REPORT OF THE OXFORD CENTRE FOR HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

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2005–2006

A RECOGNIZED
INDEPENDENT CENTRE OF
OXFORD UNIVERSITY

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HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

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Preface

As recorded in the covering letter enclosed with last year's *Report*, our Founder President David Patterson passed away on 10 December 2005 at the age of eighty-three. The Centre's first Patrons' Dinner, held at the Drapers' Hall in London on 4 May 2006, was in large measure a ceremonial tribute to David, with Mark Thompson (Director General of the BBC) and actor-cum-author Stephen Fry as principal speakers. In a more domestic perspective José, her children and other members of the Patterson family arranged an Oxford memorial occasion at St Cross College on 18 June.

David was justly proud in the last months of his life of the impending enhancement of the Centre's status to that of Recognized Independent Centre of the University. My own remarks at the Patrons' Dinner were concerned with the significance and historical context of this new title, and are reproduced below on pages 44–7.

Plate 1 Mark Thomson, Stephen Fry, José Patterson and Stanley Fink at the Patrons' Dinner, Drapers Hall, London.

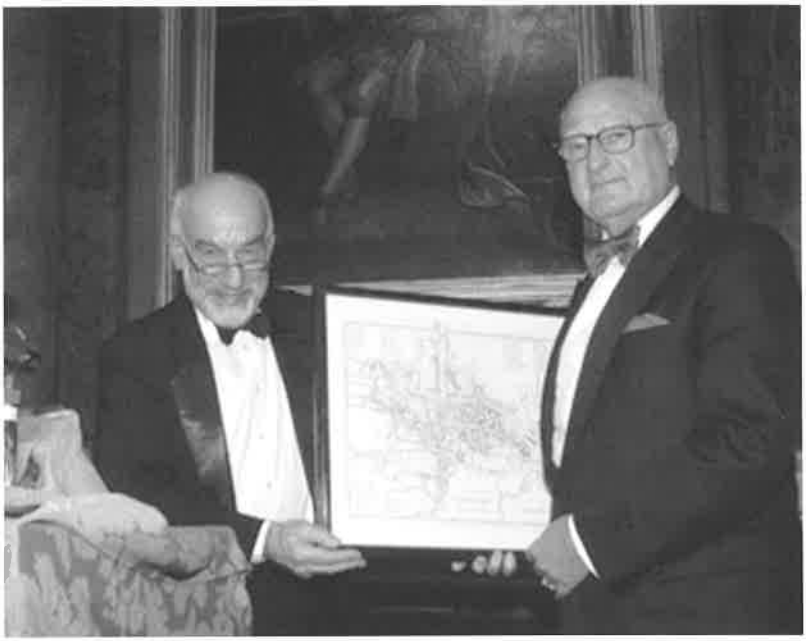

Plate 2 The President, Peter Oppenheimer, making a presentation to the former Chairman of the Board of Governors, Sir Richard Greenbury, at the Patrons' Dinner, Drapers Hall, London.

It was also appropriate that our Chairman of Governors, Stanley Fink, was able to announce at the Patrons' Dinner that David's son Dan had agreed to become a member of the Board. Dan's celebrated talents and his network as TV and radio producer are a most promising acquisition for the Centre's governance. No less welcome as recruits to the Board are Daniel Peltz, businessman (currently chief executive of London Freeholds PLC), novelist and philanthropist; and the Right Hon. Sir Bernard Rix, Lord Justice of Appeal since 2000, Treasurer of the Inner Temple in 2005 and (by no means least) a director of the London Philharmonic Orchestra since 1986.

At the same time, the Centre expresses its deep gratitude to David Hyman, who has retired from the Board after many years of consistent support both material and moral. He has been made a Governor Emeritus.

* * *

Under its regular 'Recognition of Distinction' exercise the University awarded Dr Glenda Abramson the title of Professor and Dr Joanna Weinberg that of Reader, both in Hebrew and Jewish Studies. Our most hearty congratulations go to each of them. We bask in their reflected accolades.

Professor Abramson elected to retire at the end of the academic year 2005-6 (twelve months ahead of the expiry of her 2004 re-appointment), while remaining very much active as editor of the *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*. She has been the Centre's longest-established Fellow, and her Emeritus title is richly deserved. In her place as Fellow in Modern Hebrew Literature we welcome Dr Jordan Finkin, who has joined us from the University of California at Berkeley.

Likewise departing slightly ahead of schedule is Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi, our (five-year) Research Fellow in Israel Studies. He leaves us for Brussels, to head The Transatlantic Institute, the newly established European research institute of the American Jewish Committee. Warmest thanks are due to Emanuele for a generous parting gift, to enable the Centre to launch a cassette and DVD library of Israeli and other Jewish films. He also intends to continue to organize for the Centre occasional Isaiah Berlin Lectures on Middle East Dialogue. We hope shortly to announce arrangements for appointing his successor in Israel Studies.

Madhavi Nevader has concluded her three-year tenure as Junior Research Fellow and Kennicott Fellow. Happily she remains with us for a further period as a teaching lecturer for the MSt.

By the time this *Report* appears we expect to have appointed a new Junior Research Fellow in West European Jewish History. This has been made possible by the generosity of Mr Alfred Lehmann of Geneva. Special thanks are due to him, and at the same time to our colleague Dr Joanna Weinberg for representing so effectively to Mr Lehmann the Centre's achievements and aspirations. Full details in next year's *Report*.

Also due in that *Report* will be news of the first appointees to Kennedy-Leigh Fellowships for Visiting Academics and Writers from Israel. The Kennedy-Leigh Charitable Trust has awarded the Centre an initial three-year grant for this purpose, which is very greatly

appreciated. In the meantime we congratulate our lector in Modern Hebrew, Tali Argov, on receiving the Yehoshua Rabinowitch award of the Tel Aviv Foundation for the Arts for her forthcoming book (based on her doctoral dissertation), *Studies in Yair Hurvitz's Poetics.*

* * *

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library goes from strength to strength; and the reconstruction of Phase I of the Manor Farm (formerly Mead Farm) buildings at the cul-de-sac end of Church Lane was completed on schedule, and on budget, in April 2006. The two statements are linked, because one of the new buildings at Manor Farm is the Library Annex, which now houses the Coppenhagen Collection on European (mainly Netherlands) Jewish History, whose arrival was announced in last year's *Report.*

The other completed Manor Farm building contains accommodation in the form of two 2-bedroom apartments for academic visitors or for letting. Additional residential and other accommodation will be made available through Phase II of the Manor Farm scheme, which is being initiated as this *Report* goes to press. These various transformations and extensions have been largely facilitated by the sale of the Exeter Farm property on the Cassington Road, both the main house and the outbuildings. In this connection the office of the *Journal of Jewish Studies* has moved into the main library building adjoining Yarnton Manor.

Other library developments are detailed on pages 88–93 below. The death of Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs on 1 July 2006 brought a note of sadness to the Centre's acquisition of his books only a few months earlier. It is intended to establish distinguished lectures in his name, in cooperation with the New London Synagogue.

The Centre's holdings of material relating to Sir Moses Montefiore were enriched by the deposition of the Arthur Sebag-Montefiore Archive, containing first and foremost a large volume of correspondence addressed to Sir Moses from many parts of the world. The extensive papers of Rabbi Hugo Gryn – as distinct from his book collection – are now also catalogued and available online. These and other materials have further enhanced the library's potential as a resource for academic research at all levels – doctoral, post-doctoral and beyond.

* * *

The Centre's custodianship of the Hugo Gryn library and archive was celebrated on 25 June 2006, which would have been Hugo's seventy-sixth birthday. A gathering of his family and friends were treated to a characteristically erudite and moving lecture by Rabbi Jonathan Wittenberg on 'Refugee Rabbis and their Contribution to Progressive Judaism in Twentieth-century Britain'.

Other special events during the year (see pages 51–9 below) included no fewer than three Isaiah Berlin lectures (by Steven Simon, Professor Ruth Gavison and Ambassador Dennis Ross respectively), a Stencl lecture on the poetry of Kadia Molodowsky by Dr Heather Valencia and a seminar on Isaac Casaubon and his Judaic library given by Professor Anthony Grafton together with Dr Joanna Weinberg. From mid-July to mid-August the Centre's premises were packed to the rafters by participants in the Summer Institute (on 'Representation of the "Other": Jews in Medieval Christendom') organized once again by Professor Irven Resnick of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. 'Irv' and his acolytes are like a whole cloud of swallows: they really make our summer, and this year they had weather to match.

October 2006

PETER OPPENHEIMER
President

Rome and Jerusalem

MARTIN GOODMAN

Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilizations, to be published by Penguin Books in January 2007, completes a research project, begun in 1999, to contrast the culture of the Jews in the first century CE with the culture of contemporary Rome, in order to investigate why Jews became marginalized in the Roman world. The Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed in 70 CE and over the ensuing centuries no Roman emperor allowed it to be rebuilt. Why?

By the first century CE the whole Mediterranean world was under Roman rule, united by subservience to the emperor, who controlled his subjects through a cult of personality, the cooption of leading provincials into the administration of the empire, and the threat of extreme violence by means of a huge standing army against any who thwarted his will. Travellers from one end of the Roman world to the other, from Spain to Syria, could feel at home in cities constructed with similar architectural methods and styles. Interregional trade was encouraged by an extensive and secure road system and the use of a common currency. Roman liberality with grants of citizenship to provincials allowed more and more of the subjects of the emperor to think of themselves as Roman, wherever their place of birth.

But beneath the veneer of unity considerable variety characterized the Roman world. Many peoples under Roman rule – Celts, Greeks, Egyptians, Africans – chose to maintain their native identities alongside the dominant culture. Cultural heterogeneity was tolerated by Rome so long as it did not impinge on the power of the state. Indeed, some non-Roman cultures attracted Roman admiration either (as in the case of classical Greece) because they were viewed as particularly civilized or because, like the Germans, they were seen as free barbarians untainted by the vices of Roman luxury. Few of these provincial societies can be easily studied today, since few of them produced literatures which survive from antiquity, but in Egypt the chance preservation of numerous papyri in the dry sand permits insight into the continuation of a robust local culture, and a similar pattern can be deduced elsewhere from

archaeological evidence. It is clear that the Roman state had no interest in obstructing provincials in continuing to live as they had for generations. Why, then, were Jews treated so differently?

In retrospect, after the Temple had been destroyed in 70 CE, it came to seem to both Jews and Romans that a clash between their civilizations was inevitable. But it was not so earlier in the first century, despite the many differences between the two peoples. To generalize about 'the' Roman or Jewish attitude on any subject is a process fraught with the danger of misleading simplification, and much of my research project has involved distilling from the varied literatures produced by both cultures the essential elements that distinguished one from the other. The task has been complicated by the fact that a Jew could become a Roman citizen (as did the apostle Paul, the historian Josephus, and all Jews living in the Roman empire after 212 CE) and that a gentile Roman citizen could convert to Judaism. But that the atmosphere, expectations and cultural horizons of the mass of the inhabitants of the city of Rome in the first century differed from those of the residents of Jerusalem is clear, and contrasting the cities has proved illuminating.

Rome was a huge, crowded metropolis built on the proceeds of imperial conquest, with magnificent public spaces and the walled-off houses of the rich neighbouring squalid, crowded tenement blocks populated by immigrants from all over the empire, descendants of slaves or economic migrants lured by the hope of employment or patronage. Jerusalem, on the other hand, had developed entirely as a centre of religious pilgrimage, the tourists attracted to the Temple three times a year at the great festivals augmenting the (quite small) resident population into millions.

Much in Rome derived from the military origins of the city's prestige: Roman children grew up to celebrate the victories of the past; the future for which they hoped was the eternal rule of the city over her dominions; the luxurious and sometimes libertarian lifestyle of the very rich, funded ultimately by the fruits of conquest, was lamented by moralists as a softening of the martial spirit which had made Rome great. By contrast, in Jerusalem the Temple, as the only major public space in the city, rebuilt in magnificent style by Herod the Great using the latest Roman techniques, dominated the lives of all the inhabitants. The past was the history of relations between God and Israel, and the future would end in the triumph of both (although no-one knew quite

when, or what the final days would be like). Almost everyone in Jerusalem was a Jew of one kind or another, and all could agree that God wished them to live according to the covenant agreed on Mount Sinai and enshrined, wholly or in part, in the Pentateuch – although precisely what behaviour this required in practice was less agreed: Judaism was more varied, and Jews were more tolerant of variety, in this period than in any other until the Enlightenment.

Roman casual acceptance of nudity and recreational sex and (not quite so tolerantly when it involved Roman citizens) male homosexuality was shocking to Jews. Romans were puzzled by Jewish devotion to arcane religious customs such as observance of Sabbath rest even when it put them in military danger – it was notorious that Pompey the Great captured Jerusalem in 63 BCE by erecting siege towers on a Saturday without encountering any opposition from the besieged, who would fight only when directly attacked.

A Jew who visited Rome might be both awe-struck and horrified at the size and exuberance of the capital, but he could take refuge with more kindred spirits in the quite sizeable Jewish community which lived peacefully within the city. A Roman in Jerusalem, most likely arriving as a soldier or official of the state, might feel himself an outsider among enthusiasts for a religion to which he did not subscribe, but the basic elements of the Temple cult – the sacrifices, incense, libations, and purity regulations – would be familiar enough from similar sanctuaries throughout the Roman world. The Jerusalem Temple was exceptional only in its size: since Jews, unlike pagans, worshipped only in the one place, the resources which for the worship of other divinities were dispersed across many sanctuaries, in this case were concentrated in the one place.

Nothing in this comparison seems to explain the hostility of Romans to Jews after 70 CE. Roman writers before the Temple was destroyed expressed amusement and amazement at Jewish customs, but rarely hostility. Jews were no odder than other strange peoples now incorporated in the Roman world. When Josephus tried to explain the outbreak of revolt in Jerusalem in 66 CE he enumerated all the incidents of unrest he could muster from the previous sixty years; but, apart from the mass strike occasioned in 40 CE by the plan of the emperor Caligula to install a statue of himself in the Temple, the Judaean population posed no threat to the Roman state, as is clear from the junior governors and

minimal garrison sent to control the province. In light of Roman policy elsewhere it is particularly remarkable that the huge pilgrimage crowds were permitted to congregate in the city despite the obvious risk that any political conflagration would be hard to dampen (as, indeed, proved to be the case in 66 CE). The Judaean governor relied on a few cohorts. By contrast, the volatile population of Alexandria in Egypt was controlled by two legions stationed permanently just outside the city.

The rebellion which broke out in Jerusalem in spring 66 CE was less the product of long-suppressed antagonism than the result of a series of small incidents which escalated into full-scale war through the political incompetence of Gessius Florus, the governor of Judaea, and the military incompetence of Cestius Gallus, the much more senior governor of Syria who marched south from Antioch with his legions to restore order. Gallus advanced rapidly to Jerusalem, conquering the suburbs with little difficulty and spreading terror in the fashion expected in Roman suppression of unrest, but he miscalculated both the point when his demonstration of power was sufficient and the manner of his withdrawal from the city. Not all the Jews had been cowed into submission. As Gallus marched his troops through the Judaean hills to return to Syria, an ambush by some of the insurgents inflicted damage on his rearguard greater than had ever previously been suffered by a Roman force in a pacified province. The defeat left the Roman state with no choice but retaliation to preserve a reputation for invincibility and to ensure that no other subjects of the emperor would imagine that they could humiliate the imperial army with impunity.

These war aims in 66 CE were not markedly different from those of Rome in the suppression of the numerous revolts which erupted sporadically in other parts of the empire in the first two centuries CE. The outcome, however, of the Judaean uprising was not the reimposition of order but the destruction both of Jerusalem and of the Temple around which revolved the religion of the Jews. There is no reason to suppose that such devastation was originally intended by the Roman state, for the emperors valued highly the offering of sacrifices for their welfare by the Jerusalem priests. The demise of the Temple was not part of Roman policy, but an unintended consequence of political change within the wider empire.

The Judaean campaign progressed slowly in the first two years. The emperor Nero had concerns about potential rivals for power. So

Vespasian, the general appointed to the command in Judaea, was quite old and not an impressive military figure – Nero not wishing to hand over so large a force of troops to a potential rival. But the threat to the emperor was to come from elsewhere. In June 68 CE uprisings by Roman governors in the western provinces of the empire prompted Nero to contrive his own death. Over the following year four senators made bids for supreme power. The first three were each briefly successful, but the last, and the ultimate victor, was Vespasian, commander of the Roman forces in Judaea.

Vespasian could boast no aristocratic credentials or great achievements to justify his seizure of power, which his forces won through crude military might; but victory in civil strife was no matter for celebration in Roman society, which deplored the shedding of Roman blood. By early 70 CE the new emperor urgently needed the prestige of a victory over a foreign enemy. The Judaean campaign, by now under the command of Vespasian's son Titus, was dramatically intensified. The walls of Jerusalem came under direct assault for the first time in four years. Titus needed quick results: his father wished to enter Rome as conqueror of the Jews.

Josephus, who was present on the Roman side and wrote for Roman readers, stated explicitly that the destruction of the Temple was an accidental by-product of the chaos of the siege. Even after a soldier threw a burning brand into the inner court and the porticoes were alight, Titus still endeavoured to have the flames extinguished. But once the building was in ruins, it was impossible for the new regime to voice public regret. The destruction had to be portrayed as wholly beneficial to the Roman state. It was duly celebrated in triumphal procession through the streets of Rome in 71 CE and, in due course, permanently commemorated on the Arch of Titus.

Historians have come to see the destruction of the Temple as a watershed in the development of Judaism, but only with hindsight. Jews had lost a Temple before, and it had been rebuilt. They continued to hope for its early restoration at least until the third century and perhaps into the fourth century and beyond. Other temples which burned down by accident elsewhere in the Roman world were rebuilt. Why not also in Jerusalem? Why, instead, were Jews compelled to pay a special tax to the Roman state for the building of a temple not to their God but to Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome?

From 70 to 96 CE, during the rule of Vespasian and his sons Titus and Domitian, the image of the regime as responsible for the defeat of the Jews was central in the self-portrayal of the regime in Rome. Yet when Domitian was murdered on 18 September 96 CE, Jews may well have hoped that their special status as enemies of Rome would be forgotten. Coins issued by the new emperor Nerva advertised widely in the city of Rome the 'removal of the calumny', of the special tax imposed on the Jews. But the respite was brief. Nerva was elderly, and his supporters, concerned to avoid the danger of civil war on his deaths, persuaded him to adopt a younger man as his son. He chose Marcus Ulpius Traianus, the future emperor Trajan. It was chance that Trajan's father, the first to bring his family into prominence, had begun his distinguished military career as commander of one of the legions which had fought under Vespasian in the Judaean campaign. Collection of the demeaning tax imposed on Jews for reparation after the war which had ended twenty-seven years before continued. Hopes that the Jerusalem Temple would be rebuilt were dashed.

In 115 CE at the very end of Trajan's reign, Jewish frustration boiled over in a great uprising in Egypt, Cyprus and Cyrenaica. Its bloody suppression coincided with the troubled accession of a new emperor Aelius Hadrianus, who in 130 CE imposed a final solution to the Jewish problem. Hadrian had a tidy mind. Jerusalem was to cease to be a Jewish city. On its site was built a miniature Rome: Aelia Capitolina was a Roman colony settled by an immigrant population, named after both the emperor and the presiding deity of the capital city, Jupiter Capitolinus, the god for whose temple in Rome the Jewish tax was levied. The emblem of the veteran legionaries settled in the new colony was a wild boar, the animal which (as Romans well knew) Jews most detested. The reaction in Judaea was a fierce uprising in 132 CE, the Bar Kochba war, which inflicted heavy losses on Roman forces until its inevitable suppression in 135 CE. Jews were forbidden to live in Jerusalem and the name of the province was changed from Judaea to Syria Palaestina.

From this time Jews were marginal within the Roman state. Many still lived in the land of Israel, in regions away from Jerusalem, but they were no longer treated as a people with a homeland and the right to partial self-government such as they had experienced before 70 CE. The possibility that the Temple might be restored seems not even to have been considered, although Jews continued to hope and pray for it: a

large proportion of the Mishnah, redacted in *c.* 200 CE, deals with the minutiae of the cult. Such hopes were not impractical. A new Temple might not be as impressive as the astonishing edifice built by Herod, but for some of the priests to clear the rubble from part of the Temple site and erect an altar and the few other buildings required for restarting the sacrifices would not be a major project if permission could be obtained from Rome. It was not.

The most long-lasting effect of the hostility shown to Jews and Judaism by the Roman state after 135 CE was the reaction of gentile Christians. The precise date to be given to the parting of the ways between Judaism and the Christian movement, which began among Galilean Jews in Jerusalem in the first half of the first century CE, depends, as in any such separation, on the perspective taken. It was important for gentile Christians, subjected to occasional persecution for failing to worship the gods revered by the rest of the pagan society in which they lived, to proclaim their loyalty to Rome as they sought to win new converts. This is evident from the extensive corpus of Christian apologetic literature intended for precisely this purpose. After 135 CE it was helpful for Christians to distance themselves from the defeated and despised Jews. Eager to claim the heritage of antiquity enshrined in the Old Testament, Christians called themselves not Jews but the True Israel, adopting the name that the Jews themselves had used for their independent state in 66-70 and 132-135 CE precisely because it was never used by the Roman state and was (it appears) unknown as a designation of the Jewish nation to pagan Romans. When Eusebius wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* in the early fourth century, he could assume that his Christian readers would recognize the history of Israel as that of the Church, to be clearly distinguished from the miserable history of the despised Jews whose sufferings were a punishment for the rejection of Christ.

Despite the growth of the Church in the third century, the conversion of the emperor Constantine to worship of Christ in 312 CE, in the time when Eusebius was writing, was a shock to contemporaries. Constantine's dedication to his divine patron was strong, and the impact of his commitment in course of time revolutionized the culture of Rome. The Christianity he adopted had evolved far from its Jewish roots over the three centuries since Jesus; but some of the attitudes which had distinguished Jerusalem from Rome in the first century remained, such as

the high value placed on charity for its own sake, opposition to infanticide, and a certain prudishness about public display of sexuality. Constantine did not think of his new religion as anything to do with Jews. On the contrary, his legislation about Jews was often quite violent. But the city Constantine founded on the site of Byzantium as a new Christian capital named Constantinople in his honour housed a mausoleum where his body was to lie after 337 CE alongside images of the twelve Jewish peasants and fishermen who had been the apostles of Jesus. In due course the new capital was to be known not only as another Rome but as a new Jerusalem, while the centre of the Roman Aelia Capitolina was transformed by the dedication, on the site of the temple of Venus, of a great new shrine to mark the holy sepulchre of Jesus.

How did Jews in Rome and in Jerusalem react to these momentous changes? The rabbinic tradition and archaeological remains reveal little. In 312 CE Constantine had endorsed not the establishment of Christianity as the state religion (that would come later in the century, under Theodosius), but an edict of toleration of all beliefs. Perhaps Jews hoped that they too might compete with pagans and Christians in a free marketplace of religious ideas. If so, their optimism was mistaken. Christian leaders and emperors were prepared to allow Jews to continue to practise their ancestral customs only so long as they did so in a state of subjection, as what Augustine called at the end of the fourth century CE 'witnesses of the truth', that rejection of Christ brought misery. Augustine's contemporary Jerome described from his monastery in Bethlehem the laments of the Jews at the Western Wall on the 9th Ab:

> Right up to the present day the treacherous inhabitants, having killed the servants and finally the Son of God, are prohibited to enter Jerusalem except to lament, and they pay a price to be allowed to weep over the ruin of their state. Thus those who once bought the blood of Christ buy now their own fears, and not even their grief is free. On the day when Jerusalem was captured and destroyed by the Romans you may see a mournful populace arrive, a confluence of decrepit females and old men 'covered with rags and years', demonstrating in their bodies and their condition the wrath of the Lord. The congregation is a crowd of wretches, but as the yoke of the Lord glitters, and His resurrection shines, and from the Mount of Olives the standard of His cross gleams, the populace keening over the ruins of their Temple is pitiable, yet not suitable to be pitied. So you have tears streaming down cheeks and arms blue from bruises and hair in disarray, and a soldier demands a fee for

> allowing them to weep more. And would anyone, when he saw these things, be in doubt about the day of tribulation and straitness...?

What had caused all this misery? There was nothing inevitable about the alienation of Jews within Roman society after 70 CE. Only the political expediency of a series of emperors from Vespasian to Hadrian created in Roman society an image of Jews as intrinsically hostile to Romans values. As Tacitus put it early in the second century, 'the Jews regard as profane all that we hold sacred; on the other hand, they permit all that we abhor'. Such hostility was to infect attitudes to Jews for many more centuries than could have been envisaged at the start, becoming one of the causes of the Christian anti-Semitism that was to haunt Jews throughout European history to the Enlightenment and beyond.

*Jewish Identity in the Far East: The Cases of Singapore and Manila**

JONATHAN GOLDSTEIN

This comparative study of Jewish communal life and development in two Southeast Asian cities, Singapore and Manila, examines intellectual and institutional development in general and the evolution of Zionism in particular. Zionism can be defined as the movement of Jews and non-Jews which, from the nineteenth century, called for a return of Jews to the land from which they were exiled by the Romans in 70 CE. It was and is both a movement of individuals and a political trend within governments and international organizations. The United Nations November 1947 partition resolution which led to the creation of a Jewish state in the British-mandated territory of Palestine can itself be considered 'Zionistic'.

Over a period of nearly two centuries the movement underwent numerous sectarian splits, caused by objective challenges from the diverse contexts in which Jews lived as well as by traditional bickering among Jews. In the nineteenth century a number of rabbis – Yehudah Alkalai, Zvi Hirsch Kalisher, Shmuel Mohilever and Yosef (Joseph) Hayyim – called on religious Jews to return to their ancestral homeland and establish synagogues, schools and communities supported by charity from overseas. In 1862 Moses Hess, influenced by Italian unification and national rebirth, advocated both Jewish and Arab national states on the lands then controlled by the Ottoman Turks. Theodor Herzl (1860-1904) and Chaim Weizmann (1874-1952) embarked on the practical steps of creating General Zionism, which demanded an internationally recognized state for the Jewish people. The cultural Zionism of Ahad

* A version of this article was presented at a David Patterson Seminar at the Centre on 20 May 2006. The author wishes to thank the Oxford Centre's late founding president Dr David Patterson as well as the current President Peter Oppenheimer; the former Ambassador Moshe Yegar of the State of Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Jean Marshall and Saul Mashaal of Singapore for valuable advice and encouragement throughout the research and writing process. Final responsibility for this article is, of course, the author's alone.

Ha-am (1856–1927), the socialist Zionism of Ber Borochov (1881-1917) and the militant Zionist Revisionism of Vladimir Jabotinsky (1880-1940) competed with both General Zionism and enduring strains of religious Zionism.

In looking at the history of Zionism, historians have traditionally separated out the motivation which inspired individuals to become Zionistic from the practical consequences of their commitment. Two classic cases are those of Theodor Herzl and Hayyim Nachman Bialik. Herzl came from a highly assimilated Jewish background in Budapest, Vienna and ultimately Paris. It was only when he went to Paris to cover the Dreyfus trial for a Viennese newspaper that he was shocked into a Jewish social consciousness, which in turn convinced him that the only solution for anti-Semitism would be a reborn, independent Jewish state. The practical consequence of this revelation was his founding of the World Zionist Organization and his indirect sponsorship of the rebirth of the State of Israel. A second example of motivation and practical consequence is the career of Hayyim Nachman Bialik. He went to Kishinev, Russia (as it then was), initially to investigate a pogrom that had just occurred there. He was shocked not so much by the bloodletting in the streets, which had happened in Russia many times before, but by the phenomenon of Jewish passivity in the face of assassination. The practical consequence of his revelation was his widely read poem 'City of Destruction', which served as a mantra and call-to-arms for literally hundreds of thousands of Jews, and Zionists-to-be, around the world.

Much, but not all, of this type of Jewish political ferment occurred within Europe. In Singapore and Manila, two of the world's largest cities, one can also observe the richness and variety of Jewish intellectual and political behaviour in general and the evolution of Zionism in particular. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries each of these seaports had a Jewish community of approximately 2000 individuals. What were the specific political and economic conditions which enabled Zionism to take root in Singapore and Manila? What motivated individuals to adopt this philosophy? In practical terms, what were the movement's characteristics in each city up to and after the rebirth of the Jewish State on 15 May 1948? What relationship, if any, was there between the Zionism within a local Jewish community and the evolution of relations between that country and the State of Israel? Some

historical context is needed for an understanding of the situation in both Manila and Singapore.

Origin and Structure of Singapore's Baghdadi Jewish Community

From the late eighteenth century, Baghdadi Jewish merchants began moving eastward to Bombay, where they took advantage of the favourable economic conditions created by a British colonial presence. The pioneer Baghdadi immigrant to India was Suleiman Ibn Yakub, who was active in the opium export trade between 1795 and 1833. He and other Baghdadis followed the example of Zoroastrian merchants who had preceded them. They shrewdly reinvested their opium-trade profits in textile manufacture and export, a strategy perfected by David Sassoon (1772-1864), who fled persecution in Iraq and arrived penniless in Bombay in 1833. Within a generation Sassoon and his sons had built their own docks in Bombay harbour and were known as the 'Rothschilds of the Orient'. Sassoon's sons extended their empire eastward to Calcutta.

By the mid-nineteenth century Baghdadi Jewish merchants reached Singapore. Here Jews enjoyed residential permission, civic inclusion and full commercial privilege from their moment of arrival. As in Bombay, they engaged in the opium trade, re-exporting the drug further east to Canton, Macao, Hong Kong and Shanghai. In 1858, when Yaakov Saphir visited Singapore on a fundraising mission (be it noted) for institutions in the Land of Israel, he wrote that for twenty Jewish families 'their means of livelihood was mainly the legalized opium trade that flourished between India and China and their generosity depended on the swings of the trade, for it was like putting money on the horns of a bull'.

Because of fluctuations in the opium trade, Baghdadi merchants invested their profits in what they considered more stable Singapore ventures, particularly buildings and land. By 1907 the trader and stockbroker Nissim Adis had built Singapore's Grand Hotel de l'Europe. For his private residence he built 'Mount Sophia', described as 'one of the finest mansions east of Suez'. In 1926 a Jewish merchant visiting from China marvelled that 'Singapore is an ideal place for trade, the country being peaceful and free from unrest and turmoil, to which China is

afflicted. The ups and downs to which merchants are subjected [in China] are totally unknown in Singapore, which is under the benign rule of Great Britain.'

Menasseh Meyer was Singapore's supreme Jewish entrepreneur and, according to one account, 'the community's revered benefactor'. He was born in Baghdad in 1846 and arrived in Singapore in 1873 to join his uncle's opium-trading business, the largest in the port. He expanded the firm's property holdings to include the Adelphia and Sea View hotels, and by 1900 owned about three-fourths of the island. One contemporary described Meyer as 'the richest Jew in the Far East', exceeding even the Sassoons. Another source asserts that Meyer 'eventually owned more real estate in Singapore than any other person'. Meyer, who was knighted by King George V in 1929, dominated and shaped the identity of the Singapore Jewish community for sixty years.

Singapore Baghdadi's Intensification of Belief and Secularized Jewish Identity

The institutions developed by Sir Menasseh in the nurturing political and economic context of Singapore were products of two motivations: first, his intense religious belief and second, a strong social consciousness. A deeply pious man, in 1878 he oversaw the building of the monumental Magain Aboth synagogue and its Talmud Torah. In 1905, after a disagreement over who should run Magain Aboth, he built a second palatial synagogue, Chesed El, adjacent to his home.

According to a visiting rabbi, Sir Menasseh also took 'a positive interest' in building Jewish institutions in the then Ottoman Turkish province of Palestine. He initially embraced the pre-Herzlian form of charity-dependent religious Zionism. Meyer's mentor in this regard was almost certainly Hakham Yosef Hayyim, who officiated in Baghdad from 1859 to 1909 and who was the guiding spiritual authority over Baghdadi Jews in East, South and Southeast Asia, instilling in many of them a great longing for visiting and dwelling in the Holy Land. Meyer took his wife and nine children on a visit to Jerusalem in order 'to inculcate in them a love for Israel'. His embrace of pre-Herzlian Zionism almost immediately took on other practical consequences. By 1922 Meyer, like many pre-Herzlian religious Zionists, embraced the General Zionism of Herzl's World Zionist Organization. Meyer became the

founding president of Singapore's Zionist Society, which formally affiliated with Herzl's movement. According to one contemporary, Meyer's home became a 'beehive' of General Zionist activity. When Albert Einstein passed through Singapore in 1922 on a fund-raising mission for the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Meyer hosted a reception for 200 people which resulted in £10,000 worth of pledges for the school.

During Sir Menasseh's later years his daughter Mozelle Nissim broadened the scope of her father's Zionist activity and philanthropy. In 1929 she committed £3000 for the construction of a school at Kfar Vitkin, an important Jewish settlement in the north of the (by then) British Mandated territory of Palestine. A visiting Zionist emissary, A. Goldstein (unrelated to the author), wrote to the Zionist Executive that Mrs Nissim 'is really one of the best women our movement should be proud to have'.

After Sir Menasseh's death in 1930 the Zionism which he promoted among Singapore Baghdadis continued to thrive. On 1 October 1936, in what may be the fullest expression of local sentiment, Montague Ezekiel and his two brothers wrote to the Jewish Agency for Palestine: 'We [the Singapore Zionists] have done much for Zionism. We are not the type of Jews to be intimidated by riots and Arab violence. Our reply to anti-Zionism is "more and more Zionism" and to anti-Semitism "more and more Judaism". We are ready to work on the soil of Eretz Israel right now. If [Palestine immigration] certificates are sent [the Baghdadi] community will be overjoyed and Singapore will be in the future another Zionist fortress.'

In early 1941 the Singaporean Baghdadi Flora Shooker established a substantial educational trust for use in Palestine, Baghdad and Singapore. Although Singapore was overrun by the Japanese shortly thereafter and most of its Jews incarcerated, after the Second World War the Baghdadi community and its Zionist movement soon recovered. In 1946 a British Army Captain and Chaplain named Bloch organized a chapter of the Zionist youth movement 'Habonim' in Singapore. That group almost immediately produced two immigrants to the Land of Israel, Moshe Albert and Jonah Joshua. Between 1950 and 1957 the World Jewish Congress sent emissaries to Singapore on four separate occasions to help the reconstruction effort. In 1952 the president of the Singapore Jewish Welfare Board David Saul Marshall (1908-95) visited the central offices of the World Jewish Congress in New York. In 1955

he was elected Singapore's first Chief Minister. In that capacity he gave Singapore its first measure of internal self-government and set the colony on its path to complete independence, which it achieved shortly after he left office. Marshall also interceded with the Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai to permit China's remaining Jews to emigrate to Israel and elsewhere. By 1957 the Singapore Jewish community comprised about 800 individuals.

Jews in independent Singapore were given as full equality as they enjoyed in colonial Singapore. Judaism became one of the multiethnic nation's eight officially recognized religions. The Singapore magazine *Israel Report* saw a commercial rationale behind this equality: 'Lee Kuan Yew's regime, which makes a point of displaying openness both internally and externally, is considerably interested in having Jews live in Singapore. For this country, which is a crossroads and commercial centre, there is a clear advantage in the existence of a synagogue alongside temples, mosques and churches.' (Lee Kuan Yew was Prime Minister of Singapore from 1959 onwards.)

Leaders of independent Singapore not only valued Jews as individual entrepreneurs. They also came to realize that there was much to be learned from the newly-independent Jewish state. In 1956, in one of the earliest expressions of that awareness, Francis Thomas, Singapore's Minister for Communications and Works, argued that his island, 'now on the threshold of independence, could learn a lot from the spirit which has turned the small State of Israel from a desert into a garden'. Singapore Zionists worked diligently to establish such ties, especially the local affiliate of the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO). In 1955 Isaac Ben-Ami arrived as the first official Israeli *shaliach,* or immigration agent, in Singapore.

In 1956 the *Singapore Standard* reported that an '"Israel Today" photographic exhibition is the biggest postwar public event organized by the Colony's 900-strong Jewish community'. In that same year the outgoing Israeli Foreign Minister and ex-Prime Minister Moshe Sharett remarked after a visit to Singapore that 'the gathered people's thirst to listen and understand is endless'. During the 1961-5 merger of Singapore with the overwhelmingly Muslim Malaysia, Singapore Zionists understandably kept a low profile. Those who emigrated in that period preferred the Anglo-Saxon cultural context of Britain, Australia and California to what Rabbi Mordechai Abergel called 'the tundra' of

Israel. But fundraising for Israel continued unabated. A visit and lecture in March 1962 by the Keren Hayesod ('Foundation Fund') Director Shlomo Temkin netted contributions of US $2443 to assist new immigrants in Israel. Temkin's visit was followed by a series of trade and technical-aid agreements between Singapore and Israel and ongoing visits by ministers, public figures and senior officials.

In 1969 this process culminated in the establishment of full diplomatic relations between Singapore and Israel. Diplomatic relations were followed by additional charitable donations, notably by Jacob Ballas and by the participation of Singapore's five-man contingent in the 1997 fifteenth Maccabiah games in Israel. These financial commitments were above and beyond the very significant financial investment Singapore Jewry made in strengthening its own infrastructure.

The rebirth in Singapore of Baghdadi Jewish life and of Zionism, and the establishment of ties between Singapore and Israel, occurred simultaneously with the almost complete disintegration of Jewish communal life in Iraq. In 1949-50 over 150,000 Iraqi Jews evacuated to Israel. Precisely while Iraqi Jews were integrating into Israeli society, the multi-institutional, overwhelmingly Baghdadi Jewish community in Singapore was being preserved. Thus in 2006, if one wishes to see a functioning Baghdadi Jewish community, one needs only to visit Singapore. The community consists of about 180 people. An American academic who attended a Sabbath service in one of the old synagogues in Singapore in 2000 observed how 'On the right side sit the old-timers, the men of Baghdadi origin who lived through the Japanese occupation. On the left side sit the wealthier members of the community and the younger generation of Jews. When Frank Benjamin, President of the Jewish Welfare Board, stepped down from participating in the Torah service, he walked the room and wished a "peaceful sabbath" (*Shabbat shalom*) to all. The gesture is heartfelt and inclusive, consistent with his determination to bring all Jews living in Singapore together. Frank Benjamin and others are determined to keep their community vibrant and alive without sacrificing the basic orthodox Baghdadi traditions that inspired Singapore's first Jews over 160 years ago.'

Manila's Jews: Communal Origins and Commercial Activities

Both Judaism and Zionism evolved differently in Manila, our second

reference point for Asian Jewish identity. Some historical context is needed here as well.

The Marrano brothers Jorge and Domingo Rodriguez, the first Jews recorded to have arrived in the Spanish Philippines, reached Manila in the 1590s. By 1593 both were tried at an auto-da-fé in Mexico City – since the Inquisition did not have an independent tribunal in the Philippines – and were imprisoned. At least eight other Marranos from the Philippines were subsequently tried by the Inquisition.

A second group of Jews arrived nearly 300 years later in the late 1800s. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1 the Levy brothers of Alsace fled with a stash of diamonds and established first a jewellery store and then a general merchandising business, Estrella del Norte, which still exists in Manila today. Their enterprise branched out from the importation of gems to pharmaceuticals and motor cars. By 1898, when the United States took over the Philippines from Spain, the Levys had been joined by others, including more Alsatian Ashkenazim, creating a multi-ethnic mix of approximately fifty individuals.

By 1918, twenty years after the American takeover, Manila Jewry consisted of about 150 people, including Turkish, Syrian and Egyptian Jews. Many were American servicemen discharged in Manila after the Spanish-American and First World Wars. Some were Russian Jews fleeing the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. The new immigrants, according to the communal historian Annette Eberly, considered Manila 'a second frontier...a place for the young and ambitious to flee to. It was especially attractive to those who chafed at limitations on social and economic mobility in their native lands.' These new arrivals engaged in import and export trade and portside land development. They did not, however, interact with a cohesive international Jewish merchant diaspora and in this respect differ from the Baghdadi Jews of Singapore.

Jewish Institutional non-Development in Manila

By 1920 Manila Jewry included the founder of the stock exchange, the conductor of the symphony orchestra, physicians and architects. Apart from these secular achievements, twenty-two years after the beginning of the American occupation there was almost no Jewish institutional development. Spanish repression may explain this phenomenon before 1898, but does not account for the absence of institutional development

under the Americans. In 1920 the Zionist fundraiser Israel Cohen, who was greatly impressed by Jewish institutional development in Singapore, visited Manila and lamented that although 'there were several hundred Jews, they had not formed a synagogue'. He wrote that 'they were there twenty years, there was no Jewish organization or institution of any kind. If a Jew wished to get married, he took a day trip to Hong Kong. I left wondering whether all the fortunes of the rich Jews of Manila are worth the soul of one poor Jew of Zamboanga [a Syrian Jew he had met on one of the outer Philippine islands, who told Cohen 'we feel here in Galuth...soon we hope to get back to the land of Israel'].'

A synagogue was finally built by a wealthy Ashkenazi benefactor in 1924, but was rarely served by full-time clergy. Rabbis and cantors were imported from Shanghai and elsewhere for short periods of duty. At one point an itinerant rabbi serviced the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam. In 1930 an American journalist reported that the eighty Jewish families and fifty single Jews in the Philippines 'are all well established yet indifferent to their Judaism. They have no interest in a Jewish community. There is a handsome synagogue, but it is used only on [the Jewish high holidays of] Rosh Hashonah and Yom Kippur. There was a religious school, but it was closed on account of the scarcity of teachers.... Most of the children receive absolutely no Jewish education.... The religious indifference of their parents plus the lack of knowledge of Jewish affairs of the children counts these families as a total loss to Judaism.'

It is clear then that Manila's Jews experienced little of the intensified Rabbinic Judaism of Singapore. Many faded completely into the seductive woodwork of what the communal historian Eberly called 'the good life out there'. But it is also clear that others assumed secularized aspects of Jewish identity. The fullest expression of this identity was the aid Philippine Jews gave first to refugees from Hitler and thereafter to Zionism and to the State of Israel. For many Philippine Jews these two forms of philanthropy were inseparable. The motivation behind their commitment can be understood only in historical context.

Philippine Jews' Assistance to Holocaust Refugees

The rise of Hitler mobilized some of Manila's most secularized Jews into communal service. The niece of the founder of the infrequently

used Manila synagogue observed that 'we only became Jewish conscious in a deep way when the terrible threat came out of Europe and suddenly there were Jews in desperate need of help'. Under what historical conditions did Filipino Jewish identity solidify?

Although the Philippines became an American territorial possession in 1898, by the 1930s, as a self-governing commonwealth, it controlled its own immigration policies. It was thus exempt from the severe immigration restrictions imposed by the United States Congress in 1924. The first two German Jewish refugees from Hitler to reach the Philippines may have been Karl Nathan and Heinz Eulau, from Offenbach. They arrived in Manila in June 1934 on affidavits of support from Eulau's cousin Dr Kurt Eulau, who had lived in the islands since 1924 and would sponsor many other immigrants. A 'Jewish Refugee Committee' of Manila was organized in 1937 to take further advantage of this loophole. The committee's first opportunity to shelter a significant number of Jews arose in August 1937. In that month, in a major historical irony, the government of Nazi Germany offered all Germans in Shanghai free passage to the Philippines if they wished to escape the Sino-Japanese hostilities that engulfed that city and other parts of China. At the request of the Nazi Consul General in Manila, the US High Commissioner of the Philippines Paul McNutt and President Manuel E. Quezon authorized the admission of these German refugees on the condition that they would not become a public burden. The immigrants would be sponsored either by the ethnic German or the Jewish community of the Philippines.

In Shanghai twenty-eight German Jews and an approximately equal number of ethnic Germans took the Nazi government up on its offer. They arrived together in Manila on 8 September 1937 aboard the Norddeutscher Lloyd steamship *Gneisenau*. The formidable task of providing for the largest Jewish refugee group ever to have landed in the Philippines was thrust on the newly organized and totally inexperienced Jewish Refugee Committee. The organization shouldered this burden and immediately pressed for the admission of additional Jewish refugees. On 15 February 1939 Quezon sent a message to the Philippine congress, which technically oversaw immigration matters, urging the admission of an additional 10,000 German Jewish professionals. Although this grandiose scheme never materialized, Jake Rosenthal, Alex and Philip Frieder and other Manila Jews were able to persuade

Quezon to authorize independently the admission of perhaps as many as 1000 Nazi-persecuted Jews. Even these admissions were problematical as the Philippines had no independent consular service and relied on United States diplomatic personnel for the worldwide implementation of its immigration policy. In the blunt words of the son of the Manila Jewish-community president Morton Netzorg, 'wherever the American consular staff was friendly to the Jewish people Jews got out, and where they shrugged their shoulders Jews did not get out'.

By a variety of means about 1000 Jewish refugees reached Manila before the Japanese attack on the Philippines in December 1941 and the subsequent occupation of the entire archipelago. Most Jewish refugees arrived penniless and on two-year temporary visas. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee aided these immigrants until the Japanese attack. Some aid before that date, and all assistance for the duration of the war, came from the Manila Jewish community itself. Of particular help were those community members who held Iraqi, Philippino and – ironically – German passports, and who thereby escaped Japanese internment. Morton Netzorg's son recalled that although 'the Jewish community was very small [it] practiced tithing to help the refugees. Five hundred were brought over in a three-year period.' The effort becomes all the more impressive when one considers that after December 1941 the Philippines was a battle zone and the community suffered wartime losses no less severe than those of Singapore. During the Battle of Manila in 1945 seventy-nine individuals, or approximately 10 per cent of the Jewish community, were wartime casualties, a rate similar to that of Manila's overall population.

Despite these hardships, the Jewish Community of Manila saved perhaps as many as 1000 Jews from almost certain obliteration at the hands of the Nazis. One of the Austrian Jewish survivors asserted that 'you could never find as generous and solid a group of people [as the Philippine Jewish community] anywhere else in the world. They gave – and give – unstintingly in times of crisis. They have never neglected the needs of the destitute and the sick. Even before the Japanese came the community set up a special home for the Jewish indigent in Marakina. It was kept up for years long after the war was over.'

The Philippine Jewish Community's Embrace of Zionism and Assistance to the State of Israel

The mobilization of Philippine Jewry for war relief stands in stark contrast to what the Zionist fundraiser Israel Cohen observed on his visit to Manila in 1920. He was greatly disappointed because the Manila Jewish community did not support his movement, and lamented that 'I spoke to quite a number of Jews, but they simply would not hear of it, and not a single god damn cent did I get'. Within twenty-five years many members of the community made a complete turnaround on the subject of Zionism. For them, Zionism was a natural outgrowth of their wartime experiences. They had incurred heavy losses at the hands of Hitler and his allies, made significant sacrifices to aid European refugees, and now wanted a secure Jewish homeland for the surviving remnant. That Zionist commitment produced significant practical consequences. Members of the community who were close to the postwar Philippine President Manuel Roxas were instrumental, along with key advisors to President Harry Truman, in convincing the Philippine delegation to the United Nations to vote in favour of the partition of Palestine in 1947 and to support a Jewish state thereafter. The Philippines was the only Asian nation to vote for Israeli independence. It was also among the first to establish diplomatic relations with Israel.

As was the case in independent Singapore, the local Jewish community cultivated Philippine-Israel relations. In 1951 the Philippines signed an aviation agreement with Israel. In that same year, Lieutenant-Colonel (Ret.) Shaul Ramati, of the Israel Defence Forces, paid a fundraising visit, as a result of which the Honorary Israeli Consul Ernest E. Simke was able to write to the Central Zionist Executive that the appeal netted the highest collection ever made in the Philippines. It was one of many generous donations to Keren Kayemeth and other Zionist charities in the decade after the end of the Pacific War. In 1956 Simke wrote that 'although the community is small, there is a strong Zionist sympathy'. In that same year the Philippines welcomed Moshe Sharett, Israel's outgoing foreign minister and former prime minister, on the same Asia visit that included Singapore.

Emigration from the Philippines to Israel and elsewhere reduced the Manila community from an immediate postwar peak of perhaps 2500 to 1000 in 1946, 400 in 1949, 250 in 1968, and approximately 80 fami-

lies in 2006. Some families, such as the Simkes, took out Philippine citizenship. The community remains a mix of ethnically-Filipino spouses and/or converts, Ashkenazim, Sephardim, Baghdadis, Americans, Israelis and others. Small in numbers and weak in formal aspects of religiosity, the Jewish community in one of the world's largest cities and seaports remains secular, Jewish, Filipino and overwhelmingly Zionistic.

Conclusion: Singapore, Manila, Jewish Identity and Zionist Commitment

In Singapore Zionism was the outgrowth of the Orthodox Baghdadi religious commitment of Haham Yosef Hayyim, Sir Menasseh Meyer, Moselle Nissim, Flora Shooker, Jacob Ballas, Frank Benjamin and their disciples and descendants. It is not surprising that this society, with its homogeneity and strong religious identity, contributed so much to the building of a Jewish presence in the Land of Israel. Manila, on the other hand, never featured a Jewish community in the classic European or even Singaporean Baghdadi sense. Its identity was displayed in secular ways, notably in its efforts to rescue Jewish refugees and to aid the Zionist cause. The commitment of the highly assimilated, multi-ethnic Jews of Manila was both distinct and totally unexpected.

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A fuller version of this article, with all scholarly references, is available on application to the author at lulab@juno.com

*Blacks in American Yiddish Literature**

HUGH DENMAN

For the Ashkenazi population of Eastern Europe the Black African was for many centuries a remote, almost mythical figure. A small number of Blacks made rare appearances at the royal courts of Poland and Russia, but would not have been seen in the *shtetlekh* of Eastern Europe.[1]

The inhabitants of the 'dark continent' seldom appear in either biblical or rabbinic literature. On the rare occasions on which they are mentioned, their image is ambivalent: occasionally negative, but sometimes not. In the Song of Songs, for example, the 'beloved' attributes the darkness of her skin to the rays of the sun, but does not regard this as a blemish: 'I am black [*shehorah*], but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon./ Look not upon me, because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me.'[2]

A more negative construction might be placed on the prophet Jeremiah's question 'Can the Ethiopian [*kushi*] change his skin, or the leopard his spots?'[3] But prejudice against dark skin is divinely rebuked in the book of Numbers, when Miriam and Aaron regard Moses's marriage to an Ethiopian woman (*kushit*) as grounds for disputing the prophet's unique access to revelation, but God chastizes them, implicitly repudiating discrimination.[4]

The *Mishnah*, citing *Genesis* 4:10, argues that Adam was appointed the universal ancestor 'for the sake of peace among mankind, that none should say to his fellow, "My father was greater than thy father" '.[5]

* For a description of other research carried out by Hugh Denman at the Centre, see page 124 of this *Report*.

[1] An abbreviated version of this paper was delivered to the VIII[th] European Association of Jewish Studies Conference, Moscow, 25 July 2006. I should like to take this opportunity to record my gratitude to the British Academy for their kind financial support on this occasion.

[2] *Song of Songs* 1:5–6 (AV).

[3] *Jeremiah* 13:23 (AV).

[4] *Numbers* 12: 1–15.

[5] *Mishnah Sanhedrin* 4:5; tr. Herbert Danby (Oxford 1933) 388.

Humanity's common ancestry from Adam similarly precludes notions of 'racial' superiority, an impression confirmed in a medieval Yiddish story found in the *Mayse-bukh*, but of talmudic origin. In this, Rabbi Eleazer is rebuked for exhibiting prejudice towards 'eyn grouser shvartsir man'.[6]

Instances of aesthetic preference for white skin in Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* or Maimonides's *Guide of the Perplexed* may well be attributable to the cultural environment in Muslim Spain, whose thinking in this area was derived from the Greeks.[7] Certainly the relatively recent suggestion that racial prejudice was in some way a Jewish or rabbinic invention only subsequently adopted by other cultures is totally without foundation.[8] Even more baseless was the argument, advanced by slave-owners in the Confederate States, that a so-called 'Curse of Ham' offers biblical justification for the institution of slavery.[9]

In general, therefore, references to Blacks in Jewish religious sources are so scanty as to be of negligible significance. But if so, from what other sources could Ashkenazim of Eastern Europe have derived information or conceptions concerning Black Africans? The voyages of discovery of sixteenth-century Portuguese navigators were a key factor, since this was the time when Slavs, who had since antiquity supplied the demand for slaves (and furnished the etymon by which they came to be known), began to be replaced by Blacks. The same period saw a proliferation of geographical and anthropological writings concerning sub-Saharan Africa that reached Poland and Russia for the most part via

[6] *Un beau livre d'histoires/Eyn shön Mayse bukh: Fac-similé de l'editio princeps de Bâle (1602)*, tr., intro. and notes Astrid Starck (Basle: Schwabe, 2004) 224–5. The story is loosely based on BT *Ta'anit* 20a, though the term 'black' does not occur there. I should like to express my gratitude to Professor Starck of the University of Mulhouse for drawing my attention to this reference.

[7] See Judah Halevi, *Kuzari* 1:1 and 1:31–43; Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, 3:51; Abraham Melamed, *The Image of the Black in Jewish Culture: A History of the Other* (Curzon Jewish Philosophy Series), tr. Betty Sigler Rozen (London: Routledge/Curzon, 2003) 2.

[8] Winthrop Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1530–1960* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1968).

[9] For a sound rejoinder to this and similar misconceptions see David M. Goldenberg, 'The Curse of Ham: A Case of Rabbinic Racism?', in Jack Salzman and Cornel West (eds) *Struggles in the Promised Land: Toward a History of Black-Jewish Relations in the United States* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 21–51. Among other useful sources on Black-Jewish relations in the United States is Murray Friedman, *What Went Wrong?: The Creation and Collapse of the Black Jewish Alliance* (New York: Free Press, 1995).

Venice. Yet the ambivalent image of the Black African in these writings appears to have had no impact on the representation of the 'neger' in American Yiddish literature. We begin, it would seem, with a clean slate.

One might expect the image of Blacks in Yiddish literature to have been adopted from contemporary American literature, or at least to have been influenced by it. But here again the evidence is negative. We are faced instead with a paradox.

The Yiddish-reading public was well read and had easy access to world literature in Yiddish translation. Virtually the entire repertoire of important Russian, French, German and Scandinavian writers could be purchased or, perhaps more importantly, borrowed from one of the avidly patronized lending libraries. Many works were available in several rival translations. However, English-language and especially American literature was typically translated only after a considerable delay. Moreover, while knowledge of Russian, Polish and German had been commonplace in the Old Country, an acquaintance with English was much less widespread.

After the mass-migrations to the New World at the end of the nineteenth century a smattering of English became necessary for economic survival, and a register of Yiddish shot-through with American vulgarisms is a familiar aspect of the writings of many authors. Sholem-Aleykhem's bitter tale 'A mayse mit a grinhorn', for instance, offers evidence of an ear for language so fine that he was able, after only a comparatively brief acquaintance with America, to deploy this register in a way that is little less than virtuoso.[10] But a lengthy period elapsed before Yiddish-speaking immigrants began to take a serious interest in the literature of the ambient culture, and classics of American literature translated into German almost immediately after publication often had to wait decades before a Yiddish version became available.

[10] Sholem-Aleykhem, 'A mayse mit a grinhorn' *Di vorhayt* (16 Jan. 1915); *Ale verk fun sholem-aleykhem*, vol. 21: *Monologn* (New York: Sholem-Aleykhem-Folksfond, 1921) 253–9; tr. Ted Gorelick as 'A Business with a Greenhorn', in Ken Frieden (ed.) *Classic Yiddish Stories of S. Y. Abramovitsh, Sholem Aleichem, and I. L. Peretz* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004) 130–4. This story, which takes the form of a monologue in the voice of Mr Baraban, a Jewish-American businessman contemptuous of the 'greenhorn' in the context of the ruthless commercial atmosphere of New York City, is further evidence of Sholem-Aleykhem's growing disillusionment with the purported advantages of the New World. The story is so interlarded with Anglicisms that his son-in-law, Yitskhok-Dov Berkovitsh, in editing the text, found it necessary to append a glossary (260–1).

To illustrate: the literary work which epitomizes the struggle to enhance the status of the Afro-American in the popular imagination preceding the Civil War, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), appeared in 1851. Already in 1852 a German version was available, *Onkel Toms Hütte...*, and translations into other languages followed soon thereafter. Only sixty years later was a Yiddish version published: *Onkl toms kebin....*[11] *The Song of Hiawatha*, by Henry Wordsworth Longfellow, first published in 1855, appeared in German twelve months later, but in Yiddish, by none other than Yehoyesh, the great translator of *Tanakh*, only in 1910. Prominent works of American literature such as *Leaves of Grass* by Walt Whitman (1855) or *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* by Mark Twain (1884) also appeared swiftly in German translation, but in Yiddish only in the 1920s.[12] The time-lag eventually diminished. American authors such as Upton Sinclair, writing in the 1920s, were translated into Yiddish more promptly, but this is some time after the period we are considering.

The positive image of Afro-Americans to be found in Yiddish literature from the turn of the century onwards can thus scarcely have arisen as the result of literary mediation, therefore. It may be suggested that the wave of translations from American English into Yiddish that began in the 1920s was less the cause than the result of the growing interest of Ashkenazi immigrants in the lives of the other ethnic groups who were now their fellow citizens of the United States.

Their first face-to-face encounter with Blacks took place in the 1890s when the migration of Yiddish-speakers to New York City assumed major proportions. This migration resulted from the pogroms that followed the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, the expulsion of Jews from Moscow in 1891 and a further wave of pogroms during the disturbances after the failed 1905 Revolution, as well as improvements in rail and sea transportation. It is estimated that in 1860 there were

[11] Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Onkel Toms Hütte: Oder, Negerleben in den Sclavenstaaten des freien Nordamerika*, tr. Ungewitter (Pest/Vienna/Leipzig: Hartleben, 1852); *Onkel toms kebin: oder di shvartse shklaven in amerika* (New York: Hibru Poblishing, 1911).

[12] Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, 1855 (selection in German, 1889); *Lider fun bletlekh groz*, 1940; Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 1884 (German, 1890); *Heklberi fin un zayne aventyures*, 1929; Mark Twain *The Prince and the Pauper*, 1881 (German, 1890); *Der prints un der betler*, 1923. Whitman later became something of a cult figure among Yiddish avant-garde writers and was the subject of poems by authors such as Ruvn Ludvig, Moris Roznfeld and Elyezer Grinberg.

150,000 Jews in the United States, but that between 1880 and the end of unrestricted immigration in 1925 some 3,500,000 Eastern European Jews crossed the Atlantic. As many as 650,000 arrived between 1904 and 1908.[13] Most settled in the narrow confines of the Lower East Side of New York City, where they suddenly encountered neighbours belonging to ethnic groups of whom they had barely heard, such as Italians, Irish and, above all, Afro-Americans who, following the Civil War and especially after the First World War, settled in large numbers in the cities of the North.

The image of the Black neighbour in Yiddish literature, though for the most part remarkably positive, is not quite 'politically-correct' in modern terms. For Ashkenazi Jews who had migrated only a few years previously to the Lower East Side, Afro-Americans possessed an element of excitement and liberation that Jews found attractive. The prejudices suffered by Afro-Americans at the hands of the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant élite was a further motive for sympathy from Jews who were themselves targets of discrimination. Such motifs may be seen in particular in the writings of modernists such as H. Leyvik, Arn Glants-Leyeles and Yoysef Opatoshu.

The poem 'In sobvey' by Arn Glants-Leyeles offers, among other things, a celebration of urban vitality and of the architecture and power of the city of New York:

in dem groysn, rirevdikn moyer
arayngemoyert
eyns lebn andern
a vays meydl un a neger.
reyekh fun sharfn muskat
haldzt aromat fun angstikn meydlshn flater.
der neger drikt zikh shtarker
tsum meydl.
shvartse benkshaft
bentsht vayse engshaft

a vays meydl un a neger.
troyer

[13] Demographic information derived from *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1972).

in dem rirevdikn groyer moyer.
troyer fun dem yeger,
vos veys, az er kon zayn gegartstn fang nisht krign.
nisht unten oyf di relsn redlen reder.
reder virblen, shvindlen, dreyen
in a shvartsn, krayzldikn, umgliklekhn kop
(lintsh fayern – flaker, flaker
shleyf fun tlie – shtayfer, shtayfer).
der neger drikt zikh shtarker
tsu dem meydl.[14]

Walled-in
In the gray, moving wall,
Close to each other,
A white girl and a Negro.
Smell of strong musk
Hugs the flask of a girl, her fearful flutter.
The Negro squeezes tighter
Against the girl.
Black craving
Blesses white crowding.
A white girl and a Negro.
Gloom
In the moving gray wall.
Gloom of a hunter
Who knows he will not get his choicest prey.
Not down on the rails do the wheels roll -
The dizzying, swinging wheels whirl
In a black, curled unhappy head.
(Lynching fires – flaming, flaming.
Loop of a gallows – brighter, brighter).
The Negro squeezes tighter
Against the girl.[15]

[14] Arn Glants-Leyeles (1889–1966), 'In sobvey' first appeared in book-form in the volume *Rondos un andere lider* (NY: In-Zikh, 1926).

[15] 'In the Subway', in Benjamin and Barbara Harshav, *American Yiddish Poetry: A Bilingual Anthology*, translation with the participation of Kathryn Hellerstein, Brian McHale and Anita Norich (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1986) 103.

Plate 1 Arn Glants-Leyeles, *Amerike un ikh*, ill. Yoysef Foshko (New York: Kval, 1963) 28.

This may be compared with the 'Asphaltdichtung' of Bertholt Brecht and other German Expressionists, a trend echoed in Old World Yiddish literature in the representation of Berlin in Moyshe Kulbak's *Disner tshayld harold* (1933). In well-wrought *vers libre*, personal experience is de-sentimentalized and the rush-hours of the New York subway presented in a series of kaleidoscopic and synaesthetic impressions. But more is at stake here. Leyeles feels compassion for the Black refugees' terror of the lynch-justice of the Southern States, a recurrent theme in American Yiddish literature in these years. This sympathy was in large measure attributable to natural revulsion against barbarous inhumanity. But Jewish sensitivity may have been aroused equally by the notorious case in Atlanta in 1915 of Leo Frank, a Jewish factory manager, who had been convicted of rape and murder paradoxically on the perjured evidence of a Black. The governor of Georgia commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment, but an enraged mob hanged Frank nonetheless.[16]

In the approach of the 'neger' to the white girl we sense a longing for consolation and love, but also, more disturbingly, the reduction of Afro-American sexuality to a threateningly hyper-potent stereotype. This atmosphere is captured in Yoysef Foshko's illustration of the poem in Leyeles's collected verse, *Amerike un ikh* (1963), reproduced in the Harshavskys' *American Yiddish Poetry* (see facing page). The viewer is placed at the centre of a universe that has little in common with either the cities of Eastern Europe or *shtetlekh* of Volhynia or Podolia. In the lower right-hand corner a self-portrait of the artist shows him totally bemused by the scene.

A more extensive reaction to lynch-justice appears in H. Leyvik's poem 'Negershes', the earliest accessible publication of which dates to 1922, though it was probably written some time before this. The poet acknowledges the cultural gulf between Jews and Blacks, but hopes that fraternization and conciliation are possible:

ikh veys, negers, kh'vel gor nisht endern in aykh,
nisht fun der noent un nisht fun der vayten;
mir veln nisht vern eyns, nisht vern glaykh,
un undzere hoytn veln zikh nisht baytn.

[16] Friedman (see n. 9) 63–6

ayere lipn veln nisht vern din
un mayne veln nisht vern geshvoln:
un far a rege benkshaft nokh vayser zind
vet ir nokh alts mit gasntoyt batsoln.

o, ir volt badarft mit beyzn shpot
mikh arumringlen un mayne reyd farkaykhn,
ven ikh kum tsvishn aykh mit naygerikn trot,
vi kloymersht a glaykher tsu a glaykhn.

ven ikh kum mit ofnkayt, mit vidue-lid,
unter a himl, vos ken zikh nisht farshlisn;
antkegn dem geveyn fun ayer hoyt un glid –
iz lekherlekh dos geveyn fun mayn gevisn.

unter ayere fentster shtey ikh, tsu ayer shvel
ikh loz zikh shtroykhlen iber treplekh dare;
o, ikh bet rakhmones far der shtabndiker zel
fun ayer nakhtiker ibergepaynikter gitare.

dukht zikh – vos? – ikh bin an ibergepaynikter aleyn,
an oyfgehangener, vi ir, oyf shtrik fun rase;
mayn oyszen ober iz far aykh nisht veyniker gemeyn,
vi dos oyszen fun a yedn fun a lintsher-mase.

zol zayn dos vort undzer oyskoyfndiker fraynd
un undz farbridern, undz – letste un bahershte;
un bazingen khavershaft tsvishn makhnes faynd:
mayn yidish lid zol eyne zayn fun ershte.[17]

'To the Negroes'
I will change nothing in you, Negroes; I grant
Not from far nor from close range.
We will not become one, become the same we can't,
And our skins will not change.

[17] H. Leyvik (1888–1962), 'Gezangen fun umkum un oyfkum', in *Oysgeklibene shriftn: lider...*, ed. Shmuel Rozhanski [Musterverk series 16] (Buenos Aires, 1963) 74–5.

Your lips will not become thin,
And mine, not grow full.
And for a moment's craving for a white sin
You will still pay with a death horrible.

Oh, you should with decision passionate
Encircle me and my talk laugh off in peals
When, with curious step, among you I ambulate
As though an equal to an equal.

When I come with candor and confessional hymn
Under a sky which cannot be pitiless
Against the cry of your skin and limb,
It's ridiculous, the crying of my consciousness.

Under your window I stand, at your threshold
I let myself stumble over stairways irregular.
Oh, I beg for pity for the dying soul
Of your nightly long-suffering guitar.

It seems-what? I myself am one ever tormented,
Hung, like you, on ropes with hate athrob.
My face, however, is for you not less malevolent
Than the face of each one of a lynching mob.

Let the word be our friend redeeming
And us fraternize, the last and dominated we,
And among crowds of enemies, friendship sing.
My Yiddish song shall the first of many be.[18]

Yoysef Opatoshu's story 'Fir negers', which appeared in the first volume of the anthology *Khalyastre*, in 1922 in Warsaw, is an account of lynch-justice in a prison in the deep South. It provides a subtly nuanced psychological study of the motivations and prejudices of the diligent but outnumbered sheriff, the bloodthirsty mob and the Black companions

[18] Jehiel B. and Sarah H. Cooperman (eds) *America in Yiddish Poetry: An Anthology* (New York: Exposition, 1967) 119–20. See also Leyvik's 'White Moon' and 'Uncle Tom's Grandson', ibid., 120–2.

of the intended victim, enabling the reader to recognize courage and cowardice on both sides of the so-called 'racial divide'. This implies that weakness of character can affect Blacks as readily as any other terrified human being in critical situations, but that the primary cause of this evil is discrimination itself.[19]

The prejudicial treatment of Blacks and their sufferings in America are commonly referred to in the works of Betsalel Fridman, Yankev Glatshteyn, Leyvi Goldberg, Ruvn Ludvig, Arn Lutski, Avrom Reyzn, Khayim Roznblat, Meyer Shtiker, Yehude-Leyb Teler, Arn Tseytlin, Avrom Valt-Lyesin, Berish Vaynshteyn, Reyzl Zhikhlinski and others.[20]

The Yiddish literary image of the Afro-American may also be compared with the thematization of Native Americans – the autochthonous population of the American continent – for example in Ayzik Raboy's novel *Der yidisher kauboy* (1942). This novel, based on the author's experiences on a ranch in North Dakota in 1910, contains scenes in which sympathy is expressed with the fate of Native Americans corralled in their reservations instead of free on their prairies.[21] 'Indian' motifs

[19] Yoysef Opatoshu (1886–1954), 'Fir negers', *Khalyastre*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1922) 11–2.

[20] See *inter alia* Betsalel Fridman (1897–1941), 'Skotsboro', in *Amerike in yidishn vort*, 697–8; Yankev Glatshteyn (1896–1971), 'Segregation', in *America in Yiddish Poetry*, 340–1; Leyvi Goldberg (1893–1974), 'In a neger kvartal', in Nakhmen Mayzl (ed.) *Amerike in yidishn vort* (New York: Ikuf) 559–60; Ruvn Ludvig (1895–1926), 'In dem land fun zand', 'Tsu a neger' and 'Megmas kolorado', in *Amerike in yidishn vort*, 656–9; 'Sing Stranger', 'Who Shot the Scabby Negro?', in *America in Yiddish Poetry*, 284–5 and 287–8; Arn Lutski (1893–1957), 'Jazz', in *America in Yiddish Poetry*, 193–7; Avrom Reyzn (1876–1953), 'A negerl', in Mendl-Sholem Goldsmit (ed.) *Di yidishe literatur in amerike, 1870–2000: antologye*, vol. 1 (NY: Tsiko, 1999) 176; Khayim Roznblat (1878–1956), 'Young Negro in the Sand', in *America in Yiddish Poetry*, 54–5; Meyer Shtiker (1905–83), 'Blood in Mississippi', in *America in Yiddish Poetry*, 449–50; Yehude-Leyb Teler (1912–72), 'To a Negro Girl', in *America in Yiddish Poetry*, 525; Arn Tseytlin (1889–1973), 'A Country House in New Jersey', in *America in Yiddish Poetry*, 157–8; Avrom Valt-Lyesin (1872–1938), 'Little Negro Boy', in *America in Yiddish Poetry*, 39; Berish Vaynshteyn (1905–67), 'On Your Soil, America', in *America in Yiddish Poetry*, 434–5; Reyzl Zhikhlinski (1910–2001), 'Groye neger' and 'Kh'vil zayn a negerin', in *Amerike in yidishn vort*, 864; 'A Negro Fell Asleep', in *America in Yiddish Poetry*, 499. I am endebted to Professor Ellen Kellman of Brandeis University for bringing a number of relevant works to my attention.

[21] Cf. Michael Weingrad, 'Lost Tribes: The Indian in American Hebrew Poetry', *Prooftexts* 24:3 (2004) 291–319, shows how native Americans are both seen as fellow victims of racial prejudice and made to refract Jewish experience. Both Yiddish and Hebrew literature written in the USA vacillates between the celebration of urban reality and an embrace of the 'West' and the 'Indian' as a means of repudiating the perceived philistinism and crass materialism of American society.

may also be found in the works of H. Leyvik, Malke Li, Ruvn Ludvik, Sholem Shtern, Y.-Y. Shvarts and Yehoyesh, among others.

Inevitably these themes and preoccupations eventually made their way back to the Old Country, so that by the late 1930s the Jewish public in Poland was not only moderately well informed about ethnic discrimination in America, but was well able to draw appropriate analogies with their own situation in a climate of rising anti-Semitism. The time was ripe for Leyb Malakh's musical drama, *Misisipi*, staged to great acclaim by Mikhl Vaykhert in the Yung Teater in Warsaw in March 1934. It closely parallels events in Scottsboro, Alabama, where three years earlier nine black youths had been accused on the flimsiest of evidence of raping two white women. Eight were condemned to death and the ninth sentenced to life imprisonment. A storm of protest erupted in the Yiddish press and Jews were at the forefront of demonstrations protesting against this flagrant injustice. Only after numerous appeals lasting until the spring of 1935 (after the staging of *Misisipi*, therefore) did two Jewish attorneys succeed in having the sentences quashed. In Vaykhert's play the number of youths is reduced to seven while the women are portrayed as prostitutes.[22] In the opinion of Nakhmen Mayzl the verisimilitude of the drama was increased by the way the black youths were portrayed not as models of social behaviour.[23]

Figures from other ethnic minorities also appear in American Yiddish literature, such as Irish Catholic characters in *Ist-river* and other novels by Sholem Ash.[24]

Seeking a common factor in all these representations of the Other in American Yiddish literature leads one to conclude that there is a feeling of admiration, almost of envy, for those so-called 'races' perceived as possessing a greater affinity with nature than Ashkenazi Jews, until recently enclosed by the strictly codified religious culture of their East European *shtetlekh*. Similar visions of the Other, in part influenced by European Romantic and Neo-Romantic authors recently translated into Yiddish, also had a major impact on the Yiddish literary intelligentsia.

[22] See Elinor Rubel, 'Teatr Młodych (Jung Teater): Materiały', *Pamiętnik Teatralny: Teatr żydowski w Polsce do 1939* 41:1–4 (Warsaw, 1992) 288–94; Friedman (see n. 9) 99–100.

[23] Nakhmen Mayzl, 'Leyb malakhs "misisipi" in yung teater', *Literarishe bleter* 14 (1935) 218–9.

[24] The propinquity of Irish and Jewish immigrants in the Lower East Side figures prominently in the novels of Sholem Ash, especially in *Ist river* (1946). Irish influence is evident in the orthographic representation of several words borrowed from English.

One model is Heinrich Heine. His contempt for the alienated urban bourgeois male is contrasted with the perceived spontaneity and *Naturverbundenheit* supposedly encountered among women, children, peasants and foreigners, especially those from warmer climes.[25] A specifically Jewish dimension to these attitudes arises from the sense of fellowship with other ethnic groups, whether from rural or urban environments, who are seen to be victims of prejudice.

A closely associated and reciprocally illuminating topic is the question of Jewish participation in the jazz culture of Harlem, as well as the disturbing phenomenon known as 'blackface'. In this, *klezmer* and so-called 'minstrel' songs and melodies from the South were combined in performances in which Jewish musicians made up their faces with burned cork. The most famous example is Al Jolson in the first American talking film, *The Jazz Singer* (1927). With good reason the 'blackface' phenomenon is now regarded as the height of bad taste. Yet at the time it seemed to allow Jewish performers a spontaneity they might otherwise have found hard to attain. Irving Howe argued that for performers like Al Jolson, Eddie Cantor, George Jessel and Sophie Tucker, as for composers like Irving Berlin and George Gershwin, 'black became a mask for Jewish expressiveness, with one woe speaking through another'. The accompanying subliminal racial and sexual tensions seem, perhaps understandably, to have eluded Howe.[26]

The phenomenon has much to do with the outsider status of the artist, represented as the *pagliaccio* or *Zigeuner im grünen Wagen*, as Thomas Mann calls him. In essence the film represents a reworking of Mark Arnshteyn's play *Der vilner bal-habesl* (1908), which also inspired Max Nosseck's film *Der vilner shtot-khazn* (USA, 1940) with Moyshe Oysher in the starring role, as well as numerous other Yiddish *khazn* movies before or since. *The Jazz Singer* revolved around the motif of the inner turmoil of the talented *khazn*, or cantor, torn between tradition and an assimilated musical career. Based in part on Jolson's own career, it portrays a Jewish Broadway star in conflict with his upbring-

[25] This central theme in German Romantic literature originated perhaps with Johann Georg Hamann (1730–88) and Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), formed a major preoccupation in the works of Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) and extended to Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), Thomas Mann (1875–1955) and further. The impact of Heine on Yiddish literature will form the subject of a study I am currently preparing for publication.

[26] Irving Howe, *The World of Our Fathers* (New York/London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976) 563.

ing, who enjoys instant fame in his 'blackface' make-up, yet finally devotes his gifts to singing *Kol Nidrei* in synagogue. The theme, tracable at least to Sholem-Aleykhem's novel *Yosele solovey* (1889), with its emphasis on the outsider role of the *klezmer* player, points to a Jewish longing for freedom and closeness to nature, associated with the search for an escape from discrimination, that is reflected in many aspects of Jewish art and music. Within this psychologically fascinating thematic complex, it can now be seen how sympathy for the Afro-American satisfies both needs.[27]

[27] For a more sinister exegesis of the 'blackface' phenomenon see Michael Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). Rogin sees in *The Jazz Singer* what he designates 'Jewish Americanization through racism' (254) and gratuitously belittles the Black-Jewish civil-rights alliance as 'political blackface' in which Jewish 'ventriloquists' served as mouthpieces for Afro-Americans (99).

*Oxford's Corporate Culture**

PETER OPPENHEIMER

Mr Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: let me endorse most heartily the Chairman's welcome, especially to our celebrity speakers and to all the members of the Patterson family on this evening of both festivity and tribute.

I want also to express my personal regret that our Vice-Chancellor, Dr John Hood, has had at a late stage to cancel his participation in this event. His evident willingness in principle to be here draws special attention to the constitutional designation which the Centre has recently received. Before I sit down I must briefly explain to you its nature and significance.

Our designation now includes for the first time the words 'of Oxford University'. We, the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, have become 'A Recognized Independent Centre of Oxford University'. We proudly display this title in our new fund-raising brochure, on our website and elsewhere. It constitutes formal acknowledgement by the University that in the area of Jewish Studies the Centre is Oxford's principal provider and, as such, a duly constituted member of the Oxford University community.

But there's more to it than that. 'Recognized Independent Centre' of the University is a previously unknown entity in the Oxford landscape. The University's Council has only just invented it. It represents a marginal adjustment or redefinition of the University's boundaries. Who or what gave rise to this adjustment? The answer is: we did, and therefore indeed so did all of you – through what we together have been achieving as an independent Centre and through the example that we have thereby set to some others with analogous ambitions.

Am I saying, then, that we have contrived to manipulate the University, causing it somehow to dance to our tune? Absolutely not. I would not dream of making such a devious claim. The truth is much more straightforward and much more reassuring. It is that Oxford has always,

* Text of a speech delivered at the Patrons' Dinner of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies in the Drapers' Hall, London, 4 May 2006.

throughout its 850-year history, developed (or in some periods, failed to develop) in this way – through individual, decentralized, and sometimes external initiatives. It is such initiatives that have caused new entities, new activities and new social elements to be incorporated – sometimes promptly, sometimes tardily – into the University at large.

Creation of individual colleges is the obvious example, or rather series of examples, of this phenomenon. For a particularly telling instance, let me quote the opening of Pauline Adams' history of Somerville College up to 1993 (in other words, its years as a women's college, before it decided to admit men):

> The arrival [in Oxford] of women students in 1879 owed much to the encouragement of individual members of the university, nothing to the university as an institution. It was not until 1910 that their existence was officially acknowledged, and not until 1920 that they were admitted to university membership. The five 'women's societies' established between 1879 and 1893 became full colleges of the university only in 1959.[1]

So we at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies are not doing too badly after a mere thirty-three years.

A very different, even more startling and, as it happens, non-collegiate example is the rise of Oxford science in the first half of the twentieth century (after its deplorable neglect in the nineteenth).[2] This came about essentially through entrepreneurial initiative by individual professors, combined with astonishing and often unsolicited benefactions – notably the £4 million which Lord Nuffield gave to medical sciences in the 1930s, the equivalent in today's money of more like £400 million (just in case anybody thinks that there were no big donors to Oxford science before the Wolfson Foundation and the Wellcome Trust).

Likewise, in our own modest corner of Hebrew and Jewish Studies it was not the University's Hebdomadal Council, nor its General Board of the Faculties, nor any other central authority which declared in 1972 that the University needed to put these areas of academic endeavour on the Oxford map in an updated fashion. It was David Patterson who so declared, who did something about it and who lived long enough to

[1] Pauline Adams, *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College, 1879-1993* (Oxford University Press, 1996) 7.

[2] Much of the story is told in Jack Morrell, *Science at Oxford, 1914-1939* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1997).

learn that the Centre which he created was becoming a Recognized Independent Centre of the University.

In short, ladies and gentlemen, the quality and the achievements of Oxford University are bound up with its corporate culture of individualism. It is a bottom-up university, not a top-down university. It develops by decentralized innovation and grass-roots initiative, not by central direction. It is driven by academic priorities, not by administrative ones. And this applies equally to mainstream departments and colleges, to spin-off companies and even (as you may have seen in the newspapers in recent days) to investment management.[3] We at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies form just a single characteristic instance.

I would be tempted to leave it there, ladies and gentlemen. But I must be scrupulous about presenting a balanced picture. I have dwelt so emphatically on our ***recognition*** by the University that you may have lost sight of the other epithet in our new designation – that of independence. This refers, of course, to our financial regime: contributing to the University budget but receiving no significant sums from it, we depend entirely on direct external funding. In which a good number of you present this evening are crucial participants.

Are we thereby at a disadvantage? For the first 800 years of Oxford's existence, in other words until about 1950, financial dependence of this nature would not have materially differentiated us from any other part of the collegiate University. It does so today because of the preponderant role which government came to assume after 1950 in the university's finances. In retrospect it is surprising how little anxiety was initially aroused by this. After twenty-five years of growing stringency we now know better.

The over-arching strategic need of the University in today's world is to free itself from the stranglehold of government underfunding without in the process subverting its own corporate culture. It is a tough struggle. Under the existing framework, private-sector donations to the University at large do directly promote academic endeavour. Indirectly, however, they also help to perpetuate that very government stranglehold which they are ostensibly relieving. British businessmen remain

[3] The reference is to Oxford Investment Partners (OXIP) Ltd, chaired by Lord (Nigel) Lawson, which began operations in May 2006.

understandably reluctant to part with serious money in the style of Lord Nuffield while they perceive it as aiding the purposes of Downing Street or of the Exchequer and not simply those of the University. Other leading British universities confront the same dilemma, less acutely than Oxford only inasmuch as Oxford receives disproportionate attention from the media.

The solution calls for moves to restore, sooner rather than later, financial self-reliance and to expunge the mentality of subservience which has infected sections of university governance (including some heads of Oxford colleges). In pursuit of this goal of restoring self-reliance, the British universities concerned are bound to take as a partial model their colleagues and competitors in the United States – Harvard, Princeton, Stanford and other leading private institutions. They too constitute only a minority of the American university sector as a whole.

Remarkably, in this matter we at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies find ourselves ahead of the game. Of course we too have to work hard to balance our books. We also have unfinished tasks before us that need resourcing – notably to achieve thoroughgoing use of our library materials for research, to widen our specialist coverage by appointing additional Fellows, and to enhance demand for Jewish studies at undergraduate level. But as regards financial dependence, it is for the university at large to catch up with us, rather than the other way round. In the meantime and in any event, let our donors be assured that we are boundlessly grateful to them for enabling Jewish Studies at Oxford to flourish.

THE ACADEMIC YEAR

Michaelmas Term 2005

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

The Study of Ancient Israelite Religion *Madhavi Nevader*

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

Judaism in the Late Second Temple Period
Professor Martin Goodman

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

- Philo of Alexandria on the Essenes *Dr Joan Taylor*
- The Engagement of Jews in Ancient Civic Life *Dr Gary Gilbert*
- Converting the Mission: Missionary Images in Transition from Palestine to Babylon *Dr Moshe Lavee*
- City Councils and Rabbinic Court in Roman Palestine
Dr Sacha Stern

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

- Interpreting the Interpreters of Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls *Professor George Brooke*

Syria in Antiquity: Looking East or Looking West?
(*Convened by Professor Martin Goodman and Dr David Taylor*)

- Christianity to 700: The Literary Evidence *Dr David Taylor*
- Syria Down to Alexander *Professor Marc van de Mieroop*
- Syria from Alexander to Islam: The Issues
Professor Fergus Millar
- Water Supply, Cultural Contact and the Economy: Evidence from Roman and Byzantine Syria *Zena Kamash*
- Syria in the Roman Period: Material Culture and Identity
Dr Kevin Butcher
- Work, Alms and the Afterlife in Late Antiquity: Manichees and Begging Monks Between Syria and Egypt *Professor Peter Brown*

Christianity to 700: The Archaeological Evidence
Dr Marlia Mango

Syria and the Beginning of Islam *Dr Petra Sijpesteijn*

The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism *Professor Martin Goodman*

Judaism and Islam: Medieval Intellectual and Cultural Traditions
Ronald Nettler

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

What is Yiddish? *Dr Kerstin Hoge*

Isaac Bashevis Singer and the Nobel Prize for Yiddish
Dr Joseph Sherman

Yiddish Dialects: You Speak How You Eat *Dr Kerstin Hoge*

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

Modern Hebrew Literature: Drama *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Short Stories *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Novellas *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Poetry *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Means of Representation: Jews Reading and Writing Themselves
Dr Glenda Abramson

Language Class: Biblical Hebrew
Dr David Lamb, Madhavi Nevader and Rota Vavilova

Language Class: Modern Hebrew *Dr Tali Argov*

The David Patterson Seminars
(*Convened by Dr Joseph Sherman*)

The Civic Engagement of Jews in Roman Antiquity
Professor Gary Gilbert

Swords into Ploughshares: Vision and Reality in a Biblical Prophecy
Professor Hugh Williamson

Jews and Christians in Seventeenth-century France: Two Tragedies Based on the Book of Esther *Dr David Maskell*

Emotional Intelligence: Knowns and Unknowns
Professor Moshe Zeidner

The Anti-Judaism of the Jew of Tarsus *Revd Dr John Muddiman*

Special Lectures

'Mengele and the Seven Dwarves' – Between Facts and Memory: The Challenge of Documenting the Holocaust
Eilat Negev and Yehuda Koren

Isaiah Berlin Public Lecture in Middle East Dialogue
Building a Successful Palestinian State *Steven Simon*

Hilary Term 2006

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

Hebrew Composition *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 Professor Martin Goodman*)

The Origins of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *Professor Paul Flesher*

The Power of Jewish Princesses *Professor Martin Goodman*

The Genesis of Ethnicity? The Role of the Bible in the Self-definition of Syriac Writers *Dr Alison Salvesen*

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

Scripture at Qumran: Contours and Boundaries
Dr Jonathan Campbell

Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Judaism in the Late Second Temple Period
Professor Martin Goodman

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

Introduction to Talmud *Dr Norman Solomon*

A Survey of Rabbinic Literature *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Islamic Religious Texts *Ronald Nettler*

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

Modern European Jewish History *Dr David Rechter*

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

The Socio-Economic Profile of Hasidism in Congress Poland: Some Old-New Questions *Professor Marcin Wodzinski*

Jews in the Economic Elites of Western Nations and Anti-Semitism, 1850-1939 *Professor William Rubinstein*

Jewish Philanthropy and Social Development in Europe, *c.* 1800-1940: The Case of the Rothschilds *Dr Klaus Weber*

Jews and the British Empire, *c.* 1900 *Dr David Feldman*

The Pale, Park Avenue and the Kremlin Meet: New Perspectives on Jewish Agricultural Colonization and Local Soviet Power, 1923-1941 *Dr Jonathan Dekel-Chen*

Power Without Land: Jews and the Military in Modern Europe *Professor Derek Penslar*

From Dreyfus to Dmowski: Tracing the British Intellectural Narrative to Europe's 'Jewish Question' in the Early Twentieth Century *Dr Sam Johnson*

The Conversion Fantasy in Modern Jewish History *Dr Dennis Klein*

Seminar in Jewish Studies
(*Convened by Dr David Rechter*)

Is Jewish Studies an Academic Discipline? *Professor Martin Goodman*

Recovering Jewish Revisions of Greek Scripture: The Work of the Hexapla Project *Dr Alison Salvesen*

'Poison Under the Honey': Two Hebrew Writers in Berlin During the First World War *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Isaiah: Three in One or One in Three? *Professor Hugh Williamson*

Modern Judaism *Dr Miri Freud-Kandel*

The Emergence of Modern Religious Movements in Judaism *Dr Miri Freud-Kandel*

Topics in the History of Modern Hebrew Literature *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Language Class: Biblical Hebrew *Dr Timothy Edwards*

Language Class: Modern Hebrew *Dr Tali Argov*

The David Patterson Seminars

(*Convened by Dr Joseph Sherman*)

Longing and Belonging in Modern Jewish Travelling Cultures
Dr Nils Roemer

The Triumph of Military Zionism: Nationalism and the Origins of the Israeli Right *Dr Colin Shindler*

Get a Life: Biography and Jewish Writing in the Ancient World
Professor Simon Goldhill

The Jews and the Spanish Inquisition: A Controversy Revisited
Dr John Edwards

Medieval Mathematical Doctrines in the Service of Biblical Commentary: Ibn Ezra on the Ten Commandments and the Holy Name *Professor Michael Katz*

Anti-Semitism: A Modern Canon *Dr Dennis Klein*

'He Also Spoke as a Jew': The Mystery of the Revd James Parkes
Professor Haim Chertok

The Languages of the Jews *Professor Benjamin Hary*

Special Lectures

Isaiah Berlin Public Lecture in Middle East Dialogue

Rights Discourse and the Palestinian 'Right of Return'
Professor Ruth Gavison

The Fourteenth Stencl Lecture in Yiddish Studies

'Only King David Remained...': Reactions to the Holocaust in the Poetry of Kadia Molodowsky *Dr Heather Valencia*

Trinity Term 2006

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

Hebrew Prose Composition *Dr Alison Salvesen*

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

The Notion of the Holy Tongue *Dr Willem Smelik*

Mobility and Communication in Ancient Judaism
Dr Catherine Hezser

Explaining Change in Judaism in Late Antiquity
Professor Martin Goodman

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

The Interdependence of the Old Greek and The Three in Ecclesiastes *Dr Peter Gentry*

The Hexapla to Psalms
Dr Gerard Norton and Dr Alison Salvesen

Conclusion: Towards a New Edition of Field
Dr Bas ter Haar Romeny

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

Proverbs 1-9 and the Community Rule *Dr Charlotte Hempel*

Seminar on Judaism and Christianity in the Graeco-Roman World
(*Convened by Professor Martin Goodman and Professor Chris Rowland*)

The Pharisees Among Josephus' Philosophical Schools
Professor Steve Mason

Biblical Election Theology in Rabbinic Judaism and the New Testament *Professor Joel Kaminsky*

Prophecy, Apocalyptic and Eschatology in the Johannine Corpus
Professor Chris Rowland

Pseudo-Clementines, Homilies 4-6: A Christianized Jewish Apologetic Text from the Second Century CE
Dr James Carleton-Paget

Judaism in the Late Second Temple Period
Professor Martin Goodman

Rabbinic Hebrew Texts *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Talmud Seminar *Dr Norman Solomon*

Midrash *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Islamic Texts *Ronald Nettler*

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

Montenegrin National Identity: Past and Present
Dr Cathie Carmichael

Austria 1945: The Muddled Liberation *Dr Jill Lewis*

The American Revolution and Hungary in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries *Dr Csaba Levai*

The Eastern Ghetto: British Perspectives on Polish Jews, 1900–1922 *Dr Sam Johnson*

Translators and Translating in Early Modern Hungary
Orsolya Vincze

The Menace of Christendom: The German Problem and the Catholic Church in Postwar Poland *Dr Jim Bjork*

Down and Out in Paris and London: The Romanian 48ers in Exile *Dr Angela Jianu*

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church in Bulgarian History
Professor Richard Crampton

Set Texts in Modern Hebrew Literature *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Language Class: Biblical Hebrew *Dr Timothy Edwards*

Language Class: Modern Hebrew *Dr Tali Argov*

The David Patterson Seminars

(*Convened by Dr Joseph Sherman*)

The Haifa Turning Point: The British Administration and the Civil War in Palestine, December 1947 – May 1948 *Dr Motti Golani*

The Dybbuk and the Golem: Two Archetypes of Jewish Folklore *Dr Cecil Helman*

Comparative Zionisms: Singapore and Manila *Professor Jonathan Goldstein*

The Six-day War as a Soviet Initiative *Dr Isabella Ginor and Gideon Remez*

An Eye for an Eye and the State of Exception (Leviticus and Levinas, Aristotle and Aeschylus. And Walt Disney) *Professor Ahuvia Kahane*

Philosemitism, the Enlightenment and the Road to Jewish Emancipation *Dr Adam Sutcliffe*

Biblical Roots of Religious Violence *Dr Stephen Geller*

Special Lectures

How a Late Renaissance Scholar Read Jewish Texts: Isaac Casaubon and his Judaic Library *Professor Anthony Grafton and Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Isaiah Berlin Public Lecture in Middle East Dialogue

The Missing Peace: Camp David and Beyond *Ambassador Dennis Ross*

MSt in Jewish Studies, University of Oxford

NINE students studied at the Centre this year, including some who had studied in a previous academic year and returned to Oxford to complete the MSt. Eight candidates graduated in June 2006.

The Faculty

Courses and languages presented in the MSt programme were taught by Fellows of the Centre; by Professor Fergus Millar, Emeritus Professor of Ancient History, Oxford University; and by Dr Norman Solomon, Senior Associate. Dr David Rechter served as Director of Studies and Martine Smith-Huvers, Student Registrar, administered the course.

Courses

Students studied Biblical or Modern Hebrew. In addition, they chose four courses from the list below and submitted dissertations. The following courses were offered during the 2005-2006 academic year:

- A Survey of Rabbinic Literature *Dr Joanna Weinberg*
- Introduction to Talmud *Dr Norman Solomon*
- Jewish and Christian Bible Translation and Interpretation in Antiquity *Dr Alison Salvesen*
- Jewish History 200 BCE to 70 CE *Professor Martin Goodman*
- Judaism and Islam: Medieval Intellectual and Cultural Traditions *Ronald Nettler*
- Means of Representation: Jews Reading and Writing Themselves *Dr Glenda Abramson*
- Modern European Jewish History *Dr David Rechter*
- Questions of Jewish Identity in Yiddish Literature *Dr Joseph Sherman*
- The Diaspora in the Roman Empire: Jews, Pagans and Christians to 450 CE *Professor Fergus Millar*

- The Emergence of Modern Religious Movements in Judaism
  Dr Miri Freud-Kandel
- The Study of Ancient Israelite Religion *Madhavi Nevader*

Languages:

- Biblical Hebrew (elementary)
  Dr Timothy Edwards and Dr David Lamb
- Biblical Hebrew (intermediate)
  Dr Timothy Edwards and Rota Vavilova
- Modern Hebrew (elementary) *Dr Tali Argov*

The Students

This year students came from the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

Bethany Autumn Boyd (*b.* 1980) graduated in Philosophy and Religion from Hillsdale College, Michigan, in May 2003, and taught adults theology and worked with children at a local school in Uganda. During her degree course she spent a term in Oxford on a study-abroad programme, taking various modules, including one on the Foundations of Early Christian Doctrines. Bethany's Christian background introduced her to biblical texts, and she decided to take the MSt programme to familiarize herself with Jewish perspectives on questions related to epistemology, faith, doubt and the manifest presence/absence of God. She plans to write and to teach at university level, but ultimately to set up a school, possibly in Africa, that would serve both as an orphanage and to train students unable to finance their own education. She submitted a dissertation entitled 'The Struggle for German Character and the Heart of Modern Man: "The Essence of Christianity" and "The Essence of Judaism"'.

Sarah Agnes Cramsey (*b.* 1980) graduated in History and Religion at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia in 2004, having spent a year studying Czech language, history and culture at Charles University in Prague. She also worked in the library of the Prague Jewish Museum and the Institute for Contemporary History in Prague, carrying out research on the personal archive of Dr Hana

Volavkova, a Terezin concentration-camp survivor who in 1945 became the Prague Jewish Museum's first curator. For her dissertation Sarah investigated the religious and historical context of the 'tryzna', a memorial service held by Jewish communities in Czechoslovakia in the 1940s and 1950s to commemorate the Second World War Czech dead. Her dissertation was entitled 'Saying *Kaddish* in Czechoslovakia: The Spiritual Manifestation of Shoah Memory'.

Matthew Justin Grey (*b.* 1975) graduated in Ancient Near Eastern Studies at Brigham Young University in 2003 and received an MA in Archaeology and the History of Antiquity from Andrews University in 2005. He has participated in a number of archaeological digs and has worked as a graduate assistant at Horn Archaeological Museum. He is particularly interested in Second Temple Judaism and early Christian origins and, having applied for the MSt in order to learn Biblical Hebrew, hopes to pursue an academic career. He submitted a dissertation entitled 'The Development of the Priestly Blessing in the Second Temple Period'.

Avi Paul Lang (*b.* 1981), who followed courses on Hebrew and Jewish History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem during his gap-year, graduated in Italian Studies at Reading University in 2004, having spent a year as an Erasmus student at the University of Padua in Italy. In 2005 he completed an MA in Medieval Studies at Reading, focusing on Latin, Palaeography, Medieval Christian spirituality and St Thomas Aquinas. He is interested in Jewish-Italian literary circles in Italy in the High Middle Ages, and in particular the impact of Dante's *Divine Commedia* on Jewish literature in fourteenth-century Italy. He decided to take the MSt in order to acquire Hebrew-language skills and to develop his knowledge of medieval Jewish literature and philosophy. His dissertation was entitled 'Dante and the Hebrew Language'.

Nicholas Benjamin Naquin (*b.* 1981) has a BA and MA in History from the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, where he took several courses that touched on Jewish Studies, including Modern Hebrew, the origins of Zionism and the German-Jewish Enlightenment. His traditional Roman Catholicism is steeped in

Jewish history and tradition, and in the conflicts and agreements between Rome and Jerusalem he sees an 'unending struggle to get hold of some of the most important ideas of our civilization'. He hopes to follow a career in academia, government or the Church. He submitted a dissertation entitled 'Ancient Pagan Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism'.

Raha Rafii (*b.* 1982) graduated in International Politics at Georgetown University, Washington DC, in 2004, and worked as a research assistant at the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, also at Georgetown, before completing an MSt in Islamic Studies in the Oriental Faculty, Oxford, in 2005. Her thesis focused on Muslim-Jewish relations in the formative and medieval periods of Islam. Raha is interested particularly in the development of Talmud and Midrash, and wishes to research the role of religious law in structuring the identity of a faith community and to examine how it relates to state polities and political thought. She hopes to carry out research into Jewish concepts of communal identity and their influence on Islamic political theory, and ultimately to work in interfaith dialogue and the rights of religious minorities. Her dissertation was entitled 'Female Barrenness in the Hebrew Bible'.

Jonathan B. Skowron (*b.* 1983) graduated in European and Latin American Studies at Georgetown University, Washington DC, in May 2005, having worked with the Georgetown University Campus Ministry in organizing mission camps for high school students and other ministry events. He is interested in biblical scholarship and applied for the MSt to improve his biblical Hebrew and to learn how ancient Israelites and modern Jews understand biblical texts. Jonathan went on to take up a deferred place at Princeton Theological Seminary and intends to follow either an academic or a pastoral career in the ordained ministry. He submitted a dissertation entitled 'Agency, Providence, and Responsibility: Implications of the Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart in the Exodus Narrative'.

Laura Elizabeth Tomes (*b.* 1984) graduated in Theology at Mansfield College, Oxford, in 2005, having specialized in Judaism and achieved a College Exhibition for academic excellence in 2004. She

taught English in Poland and Romania during summer vacations, wrote and produced a fortnightly programme on religion for a Birmingham radio station, and played an active part in college life. She applied for the MSt because it offered an opportunity to explore Jewish theology and extend her knowledge of Hebrew, which she needed for further graduate study in the area. Her dissertation was entitled 'The Chief Rabbinate of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth: Image, Ideology, and Institution'.

End-of-year Party

The end-of-year party was held at Yarnton Manor on 21 June 2006. The President, Peter Oppenheimer, addressed the students and their guests, as well as the fellows, teachers, staff and their partners. The President bade a sad farewell to Dr Glenda Abramson who has retired after many years at the Centre.

Acknowledgements

The Centre would like to record its gratitude to The Skirball Foundation, New York, for assisting with scholarships this academic year.

MSt in Jewish Studies, 2005–2006

Front Row (left to right)

Dr David Rechter, Dr Alison Salvesen, Dr Joanna Weinberg, Dr Glenda Abramson, Peter Oppenheimer (PRESIDENT), Madhavi Nevader, Dr Jeremy Schonfield, Dr Tali Argov

Second Row (left to right)

Dr Piet van Boxel, Laura Tomes (UK), Bethany Boyd (USA), Raha Rafii (USA), Sarah Cramsey (USA), Rota Vavilova, Martine Smith-Huvers (STUDENT REGISTRAR), Avi Lang (UK)

Back Row (left to right)

Dr Timothy Edwards, Nicholas Naquin (USA), Jonathan Skowron (USA), Dr David Lamb, Matthew Grey (USA)

The Qumran Forum

THE OXFORD FORUM for Qumran Research, directed by Professor Geza Vermes FBA and Professor Martin Goodman FBA, continued to meet once a term during the academic year. Three guest speakers addressed the Forum in the course of the year. Professor George J. Brooke of the University of Manchester spoke on 'Interpreting the Interpreters of Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls', Dr Jonathan G. Campbell of the University of Bristol delivered a paper entitled 'Scripture at Qumran: Contours and Boundaries', and Dr Charlotte Hempel of the University of Birmingham lectured on 'Proverbs 1–9 and the Community Rule'.

The David Patterson Seminars

'He Also Spoke as a Jew': The Mystery of the Reverend James Parkes *Professor Haim Chertok*

The repudiation of doctrinal anti-Semitism by mainline Churches since the Shoah, and especially since Nostra Aetate (1965), owes much to the work of the Revd James Parkes, a maverick clergyman-historian who witnessed anti-Semitism on the Continent in the late 1920s and made it his mission to remove it from Christianity. His critique of traditional Christian contempt for Judaism and of supersessionism, first outlined in his book *The Conflict Between the Church and the Synagogue* (1934), was decades ahead of theological trends and affirmed Judaism's ongoing vitality and covenantal status.

His dedication to the Jewish people and ability to appropriate Jewish modalities of thought are all the more surprising in that he grew up on the Island of Guernsey where there was no Jewish community. He declared that 'he also spoke as a Jew', a claim borrowed for the title of the lecturer's biography of Parkes, but did so without abandoning any aspect of his own Christianity.

A possible motivation is alluded to in the opening paragraph of Parkes's autobiography, which describes the ancient Guernsey custom of empowering individuals to thwart injustice by means of the Clameur de Haro. When Parkes chaired a meeting of the World Christian Student Movement in Switzerland he seems instinctively to have accessed this model when he refused to permit the meeting to proceed until an anti-Semitic speaker apologized publicly. In braving the furore, it seems that Parkes had found his vocation.

The Jews and the Spanish Inquisition: A Controversy Revisited *Dr John Edwards*

The Spanish Inquisition, established in Spain in 1478, inherited powers which popes had given since the thirteenth century to 'inquirers' into heresy among Christians. When Ferdinand and Isabella, the Spanish rulers, visited Andalusia in 1477-8, they became convinced that many

of the thousands of Jews converted in the early 1400s, as well as their descendants, had reverted to Judaism and were undermining both Church and State. Pope Sixtus IV allowed them to appoint inquisitors in the kingdom of Castile in November 1478 to investigate such crypto-Jews. Ex-Muslims, Protestants and even homosexuals and bigamists were later also involved. The Inquisition ceased to function only in 1834.

The most accurate estimate for the number of former Jews and their descendants affected is 2-300,000, although some recent historians, notably Henry Kamen, have suggested that the victims of its violence were statistically a small proportion of the whole and that the Inquisition was less cruel than other tribunals of the period. This view remains controversial. Uncertainty also surrounds the religious identity of those accused of 'Judaizing'. Haim Beinart believes that most or even all of the converts remained privately Jews, implying that the inquisitors were right in their own terms to arrest them as 'false' Christians. But if Benzion Netanyahu is right in believing that their conversions were genuine, the converts and their descendants would have been persecuted on racial grounds. Such polarized theories do not take account of the fact that Christian conversion from early times was regarded as more than a sudden 'seeing of the light'. A close analysis of individual cases is required, possibly questioning the self-understanding of both Christianity and Judaism, to form a more accurate picture.

The Biblical Roots of Religious Violence in Western Religions
Dr Stephen A. Geller

Students of religion have become increasingly concerned, since the terrorist attacks of September 2001 and July 2005, about traditions of violence and intolerance in the biblical religion and its daughter faiths, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The main focus has been on the institution of holy war (*herem*) and its violent injunctions to exterminate the Canaanites, the earlier inhabitants of the land of Israel. Scholarship shows that no historical reality lies behind these commandments, but warlike themes nevertheless play a major role in the Hebrew Bible, while the notion of a final cosmic battle between good and evil in prophetic eschatology and later apocalyptic literature has provided a well of military imagery for religious movements.

The source of this tradition of intolerance and violence lies in a tension that goes back to the source of biblical religion in the institution of prophecy. Biblical religion, unlike other ancient religions, has its formative influence in ecstatic prophecy, an inherently conflicted and unstable institution. The canonical Israelite prophets stood in opposition to the leaders of the state, the official cult and the bulk of the people, and adopted the traditional language of holy war as an expression of their frustrations and struggles on all levels. Groups of prophets also struggled for acceptance as the authentic messengers of God, while individual prophets experienced inward conflict about their own prophetic calling, which many of them resisted. When prophecy was replaced by the religion of the book after the Exile in the fifth century BCE, this warlike intolerance continued between proponents of differing interpretations of the Bible and, ultimately, between the major religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

These religions produced two major modes of approach to the sacred texts. One group accepts interpretation as necessary and interprets texts not literally but in a dialogue between the written word and tradition, a relatively unwarlike and tolerant approach. Literalists, on the other hand, deny the mediation of tradition between the believer and the text, and are usually fundamentalist. Everything in the canon, including the warlike language, is viewed as eternally unchanging truth, and when literalists are frustrated by historical events or societal changes, they often take refuge in the military imagery of the Bible and later apocalyptic literature, which they view as a call to action. While not all literalists are violent, a blend of fundamentalist literalism and political and social frustration of this kind is a major cause of the events of 9/11 and 7/7, and can be traced to the conflicted nature of the institution of biblical prophecy.

The Civic Engagement of Jews in Roman Antiquity
Professor Gary Gilbert

Modern descriptions of Jewish life in the Graeco-Roman diaspora often focus on practices and institutions such as observing the Sabbath, performing circumcision, attending synagogue and other features that together produce an implicit, if not explicit, definition for what it meant to be a Jew. From this perspective, Jews and Jewish

communities appear to be largely apart from, rather than a part of, the surrounding societies. Yet we know that Jews not only lived within their particular communities, but often actively engaged in the cultural, social and political activities and institutions of ancient cities.

Professor Gilbert described his project for collecting evidence for this kind of interaction. He has identified various types of civic, royal and imperial engagement in military service; use of the gymnasium; involvement in intellectual circles (as philosopher or rhetor, for example); attendance at public spectacles (such as theatre or chariot racing); acts of civic benefaction; the invocation of pagan deities; and service in civic offices (as city councillor, and so on) and in positions in Roman imperial bureaucracy (such as *comes*). The data suggests that Jews quite often participated in civic life in conjunction with, rather than in opposition to, their roles within the Jewish community. Inserting the engagement of Jews in civic life into the standard narrative of diaspora life contributes an often neglected but important dimension to an understanding of these communities and the identities of Jews who inhabited them.

The Six Day War as a Soviet Initiative
Dr Isabella Ginor and Gideon Remez

Dr Ginor and Gideon Remez have previously proposed that Soviet disinformation of May 1967 about Israeli troop concentrations on the Syrian border, generally acknowledged to have touched off the crisis, was a strategic move designed to elicit Egyptian action that would provoke Israel into preemptive action. This would have legitimized direct Soviet naval and aerial intervention in favour of an Arab counterattack, and precisely such action was set in motion before the unforeseen character and effect of the Israeli strike led to it being largely, although not completely, aborted.

In a new paper, published in *Israel Studies*, Ginor and Remez argue that a central motive for the Soviet move was to halt and destroy Israel's nuclear development before it could produce operational atomic weapons. This Soviet effort was accelerated by evidence that Israel, despite official ambiguity, was bent on acquiring such weapons. Soviet nuclear weapons were therefore readied for use against Israel in case it already possessed and tried to use a nuclear device. The direct

Soviet military intervention began on 17 and 26 May 1967 with overflights of Israel's main nuclear facility by the still experimental MiG-25 aircraft. These overflights were designed both to prepare for the planned attack and to create enough concern to provoke Israel into launching a strike.

The Haifa Turning Point: The British Administration and the Civil War in Palestine, December 1947-May 1948

Dr Motti Golani

The last months of the Palestine Mandate allocated to Britain by the League of Nations, which expired on 14 May 1948, were marked by a civil war between Jews and Arabs which lasted from December 1947 until May 1948 and significantly affected the manner in which Britain concluded its mission in Palestine.

Since the fighting prevented the Mandatory administration from implementing whatever policies the British formulated, the British reaction to events in Palestine has to be understood not in terms of how the administration carried out the policy of the government in London, but in terms of its inability to implement that policy. Britain and its Palestine administration became subject to the unfolding situation there. This loss of control caused the British to conclude in an unseemly manner a thirty-year period in the country which the latest research evaluates positively.

For example, the Palestine administration and army acted in Haifa and the Galilee in April 1948 in contradiction to London's declared 'policy of evacuation without intervention', leaving the Galilee and most of Haifa about a month before the end of the Mandate (16-22 April 1948). This gave explicit expression to the realization that the administration and army in Palestine could not cope simultaneously with the war and with the needs arising from the evacuation.

Giving priority to the evacuation, the British Army gave up the battle for Haifa, making it clear how dependent the British administration was on the good will of the strongest side in Palestine at that time: the *Yishuv* leadership and its armed forces, the Haganah.

Get a Life: Biography and Jewish Writing in the Ancient World
Professor Simon Goldhill

Professor Goldhill discussed the phenomenon that Jews in general in the ancient world did not write biographies. Three facts make this silence strange. First, biography was popular in ancient Graeco-Roman society, the most famous example being Plutarch's 'Parallel Lives'. Second, Christianity made biography a central genre for the newly developing religion of the Empire. Not only are the Gospels one of the first significant examples of biography applied to such a religious purpose, but saints' lives and hagiography were integral to religious practice and discourse. Third, the Talmud is full of biographical anecdotes about particular rabbis, although these were never collected into coherent versions of a rabbi's life. Professor Goldhill suggested that the lack of biography was a conscious decision by Jews to separate from the dominant intellectual culture, and a strong statement of a central value of Jewish religion: a commitment to seeing action in its own terms, rather than looking for psychological or educational motives to explain behaviour.

The Dybbuk and the Golem: Two Archetypes of Jewish Folklore
Dr Cecil Helman

The dybbuk and golem, recurrent figures in Jewish folklore, myth and literature, appear also in theatre and film. Both may have biblical roots – the golem drawing on the creation of Adam and the dybbuk on the spirit possession of King Saul – as well as other links. It is possible that they owe their survival to the way each offers a cultural metaphor for different aspects of the human condition, especially human suffering, mental disorder, the powers of language (both positive and negative) and the nature of creativity. Dr Helman traced the origins of the dybbuk myth from the Middle Ages to Isaac Bashevis Singer, reviewing its relationship to the kabbalistic concept of *Gilgul Ha-Neshamot*, the transmigration of souls. The origins of the golem legend were reviewed from the Talmud and *Sefer Yetsirah* to the better-known legends of sixteenth-century Prague, and were identified in images from today's popular culture.

The figures form a binary pair – the dybbuk lacking a body and the

Golem a soul – each representing an opposing set of cultural metaphors. They encapsulate psychological truths with contemporary relevance, addressing concerns familiar to modern industrial society with its over-dependence on technology and its multiple and shifting identities.

An Eye for an Eye and the State of Exception (Leviticus and Levinas, Aristotle and Aeschylus. And Walt Disney)
Professor Ahuvia Kahane

Professor Kahane analysed aspects of retributive justice and the biblical dictum of 'Fracture for fracture, an eye for an eye, tooth for tooth' (*Leviticus* 24:20) in terms of a broad spectrum of cultural references. These included contemporary ethics and political philosophy, especially the work of Emmanuel Levinas and Giorgio Agamben; ancient Greek thought, particularly Aeschylus and Aristotle; talmudic and Hebrew exegetical literature, including Maimonides and Sa'adia Gaon; and contemporary Hollywood cinema, encompassing Disney animated cartoons such as *Beauty and the Beast*. He offered diverse arguments against the commensurability of injury from both Graeco-Roman and Judaic sources, pointing to details that distinguish Greek from Judaic approaches to the problem. He contrasted these to responses embedded in Hollywood-based popular culture, where tantalizing versions of 'pure' justice seem often to be proposed, apparently removing both the uncertainty of human understanding and the responsibility attached to an awareness of imperfect action. Following Levinas' discussion of the problem of *lex talionis* ('the law of retribution'), it seems neither hermeneutically nor ethically sound to read the Leviticus verse literally, and, indeed, that the strict application of non-violent restorative juridical principles, however necessary, may not be sufficient for addressing the problem.

Medieval Mathematical Doctrines in the Service of Biblical Commentary: Ibn Ezra on the Holy Name and the Ten Commandments *Michael Katz*

Abraham Ibn Ezra, the Bible commentator and poet, wrote prolifically in mathematics, astronomy, astrology and linguistics. His *Sefer ha-*

Ehad ('Book of the Unit') and *Sefer ha-Mispar* ('Book of the Number'), of 1145-8, were both influenced by the ninth-century mathematician Muhammad al-Khwarizmi, whose work was based on ideas of Hindu scholars – see Ibn Ezra's introduction to his translation from Arabic of *Ibn al-Muthanna's Commentary on the Astronomical Tables of al-Khwarizmi.*

Michael Katz argued that these ideas emerge also in Ibn Ezra's biblical exegesis, especially in his account of God's first encounter with Moses at the Burning Bush in Exodus 3. When God announces Moses's mission to release the Israelites from slavery, Moses asks what to tell the people if they ask for God's name, to which God responds *Eheyeh asher Eheyeh*, 'I am that I am'. Most commentators conclude that *Eheyeh*, 'I am', means that God is the essence of all existence and creation. Ibn Ezra's commentary on this name spans linguistics, astronomy, astrology, philosophy and mathematics, and remarks that the four letters of the Holy Name – *Aleph*, *Hey*, *Vav*, *Yod* – have the numerical values 1, 5, 6, 10. He shows that these have unique properties related to sums, products, roots and powers, and illustrated them with geometric figures.

Ibn Ezra also explains how numbers stem from one and proceed to ten, a hundred, a thousand and so on; how the value of a numeral is determined by its position; and how an empty place (zero) plays a role in fixing a number. He elsewhere borrows the Hindu symbol for zero in use today, which he calls *Galgal Katan*, 'small wheel', although his own decimal system consists of nine digits and a space. He also refers to special properties of the number 9, whose significance seems to have been noted also in medieval China.

Ibn Ezra's gloss on the Ten Commandments in Exodus 20 refers to the idea of one as the source of all numbers, asserting that the first Commandment ('I am the Lord thy God') is similarly the source of the others. His division of the commandments into two groups, and his general liking for dichotomies and mathematical manipulations, attracted criticism from less scientifically minded readers.

Antisemitism: A Modern Canon *Dr Dennis B. Klein*

The story of anti-Semitism can be seen as a counter-narrative of the modern world and a displacement of internal group conflicts.

Resentment of Jews is commonly fuelled by a grim awareness of a creeping modernity that threatens to extinguish premodern traditions, igniting an uncompromising resolve to arrest and defeat it. Anti-Semitism, at least in the West, was not primarily about Jews until the rise of National Socialism, and arguably until the Kristallnacht pogroms.

Perhaps the key defining expression of modern anti-Semitic contempt is 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion' which, though proven to be a hoax in the 1920s, appear to have evoked 'an inner truth': Jews represented the extent to which the world had changed, for if so few could achieve so much power, then vested traditional interests must be losing their cultural and political stakes. The Protocols, fabricated in the 1890s against the background of the Dreyfus Affair in France, the First Zionist Congress in Basel and the Westernization of politics in Czarist Russia, were at the root of Henry Ford's anti-Jewish diatribes in the American 1920s and of Hitler's 'Nation and Race' anti-Semitic invective in the mid-1920s. They remain fundamental to anti-Semitic contempt in the Muslim world today, as is apparent from a speech given by the Malaysian prime minister, Mohathir Mohammed, in 2003, in which he told the Organization of the Islamic Conference that 'This tiny community has become a world power'. The Protocols are a pillar also of the 1988 Hamas charter: 'Today it is Palestine, tomorrow it will be one country or another. The Zionist plan is limitless.' Their influence is similarly discernible in the Saudi press, which has maintained that 'Jews...are trying to weaken our national identity and thus to take over and direct our affairs to serve their interests'.

These examples expose more than anti-Jewish resentment. If Hamas invokes a 'loss of one's country, the dispersion of citizens, the spread of vice on earth and the destruction of religious values', then it displays its susceptibility to foreign influences and how tenuous it feels its ability to be to defend itself. They are expressions of contempt towards an open society whose relentless global ambitions so easily breach traditional national and religious boundaries. They are also aimed at those whose Western sympathies betray native interests.

The 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion' point back in time as well as forward, for they seem to have crystallized thinking since the French Revolution. Three examples indicate how they have functioned as a

wake-up call against the destructive seductions of freedom, including the emancipation of serfs, and against women and Jews, as well as the migration of refugees that threatens to reverse the traditional balance of power.

Responses to David Friedländer's 1799 'open letter' proposing mass Jewish conversion to Christianity reveal Christianity's self-doubts at the beginning of the modern era. Such a conversion might seem a Christian triumph and the beginning of the end of Jewish history. But Friedländer, a member of Berlin Jewry's economic elite, believed that yoking Judaism's rational essence to Christianity's commitment to common humanity could help Christianity purge itself of dogmatic anachronisms such as the divinity of Jesus. Wilhelm Teller, the enlightened Protestant leader to whom his letter was addressed, assailed the idea as arrogant and over-ambitious. His contemporary, the more famous theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher, also suspected a Trojan horse, regarding conversion as a 'disease' that might 'Judaize Christianity'. Hoping to preserve Christianity's sovereignty he proposed, in response, to quarantine Jews in their own subjective religious experience.

Richard Wagner's essay 'Jewishness in Music' exemplifies the anti-modern deployment of anti-Semitic calumny. Written just months after the 1848 revolution, it admonished Germans for permitting political liberalism to advance as far as it had. He used the term *Verjudung* to evoke the Judaization of German culture, equating Jews with money and arguing that German culture was becoming dangerously materialistic and that Jewish emancipation had been a mistake. He preached rather an emancipation from materialism, requiring what he called 'self-annulment', an exercise of abject self-regeneration that would affirm pure, spiritual German culture.

Henry Ford's spectre of the 'international Jew' at the end of the First World War was integral to a xenophobia based on the fear that US isolationism was over. For him the startling phenomenon of imminent national and cultural decline could be restated as the enigma of the Jew: 'Poor in his masses, he yet controls the world's finances'. What was it about the United States, he wondered, that could explain the Jew's dramatic ascent? American Jews, although newcomers, had assumed an advantage by conspiring with international Jewry for loans and influence. To correct the problem he invoked traditional

American virtues: Americanize Jews by transforming their labour into something 'honest' and 'creative'. Sensing the globalization of the United States, Ford reaffirmed indigenous American values – individual initiative, hard work and self-discipline.

These examples make it clear that the attack against Jewish success served to reinforce traditional interests – Church, privilege, Wagner's 'historical community' and Ford's American industry – rather than to diminish, much less destroy, something Jewish. In short, until the Nazi era, anti-Semitism was fundamentally not a Jewish problem but a German, American and Christian problem. It may well be an Islamic problem today.

Jews and Christians in Seventeenth-century France: Two Tragedies Based on the Book of Esther *Dr David Maskell*

The French writers Pierre Du Ryer and Jean Racine each composed a play based on the book of Esther, neoclassical tragedies that illuminate relations between Jews and Christians in France and explore Jewish and Christian traditions on the book itself. Du Ryer's *Esther* of 1642, which a contemporary Christian commentator called 'wholly Judaic', was popular with the thriving Jewish community in Rouen. Racine's *Esther*, written with a combination of simplicity and sophistication in 1689 for performance by schoolgirls before King Louis XIV and his courtiers, was a success with Christian audiences and has since been applauded by modern Jewish commentators. Racine preserves the Jewish quality of the source-narrative, discreetly praising the celebration of Purim, and leaving any Christian message a matter for conjecture. Both Du Ryer and Racine depict Haman as motivated by irrational antipathy towards Jews. But Racine, who gives a perspective on Jewish culture wider than that offered by the book of Esther, represents the Jews as oppressed and longing for return to Zion.

It is not easy to determine how far Racine was influenced by Jewish traditions concerning the book, by the recent false messiah Sabbatai Zevi, or by the contemporary political climate. Louis XIV, like his predecessors, was generally benevolent towards French Jews and permitted the open practice of Judaism particularly in the late 1680s. Madame de Sévigné, writing to her daughter about the Jews of Avignon, reflects the complexities of Christian attitudes towards Jews

in seventeenth-century France by revealing how her anti-Semitic sentiments were challenged, if fleetingly, by Racine's play.

The Anti-Judaism of the Jew of Tarsus *Revd Dr John Muddiman*

New Testament scholarship since 1945 has become increasingly concerned with the issue of anti-Judaism in the foundation documents of Christianity and their influence on later Christian anti-Semitism. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians is perhaps the most critical example. Against the prevailing trend among Christian exegetes to mitigate the problem by locating Paul's polemic in an inner-Church controversy, Dr Muddiman, in agreement with Jewish interpreters of Paul, argued that Paul's opponents were non-Christ-believing Pharisaic Jews, 'persecuting' Jewish Christians, as he himself had done. The many references to 'persecution' in the letter all refer to this threat. Peter's fear of 'those of the circumcision' that led him to withdraw from table-fellowship with Gentiles in Antioch is cited because of its similarity with Paul's clear statement of the motive of those advocating circumcision in Galatia, namely 'to avoid persecution for the Cross of Christ'. This reconstruction of the setting of Galatians explains many otherwise obscure features of the letter, chiefly its contorted interpretation of texts such as Genesis 15:6 and of Abraham typology. The Jew of Tarsus is arguing against (his own form of) Judaism. Candid admission of this fact is the first step in repairing the damage it has done to Jewish-Christian relations.

The Triumph of Military Zionism *Dr Colin Shindler*

Although Menachem Begin is usually regarded as Vladimir Jabotinsky's ideological heir, the vision of Jabotinsky that comes down to us sixty-five years after his death was forged both by David Ben-Gurion and by Menachem Begin, and is a product of the war between the Right and the Left in Israel. Jabotinsky's beliefs have been reconstructed by the belligerent far Right, who quote Jabotinsky at their rallies, but also by some on the unthinking section of the Left, who believe him to have been a dyed-in-the-wool fascist. But he was a more sophisticated and complex figure than such imagery conveys.

The initial reinvention of Jabotinsky was the product of Begin's

attempt to seek and maintain the leadership of the national camp in Israel in 1948, and also part of a wider desire retroactively to reinterpret Revisionist Zionism through the prism of the Irgun and its political successors. Begin regarded himself as a disciple of Jabotinsky, basing this on a selective reading of Jabotinsky's writings. He referred to the Jabotinsky movement, but rarely to the Revisionist movement. Both men were influenced by nineteenth-century Romantic nationalism, the Italian Risorgimento and the Polish struggle for independence. Yet while Jabotinsky condemned the Easter Uprising, the Irgun enthusiastically embraced Irish Republicanism.

Begin was also influenced by intellectuals in the Yishuv such as Abba Achimeir from the Maximalist camp of the Revisionists. Military training was seen not as preparation for a new Jewish Legion, as Jabotinsky had envisaged, but as the means of establishing the military wing of a national liberation movement. Achimeir taught at the school for Betar ***madrichim*** (youth leaders), in part established to define the evolving identity of Betar, ostensibly a pioneering youth movement similar to those in other Zionist parties. Achimeir was highly influenced by the writings of Oswald Spengler and by Robert Michels, a German sociologist and socialist who had followed Mussolini into fascism. Jabotinsky distanced himself from pro-fascist sympathies, denounced the rise of Nazism and combatted maximalism in his own movement. Events in Germany quickly educated Achimeir and his supporters. Yet maximalism, far from being extinguished, became increasingly dominant within Betar. The decline of pro-fascist inclinations did not alter the general approach of the Maximalists. In Poland in the early 1930s many members of Betar supported them, including the local commander in Brest-Litovsk, Menachem Begin.

Maximalism found its time and place because events proceeded to overwhelm normative Jewish responses – the rise of Nazism, the Arab Revolt, increasing Polish anti-Semitism and Jewish degradation, the inability of the British to live up to Zionist aspirations, and the powerlessness of the mainstream Zionist organization. Betar embraced the doctrine of military Zionism and moved away from the Revisionists towards the Irgun Zvai Leumi. Jabotinsky attempted to arrest this development, but his death in New York in 1940 removed any further obstacles to the rise of Begin and the radicalization of Betar.

Philosemitism, the Enlightenment and the Road to Jewish Emancipation ***Dr Adam Sutcliffe***

The hatred of Jews has long been shadowed by a contrary impulse toward admiration, fascination and even entrancement. Jews have been idealized for their supposedly superior intelligence, their apparent economic acumen or for a range of cultural attributes such as sobriety, commitment to family, group cohesion and a passion for learning and the arts. Dr Sutcliffe set out to explore the so far largely unexamined history of philosemitism, a tradition that is certainly not unambiguously positive, but which is equally certainly not simply hostility in a deceptively beguiling disguise.

The significance of Judaism within Christianity is clearly central to any analysis. But philosemitism is more than a mere epiphenomenon of Christianity. Non-religious philosemitic traditions include admiration for Judaism not only as a religion, but as a political or philosophical system (the intellectual tradition); the related appreciation of Jews and Judaism as representatives of tribal and national solidarity (the socio-political tradition); and views which identify the presence of Jews with certain economic or cultural benefits (the utilitarian/economic tradition).

Dr Sutcliffe outlined first the historical resilience of these three strains of philosemitism, particularly focusing on philosemitism in the work of ancient writers such as Strabo and Diodorus of Sicily, and echoes in the early modern and modern eras. He then examined the significance and dynamics of philosemitism in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, which help dissolve what at first sight appears to be a paradox in the history of Jewish/non-Jewish relations. Dominant attitudes towards Judaism among Western European thinkers grew more hostile as the Enlightenment gathered steam; but it was at the climax of this movement that policies of ameliorative reform towards Jews finally erupted onto the European scene.

Swords into Ploughshares: The Development and Implementation of a Vision ***Professor Hugh Williamson***

Isaiah 2:2-4 has so appealed to peace activists and others that verse 4 is engraved in large letters on the wall opposite the United Nations

Headquarters in New York. Does a reading of the text in its ancient context underpin these modern applications?

The passage is very much rooted in the thought of its time, as one can see from its many points of connection with what are known as 'The Zion Traditions' – God's dwelling on Mount Zion, his choice of the Davidic king and his protection of the city from enemy assault. Yet the verses also show a significant development of these inherited ideas – the nations come of their own free will in a positive spirit to learn of God's ways in Zion, rather than coming to attack it. They also disarm voluntarily rather than having their weapons destroyed by God. (This suggests that the passage was written some while after the lifetime of Isaiah of Jerusalem himself.)

Parallels in classical literature indicate that it was normal procedure for ploughshares to be beaten into swords by conscripts in time of war. The control of metal-working for agriculture by the Philistines as reported in 1 Samuel 13:19-21 was precisely a means of their controlling the ancient equivalent of the arms trade. The present passage therefore stands out all the more for its unusual and visionary character, justifying the text's prominence in the twentieth century.

If one 'cherry-picks' only the appealing aspects of the text, however, one fails to respect its ideological and literary integrity. Within the passage as a whole the move to disarm has to follow the submission to instruction in God's ways, and otherwise is pointless. The technology of weapons production, then as now, can never be unlearned. Consequently the vision insists that disarmament is of value only if it follows a change of heart by the nations (and only a Philistine would insist that 'we' can be trusted with the technology but 'they' cannot).

If these results seem to remove the vision somewhat from the likelihood of implementation then or now, a study of the position of the passage within the book of Isaiah as we now have it (a redaction-critical perspective) suggests that there remain steps which can be taken towards implementation. In particular, the vision of verses 2-4 is joined to what follows by the exhortation in verse 5: 'O house of Jacob, come, let us walk in the light of the Lord', a verse with many resonances in the immediate context as well as in the wider book. Leaving open the question who 'we' refers to, the community is clearly being urged to act as a witness to the reality of the vision in the present, even while waiting for its more complete realization. The

label 'vision' does not justify neglect because of unreality, but is rather a spur to action from a realistic appraisal of the point at which the community now finds itself.

Emotional Intelligence: Knowns and Unknowns
Professor Moshe Zeidner

Emotional intelligence (EI), which Professor Zeidner has studied in the context of modes of coping with suicide bombings in Israel and in the light of how emotions are construed in biblical texts, has recently emerged as a high-profile construct in modern day psychology.[1] It may be broadly defined as a set of competencies for identifying, processing and managing emotion, which support insight into self and others and more effective coping with the demands of everyday life. Research has prospered in part due to the increasing importance of intelligence for people in modern society, with EI claimed to predict social, educational and occupational criteria above and beyond those covered by general intellectual ability and personality. It has even been suggested that EI may be more important than IQ in predicting outstanding performance in upper strata of leadership (Goleman, 1998). Yet scientific evidence for a clearly identified construct of EI is sparse and many questions remain unanswered.

Various obstacles to realizing the potential benefits of studying EI are noted by Matthews, Zeidner & Roberts in their recent review of the field. First, there is no agreed definition or conceptualization of EI, and it remains unclear whether it is cognitive or non-cognitive, whether it refers to explicit or implicit knowledge of emotion, and whether it refers to a basic aptitude or to some adaptation to a specific social and cultural milieu.[2] Second, it is unclear how EI may best be measured. Objective tests and self-report questionnaires have been developed, but scores fail to converge well. Objective tests such as those developed by Mayer et al. are moderately correlated with both general intelligence and personality dimensions. Self-report scales are highly confounded with existing personality constructs but are independent of conventional intelligence.

[1] G. Matthews, M. Zeidner and R. Roberts, *Emotional Intelligence: Science and Myth* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003).

[2] M. Zeidner, R. Roberts and G. Matthews, *A Primer of Emotional Intelligence* (Cambridge: MIT Press, in preparation).

The practical utility of tests for EI is limited by these conceptual and psychometric deficiencies. There are some indications of predictive validity, but as yet too little validity for the tests to be used with confidence in making real-world decisions, such as clinical diagnoses, high-stake testing for academic admissions, processing job applicants, or selecting security-force personnel for leadership training. Intervention programmes that seek to raise EI, typically lack a clear theoretical and methodological basis, and often employ techniques whose psychological effects are unclear.[3]

[3] Ibid.

CONTINUING ACTIVITIES

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library

The centrepiece of last year's report on the Library was the donation of two major collections. This year has seen their physical transfer to the Library where they will be housed.

The transfer was made possible by the construction of a new Annex, completed on time, significantly enlarging the Library's capacity to shelve and store its holdings. Previous issues of this *Report* noted that the Centre had been gifted some neighbouring derelict farm buildings, formerly called Mead Farm and since renamed Manor Farm. It is one of these buildings that has now been converted into a two-storey storage facility mainly for Library use. The new Library Annex maximises storage capability by using rolling shelving similar to that already installed in the main building. It increases the Library's overall storage capacity by some 200,000 volumes. The Coppenhagen Collection is now located in its entirety in the new Annex. Relocation there of other items has provided space in the main Library for the Rabbi Louis Jacobs Collection.

The cost of the new Annex and its equipment, including shelving, was around £350,000, financed in the first instance by the sale of other

Plate 1 Manor Farm Library.

Centre properties, notably the barns formerly used for storage at Exeter Farm. The new Annex has significant advantages over these. Besides its greater capacity, it is closer to the main Library building and offers improved working conditions for staff and researchers.

In Memoriam Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs

In the previous *Report* it was noted that Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs had honoured the Centre by donating to it his entire personal library. The 12,000 volumes are now on open shelves in the Leopold Muller Library. A portrait of Rabbi Jacobs which hung for many years in the New London Synagogue accompanies the Collection.

Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs was born on 17 July 1920 in Manchester, studied at Manchester Yeshivah and later at the Kollel in Gateshead. He was ordained as an Orthodox rabbi, studied at University College London, and served as rabbi at Manchester Central Synagogue from 1948 and at the New West End Synagogue in London from 1954. As a lecturer at Jews' College, London, where he taught Talmud and homiletics, his efforts to reconcile his Jewish faith with a modern scholarly approach to Scripture brought him into conflict with the Orthodox establishment, which refused to appoint him Principal of Jews' College or even to allow him to return to his pulpit at the New West End Synagogue. A number of members then left the New West End to found the New London Synagogue, where Rabbi Dr Jacobs remained until his retirement in 1995. In December 2005 a *Jewish Chronicle* poll, in which 2000 readers took part, voted him the greatest British Jew in the community's 350–year history. Rabbi Jacobs passed away on 1 July 2006.

His legacy is best summarized in his own words: 'The contemporary Jewish theologian must endeavour, however inadequately, to do for our age what the great mediaeval theologians sought to do for theirs. He must try to present a coherent picture of what Jews can believe without subterfuge and with intellectual honesty' (*A Jewish Theology*, London, 1973, p. 4). His library offers the resources for such an endeavour.

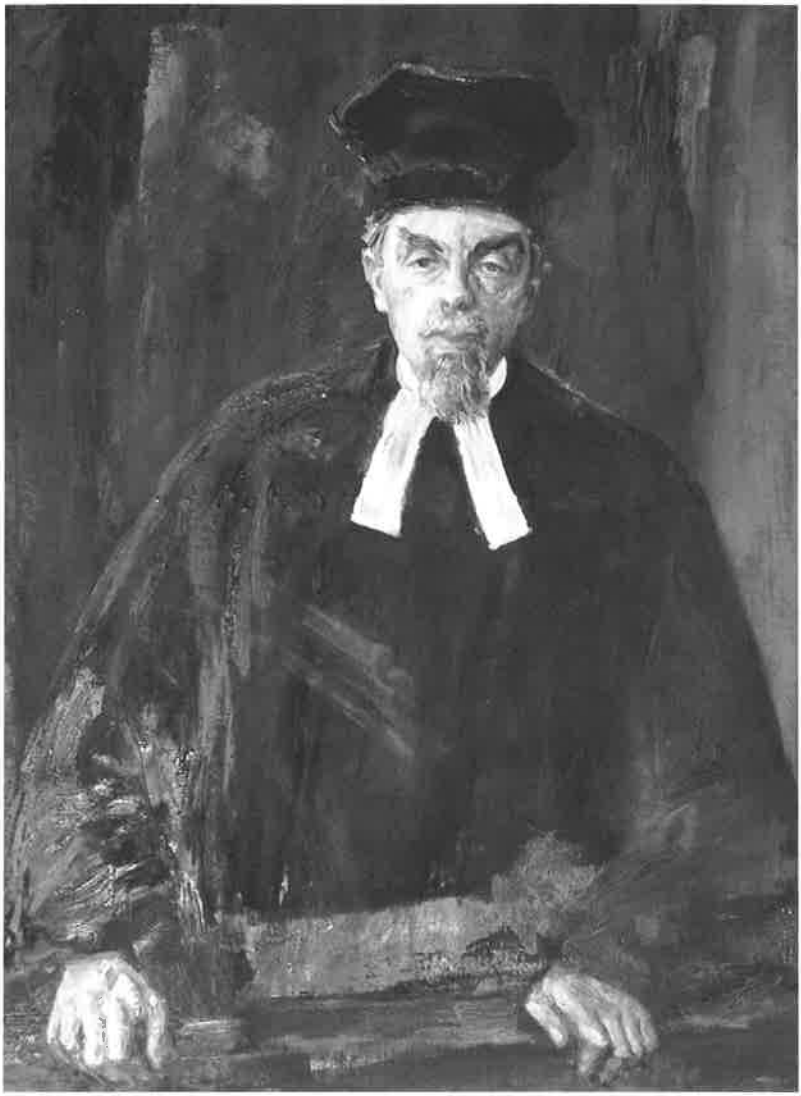

Plate 2 Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs, 1920–2006.

The Arthur Sebag-Montefiore Archive

The Arthur Sebag-Montefiore Archive has been deposited at the Centre on long-term loan by its Custodian, Mr Robin Sebag-Montefiore, after consultation with his prospective successor Custodian Mr Charles Sebag-Montefiore.

The Archive is a major addition to the Library's holdings on Anglo-Jewry and on Sir Moses Montefiore in particular. The greater part of it consists of some 350 letters written to Sir Moses Montefiore between the early 1820s and his death in 1885. These reflect his deep involvement in political aspects of Jewish affairs and include letters from the Foreign Office lending support in his efforts to defend Jews in peril and generally to enhance their lives. A range of diaries and travel reports - the earliest dated 1827 - by Sir Moses, Lady Judith and others equally shed light on his involvement in international Jewish matters. Of particular interest is his own report on a journey to Russia in 1872 to intercede with Tsar Alexander II on behalf of Jews. The Archive also contains extensive documentation on the 'Damascus Affair', in which Jews were accused in 1840 of the ritual murder of a Capuchin, Father Tomaso, and also on the 'Mortara Case', concerning a secretly baptized Jewish boy who was kidnapped in 1858 by pontifical gendarmes and sent to the House of the Catechumens in Rome to receive a Christian education. Sir Moses's intervention in Damascus resulted in a Firman being issued by the Sultan of Constantinople disclaiming the ritual-murder calumny and assuring protection for the Jews. Sir Moses's attempt to obtain an audience with the Pope and gain the release of Edgardo Mortara met with failure. Other political documents include letters from King Louis Philippe of France and Prince Carol of Romania.

Various items highlight Sir Moses's proverbial charity, most particularly the documentation around the 'Jerusalem Appeal' for the poor in the Holy Land and the records concerning the founding of the Jerusalem hospital.

His role in Anglo-Jewish affairs is evident from letters from David Meldola (1797–1853), a leading rabbi of the Sephardi community in London, and from Rabbi Solomon Hirschel (1762–1842), the Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi, who wrote to Sir Moses in his capacity of President of the London Committee of Deputies of British Jews. There are also letters from the office of Hirschel's successor, Chief Rabbi Nathan

Adler. The Archive contains some copies of letters written by Sir Moses, but also a list of all letters posted between 1859 and 1862, indicating the wide range of people with whom he was in contact. There are also several liturgical Orders of Services, such as on the dedication of the Ramsgate Synagogue or the safe return of Sir Moses from a journey abroad.

The Archive will become generally accessible no later than June 2009. Its presence in the Library is all the more significant in view of other, slightly earlier acquisitions, namely the book collection of the Judith Montefiore Theological College (purchased through the generosity of the Foyle Foundation) which includes the library of Leopold Zunz, the father of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* ('Science of Judaism'); and the Shandel-Lipson Archive, likewise an important source for biographical studies on Sir Moses Montefiore and again deposited on permanent loan at the Centre's Library. The Leopold Muller Memorial Library has thus become an outstanding resource Centre for the study of Sir Moses Montefiore's life and contribution to the emancipation of Jews in the nineteenth century.

The Hugo Gryn Archive

The Hugo Gryn Archive (not to be confused with the Hugo Gryn Book Collection, noted in the *Report* of 2003–4) comprises over 800 folders of correspondence, articles and other material spanning the career of Rabbi Hugo Gryn. This incudes his early rabbinical training in America as well as his work as a rabbi in Bombay (1957–60) and later at the West London Synagogue, where he remained for thirty-two years until his death in 1996.

The principal value of the archive is that it documents Hugo Gryn's central role in shaping postwar Anglo-Jewry. It contains significant material relating to his involvement with the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain (RSGB), especially its Assembly of Rabbis and Beth Din. Material on Leo Baeck College, in which Rabbi Gryn played a prominent role, covers the period from 1957 to 1984. Detailed files pertaining to the Anglo-Jewish Association, the Joint Council of Reform and Liberal Rabbis and the Jewish Memorial Council are also included.

Hugo Gryn made striking contributions to the wider Jewish world. In 1960 he became Executive Director of the World Union for Progressive

Judaism (WUPJ), and two years later a senior executive for the American Joint Distribution Committee. He was appointed Chairman of the European Board of the WUPJ in 1980. The archive holds complete files on the WUPJ for the years 1958 to 1984, allowing unprecedented access to the minutes and internal correspondence of this important organization.

The insight the archive offers into the history of inter-religious dialogue in Britain is extremely significant, its holdings on the subject occupying some fifty folders. Rabbi Gryn served as Chairman of the World Council of Faith's Standing Conference on Interfaith Dialogue in Education in 1972 and as co-chairman in 1975 of the Rainbow Group. Among other organizations in which he was actively involved was the Council of Christians and Jews.

As a Holocaust survivor, Hugo Gryn was particularly prominent in the struggle for postwar reparations and in efforts to raise awareness among Jews and the general public through Holocaust Education. This is documented through his involvement with the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and the Conference for Jewish Material Claims Against Germany. His radio and television broadcasts and writings about his experiences, along with his concern for Holocaust Education, are well known and form a striking element in the archive.

Almost a third of the archive is devoted to Hugo Gryn's personal correspondence with dignitaries, congregants, colleagues and friends - more than 15,000 items of correspondence in total. Exchanges with public figures such as Dr Robert Runcie (Archbishop of Canterbury), Sir Sigmund Sternberg and Chief Rabbi Lord Jakobovits, as well as with celebrities such as Felicity Kendal and Maureen Lipman, feature in the collection. Rabbi Hugo Gryn's warmth, sensitivity, energy and enthusiasm emerge throughout.

Rendering the archive material accessible has been a prime concern. A database including detailed information about each folder and where it is stored is available online and is fully searchable. Online searches offer brief historical sketches of the organization or body to which the folder relates and Rabbi Gryn's involvement with it, setting each folder in context and allowing non-experts to use the archive as a historical resource. Each correspondent and organization has also been recorded in the database, allowing individual items of personal correspondence to be readily located. This makes the Hugo Gryn Archive a unique and

unparalleled scholarly resource and a tribute to a formative figure in postwar Anglo-Jewry.

Donations

The Library has been enriched by a collection of books on Progressive *halakhah* from the library of the late Rabbi John Rayner. John Rayner, who died this year at the age of eighty-one, was born in Berlin in 1924 as Hans Sigismund Rahmer and came to Britain with one of the last kindertransports in 1939. A leading representative of Liberal Judaism, the most radical wing of the Jewish community in Great Britain – he was the head of the Progressive Movement for twenty years – Rabbi Rayner was deeply involved in creating modern Jewish responses to daily life. It is this engagement that is reflected in the collection donated to the Library.

Last but not least, a group of *Yizkor* books has been given to the Library on permanent loan by the 2004 Lewis Grandchildren's Trust, supplementing the substantial number already held. These are listed on the closing pages of this volume.

The expansion of the Library's holdings and the heavy task of systematizing, cataloguing and developing new programmes has generated a need for extra funding. The Hugo Gryn Archive has already, thanks to the generous support of Peter Levy and the Hugo Gryn Trust, been made accessible to researchers and indeed searchable on the Web. Part of the cost of cataloguing the Coppenhagen Collection will be covered by donations already promised. The Library is particularly grateful to the Dorset Foundation and to Mr and Mrs Daniel Peltz for their substantial support. In view of the importance of these acquisitions, fundraising to complete the task is a priority objective for the Library.

The Oxford Levantine Archaeology Laboratory: Pioneering Achievements, but a Problematic Future

In 2003 the Centre initiated the 'Oxford Levantine Archaeology Laboratory' as a pilot project to help strengthen the University of Oxford's importance as a centre for studying Holy Land archaeology. The choice of home reflected the Centre's role in completing the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls with Oxford University Press and the need for a new research direction concerning ancient Israel. Since 2003 the Laboratory's major project has been the radiocarbon dating of sites in biblical Edom (southern Jordan), under the direction of Professor Thomas Levy of the University of California, San Diego, and Dr Thomas Higham of the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit at the University of Oxford. The project has generated several research papers in peer-reviewed journals, including *Antiquity* in Britain and *Tel Aviv* in Israel. The international conference on radiocarbon dating and the Iron Age of the southern Levant, held at the Centre and reported in the previous *Report* (pages 124–6), resulted in the publication of *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating – Archaeology, Text and Science* (London: Equinox, 2005). This stimulated debate among specialists (the July/August 2006 issue of *Biblical Archaeology Review*) and other media, including the front-page article in the Science section of the *New York Times* on 13 June 2006 and other international newspapers.

The University of Oxford's long-term commitment to the archaeology of Israel, Palestine and the surrounding countries dates back to pioneering excavation at Jericho and Jerusalem in the 1950s and early 1960s by Dame Kathleen Kenyon, Principal of St Hugh's College, Oxford, who helped the Ashmolean Museum accumulate important collections of artifacts from Holy Land sites. She was succeeeded in Oxford by Dr Roger Moorey, a leading Levantine scholar and archaeologist who served as keeper of the Ashmolean Museum for almost twenty years, published widely on ancient technologies and was involved in major

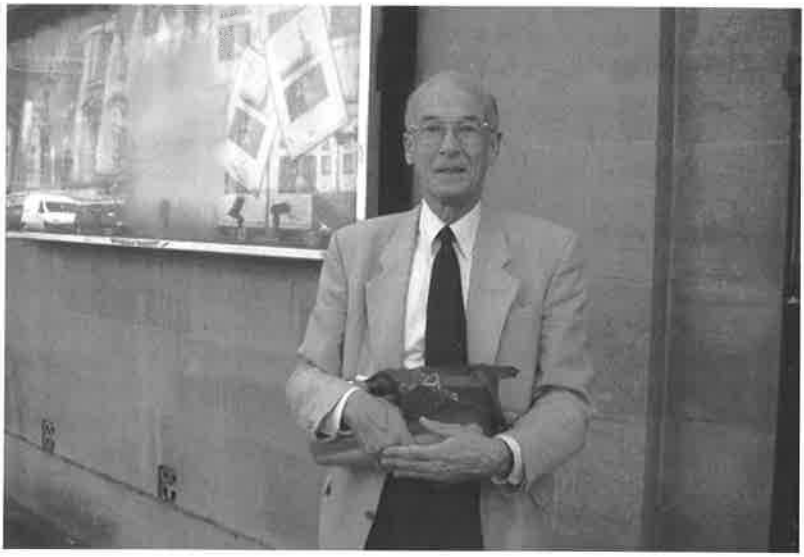

Plate 1 Dr Roger Moorey, of the Ashmolean Museum, on the High Street in Oxford, 2003 (Photo by T. E. Levy).

research institutions in the field. Moorey skillfully avoided the morass of Middle East politics and made Oxford a scholarly haven for both Arab and Israeli scholars.

After his retirement in 2002 it was hoped the Laboratory would ensure the survival of the 'Levantine tradition' at Oxford. Roger, however, sadly passed away in 2004 and his position at the Ashmolean Museum remains unfilled.

There remained Professor Andrew Sherratt and his wife, Dr Sue Sherratt, herself a distinguished Aegean archaeologist with an interest in Aegean–Levantine connections during the biblical periods. But, alas, Andrew too died aged only fifty-nine in February 2006, mourned as one of the world's leading archaeological theorists, a scholar whose encyclopaedic mind and ability to work at continental and global scales of analyses invited comparison with those of the great V. Gordon Childe. In 'Plough and Pastoralism: Aspects of the Secondary Products Revolution', published in 1981 in *Pattern of the Past: Studies in Honour of David Clarke*, Andrew initiated the idea of the 'Secondary Products

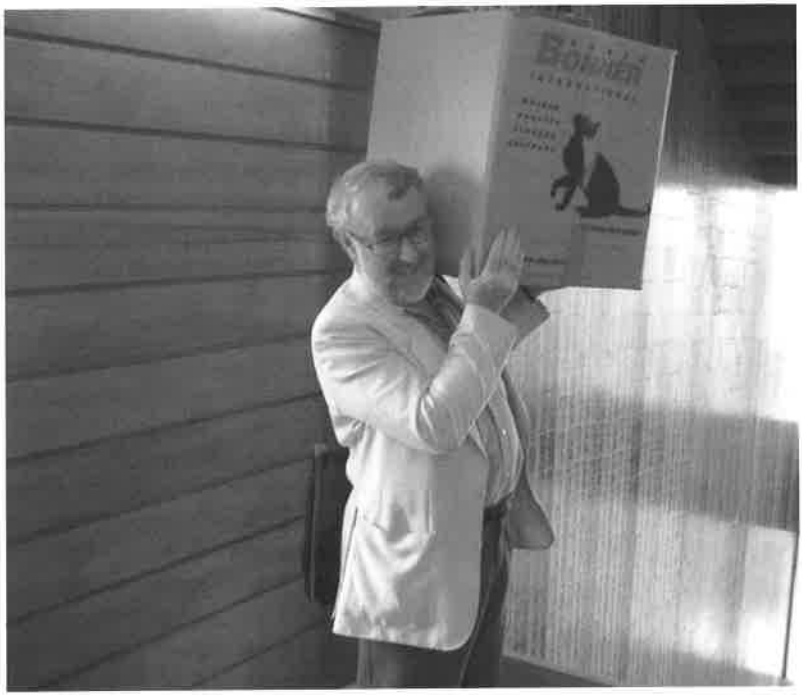

Plate 2 Professor Andrew Sherratt carrying a box of Israeli Chalcolithic ceramic samples to Professor Richard Evershed's Archaeological Chemistry Laboratory at the University of Bristol (Photo by T. E. Levy).

Revolution'. According to this, sometime between *c.* 4500 and 3000 BCE, perhaps 3000 years after the domestication of animals, human societies in the Near East and Europe stopped using animals solely for meat and began to exploit herd animals for their secondary products – milk, wool, hair and traction. This led to revolutionary changes such as the emergence of specialized pastoral nomads and the Mediterranean subsistence economy we know today, as well as the rise of urbanism in the Near East.

Professor Tom Levy soon applied this theory to Chalcolithic societies (*c.* 4500 – 3600 BCE) in Israel and subsequently, as a Skirball Fellow at the Centre, joined a collaborative project to adopt a molecular archaeology approach to the prehistory of milk use in Europe and the Near

East. This was led by Andrew Sherratt, Professor Richard Evershed (University of Bristol) and Dr Sebastian Payne's (English Heritage) Leverhulme Foundation. Levy, using the Oxford Levantine Archaeology Laboratory as a base, provided ceramic samples from Chalcolithic excavations to test whether ceramic pottery vessels contained organic residue of milk processing. Research drew also on the rich collections of Levantine pottery at the Ashmolean Museum. Professor Levy's book entitled *Archaeology, Anthropology and Cult – The Sanctuary at Gilat, Israel* (London: Equinox, 2006), about a Chalcolithic temple he had excavated in Israel, summarized some of this research.

Roughly a year before Andrew's death, he and Sue Sherratt were offered academic positions at the University of Sheffield, where the novelty of their work was particularly appreciated. Their departure leaves the scholarly legacy of Dame Kathleen Kenyon, Roger Moorey and Andrew Sherratt in Levantine archaeology at Oxford University in a sad decline. With no Levantine archaeologists on the faculty and without stronger interest shown by the University, it is questionable whether our experiment in creating the Oxford Levantine Archaeology Laboratory can continue much longer.

Yiddish in St Petersburg

Dr Gennady Estraikh (Rauch Visiting Associate 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 Research Associates of the Oxford Centre, have continued work on a three-year project to facilitate Yiddish studies in St Petersburg. This work is in cooperation with the Jewish Studies Programme at the European University, St Petersburg, and has been made possible by a grant from the Yad Hanadiv Foundation.

Dr Estraikh conducted seminars at the European University in March 2006, primarily on literary images of Jewish colonization projects in the Crimea, Birobidzhan and elsewhere in the Soviet Union, and on Yiddish cultural activities during the Cold War on both sides of the Iron Curtain. He is currently working on a book-length survey of Yiddish culture in the Soviet Union. The first chapter, entitled 'Jewish Literary Life in Post-Revolutionary Moscow', appeared in Oleg Budnutskii (ed.) *Arkhiv evreiskoi istorii* ('Archive of Jewish History', Moscow: Rosspen, 2005). Another, on the life and work of the Soviet Yiddish writer Shmuel Gordon, has since also been published. Work is well advanced on studies of Yiddish cultural life in the 1950s and on Aron Vergelis, the major figure in post-Stalinist Soviet Yiddish culture.

The past academic year has seen the Postgraduate Jewish Studies Programme at the European University, St Petersburg, expand from two to four students, three of them studying for a Candidate of Science degree (PhD equivalent) in anthropology and one in history. Yiddish Studies are integral to their work since all specialize in Eastern Europe. The students attended regular language instruction, as well as intensive week-long courses consisting of five lectures and five seminars conducted by Dr Krutikov. In September 2005 the subject was 'Modernism and Yiddish Literature'; in November 'Soviet Literary Theory and Criticism in Yiddish'; and in February 2006 the works of Y. L. Peretz. The lectures were delivered in Russian to attract a broader audience, were widely advertised at the University and were attended by graduate students, faculty and researchers, as well as writers and translators. The

An early-nineteenth-century house at the heart of the Jewish district on the 'Turkish Side' of central Balta. The name of the district survives from when the town was on the border between Poland and the Ottoman Empire until the early eighteenth century. The current inhabitants are not Jewish, but mezuzahs can be seen on the doors.

seminars were conducted in Yiddish and focused on close reading of selected Yiddish texts.

Yiddish culture is becoming a popular subject in St Petersburg, thanks to the efforts of the faculty and staff of the Jewish Studies Programme at the European University, currently also supported by the Yad Hanadiv Foundation. The seminars were attended by contemporary Russian poets engaged in translating Yiddish poetry into Russian. One of them, Igor Bulatovskii, has recently been awarded a grant to translate the poetry of Avraham Sutzkever.

The academic year culminated in an anthropological expedition to the Ukrainian town of Balta, once a thriving commercial centre in the Pale of Jewish Settlement of the Russian Empire. Because the town was under Romanian control during the Second World War a significant

proportion of Balta's Jewish population survived the Holocaust, making it a fascinating object of historical, anthropological, linguistic and social research. Yiddish continues to live in the town, although the vast majority of Yiddish speakers are illiterate in the language. Dr Krutikov collected material which will shed new light on the functioning of Yiddish in the everyday life of Soviet Jews.

Journal of Jewish Studies

The regular publication of the *Journal* has continued under the editorship of Professor Geza Vermes FBA and Dr Sacha Stern, with Dr Jonathan G. Campbell in charge of the book reviews.

Volume 56, no. 2 contains the usual variety of studies, ranging from the Book of Jubilees and divorce law in the Dead Sea Scrolls, through Philo and Rabbi Akiva to medieval works of Sa'adia and Nahmanides. The first volume of Isaiah Berlin's letters figures among the book reviews.

Volume 57, no. 1 offers a selection of essays on Josephus, Qumran, rabbinic debates on the circumcision of slaves, a detailed report, illustrated with photographs, on a medieval Jewish cemetery in Armenia, as well as a substantial discussion by Professor Fergus Millar FBA of S. Schwartz's *Imperialism and Jewish Society.*

The digitization of the archives of the *Journal* (1948–2004), begun in 2001, has now reached completion. From 2002 a searchable table of contents was available on the internet, and in 2006 all the articles and book reviews were put on the world wide web at www.jjs-online.net . One can browse, search and sort the archive records under multiple categories, as well as read and print the material. In collaboration with three different firms, *JJS* has placed into the virtual world 55 volumes, including 112 issues, 830 articles, 12,760 book reviews, 13,791 pages and a total of 39,512,500 characters in seven different languages. Thanks to the Administrator, Margaret Vermes, the archives are now accessible all over the world to thousands of readers working in libraries which subscribe to *JJS.*

The European Association of Jewish Studies

The secretariat of the European Association of Jewish Studies, based at Yarnton since 1995, remained in the hands of Dr Karina Stern under the supervision of the EAJS Secretary, Dr Sacha Stern (University College London).

Substantial progress was made on creating the EAJS website and online directory of Jewish Studies in Europe, launched at the beginning of 2006. The project is managed at Yarnton by Dr Garth Gilmour and funded by the Hanadiv Charitable Foundation.

The Teaching of Hebrew at European Universities

The 2005 Summer Colloquium, held at Yarnton Manor in July with financial support from the British Academy, was devoted to the question of the teaching of Hebrew at European universities. While not all European countries were represented at the Colloquium, evidence was clear of a decline in Hebrew teaching, attributable not to a lack of interest but to reforms of university education, mainly stemming from the Bologna Accord (a European agreement to standardize the awarding of degrees), and to a funding crisis. Speaker after a speaker painted a bleak picture of the recent dramatic decline in the range and depth of Hebrew study available to students in different European countries, apparently with the sole exception of France.

Given the central place of Hebrew within Jewish Studies, the following manifesto was agreed by those present: 'We consider the teaching of Hebrew to be necessary for many central aspects of Jewish Studies, and therefore we call on the membership of the European Association of Jewish Studies to do all they can to ensure that in each country in Europe there is at least one centre where Hebrew is taught in depth.'

The colloquium began with an illustrated lecture by Professor Mauro Perani (University of Bologna at Ravenna) on 'The Italian Geniza', the name given to the extraordinarily rich discoveries of Hebrew manuscript materials reused in book bindings. Over 8000 fragments,

mainly of notarial registers and cartularies of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have been discovered so far. Professor Perani also delivered a paper on 'The Teaching of Hebrew Language in Italy: Bible versus Judaism'.

Professor Wout J. van Bekkum (University of Groningen) spoke about 'The Drama of Hebrew Studies in Modern European Society: The Case of the Netherlands', singling out problems over funding and the difficulty of adequately defining Jewish Studies within the local academic context. A growing interest within Dutch society in Islamic and Arabic issues could, however, provide an opportunity to expand the teaching of Judaism.

In the first keynote lecture Professor Ora Schwarzwald (Bar-Ilan University) spoke on 'The Linguistic Unity of Hebrew: Colloquial Trends and Academic Needs', sketching briefly the different periods of Hebrew, and considering the continuing influence of earlier phases of the language, particularly Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew, as well as the contibution of foreign languages such as Arabic and English.

Yishai Neuman (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris), in a paper entitled 'A Lexically Creative Approach to the Teaching of Modern Hebrew as a Foreign Language', explained a new method of teaching Hebrew grammar. Since morpho-syntax and morpho-semantics are more transparent in Modern than in pre-modern Hebrew, he argued that Modern Hebrew, because of its greater morphological regularity, should be used to facilitate the acquisition of lexicon in preference to Biblical Hebrew, which is still the starting-point for many students because of the orientation of teachers.

Professor Nicholas de Lange (Cambridge) outlined the position in the United Kingdom, where a number of universities have introduced courses or even centres of Jewish studies, most of which do not offer Hebrew language. In London, the School of Oriental and African Studies offers Modern Hebrew alone, taught by a lector; while University College London, the only British university with a department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies, teaches Biblical, Rabbinic and Modern Hebrew. Outside London, only Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester offer all periods of Hebrew. British universities that teach Hebrew rely on very limited State funding or private benefactions, and the outlook is gloomy.

Dr Sonia Barzilay (Paris 8, Centre National de l'Hébreu) gave an

account of the more encouraging situation in France. Jewish children study Hebrew either in private Jewish schools or (in the case of state school pupils) at Talmud Torah. Hebrew is one of the foreign languages taught in schools and examined in the baccalauréat, the CAPES (the competitive examinations for teachers) and for agrégation. Several universities and theological colleges (whose degrees are recognized as equivalent to a university degree) teach courses in Hebrew, and Modern Hebrew is offered at a number of others. There is a significant student demand for Modern Hebrew.

In the second keynote lecture, Professor Angel Sáenz-Badillos (Real Colegio Complutense) spoke on 'The Teaching of Hebrew Language in Europe and America: A Comparative Approach', describing courses and resources at sixteen American universities known for their Hebrew or Jewish Studies teaching. Almost none had a department of Hebrew, which was mainly taught in the context of Near Eastern Language and Civilization or Near Eastern Studies. With few exceptions, Hebrew was taught not as a Semitic language or from a linguistic or philological viewpoint, but as a tool for understanding texts.

Dr Sonia Barzilay also demonstrated two CD ROMs for the teaching of Biblical and Modern Hebrew which she had helped prepare (the former in conjunction with Mireille Hadas-Lebel). Both are available in Hebrew and English (see www.yodea.com).

Finally, Rachel S. Harris (Oxford/State University of New York, Albany) delivered a paper entitled 'Cultural Negotiations with the Audience: The Case of Haim Gouri's *Hanishkahim*', describing the different versions in which the poems had been published and their different possible ideological interpretations. She also presented her own English translation with comments.

The colloquium concluded with a discussion of the need to address the negative trends and ways in which the survival of Hebrew study at a serious level may be assured.

The latest EAJS Congress – they are held every four years – took place in Moscow on 23–7 July 2006 and was entitled 'Past and Present Perspectives in Jewish Studies'. It will be described in the next *Report*.

Looted Art Research Unit

As part of the Unit's increasing collaboration with German and Austrian cultural institutions during the past year, libraries have been encouraged to identify looted books in their holdings and have been helped to trace the owners. This initiative has revealed how such looted property was acquired by reputable institutions and adds considerably to our knowledge of the period.

Most recently the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek in Weimar sought the Unit's assistance in researching the acquisition by the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in 1936 of 2000 Goethe almanacs from a single owner. The Unit's investigation of archival, personal and other sources in Germany, South America and Britain revealed the Archive's eagerness to exploit those forced to sell treasured libraries in order to survive.

The Unit's research on looted books in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen (State and University Library of Bremen) has shed light on the systematic trafficking in Jewish property in the early 1940s in which many sectors of the population were involved. The outbreak of war in 1939 prevented the shipping abroad of personal property sent to Bremen from all over the country. From 1941 possessions were aryanized and sold in a series of public auctions organized by the shipping companies and the auctioneers, who themselves profited substantially from the sales. Museums and libraries were given first option and used the opportunity to augment their collections. In Hamburg, a more important emigration port, 3–4000 containers had been detained and were disposed of in this way.

Looted property was acquired by public institutions in a variety of ways. The Bibliothek der Hansestadt Hamburg (Library of the Hanseatic City of Hamburg) acquired over 1000 volumes in 1942 and 1943 through the Hamburg Bailiff's Office. The Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky (Carl von Ossietzky State and University Library of Hamburg) acquired 3000 volumes as 'gifts' from the Gestapo between 1940 and 1944. Inscriptions and ex libris labels found in acquisitions dated 1940 include Werner Schiff, Rabbi Dr Bick of Frankfurt am Main, Renate Spiegel, Rabbi Dr Heinrich A. Cohn of Basel and Berlin and Rabbi Dr A. Loewenthal of Hamburg. In

Plate 1 Dr Julius Katzenstein's ex libris in a copy of Faïtlovitch, *Quer durch Abessinien. Meine zweite Reise zu den Falaschas* (Berlin, 1910). The owner may have been the lawyer and historical writer Julius Katzenstein whose pen name was Josef Kastein.

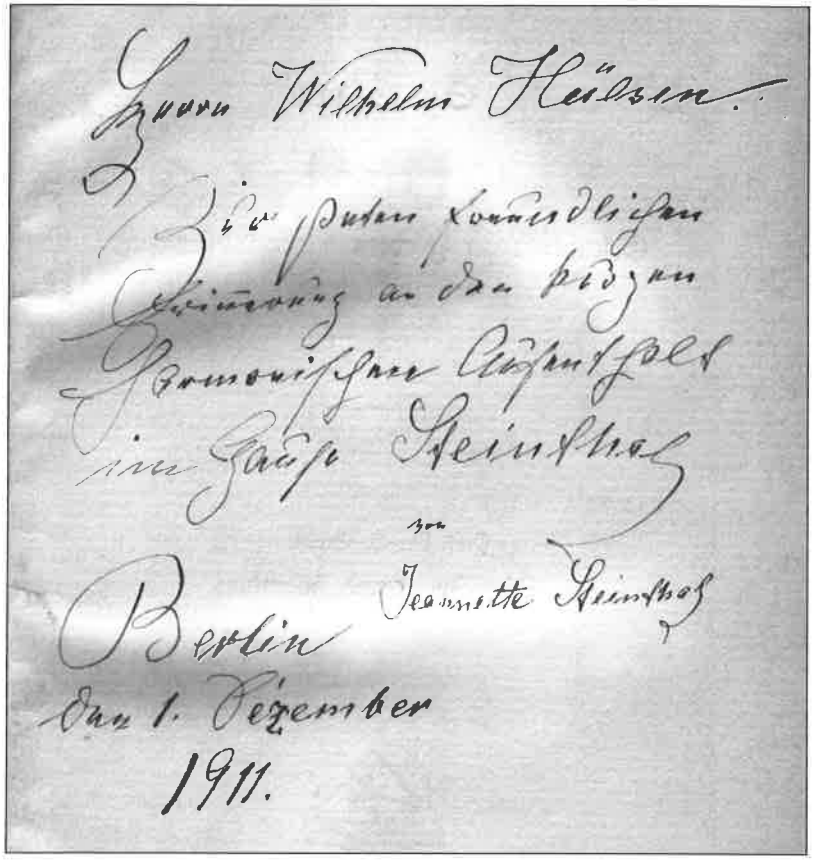

Plate 2 Inscription on the inside cover of Hermann Steinthal's *Über Juden and Judentum* (Berlin, 1910), which reads 'To Mr Wilhelm Hülsen, in good and friendly memory of the short, harmonious stay in the Steinthal household, from Jeanette Steinthal, Berlin, 1 December 1911'.

those for February 1944 the names include Jakob Löwenberg, Alfred Heymann, Gerd Lazarus, Dr Fritz M. Warburg (private library), Synagogengemeinde Stettin, Dr Leo Lippmann, Maria May Reiss and Helene Weinheim.

The research has also shed light on the handling of postwar claims for restitution and compensation for such property. Documents show that

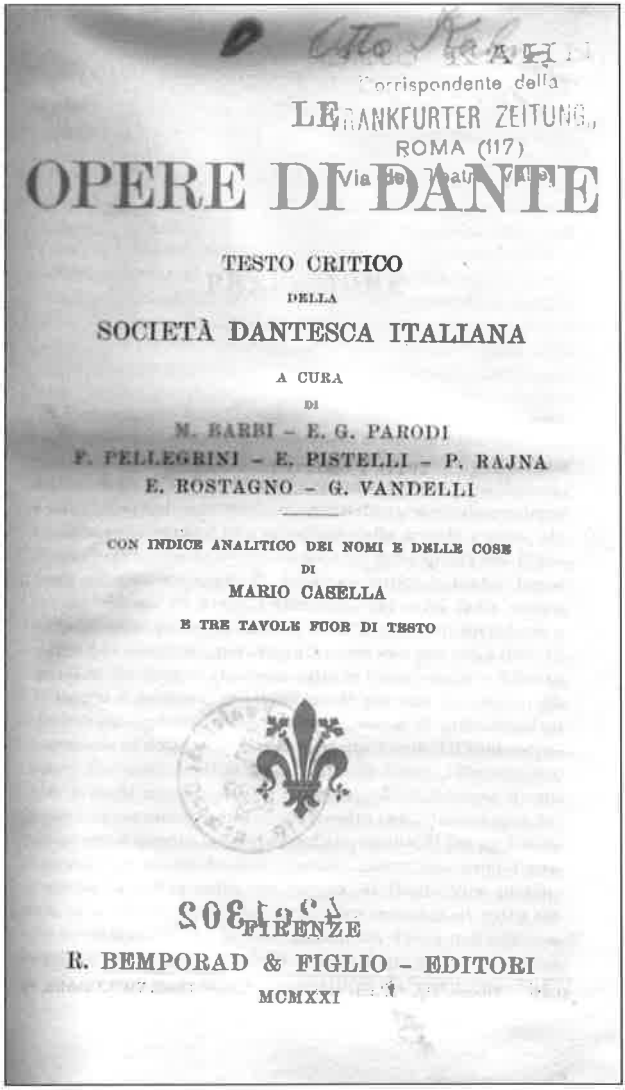

Plate 3 Dr Otto Kahn's inscription in Dante Alighieri, *Le Opere di Dante. Testo Critico delle Società Dantesca Italiana* (Firenze, 1921). Otto Kahn worked for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in the early 1920s, from when the inscription probably dates.

Plate 4 Two ex libris plates used by Arthur Goldschmidt of Leipzig. Both come from the large collection of Almanacs that Goldschmidt was forced to sell and which are currently in the Herzogin Anna Amalia Library in Weimar. The design of interconnected heads of Minerva and Mercury was also used by Goldschmidt on his personal stationery.

some families were informed by the German authorities that their possessions had been destroyed by bombing. They were subsequently offered low compensation. However, in some cases, the property had been appropriated by public institutions which are only now, sixty years later, acknowledging the provenance of their holdings. In other claims, the Germany authorities sought to locate lost property by consulting experts in the trade. Information which has only recently emerged shows that in some instances these experts had themselves been involved in handling the property in question, but this was never disclosed. They either professed ignorance of it or significantly undervalued it on behalf of the authorities.

New archival sources continue to be identified. The records of Kunsthandlung Julius Böhler, one of Nazi Germany's leading art dealerships, include sales and acquisition records, invoices and correspondence which highlight the revitalization of the art trade following the Anschluss in March 1938, when dealers flocked to Austria to buy expropriated works cheaply and bring them to Germany for sale. The records reveal the flow of art from Vienna to Munich, Essen, Dresden, Berlin and elsewhere. In Vienna the state-owned Dorotheum auction house acted as the main clearing point for looted art, and copies of rare catalogues of all sales from 1938 to 1945 obtained by the Unit illuminate the remarkable number of collections sold. Despite the establishment of a Historians' Commission by the Federal Republic of Austria in 1998 the Dorotheum has resisted acknowledging its role or cooperating with research, and has claimed to hold no records. But the Unit's research of individual cases shows how the Dorotheum enabled Austrians to profit from the looting of works, many of which remained in Austria and continue to reappear for sale at the Dorotheum.

Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies

The Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, an associated institute of the Centre, this year published volume 18 of *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, edited by Chaeran Freeze, Paula Hyman and Antony Polonsky, a volume focusing on 'Jewish Women in Eastern Europe'. The exclusion of Jewish women from the public domains of religious and civil life has been reflected in their near total absence in traditional histories of the east European Jewish past, but they are now beginning to be studied more seriously, and volume 18 of *Polin* presents important new research on the subject. It contains twelve papers which not only describe a wide range of women's experiences inside the Jewish world, but also, by looking specifically at east European Jewish history from the perspective of gender, enable many new questions to emerge as old stereotypes come under closer examination. The 450-page volume also includes four other papers, a full complement of book reviews and review essays, and two obituaries.

In November a one-day international conference, convened by Professor Jonathan Webber, was held to launch the volume, disseminate its chief findings, and to open up the discussion of both myth and reality as regards women in pre-Holocaust Polish-Jewish society, their experiences during the Holocaust itself, and their representation in Polish cinema since 1989. The conference, co-sponsored by the Polish Cultural Institute and held at the Polish Embassy in London, was opened by a presentation given by the director of the Polish Cultural Institute (in the absence of the ambassador). Papers were given by scholars from Britain, Israel and Poland (including one on Isaac Bashevis Singer, by Dr Joseph Sherman, a Fellow of the Centre); and the conference concluded with the screening of a powerful film, *Angry Harvest* (directed by Agnieszka Holland). This is a character study of a Jewish woman who escapes from a train bound for a Nazi death camp and is hidden by a Polish-Catholic farmer, first as a favour, then against her will and finally as a man who has fallen in love for the first time. The conference was full to capacity, and there was lively discussion throughout, particularly following the film.

During the year the Institute also organized a special lecture, by

Professor Shimon Redlich (Ben-Gurion University) on 'The Polish-Jewish-Ukrainian Triangle in Prewar and Wartime Galicia', held in January at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies in London.

The Website of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies

This year the website received increased traffic, with peaks in November, January, March and May. The most popular areas were the pages providing data on courses in the MSt in Jewish Studies programme, the termly lecture lists and the occasional news bulletins, which are now also available for download. The site provides details on how to apply for scholarships and fellowships, and comprehensive information on the MSt in Jewish Studies, including course outlines for the current year and comments from past students. Alumni of the Centre have continued to send us their news for publication on the site. A new Centre Projects page showcases the Oxford Levantine Archaeology Laboratory and the Looted Art Project. A link to the Leopold Muller Memorial Library website provides access to the online catalogues of books and archives.

Visit the Centre on-line at http://users.ox.ac.uk/~ochjs/

Fellows' Reports

Dr Glenda Abramson

Dr Abramson taught four courses devoted to Modern Hebrew Short Stories, Novellas, Poetry and Drama respectively, as well as two others entitled 'Set Texts in Modern Hebrew Literature' and 'Topics in the History of Modern Hebrew Literature'. She also delivered a series of lectures entitled 'Means of Representation: Jews Reading and Writing Themselves', and a paper entitled 'Poison Under the Honey: Two Hebrew Writers in Berlin During the First World War' to the Seminar in Jewish Studies. She continued to serve as Chairman of the Fellowships and Visitors Committee and as Editor-in-Chief of *The Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, which is published three times a year. Volume 5, no. 2 is currently appearing. Dr Abramson retired at the end of this academic year after twenty-five years at the Centre. It was announced shortly after that she had been appointed Professor of Hebrew and Jewish Studies.

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Dr Freud-Kandel returned to teaching in October 2005, having overseen publication of *Modern Judaism: An Oxford Guide* which she co-edited with Nicholas de Lange during her maternity leave. She delivered courses entitled 'Introduction to Jewish Life, Thought, and Practice' and 'Modern Judaism' for undergraduate and MSt students in the Theology Faculty of the University over the Michaelmas and Hilary terms. In Hilary Term she gave a course entitled 'The Emergence of Modern Religious Movements in Judaism' for the MSt in Jewish Studies. She also tutored undergraduate students for papers on Modern Judaism in the Oriental Institute and the Theology Faculty.

In Trinity Term she gave a paper entitled 'Contemporary Approaches to Sacred Texts in Ultra-Orthodox Judaism' at a Study of Religions symposium of the Faculty of Theology. She delivered a paper on the subject of 'Anglo-Jewish Orthodoxy in Transition: 1960–1970' at a conference in the United States on Modern Orthodox Judaism 1940–1970. She also completed work on her book *Orthodox Judaism in Britain Since 1913: An Ideology Forsaken,* since published in October 2006.

Professor Martin Goodman

Professor Martin Goodman, Chairman of the Faculty Board of Oriental Studies from October 2005, found much of his time taken up with administrative duties. Alongside his normal teaching he convened in each term a graduate seminar series on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period (for the first half of Trinity Term held jointly with the New Testament seminar). In Michaelmas Term he and Dr David Taylor jointly convened, under the auspices of the Oxford-Princeton Research Partnership, a seminar series on Syria in Antiquity and led a group of graduate students to Princeton in January 2006 to take part in a workshop with Princeton students.

Professor Goodman presented a paper on 'The Power of Herodian Princesses' at the summer conference of the British Association for Jewish Studies in Birmingham in July 2005, and one on 'Explaining Religious Change in Judaism in Late Antiquity' at a conference in Utrecht in June 2006. Both papers were also presented to the graduate seminar on Jewish History and Literature in Oxford. In January 2006 he delivered the annual Richard Barnett Memorial Lecture in the British Museum, on 'Ancient Coins and Jewish Identity'. He also spoke on 'Is Jewish Studies an Academic Discipline?' to the first general seminar of the Unit for Hebrew and Jewish Studies in January 2006.

Professor Goodman was appointed by the President of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem to the International Committee on the Future of the Humanities at the Hebrew University, and in that capacity visited Jerusalem in January and March 2006.

He continued to work throughout the year on the final touches to his book entitled *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilizations*, due for publication by Penguin Books in January 2007 (a survey of which appears on pages 7–15 of this *Report*). He has also edited a collection of nineteen of his studies, published under the title *Judaism in the Roman World: Collected Studies* by Brill of Leiden in 2006.

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 in the Middle East in the Twentieth Century: Islamic Thought' for the MPhil and MSt degrees in Mod-

ern Middle Eastern Studies. In Michaelmas and Hilary terms he taught the undergraduate Jewish Studies option on 'History of Jewish-Muslim Relations', and in Hilary and Trinity terms he taught courses on 'Modern Islamic Thought' and 'Islamic Religion' for MPhil and undergraduate students respectively. He also supervised a DPhil student carrying out research on medieval Sufi poetry and an MPhil student working on the Jewish community of Djerba. He was involved in examining for postgraduate and undergraduate degrees in both Jewish Studies and Arabic.

He continued his research into Jewish Sufism in late medieval Egypt and on modern Islamic thought in Egypt. The project on Jewish Sufism is a long-term endeavour in an area where there has so far been very little research.

Madhavi Nevader

Madhavi Nevader taught a seminar entitled 'The Study of Ancient Israelite Religion' for the MSt in Jewish Studies in Michaelmas Term and continued to teach Hebrew language and history for the Oriental and Theology faculties. In September she delivered a lecture entitled 'Legislating Monarchy in the Face of Exile' for the Department of Jewish Studies at Emory University, Atlanta. In January she presented a paper on 'Moses in the Deuteronomistic History' for the Oxford-Leiden-Bonn seminar on 'Moses', at the University of Bonn. She continued to work on her DPhil thesis throughout the year, and at the end of Trinity Term concluded her tenure of the Kennicott Hebrew Fellowship.

Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi

During most of 2005 and 2006 Dr Ottolenghi focused on an extended project concerning European anti-Semitism. He published an article on the subject in *Commentary* in December 2005 ('Europe's "Good" Jews'), which appeared also in German (*Die Welt*, January 2006) and Italian (*Liberal*, May-June 2006). In December he was invited to submit evidence to the Parliamentary Inquiry on anti-Semitism. His submission, which will be published in the proceedings of the Inquiry, served as a basis for a presentation at the Travellers' Club hosted by the Social Affairs Unit and the Conservative Friends of Israel in February, for a lecture he delivered in March 2006 at Yale University, in the

framework of a yearly seminar organized by the Institute for the Study of Global Anti-Semitism and Policy (ISGAP), and for a paper given at the headquarters of the Anti-Defamation League in New York City in early April. An expanded version of the submission will appear in *The Human Rights Review*, under the title 'Making Sense of European Anti-Semitism'. In June he submitted his new book entitled *Autodafé: The Jews, Europe and Anti-Semitism* to the Italian publisher, Lindau. It is due to appear in January 2007. A synopsis of the book will also appear in English in the 2007 yearly *Menora* 18 (2007): *Yearbook for German-Jewish History, Anti-Semitism in Contemporary Europe*, edited by Julius H. Schoeps and Lars Rensmann.

In August 2005 Dr Ottolenghi was a guest of the embassy of Israel in Dublin, where he lectured to the local Jewish community, briefed senior editors and was interviewed by the *Irish Times*. In September he lectured at Alyth Gardens Synagogue, London, on the tensions between the rule of law and security imperatives in the wake of terrorism, and at Stanmore Synagogue, London, on Israel's disengagement plan. In the same month he lectured at the Shalem Centre, Jerusalem, on 'Some Reflections on European Nationalism'. In October he gave a two-day seminar on the Arab-Israeli conflict to the PhD programme in international relations of the Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane, Naples. In November he spoke on anti-Semitism and the European left at a one-day seminar at the European Academy, Bolzano, Italy. In December he lectured on Israel's forthcoming elections and launched a book by Francesco Dolermo, *Le radici dell'Odio* at the Zionist Federation in Turin, Italy. In January 2006 he lectured on 'The Transatlantic Divide Over the Middle East' at a one-day conference hosted by the Begin Sadat Centre for Strategic Studies and at the French-based Le Cercle, at Bar-Ilan University. Later in January he took part in a panel at St Antony's College, Oxford, for a discussion on whether religious fundamentalism feeds terrorism. In March he gave a seminar entitled 'Israel at the Polls, 2006', on the likely outcome of Israel's elections, at the Middle East Centre of St Antony's College.

On 28 March he was a panelist at a BICOM-sponsored London event commenting on Israel's elections results, and assessed those results the next morning at a briefing organized by the Conservative Friends of Israel. In late April he lectured on Israel's post-election landscape at the Oxford Chabad Society, and gave the closing remarks at an Anglo-

Israel Association conference on the same subject in early June. An assessment of the legacy of the direct-election system and Israel's latest elections will appear in the edited series, *Israel At the Polls* (Frank Cass, 2007), early next year.

In May he gave a lecture on Herzl, Zionism and the Jewish State at the Centro per gli Studi dell'Europa Orientale, Trento, Italy, and later that month chaired a panel discussion on Italy's new foreign policy in the Middle East at the Transatlantic Institute, Brussels.

During the academic year Dr Ottolenghi organized three Isaiah Berlin Public Lectures in Middle East Dialogue, given respectively by Dr Steven Simon of the Rand Corporation, Professor Ruth Gavison of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Ambassador Dennis Ross of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

He continued to publish articles in the Italian press, initially with *Il Foglio* and since December with the daily *Il Riformista*; he has a monthly column in Rome's Jewish magazine, *Shalom*, and regularly contributes a briefing (*Focus*) on Israel and Middle East Affairs for the Labour Friends of Israel.

In September 2006, a year before the conclusion of his tenure, Dr Ottolenghi left the Centre to become Executive Director of the Transatlantic Institute, Brussels.

Dr David Rechter

Dr Rechter served as Director of Studies for the MSt in Jewish Studies and Chairman of Graduate Examinations for the Faculty of Oriental Studies. In Hilary Term he and Dr Abigail Green of Brasenose College convened a seminar on Modern European Jewish History at the European Studies Centre of St Antony's College. Speakers included Dr Jonathan Dekel-Chen (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Dr David Feldman (Birkbeck, University of London), Professor Denis Klein (Kean University, New Jersey), Professor Derek Penslar (University of Toronto), Professor W. D. Rubinstein (University of Wales, Aberystwyth) and Professor Marcin Wodzinski (University of Wrocław). In Trinity Term he convened with Professor R. J. W. Evans and Professor Richard Crampton a History Faculty seminar on East and East-Central Europe. During Hilary and Trinity terms he convened a lunchtime Jewish Studies seminar series for the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit at the Oriental Institute. Speakers included Dr Glenda Abramson, Dr Piet van

Boxel, Professor Martin Goodman, Professor Fergus Millar, Dr Alison Salvesen and Professor H. G. M. Williamson. He continued his research on the Jews of Habsburg Bukovina, about which he gave papers at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem ('A Jewish El Dorado? Myth and Politics in Habsburg Czernowitz') and in Berlin ('Geography is Destiny: Nation, Region and Empire in Habsburg Jewish Bukovina').

Dr Alison Salvesen

Dr Salvesen was on sabbatical leave in Michaelmas Term, working on a longstanding project to edit the fragments of the later Jewish-Greek versions of the book of Exodus. She spent three weeks in Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Lousiville, Kentucky, the home of the project database. Dr Salvesen and the programmer Liz Robar, who is based there, gave a paper on the methodology of assigning attributions to named ancient Jewish translators, at the meeting of the International Organisation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies in Philadelphia, part of that year's Society for Biblical Literature conference.

Early in Trinity Term Dr Salvesen organized the second series of Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint. She collaborated with Dr Gerard Norton on a paper entitled 'Preparing a New Edition of the Hexaplaric Psalter: The Significance of the Material Discovered Since 1875', which focused on the Greek biblical material found among the Cairo Geniza fragments.

In Hilary Term Dr Salvesen taught a survey course on 'Jewish and Christian Bible Interpretation' for the Centre's MSt programme. At the Oriental Institute she held graduate classes on the biblical interpretation of the Syriac scholar Jacob, bishop of Edessa. She also supervised three dissertations for the MSt and the work of four doctoral students at the Oriental Institute, and acted as an external examiner for the BA in Hebrew and Jewish Studies at University College London.

Dr Salvesen participated in the Oxford-Princeton link project on Syria, and in January travelled to Princeton University with two other members of the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit, Professor Martin Goodman and Dr David Taylor. She gave a paper on how Syriac writers used the terms 'Syria' and 'Syrian' in late Antiquity. In Oxford she presented a seminar paper on Syriac writers' use of the patriarchal narratives in Genesis to define their own ethnic identity, at Professor Goodman's weekly seminar.

Dr Salvesen was invited to lecture at a conference in France to mark the 1700th anniversary of the most famous Syriac writer, St Ephrem, which fell on 9 June 2006. Her paper was entitled, 'Angels and Innocents in St Ephrem', and discussed how Ephrem and his contemporaries in the fourth century related the ideal state of humanity to that of Adam in the Garden of Eden and to the rank of heavenly angels.

In November Dr Salvesen became a member-at-large of the Executive Committee of the International Organisation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, and in June was invited to become a member of the advisory committee for the Spanish series *Textos y Estudios Cardenal Cisneros*, published by the Consejo de Superior de Investigaciones, the Spanish national research council.

Dr Joseph Sherman

Dr Sherman, the Centre's Woolf Corob Fellow in Yiddish Studies, who was appointed University Research Lecturer from Trinity Term 2005, participated in several public lectures and conferences over the academic year. He lectured at the London Jewish Cultural Centre on 'Yiddish, Communism and Post-1948 South Africa' in late June, and was one of the teachers at the Fifth Annual Seminar of Yiddish and Yiddish Culture organized by the Swedish Society for Yiddish and Yiddish Culture in Stockholm, on 19–21 August 2005. He taught texts in both English and in Yiddish on the work of Israel Joshua Singer and David Bergelson. He also organized and convened the Sixth Annual Friedman Conference, on the theme 'Bergelson and his Circle', which took place at Yarnton Manor under the joint auspices of the Centre and of the European Humanities Research Centre of the University on 23–4 August 2005. His own lecture was entitled 'Early Bergelson's Narrative Strategies'. On 24 November he delivered a paper entitled 'Women, Sex and Scandal: Isaac Bashevis Singer and the Polish *Shtetl*', as part of the annual Polin Conference held at the Polish Embassy in London, which this year was devoted to the theme, 'Jewish Women in Eastern Europe'. (See the longer report on page 111).

Dr Sherman continued to serve as the Centre's Academic Director until the end of Hilary Term 2006, and was a member of the Editorial Board of the New Yiddish Library (Yale University Press) until the conclusion of the project at the end of 2005. He remains co-editor of *Slavic Almanac* (University of South Africa) and an Honorary Research Asso-

ciate in the School of Modern Languages and Literatures, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Dr Joanna Weinberg

Dr Weinberg spent Michaelmas Term on sabbatical leave as a fellow at the Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, University of Pennsylvania. During this period she worked with Professor Anthony Grafton of Princeton University on a study of the Hebrew and Judaic books of the late Renaissance scholar Isaac Casaubon. She gave a lecture at the University of Lexington Virginia entitled 'The Bible in Ancient Rabbinic Discourse: A Homily on Persecution', a seminar on Azariah de' Rossi and classical antiquity at the University of Chicago and the Centro Primo Levi, New York, and inaugurated the new programme of Italian-Jewish Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. In March she returned to Princeton and Philadelphia to deliver a lecture together with Professor Grafton on the topic of their ongoing research, 'Isaac Casuabon's Judaic Library: A Late Renaissance Scholar's Encounter with Jewish Books'. In May she returned to Philadelphia to participate in the annual conference – the Twelfth Gruss Colloquium - where she delivered a paper entitled 'The Crucifixion of Jesus According to the Jews: Isaac Casaubon's Reconstruction', and spoke at the final summing-up session.

She resumed her teaching in Hilary and Trinity terms, delivering a 'Survey of Rabbinic Literature' for the MSt in Jewish Studies, and undergraduate and graduate courses on Midrash, medieval Jewish exegesis, medieval Jewish thought and history. In addition she delivered four lectures on the formation of Rabbinic Judaism for the Faculty of Theology.

She continued to serve as Chair of the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit of the Oriental Faculty and as external examiner for the external degree in Jewish History at the University of London. Shortly after the end of the academic year it was announced that Dr Weinberg had been appointed Reader in Hebrew and Jewish Studies.

Professor Hugh Williamson

Professor Williamson returned from sabbatical leave in Michaelmas Term, having completed the first volume of a commentary on the Hebrew text of Isaiah 1–27 and the editorial work on a *Dictionary of the*

Historical Books of the Old Testament. He resumed undergraduate lecturing on the history of ancient Israel and on Hebrew language at all levels – especially the Hebrew text of Genesis 1–11, 2 Kings 18–25, Isaiah 8–9, 24–27, 40–45, 52–55 and 56–62, Malachi, selected Psalms and Nehemiah 1–6. He also supervised nine graduate students. In November he gave a paper on Judah in the Neo-Babylonian period at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Philadelphia, and attended meetings of the Society for Old Testament Study in Edinburgh (July) and Birmingham (January). In December he was a guest lecturer to the University of Malta, where he give a course of eight lectures on the history of Judah in the Achaemenid period. He continues to chair the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society and to serve as secretary of the executive committee of the international Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database Project. He is also on the editorial Boards of *Vetus Testamentum* and *Oudtestamentische Studiën.* He has recently been elected chair of the Humanities Group of the British Academy.

A summary of the David Patterson Seminar he gave appears on pages 80–2 of this *Report.*

Visiting Scholars' Report

Professor Piero Capelli

Professor Piero Capelli of Universita Ca' Foscari, in Venice, who stayed at the Centre from 21 April to 16 July 2005, collated the text of the *Viku'ah Rabbenu Yehi'el* according to the Bodleian Library MS Mich. 121, which was copied by Abraham Shemu'el Bacharach in the early seventeenth century in Ashkenaz. The *Viku'ah* is the Hebrew account of the first public trial in Europe against the Talmud as an anti-Christian document and an illegitimate source of authority within Judaism. The trial, held in Paris in 1240, resulted in the historically influential burning of the Talmud in Paris in 1242. The Hebrew account of the trial has previously neither been the subject of a full historical analysis nor edited critically. The Paris and Oxford manuscripts will form the basis for a collation of the parallel texts in Hamburg, Milan and Moscow, along with J. Chr. Wagenseil's transcription of a now lost Strassburg manuscript, published in his *Tela ignea Satanae* (Altdorf 1681).

Professor Capelli delivered a lecture at Yarnton on representations of the Devil in Jewish non-canonical literature of the Second Temple Period, especially the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.*

Dr Yitzhak Conforti

Dr Yitzhak Conforti of Bar-Ilan University, who stayed at the Centre from 5 July to 28 September 2005, completed a book in Hebrew entitled *History and Memory: Zionist Historiography and Zionist Memory*, which analyses Zionist historiography in Israel and elsewhere from its beginnings in the 1920s and 1930s, focusing on the first two generations who remained active until the 1960s and 1970s.

The first part examines the influence on Zionist historiography of changes in Jewish views of the past and the development of the Western scientific attitude towards history. The second part discusses the relationship of Zionist historiography to the role of the Land of Israel in Jewish history, attitudes to it in the Diaspora and the question of the continuity of Jewish history. The third part analyses the influence of research historiography on the public sphere during the Yishuv and the early days of the State of Israel.

Dr Conforti made extensive use of the Leopold Muller and Bodleian libraries in Oxford, and prepared a paper entitled 'Nationalism and Continuity in Jewish History', that he delivered at the AJS conference in December 2005.

Hugh Denman

Hugh Denman of University College London, who has been based at the Centre since 4 October 2004, published two articles this academic year: 'Isaac Bashevis Singer e la Polonia', in Laura Quercioli Mincer and Daniela Mantovan (eds) *Ricordando I. B. Singer: Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 71:2–3 (Maggio-Dicembre 2005), (2006) 49–66, and 'Riflessioni sulla traslitterazione dello yiddish' in the same journal, pp. 283–92. He also finalized articles on 'Shmuel-Yankev Imber', 'Leon Kobrin', 'H. Leyvik', 'Mendl Man', 'Yitskhok Raboy', 'Avrom Reyzn' and 'Sholem-Aleykhem' for the revised second edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, published in early 2007, and submitted articles on 'Sholem-Aleykhem' and 'H. Leyvik' for the *Yiddish Authors* volume (edited by Joseph Sherman) of the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, due to appear in Detroit in Spring 2007. The third part of his bibliographic series *Anthologies of Yiddish Literature*, 'Anthologies of Yiddish Literature in the Original Yiddish', will appear shortly in the on-line *Mendele Review*.

Meanwhile work continued on his *Guide to Yiddish Literature*, which will eventually form part of the *Beihefte zum »Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry«* series published by Niemeyer in Tübingen. The section entitled *Authors A-L* is expected to appear relatively soon.

In April he delivered guest lectures on Yiddish topics in the German Department of the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest.

A paper describing aspects of his work appears on pages 30–43 of this *Report*.

Professor Yuval Dror

Professor Yuval Dror of Tel Aviv University School of Education stayed at the Centre between 1 August and 29 September 2005 and completed a book entitled *'National Education' Through Mutually Supportive Devices: A Case Study of Zionist Education*. He drafted a preliminary synopsis and some five draft chapters during a previous visit to the Centre in 2002.

He also began work on the second volume of the 'Communal Groups' research project which he directs for the Yad Tabenkin research centre of the kibbutz movement. The study continues to examine issues raised in his book entitled *The History of Kibbutz Education: Practice into Theory*, completed during his 1998–9 stay at the Centre. In his new book he examines the five 'urban kibbutzim' and five 'educational kibbutzim' of the Labour youth movements, located in distressed areas in the country's periphery, most of whose members are young adults prolonging their education by participating in community projects.

He additionally completed a number of articles, chapters and reviews based in part on material on the Zionist movement in the Kressel Collection in the Leopold Muller Memorial Library.

Arie Dubnov

Arie Dubnov, a Visiting Research Student at the Centre from 1 to 31 August 2005, worked on a PhD thesis entitled 'Between Jewish Identity and Cold War Liberalism: The Development of Isaiah Berlin's Early Thought, 1930–1968', for the History Department of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He was able to examine Isaiah Berlin's correspondence and drafts of his papers and lectures at the Bodleian Library, and to trace the development of his attitude towards the Zionist movement and the State of Israel.

Professor Estée Dvorjetski

Professor Dvorjetski of Haifa University stayed at the Centre from 25 August 2004 to 25 August 2005 and continued her research into the history and archaeology of thermo-mineral baths in the Levant, focusing on daily life, healing cults and medical recommendations and treatments. She almost completed her book entitled *Leisure, Pleasure and Therapy: The Thermo-mineral Baths in the Eastern Mediterranean Basin in Antiquity.*

Professor Dvorjetski presented some of her latest findings in three lectures. The first, entitled 'Spas in the Eastern Basin: Sacred Cult Places or Popular Sites of Healing?', was delivered at the Centre for Health, Medicine and Society: Past and Present, Oxford Brookes University. She gave a paper entitled 'Social and Cultural Aspects of the Therapeutic Baths in the Eastern Mediterranean according to Rabbinic

Literature' at the Department of Religions and Theology, Manchester University. The third, entitled 'Aspects of Leisure, Pleasure and Therapy in the Rabbinic Literature', was given at the Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period, Oxford.

She helped teach an introductory MA course on the History of Medicine for the Department of History, Oxford Brookes University, giving sessions such as 'Social and Cultural History of the Medicinal Roman Baths' and 'The Origins of Hospitals'. She supervised an MA dissertation on 'Bath Spa During the Eighteenth Century' and co-supervised a PhD thesis on 'The Various Uses of Natural Hot Springs in a Small Mountain Village on the Island of Honshu, Japan'.

The resources of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library in Oxford were among those found invaluable for working on Greek, Latin, Aramaic and Syriac material, including talmudic literature and epigraphic finds, as well as on archaeological reports and contemporary medical and geothermal papers.

Professor Gary Gilbert

Professor Gary Gilbert of Claremont McKenna College, California, stayed at the Centre from 6 October 2005 to 30 June 2006 and carried out research on Jewish life in the Graeco-Roman Diaspora. Modern descriptions often speak of the particular practices and institutions exercised in these communities, and regard actions such as observing the Sabbath, practising circumcision and attending the synagogue as implicit, if not explicit, definition what it meant to be a Jew. From this perspective Jews and Jewish communities appear largely apart from, rather than a part of, the surrounding societies. We know, however, that Jews involved themselves not only with life within their particular communities, but often actively engaged in the cultural, social and political activities and institutions of the ancient city, suggesting that Jews participated in civic life in conjunction with, rather than in opposition to, their roles within the Jewish community. Inserting the engagement of Jews in civic society into the standard narrative of Diaspora life contributes an often neglected but important dimension to an understanding of these communities and the identities of Jews who inhabited them.

A summary of the lecture delivered by Professor Gilbert while at Yarnton appears on pages 69–70 of this *Report*.

Professor Jonathan Goldstein

Professor Goldstein of the Department of East Asian History at the University of West Georgia stayed at the Centre between 21 February and 4 June 2006 and completed one book, one book chapter, three scholarly articles, six encyclopedia entries and four newsletter articles. He also delivered five lectures on Sino-Judaica, and began work on a book entitled *Enlightened Backwaters?: Bangkok, Harbin, Manila, Rangoon, Singapore and Surabaya as Reference Points for Asian Jewish Identity.*

A book entitled *China, the Jewish National Movement and Israel*, published in 2006 by the China Social Sciences Press (Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe) in Beijing, is a Chinese-language revision and updating of his book *China and Israel, 1948–1998: A Fifty Year Retrospective* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1999), which he completed during his 1999 stay at the Centre.

An article entitled 'China, Israel and Taiwan' was published in *US-China Review* (Glen Ellyn, Illinois) 30/2 (April 2006), and one called 'A Quadrilateral Relationship: Israel, China, Taiwan and the United States Since 1992', in the *American Journal of Chinese Studies* (San Antonio, TX) 12/2, dated October 2005. A paper entitled 'Memory, Place and Displacement in the Formation of Jewish Identity in Rangoon and Surabaya' appeared in David Cesarani, Tony Kushner and Milton Shain (eds) *Zakor v'Makor: Place and Displacement in Jewish History and Memory* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006) and also in *Jewish Culture and History* (London) 8/1–2 (Spring/Summer 2006).

Professor Goldstein wrote encyclopedia entries on 'Bangkok', 'Harbin', 'Manila', 'Rangoon', 'Singapore' and 'Surabaya' for M. Avrum Ehrlich's *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-Clio, 2006).

A piece entitled 'Good Things in Small Packages: Sarasota Mini-Conference Highlights the Sino-Judaic Experience' was published in the summer 2006 issue of *Points East*, newsletter of the Menlo Park, California-based Sino-Judaic Institute. Another, entitled 'From Rabbi Kisilev to Ehud Olmert: A Brief History of the Cultural Life of the Harbin Jews', is posted on the website of the Igud Yotzei Sin, the Tel Aviv-based Association of Former Jewish Residents of China (www.jewsofchina.org, Harbin link). A newspaper article on 'The Jews

of Harbin (China), Ehud Olmert's Ancestral Hometown' appeared in *The National Jewish Post & Opinion* (Indianapolis, Indiana) on 10 May 2006, and an op-ed piece on 'The Jews of Harbin, China' in the *Bangor Daily News* (Maine) on 10 April 2006.

Professor Goldstein delivered a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'Comparative Zionisms: Singapore and Manila' (pages 16–29 of this *Report*). His other lectures included 'From Rabbi Kisilev to Ehud Olmert: A Brief History of the Cultural Life of the Harbin Jews' at a conference on 'Jewish Communities of China', Flanzer Center, Sarasota, Florida, on 16 March, as well as addresses to the Oxford University Chabad Society on 5 May, and to the Department of Theology and the Mosaic Society at the University of Birmingham on 17 and 24 May respectively.

Dr Gil Graff

Dr Gil Graff, Executive Director of the Bureau of Jewish Education, Los Angeles, and Adjunct Associate Professor of Jewish History and Education at the University of Judaism (Los Angeles) was a Visiting Scholar at the Centre from 19 July to 21 August 2005. Dr Graff – who recently wrote a comprehensive article on the history of Jewish Education in the USA, to be published in the revised edition of *Encyclopaedia Judaica* scheduled to appear in 2007 – worked on the final stages of his *First Steps: A History of Jewish Education in the United States*, which appeared late in 2005.

Dr Hannah K. Harrington

Dr Harrington of Patten University, Oakland, California, stayed at the Centre from 26 July to 25 August 2005 and worked on *Ezra-Nehemiah*, to be published as part of the New International Commentary on the Old Testament, Eerdmans Press. She focused on introductory material relating to the composition, date and authorship of *Ezra-Nehemiah*, as well as on an analysis of purity matters in these books. A paper resulting from this study appeared in a collection edited by Mark Boda and Paul Redditt, entitled *(Dis) Unity of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah in History, Literature, and Interpretation*, Old Testament Monograph series of the Sheffield Phoenix Press (2006).

She also completed an article on the current state of research on purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls for the journal *Currents in Biblical Research*,

and presented a paper entitled 'Is There a Sectarian System of Purity Law Among the Qumran Scrolls?' at the Annual Meeting of the Qumran Section of the Society of Biblical Literature in Philadelphia, 18–21 November.

Dr Oleg Kozerod

Dr Kozerod, from the Academy of Science of Ukraine (Kiev), stayed at the Centre from 18 October 2004 to 15 July 2005, preparing for publication a book entitled *Jewish Women of Soviet Russia, 1921–1929*. The book (since published by the Academic Press of Kiev) focuses on the emancipation of Jewish women in the 1920s and their participation in colonization policy and the development of Jewish culture, education and religious life. Dr Kozerod benefited from access to the collections of the Bodleian and Muller libraries in Oxford and the British Library in London.

Adam Schonbrun

Adam Schonbrun of the College of Safed, Israel, who stayed at the Centre from 15 September to 15 October 2005, wrote an article on 'Milton Kessler and the Chazanic Tradition' which appeared in *Studies in Jewish American Literature*. He and Roy Cohen, the Centre's Library Assistant, translated two poems by Yonah Wollach. He also carried out research on poetry and wrote two acts of a play. He negotiated setting up video conferences between the College of Safed and overseas universities.

Professor David Weinstein

Professor Weinstein of Wake Forest University, North Carolina, stayed at the Centre from 25 January 2005 to 26 July 2005 and drafted a chapter on Karl Popper's method of textual interpretation for *Exile and Interpretation: Reinventing European Intellectual History*, a book he is co-writing with A. Zakai of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He also completed a book entitled *Utilitarianism and the New Liberalism* and delivered lectures in Oxford and Sheffield.

Professor Moshe Zeidner

Professor Moshe Zeidner of the University of Haifa, who stayed at the Centre from 6 October 2005 to 25 June 2006, completed a book on

Emotional Intelligence and wrote several papers relating to modes of coping with terror attacks in the Israeli context.

His work on psychology and education included an examination of how emotions are construed in the Bible, what is believed to underlie basic emotions, and what effect these have on human behaviour. In particular he attempted to determine how biblical protagonists coped with emotion-laden situations and analysed the consequences of various forms of emotion-regulation. This material will be incorporated in a book preliminarily entitled *A Primer of Emotional Intelligence*, to be published by MIT Press.

A summary of the lecture he delivered while in Yarnton appears on pages 82–3 of this *Report*.

Publications

Centre Publications

Journal of Jewish Studies, edited by Professor Geza Vermes and Dr Sacha Stern, volume 56:2 (2005)

Journal of Jewish Studies, edited by Professor Geza Vermes and Dr Sacha Stern, volume 57:1 (2006)

Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 2004–2005, edited by Dr Jeremy Schonfield (2005)

Heather Valencia, '"Only King David Remained...": Reactions to the Holocaust in the Poetry of Kadya Molodowsky', The Fourteenth Avrom-Nokhem Stencl Lecture in Yiddish Studies, *Occasional Papers* 7 (2006)

Fellows' Publications

ABRAMSON, GLENDA, co-edited with Hilary Kilpatrick, *Religious Perspectives in Modern Muslim and Jewish Literatures*, London and New York: Routledge (2006)

—— 'Introduction', in Glenda Abramson and Hilary Kilpatrick (eds) *Religious Perspectives in Modern Muslim and Jewish Literatures*, London and New York: Routledge (2006) 1–15

—— 'Dante and Modern Hebrew Literature', in Geoffrey Khan (ed.) *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 47; Leiden/Boston: E. J. Brill (2005) 323–37

—— 'Biblical Sources and the Literature of Catastrophe: Three Modern Hebrew Poems', *Memoria Biblica e Letteratura*, Napoli: Dipartimento di Studi Letterari e Linguistici dell'Europa (2005) 569–81

—— 'Anglicising the Holocaust', *The Journal of Theatre and Drama* 7/8 (2001/2 published 2006) 105–23

—— 'Exile, Imprisonment and the Literary Imagination', *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 13:2 (2006) 171–91

GOODMAN, MARTIN, 'The Temple in First Century CE Judaism', in J. Day (ed.) *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, Edinburgh: T & T. Clark (2005) 459–68

—— 'The Persecution of Paul by Diaspora Jews', in J. Pastor and M. Mor (eds) *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi (2005) 379–87

—— 'Jean Juster and the Study of Jews under Roman Rule', in G. Khan (ed.) *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff*, Leiden/ Boston: E. J. Brill (2005) 309–22

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—— 'A Fateful Triangle? Israel, America and the European Interest', in Michel Korinman (ed.) *Israel Before and After Arafat*, London: Vallentine Mitchell (2006)

—— 'Left Behind' (review article of Dan Leon [ed.] *Who's Left in Israel*), *The Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 4/2 (July 2005)

—— 'Israel: A Failed Premiership', in Gianfranco Pasquino (ed.) *Capi di Governo*, Bologna: Il Mulino (2005)

—— with Suzanne Gershowitz, 'Europe's Problem with Ariel Sharon', *The Middle East Quarterly*, XII/ 4, Autumn 2005

—— 'Choosing a Prime Minister – Legislative Executive Relations in Israel in the 1990s', *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 10/2–3, Summer and Autumn 2005

—— 'A Review of *The Question of Zion'*, *Israel Studies* 11/1, Spring 2006

—— 'Refusal By Another Name', *The Jerusalem Post*, 8 July 2005

—— 'Life and Liberty', *The National Review Online*, 29 July 2005

—— 'Will Europe Save Itself?', *The Jerusalem Post*, 9 August 2005

—— 'The New Truth About Good and Evil', *The Jerusalem Post*, 7 November 2005

—— 'Don't Let Iran Play Ball', *The National Review Online*, 18 November 2005

—— 'Why Sharon's Gamble Makes Good Sense', *The Irish Times*, 22 November 2005

—— 'European Jews' Faustian Bargain', *The Jerusalem Post*, 23 November 2005

—— 'Europe's "Good" Jews', *Commentary*, December 2005

—— 'Europe Lacks a Dream', *Liberal*, 32, December 2005

—— 'Election Countdown', *Labour Friends of Israel Briefing*, December 2005

—— 'The Light of the World', *The National Review Online*, 20 December 2005

—— 'Be Careful What You Wish For – You Might Get It', *The Jerusalem Post*, 18 January 2006
—— 'Europas "Gute Juden"', *Die Welt*, 21 January 2006
—— 'Hamas Without Veils', *The National Review Online*, 26 January 2006
—— 'Daned if You Do', *The National Review Online*, 6 February 2006
—— 'Not All is Lost in Europe', *The National Review Online*, 13 February 2006
—— 'Jews Against Israel', *The Jerusalem Post*, 22 February 2006
—— 'The Israeli Elections', *Labour Friends of Israel Briefing*, March 2006
—— 'Apathy and Inconclusiveness', *The National Review Online*, 29 March 2006
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—— 'I buoni ebrei d'Europa', *Liberal*, 35, May-June 2006
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—— 'Pigs in the Camps and the Breasts of My Lambs: Song of Songs in the Syriac Tradition', in Anselm Hagedorn (ed.) *Perspectives on the Song of Songs–Perspektiven der Hoheliedauslegung. BZAW 346*, Berlin: de Gruyter (2005) 260–73
—— 'Prayer and the Cult in the Peshitta Version of 1–2 Samuel and Targum Jonathan', *The Harp* 18 (2005) 35–43
—— 'The Growth of the Apocrypha', in J. Rogerson and J. Lieu (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2006) 489–517
—— 'The User Versus the Lexiocographer. Practical and Scientific Issues in Creating Entries', in A. Dean Forbes and David G. K. Taylor (eds) *Proceedings of the ISLP*, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press (2005)
—— 'Royal Family' in Bill T. Arnold and Hugh G. M. Williamson (eds) *The Dictionary of the Old Testament: Historical Books*, Issaquah, WA: InterVarsity Press (2005) 845–50
—— 'The Image of God in Humanity from a Christian Perspective', in Richard Harries and Michael Brierley (eds) *Children of Abraham*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark (2006) 154–62
—— 'The Genesis Texts of Jacob of Edessa: A Study in Variety', in Bas ter Haar Romeny and Wido van Peursen (eds) *Text, Transmission, and*

Tradition: Studies on the Text of the Peshitta and its Use in the Syriac Tradition, Festschrift for Konrad Jenner, MPIL, Leiden/Boston: E. J. Brill (2006)

—— 'Without Shame or Desire: Attitudes Towards Childhood in Early Syriac Writers', *Scottish Journal of Theology* 59/3 (2006) 1–20.

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—— 'Bergelson and Chekhov: Convergences and Departures', in Joseph Sherman and Ritchie Robertson (eds) *The Yiddish Presence in European Literature: Inspiration and Interaction: Selected Papers Drawn from the 4th and 5th Mendel Friedman Conferences in Yiddish*, Oxford: Legenda (2005) 117–33

—— 'Fiction From the Outside In: Two Stories by Israel Joshua Singer', *Slavic Almanac*, 11:1 (2005) 61–77

—— 'Der Nister and Symbolism in Yiddish Literature', *Midstream* 51/4 (July/August 2005) 33–5

—— 'Tongue Twister: Review of Paul Kriwaczek, *Yiddish Civilization: The Rise and Fall of a Forgotten Nation*', *Times Literary Supplement*, 24 February 2006, 7

—— translator, 'Moral Instruction' by Der Nister, *Midstream* 51/4 (July/August 2005) 36–40

—— translator, 'The Déclassé' by Dovid Bergelson, *The Mendele Review* (TMR) Vol. 09.09 [sequential No. 161], 31 August 2005 http://yiddish.haifa.ac.il/tmr/tmr09/tmr09009.htm

WEINBERG, JOANNA, 'A Sixteenth-Century Hebraic Approach to the New Testament', in Christopher Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin (eds) *History of Scholarship. A Selection of Papers from the Seminar on the History of Scholarship Held Annually at the Warburg Institute*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2006) 231–50

WILLIAMSON, HUGH, co-edited with Bill T. Arnold, *Dictionary of the Old Testament Historical Books*, Issaquah, WA: InterVarsity Press (2005)

—— 'Temple and Worship in Isaiah 6', in John Day (ed.) *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, LHB/OTS 422; London: T & T Clark International (2005) 123–44

—— 'Isaiah, Micah and Qumran', in Geoffrey Khan (ed.) *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 47; Leiden/Boston: E. J. Brill (2005) 203–11

*Dissertations Submitted at the Centre, 2006**

Compiled by

MARTINE SMITH-HUVERS

BOYD, BETHANY. *The Struggle for German Character and the Heart of Modern Man:* 'The Essence of Christianity' *and* 'The Essence of Judaism'. 53 pp.

CRAMSEY, SARAH A. *Saying* Kaddish *in Czechoslovakia: The Spiritual Manifestation of Shoah Memory.* 51 pp.

GREY, MATTHEW J. *The Development of the Priestly Blessing in the Second Temple Period.* 67 pp.

LANG, AVI. *Dante and the Hebrew Language.* 57 pp.

NAQUIN, NICHOLAS. *Ancient Pagan Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism.* 55 pp.

RAFII, RAHA. *Female Barrenness in the Hebrew Bible.* 58 pp.

SKOWRON, JONATHAN. *Agency, Providence, and Responsibility: Implications of the Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart in the Exodus Narrative.* 40 pp.

TOMES, LAURA. *The Chief Rabbinate of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth: Image, Ideology, and Institution.* 58 pp.

* All dissertations recorded here are available for consultation in the Leopold Muller Memorial Library.

LISTINGS

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Cesarani, David and Gemma Romain (eds) *Jews and Port Cities, 1590–1990: Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006)

Coudert, Allison P. and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (eds) *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004)

Pelli, Moshe, *In Search of Genre: Hebrew Enlightenment and Modernity* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005)

Schlör, Joachim, *Das Ich der Stadt: Debatten über Judentum und Urbanität, 1822–1938* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Rupprecht, 2005)

B) *Yizkor* Books on Permanent Loan Through the Generosity of the 2004 Lewis Grandchildren's Trust

Arad (Romania): *The Jewish People of Arad: Life and History [translated from the original Hungarian and Romanian by Henry C. Tausk]* (Haifa, 2000)

Ataki (Moldova): *Atik : a gedenk bukh nakh a Yidisher kehileh in Besarabye / ha-ʿorekh, Seker Zerubavel* (Tel Aviv, 1993–7)

Berehove (Ukraine): *Yahadut Berehovo-Beregsas bi-temunot* (Tel Aviv, Netanyah, 1989)

Bessarabia (Moldova and Ukraine): *ʿAl admat Besarabiyah: divre mehkar, zikhronot, reshimot, teʿudot... li-kevi'at ha-demut shel Yahadutah*, 3 vols (Tel Aviv, 1959)

—— *Pirke Besarabyah: measef la-avarah shel Yahadut Besarabyah / ba-arikhat L. Kupershtain ve-Yitshak Korn* (Tel Aviv, 1952)

Biala Rawska (Poland): *Sefer yizkor li-kedoshe Byalah-Ravska /*

gezamlt un tsunoyfgeshtelt fun Eliyahu Freydnraykh un Aryeh Yakobovits (Tel Aviv, 1972)

Bielsk Podlaski (Poland): *Bilsk Podlaski: sefer yizkor le-zikhram ha-kadosh shel Yehude Bilsk she-nispu ba-Sho'ah ha-natsit ba-shanim 1939–1944 / ha-ʿorekh, H. Rabin* (Tel Aviv, 1975)

Bivolari (Romania): *ʿAyaratenu Bivolari / havre ha-maʿarekhet, Abramovits Moshku... [et al]* (Haifa, 1981)

Chmielnik (Poland): *Pinkes Khmielnik: yizker-bukh nokh der horev-gevorener Yidisher kehile / [redagirt fun Efrayim Shedletski]* (Tel Aviv, 1960)

Czestochowa (Poland): *Surviving Jews in Czestochowa = Judios sobrevivientes de Czestochowa* (New York, [195–?])

Dobromil (Ukraine): *Dobromil: Life in a Galician Shtetl, 1890–1907 / by Saul Miller* (New York, 1980)

Druja (Belarus): *Sefer Druyah u-kehilot Miyor, Droisk, ve-Le'onpol / [ha-ʿorekh, Mordekhai Naishtat]* (Tel Aviv, 1973)

Dzisna (Belarus): *Disnah: sefer zikaron li-kehilah / hevre ha-maʿarekhet, Bailin, Dov Bernshtain [z. o. Yehudah Zamir] ve-Shalom Tsirlin, [ha-ʿorkhim veha-metargemim, Dov Bernshtain ve-Shalom Tsirlin]* (Tel Aviv, 729 [1969])

Glebokie (Belarus): *Hurbn Glubok, Sharkoystsene, Dunilovitsh, Postov, Droye, Kazan: dos lebn un umkum fun Yidishe shtetlekh in Vaysrusland-Lite (Vilner gegnt) / Mikha'el un Tsevi Rayak; redaktor, Shelomoh Suskavitsh* (Buenos Aires, 1956)

Gliniany (Ukraine): *Megiles Gline (Glinyane): zikroynes un iberlebungen fun a horev gevorener kehile* (New York, 1950)

Gostynin (Poland): *Pinkas Gostinin: yizker bukh / redaktor, Y. M. Biderman* (New York, 1960)

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Grodek (Poland): *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Horodok ʿa. y. Byalistok / ʿarukh bi-yede Mosheh Simyon (Shamen)* (Tel Aviv, 1963)

Grojec (Poland): *Megiles Gritse / redaktor, Y. B. Alterman* (Tel Aviv, 1955)

Husiatyn (Ukraine): *Husyatin, Podolyer gubernye: Idisher yishev, gegrindet in 16-tn yorhundert, umgebrakht in 1942: le-zikhron netsah / [aroysgegebn durkh a grupe Husyatiner landslayt in Amerike unter der redaktsye fun Beni ben Tsevi Daymond]* (New York, 1968)

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Kezmarok (Slovakia): *Toldot Yehude Kezmarok veha-sevivah* (Jerusalem, 1992)
Kobryn (Belarus): *Kobrin zamlbukh* (Buenos Aires, 1951)
Kostopol (Ukraine): *Sefer Kostopol: hayeha u-motah shel kehilah / ʿarakh Aryeh Lerner; [ha-mevi le-vet ha-defus, Mosheh Fridman]* (Tel Aviv, 727 [1967])
Lipno (Poland): *Sefer Lipno* (Tel Aviv, 1988)
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Rozniatow (Poland): *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Rozni'atov, Prahinsko, Broshnyov veha-sevivah / ha-ʿorekh, Shim'on Kants* (Tel Aviv, 1974)
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Skole (Ukraine): *Le-zekher kedoshe Skolah veha-sevivah = In memorium* [sic] *to the Jewish community of Skole and neighbouring villages who perished in the Holocaust* (Israel, 1986)
Smorgonie (Belarus): *Smorgon, mehoz Vilna: sefer ʿedut ve-zikaron /*

[Aba Gordin, ha-ʿorekh; Hanokh Levin, ʿorekh mishneh] (Tel Aviv, 1965)

Sompolno (Poland): *Dape ʿed shel sarid ha-ʾayarah Sompolno / Yitshak Kominkovski* (Tel Aviv, 1981)

Sopockinie (Belarus): *Sopotskin: toldot imuts ʿayarah ahat / nikhtav ʿa. y. talmide kitah y-2 shel Bet-ha-sefer ha-tikhon ha-makif ʿa. sh. Rodman ; ha-mehanekhet veha-ʿorekhet, Parnas Hager* (Kiryat-Yam, 1973)

Suplacu (Romania): *ʿOlami: sefer zikaron li-kehilat Seplak u-gelil Margaretin : le-korot mishpehot Vainberger, Feldman, Vais, ʿEngel, Rozenberg, Rapaport, Fraiman, Flint, Mikhelzon / Aharon Tsevi Ayalon (Vainberger)* (Bene Berak, 758 [1998])

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Tuczyn (Ukraine): *Yehude Tuts'in u-Kripeh mul rotshehem: ʿesrim ve-arba' ʿeduyot / gavah ʿeduyot ve-khines, Avraham Sadeh; ʿarakh Levi Deror; ha-ʾatifah, Kari Frish* (Tel Aviv, 1990)

Turna nad Bodvou (Slovakia): *K.K. Turna veha-sevivah* (Israel, 1995?)

Turzysk (Ukraine): *Pinkas ha-kehilah Trisk: sefer yizkor / ʿarakh Natan Livne ; tsiyerah Virah Viner; iyurim, ʿAkiva Tonah* (Tel Aviv, 1975)

Ukraine: *Shtet un shtetlekh in Ukraine: un in andere teyln fun Rusland: forshungen in Yidisher geshikhte un Yidishn lebenshtayger / fun M. Osherovitsh* (New York, 1948. Vol. 2)

Zadneye (Ukraine): *Sefer yizkor li-kedoshe kehilot Zadnye veha-sevivah* (Israel, 1983–93)

Zaklikow (Poland): *Hayiti sham / Yehoshuʿa Laks* (Bene Berak, 1993)

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Cytryn, Avraham, *Youth Writing Behind the Walls: Avraham Cytryn's Lodz Notebooks* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005)

Flim, Bert Jan, *Saving the Children: History of the Organized Effort to Rescue Jewish Children, 1942–1945* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2004)

Hoffmann, Christhard (ed.) *Preseving the Legacy of German Jewry: A History of the Leo Baeck Institute, 1955–2005* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005)

Mokotoff, Gary (ed.) *Where Once We Walked* (2nd ed. Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu, 2002)

Rothkirchen, Livia, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005)