon - me-yamei kodem ad sof ha-mea 19* ['A History of Yugoslav Jews (I) from Ancient Times to the End of the 19th Century'*], by Yakir Eventov, ed. Cvi Rotem (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Yugoslavia, 1971) 432 pp. (H, E, S-H)
- Yustingrad:** *Sokolievka/Justingrad; a century of struggle and suffering in a Ukrainian shtetl, as recounted by survivors to its scattered descendants*, eds Leo Miller, Diana Miller (New York: A Logvin Book, Loewenthal Press, 1983) 202 pp. (E, H, Y)
- Zablotow:** *Ir u-metim; Zablotow ha-mele'a ve-ha-hareva* ['A City and the Dead; Zablotow Alive and Destroyed'], (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Zablotow in Israel and the USA, 1949) 218 pp. (H, Y)
- Zabludow:** *Zabludow; dapim mi-tokh 'yisker-bukh'* ['Zabludow; Pages from Yizkor Book'*], eds N. Shavli-Shimush *et al.* (Israel: Former Residents of Zabludow in Israel, [1987]) 170 pp. (H)
- Zamosc:** *The Zamosc Memorial Book. A Memorial Book of a Center of Jewish Life Destroyed by the Nazis*, ed. Mordechai V. Bernstein; tr. Jacob Solomon Berger (Mahwah, NJ, 2004) 803 pp. (E)
- Zbaraz:** *Sefer Zbaraz* ['Zbaraz; The Zbaraz Memorial Book'*], ed. Moshe Sommerstein (Tel Aviv: The Organization of Former Zbaraz Residents, 1983) 45, 128 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Zelechow:** *Yizker bukh fun der Zhelekhover yidisher kehile* ['Memorial Book of the Jewish Community of Zelechow'], ed. W. Yassni (Chicago: Former Residents of Zelechow in Chicago, 1953) 398 pp. (Y)
- Zelva:** *Zelva Memorial Book*, ed. Yerachmiel Moorstein; tr. Jacob Berger (Mahwah, NJ, 1992) 141 pp. (E)
- Zelwa:** *Sefer zikaron Zelwa* ['Zelwa Memorial Book'], ed. Yerachmiel Moorstein (Israel, 1984) 210 pp. (H)
- Zemplenmegye:** *Mah tovu Ujhelekha Yaakov; korot yehudei mehoz Zemplen* ['Vanished Communities in Hungary; The History and Tragic Fate of the Jews in Ujhely and Zemplen County'*], by Meir Sas [Szasz]; translated from Hebrew by Carl Alpert (Toronto:

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- Memorial Book Committe, 1986) 141, [56], 170, 214 pp. (H, Hu, E)
- Zinkov:** *Pinkas Zinkov* ['Zinkover Memorial Book'*], (Tel Aviv, New York: Joint Committee of Zinkover Landsleit in the United States and Israel, 1966) 239, 16 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Zloczew:** *Sefer Zloczew* ['Book of Zloczew'], (Tel Aviv: Committee of the Association of Former Residents of Zloczew, [1971]) 432, [21] pp. (H, Y)
- Zloczow:** *Sefer kehilat Zloczow* ['The City of Zloczow'*], ed. Baruch Karu (Krupnik) (Tel Aviv: Zloczow Society, 1967) 540, 208 pp. (H, E)
- Zofiowka:** *Ha-ilan ve-shoreshav; sefer korot T[rohnbrod] L[ozisht] Zofiowka-Ignatowka* ['The Tree and the Roots; The History of T[ruchenbrod] L[ozisht] (Sofyovka and Ignatovka)*'], eds Y. Vainer *et al.* (Givataim: Beit Tal, 1988) 572, xxxv pp. (H, Y, E)
- Zoludek:** *Sefer Zoludek ve-Orlova; galed le-zikaron* ['The Book of Zoludek and Orlova; A Living Memorial'*], ed. A. Meyerowitz (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Zoludek in Israel and the USA, [196-]) 329, 5 pp. (H, Y, E)
- Zoludzk:** *Ner tamid le-zekher kehilat Zoludzk* ['Eternal Flame in Memory of the Community of Zoludzk'], ed. A. Avinadav (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Zoludzk in Israel, 1970) 185, 3 pp. (H, Y)
- Zwolen:** *Zvoliner yisker-bukh* ['Zwolen Memorial Book'], ed. Berl Kahan (New York: Zwolen Society, 1982) 564, 112 pp. (Y, E)
- Zyrardow:** *Pinkes Zyrardov, amshinov un Viskit* ['Memorial Book of Zyrardow, Amshinov and Viskit'], ed. M. Bernstein (Buenos Aires: Association of Former Residents in the USA, Israel, France and Argentina, 1961) 699 pp. (Y)

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- Banner, Gillian, *Holocaust Literature. Schulz, Levi, Spiegelman and the Memory of the Offence* (London, Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2000)
- Browning, Christopher R., *The Origins of the Final Solution. The Evo-*

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- lution of the Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939–March 1942* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press; Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004)
- Fink, Carole, *Defending the Rights of Others. The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878–1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Friedman, Saul S., *A History of the Holocaust* (London, Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2004)
- Gilbert, Shirli, *Music in the Holocaust. Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005)
- Yones, Eliyahu, *Smoke in the Sand. The Jews of Lvov in the War Years 1939–1945* (Jerusalem, New York: Gefen Publishing House, 2004)