REPORT OF THE
OXFORD CENTRE FOR HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

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2007–2008

A RECOGNIZED
INDEPENDENT CENTRE OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

OXFORD CENTRE FOR
HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

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Preface

This valedictory preface cannot but reinforce last year's message about the progress of Jewish Studies at Oxford. Two matters in particular should be highlighted. The first is student numbers. These have for some time extended way beyond the annual dozen or so engaged in the MSt in Jewish Studies, for which the Centre happens to carry special organizational responsibility. The article on pages 11–14 below by Hugh Williamson, Regius Professor of Hebrew and Vice-Chairman of the Board of Governors, describes the diverse categories of participation in Jewish Studies at both undergraduate and postgraduate level, adding up to a combined student body of around one hundred. This impressive take-up reflects in large measure the range of scholarly expertise on offer in the University's Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit, most of it supplied by the Centre.

Secondly, the self-same abundance of academic staffing, along with the Centre's extensive accommodation and library at Yarnton Manor, has over the past year helped in unusual measure to attract additional much needed financial support. In late 2007 the Polonsky Foundation donated a capital sum sufficient to provide full permanent funding for a Centre Fellowship. As with other such Fellowships, the remuneration is largely channelled through the University, enabling the incumbent to receive the added title of University Research Lecturer. Dr Alison Salvesen is now the Polonsky Fellow.

Shortly after the end of the academic year, in August 2008, the Centre was awarded a major grant by the Rothschild Foundation Europe, to host a two-year European Seminar programme in Advanced Jewish Studies in the period 2009–11. The broad purpose and conditions of this grant were specified by the Foundation. The award was determined by competitive tender, the adjudicators being an international committee of academic specialists in Jewish Studies – in other words, peer review, taking due account of the Centre's track record and current capacity. The Centre's commitment under the Rothschild award embraces four widely different research areas: Jewish Greek versions of the Bible in the period 1–600 CE, the Genizah collection at the Bodleian Library, interpretation of Hebrew and Jewish

texts in the early modern period (up to the Enlightenment), and modern Jewish literature in both Hebrew and Yiddish.

The Trustees of the Rothschild Foundation have indicated that they aim in the long term to rotate the hosting of these research seminars through different institutions. For the Centre to be first in line is an accolade. But it also means that the resultant funding must be seen as temporary, not ongoing. This typifies the Centre's longstanding experience, not merely of depending predominantly on 'soft' funding, but – and this is the tough part – of being unable by its own performance, however excellent, to ensure the continued supply of such funding. To escape from, or at any rate alleviate, this difficulty, the Centre must essentially aim at further growth of its capital endowment. In a word, we need more people like Leonard Polonsky.

Meanwhile, we can reasonably emphasize that the obverse of underfunding is cost-effectiveness. The key reason why OCHJS currently remains a Recognized Independent Centre of Oxford University, rather than accepting straightforward incorporation into the University structure, is that its financial base is too slim for the University to agree to support its existing establishment. To replace Recognition with Merger, the University would require much longer-term financial commitments than are currently on offer from donors. The likely outcome would be that over half the existing academic posts in Jewish Studies would disappear.

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Michael Palin, alumnus of Brasenose College, global traveller and conspicuous supporter of the campaign for Oxford, spoke eloquently at the Patrons' Dinner – the third in as many years – at Drapers' Hall in London in May. The Centre was honoured by the presence of HRH The Duke of Kent. Stanley Fink and George Pinto presided, as co-Chairmen of the Board.

A further London event was the Catherine Lewis Lecture on British Jewish history delivered on 3 June at the Inner Temple Hall by David Ruderman, Professor of Modern Jewish History at the University of Pennsylvania. A summary version appears on pages 23–28 below. The Trinity Term also included a bouquet of special lectures in Oxford. Malachi Beit-Arié, a regular visitor to the Centre from the Hebrew University, delivered a course in the New Bodleian Library

Michael Palin with Dan Patterson.

HRH The Duke of Kent with José Patterson and Stanley Fink.

on the history and production of medieval Hebrew manuscripts – with examples to illustrate, courtesy of Piet van Boxel, our Academic Director and Librarian, in his dual capacity as Hebraica and Judaica Curator of the Bodleian. For some of Professor Beit-Arié's other activities, see pages 77–9 below.

Professor Peter Schäfer of Princeton University gave a series of four Catherine Lewis Master Classes entitled 'Between Early Judaism and Christianity'. Professor Shlomo Berger of Amsterdam University presented a Stencl Lecture, reproduced in full below on pages 29–39, on the contribution of Yiddish publications to Ashhenazi identity in the early modern period.

* * * *

Among the academic staff, we bid farewell to François Guesnet, Research Fellow in Russian-Jewish History, who moves to University College London following the untimely death in 2007 of Professor John Klier. Although we are sorry to lose François after just one year, we wish him and our friends in UCL good fortune in building on the impressive legacy which John left. Our best wishes go also to Tim Edwards, Lector in Biblical Hebrew since 2005 (and much appreciated by students), who leaves us to work for a Christian charity.

The Centre looks forward to welcoming in a year's time (September 2009) Dr Simon Levis-Sullam as Fellow in Contemporary Jewish Society and Antisemitism. Dr Levis-Sullam, aged thirty-four and Venetian by birth, studied for his doctorate (on nineteenth-century Italian history and the thought of Mazzini) both at UCLA (Los Angeles) and at the Università Ca' Foscari in Venice. In the past three years he has held a variety of post-doctoral positions in Italy and the United States, *inter alia* teaching courses at the Collegio Rabbinico Italiano in Rome on Jewish history and on modern antisemitism. The slight postponement of his arrival at the Centre allows him to take up a prestigious Max Weber Fellowship at the European University Institute in Florence for the year 2008–9.

Changes in library staff are noted by Piet van Boxel on pages 125–6 below. A special salute is due, however, to our two departing junior librarians – Roy Cohen and Michael Fischer – for their professionalism and dedication, from which the Muller Library has benefited so greatly. We wish them every success in their careers.

In the administration two colleagues left us in the course of the year. Joan Sinclair, Facilities Manager and sometime PA to the Bursar since 1993, took early retirement for family reasons and also to pursue her professional involvement in psychotherapy. Her assistant Lynne Sheffield, who had been with the Centre since 1996–7, initially at 45 St Giles' and latterly at Yarnton Manor, moved to a post at the Oxford John Radcliffe Hospital. They have our very best wishes for the future.

* * * *

On the Board of Governors we congratulate Michael Garston on being awarded an OBE in recognition of his work for charitable causes. We are delighted to welcome as a new member David Joseph QC, a barrister specializing in commercial and insurance matters, and the author of *Jurisdiction and Arbitration Agreements and Their Enforcement* (Sweet & Maxwell, 2005).

Four Board Members have resigned, two of them after very long service, and we shall miss them all. Mrs Elizabeth Corob became a Governor in 1988. In addition to being a trustee of the Sidney and Elizabeth Corob Charitable Trust, which supports the Centre's Woolf Corob Fellowship in Yiddish, Mrs Corob has given and continues to give particular encouragement to profile-raising events for the Centre in London. Her appointment as Emeritus Governor is an altogether inadequate way of saying thank you for her many years of friendship to OCHJS.

Dennis Trevelyan, a Governor since 1992, and Dr Diana Walford, appointed in 2003, have both been Principal of Mansfield College (Dr Walford being the current Principal) and have done much to foster their college's academic links with the Centre, besides making valuable contributions to Board deliberations. I must add that Dennis chaired the Search Committee when I was appointed President. He becomes Emeritus Governor in recognition of his unfailing help over many years.

Moshe Raviv, former Israel ambassador to the UK, has been a Governor for the past three years. The Centre is indebted to him for consolidating its links with Israel both directly and through the Kennedy Leigh Trust to which he is a consultant.

* * * *

We record with sadness the deaths of four friends:

William Frankel, celebrated editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*, a Governor from the Centre's inception in 1972 and subsequently Emeritus Governor since 1995;
Richard Judd, one-time librarian of the Centre and then for twenty-two years Curator of Hebraica in the Bodleian Library;
Alfred Lehmann, an outstandingly generous benefactor of the Centre in his last years, whom I greatly regret not having been able to meet in person (see page 7 below);
Isaac Myers, student at the Centre in 2003–4, tragically killed in a road accident (see pages 8–10 below).

* * * *

I owe thanks to everyone at OCHJS – Governors, academics and support staff – for their unstinting efforts on behalf of the Centre and for their personal kindnesses to me. Not least the humorous celebrations both of my retirement and, five months earlier, of my seventieth birthday (delicately orchestrated by my PA, Maureen Peacock). I have been given generous presents, quite undeservedly. I feel I should be reciprocating across the board, but lack any suitable way of doing so. I bid my successor, David Ariel, most heartily welcome and look forward to observing the continued advancement of Jewish Studies at Oxford.

September 2008

PETER OPPENHEIMER
President

In Memoriam
ALFRED LEO LEHMANN
1915–2008

Alfred Lehmann, a generous patron of the Centre, died in Geneva on 15 August 2008 at the age of ninety-two.

He was born in Karlsruhe, Germany, on 23 November 1915, was brought up in an Orthodox Jewish home and remained dedicated to Judaism throughout his long life. In 1929 he joined his parents in England - his father was one of the founding members of the Golders Green Beis Hamedrash, the German orthodox synagogue in north London. He read Law at Cambridge, but never pursued a legal career. In 1946 he started working for the United Nations in New York and from 1958 served in its translation section in Geneva. In 1966 he became the first Chief Editor at UNCTAD (United Nation Conference on Trade and Development), a position in which his substantial diplomatic and linguistic skills and his eye for detail were much appreciated. He continued to lead a busy professional life for many years after retirement.

Alfred Lehmann was a charming, highly intelligent and cultivated man whose magnetic personality attracted young and old alike. Fluent in many languages, he read widely and deeply, attending lectures and carefully scanning the *Times Literary Supplement* for the latest literary or scholarly discovery. Alfred Lehmann lived his life according to the German ideal of *Bildung*, through which the individual seeks education in a constant quest for knowledge and through the cultivation of reason and aesthetic taste. He promoted this ideal in his own particular way. Thus it was only two years before his death that he decided to set up a Fellowship in Modern Jewish European History in memory of his parents Albert and Rachel. He wished to encourage young scholars to study the rich history of Western European Jewry, and in particular its connections with the wider society of which it was an integral part. Having established one postdoctoral position at the Centre, he then donated funds for graduate study in the same field – an outstanding contribution to the development of our institution and of Jewish studies in general.

In Memoriam
ISAAC MEYERS
1979–2008

Isaac Meyers, an MSt student at Yarnton in 2003–4, was killed in March this year, while crossing the road in Central Square, Harvard, where he was a PhD student in Classics. He had apparently been on his way, before sunrise, to a *minyan* for a *shiva*. The news reached us in Oxford just a few hours later.

Isaac was a quirky and interesting student who made teaching especially enjoyable. He had a questing approach to the subjects he studied, and the creative way in which he approached subjects made one quickly forgive other foibles such as arriving late for class. In a report on his academic progress I wrote: 'his comments are always most pertinent and often reveal both a sound classical training and a wide knowledge of rabbinics'.

Supervising his dissertation was rather nerve-wracking, as he found it hard to settle on a topic until very late on in the process. Yet he was so capable that it proved not to be a problem in the end. He eventually wrote on Shaul Tshernikhovski's Modern Hebrew translations of Horace (the Roman poet). Religious aspects of Modern Hebrew poetry was another subject that fascinated him, and his parting gift to me in the summer of 2004 was a small volume of Rahel's poems.

We shared a strong interest in translations of Jewish Scripture into Greek and Latin, and had some email exchanges after he returned to the States. In these he spoke of his desire to have an excuse to work on St Jerome's Latin translations of the Hebrew Bible for his PhD. A remark Isaac sent me in the autumn of 2006 shows the breadth and depth of his understanding even in casual comments: 'The more I've read of Jerome, the more slippery I find him – the more it looks as though his statements of principle are closer to being advertisements. When I look at his correspondence with Rufinus and Augustine, I can barely believe how raw and defensive it is. I am thinking that if my dissertation ends up being about Jerome and Vulgate, it may focus less on

translation technique *per se* and more on J[erome]'s literary-scholarly persona. Not that I just want to knock him down, but there is a fair amount to be said about Latin translations in general as displays, and Jerome might fit into that tradition in his own peculiar way.'

It was not just Isaac's academic ability that made an impression. His personal qualities are what friends, staff and teachers particularly remember. His off-beat humour was much enjoyed by Brits who rarely meet Americans with such a sense of the absurd. He was the best possible advert for religion, being deeply committed yet totally accepting of others. His faith shaped and defined his life but turned him outwards, not inwards, towards people who differed from him in lifestyle and beliefs.

A friend and contemporary on the course, Matt Thiessen, remembers how

Isaac loved to take part in the Quiz Nights held at the local Red Lion pub – and helped OCHJS teams win on a number of occasions with his broad knowledge. More touchingly, in Trinity Term Isaac organized a kosher barbecue for all the students – buying and bringing in kosher hamburgers and hotdogs. It was a wonderful event and I remember Isaac was so happy to be able to do that for us.

He was a lovely person and a brilliant student. I have been trying to process … all the wonderful memories of him. He attended my wedding, and I was honoured to have him there. I was touched that he came – especially since it was in rural Ontario and on the Sabbath. He walked over three miles in a suit to attend the wedding reception! He was a good friend and I will miss him dearly.

Another close friend, Peodair Leihy, comments

Sabbath observance was the one constant in the hours he kept. It was not unusual to find him still up at 5am, reading, translating (often Modern Hebrew poetry into English) or studying the inscrutable UK terrestrial television. Isaac took writing his essays in British English seriously, with footnote citations, single quotes, spelling such as 'practise' etc., and was always full of questions about such matters.

Isaac would often walk into Oxford for shul. He had a love of zoology, especially entomology; I got the feeling that, while he liked animals per se, he got a real kick out of the orderly taxonomy and Classical names. The zoology questions at Sunday-night trivia at the Red Lion were always a lock-in.

I think everyone would corroborate that Isaac was the one male class member liked by all the female members all the time.

Isaac of course had a casually comprehensive grasp of the discipline of Jewish Studies. It was said that Dr Sherman would typically sound out the rest of the class's thoughts on a Yiddish metaphor or allusion or the historical context behind a story, and then call on Isaac to hit the nail on the head. Isaac could read hundred-year-old writings from a virtually vanished world with a seamless continuity of understanding. Isaac was a mensch and a light to us gentiles.

If you ever meet his parents, you could see where his outstanding qualities came from; quiet intellectualism thoroughly engaged in the world around him.

And of course Isaac was funny, and had a maniacal laugh.

Isaac will be missed enormously on at least two continents, both for the person he was and as the scholar he was becoming.

Dr Alison Salvesen

The Centre and University Teaching

HUGH WILLIAMSON

Relations between the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies and the University of Oxford are close and friendly; indeed, they are frequently cited as a model for other independent Centres to emulate. The inclusion of the Centre as the first in a new category of 'Recognized Independent Centres' of the University is a valuable token of that esteem.

While many who support the Centre understand that a primary aspect of its role is research in its broadest sense, they are also keen to see the fruits of past and present scholarship transmitted through teaching to students of the University. Often the view seems to be prevalent that this is done only to a very limited extent and to very small numbers. Earlier this year I wrote to the President to set out the facts of the case for the benefit of the Governors. I think it fair to say that even they were surprised at the outcome of my compilations. Accordingly, it has been suggested that I briefly outline the situation for the wider circle of readers of this *Report*.

It will be helpful to begin with a personal reminiscence. I came from Cambridge to take up the Regius Chair of Hebrew at Oxford in 1992. At that time I knew nothing whatever of the Centre. Its President was still David Patterson (in his retirement year), whom I had never met. Nor had I heard of most of the Fellows. Their offices being then in 45 St Giles', I did not meet most of them in the regular course of my daily work in the Oriental Institute. There were, I think, three University undergraduates in Hebrew. Martin Goodman, the only University postholder in the field besides myself, was attracting some graduate students both for taught Masters' courses and for research, but that was about all. Of the then Centre Fellows, Glenda Abramson (Modern Hebrew Literature), who formally retired in 2006, and Daniel Frank (Rabbinics), who has moved elsewhere, were teaching for the undergraduate programme. Others did so only occasionally, if at all.

Since then, as a result of teamwork by all concerned, we on the University side have not only maintained all that was previously available in

terms of courses, but have introduced several new ones. These include principally (1) a new BA in Jewish Studies, which involves all the Centre Fellows to a greater or lesser extent, (2) a new Masters' in Classical Hebrew Studies, and (3) a new Joint Honour School in Classics and Oriental Studies (which can of course include Hebrew). We have also been involved in (4) the development of a comparative-religion specialism in Theology, which enables undergraduates in that school to take two papers on Judaism. In addition, (5) the one-year postgraduate qualification based at the Centre itself has been elevated from a University Diploma to a Master of Studies degree in Jewish Studies. Finally (6) by the time this report is published, we expect to have initiated a new Joint Honour School in Oriental Studies and Theology, which will include as an important element the teaching of Judaism based on original Hebrew sources.

Institutionally, through a benefaction from the Centre the premises of the Oriental Institute were considerably expanded some years ago so that all the Centre Fellows can now be accommodated there. Most of them, additionally, are now formally appointed 'University Research Lecturers', so that they are effectively a full part of the Faculty's staffing complement. This means that Hebrew and Jewish Studies has a much higher profile in the Faculty and University at large. Indeed, the pressure of increasing numbers has enabled us to persuade the University itself to provide a third post in the subject, so that from October 2008 we shall for the first time have a full-time Modern Hebrew language instructor in post in the Faculty. Finally, as will be well known to readers of this Annual Report, the Centre's and the University's libraries in our field are cooperating more closely than ever before, mainly as a result of the appointment of the Centre's librarian Piet van Boxel to joint responsibility for the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Collections in the Bodleian and in University departmental libraries.

Numbers of students have gradually increased as a result of all this, and the longterm trend is clearly encouraging. Before I present figures, however, I should underline a couple of things that are distinctive about Oxford. The first is that undergraduate admissions are controlled by the colleges, not the Faculty, and of course the colleges are bound to take the best-qualified candidates across the board. There is no quota for Hebrew or Jewish Studies as such, so the number we take is largely determined by the number of good applicants. While we do what we

can to attract such applicants, we cannot control the numbers. It is noteworthy that we have in fact had a number of students switching to our subjects after being originally admitted to do something else, such as history. This is generally because of informal talk among the students themselves, suggesting that they get, and give, a good report of the quality of the courses and of the teaching provided.

Secondly, we must firmly resist the mind-set of comparing ourselves and our numbers with certain other universities where undergraduates typically take a smattering of Jewish Studies as part of some wider degree. (This is also the case with many American courses in Jewish Studies.) Our core students are doing a degree substantially or even wholly in the subject, and on a like-for-like basis we come out very favourably.

This past year there have been twenty-three undergraduates taking some aspect of Hebrew or Jewish Studies in their degree courses in Oriental Studies. While some of them are doing only subsidiary Classical or Modern Hebrew with another main subject, it is evident that compared with the numbers of fifteen years ago this represents a substantial increase. In addition, there are several studying Judaism within Theology, making it reasonable to conclude that we are now teaching a total of about thirty undergraduates in all.

By way of taught graduate courses we have on the books the Master of Studies in Classical Hebrew Studies, Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period, Jewish Studies, Modern Hebrew Studies, and Oriental Studies (which can include our field if appropriate). Two of these programmes may also be taken as a two-year Master of Philosophy. Martin Goodman's contribution to some of these courses is pivotal, although because of his recent extended research leave his numbers are at present slightly down on what has been the norm. But they will doubtless soon recover! Thus, while total numbers under this heading are currently about fifteen, they are projected to rise over the coming few years.

Next, there are research students working for a doctorate. The numbers here are more difficult to specify both because they are less readily available through the usual office procedures and more importantly because it is not always easy to determine whether a detailed research project is most correctly classified as Jewish Studies, History, Theology or whatever. Furthermore, these students leave as soon as they complete their work (and sometimes even before that), unlike the tidy year-cohorts on the taught courses. I have personally already had

three doctoral students completing in the course of the current year. However, if we take as a reasonable indicator the number of doctoral students being supervised by Fellows of the Centre, the figure at the start of the year was at least twenty.

Finally, there are students at various levels who attend our lectures who are not registered for one of our degrees, but who have an interest in the subject for other reasons. Martin Goodman, for instance, reports that he had between twenty-five and thirty attendees at his course on 'Varieties of Judaism', although only five were doing an exam in that area. My own lectures on the 'History of Ancient Israel' generally attract about twenty in the same category. So the teaching reaches wider than the numbers enrolled for a degree. It is especially encouraging that out of these wider numbers we sometimes attract good students into graduate work. The same would apply to the various senior seminars which different Fellows regularly organize and which are attended by graduate students and staff in other related faculties as well as our own.

Thus, over the past year, without having a fully precise or documented figure, we can say that in the fields of Hebrew and Jewish Studies the University postholders in the field, together with the Centre Fellows, have been responsible for at least sixty-five students in terms of relevant degrees, while aggregate numbers of those whom we have been teaching in some form have been around the one-hundred mark.

There is undoubtedly room for expansion at all levels, so we should not be complacent. As mentioned earlier, a Joint School between Oriental Studies and Theology is in process of realization. A Joint School with History is a longer-term aspiration. Both of these will attract some applicants specifically for Jewish Studies. In addition it should be noted that the burden of teaching varies considerably. Much of it falls at present on the same small number of colleagues, while others have a much lighter load. It would be encouraging for the subject if these asymmetries could be removed. Nevertheless, bearing in mind that for such a particular interest as ours the stimulation of interest and the consequent growth in numbers is inevitably gradual, we have every reason to be encouraged and to press ahead with building on the significant base that has been laid. It goes without saying that without the extensive contribution of the Centre, Hebrew and Jewish Studies in Oxford would by now have become only a minority interest of those whose main concerns lie elsewhere in the ancient world.

Approaching the Late-Roman Near East: A Personal Journey

FERGUS MILLAR

I had the great good fortune to become a member of the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit when I retired in 2002, and with that to acquire some shared office space in the Oriental Institute – in my view about the best academic environment there is. So it is perhaps appropriate, six years later, to give some account of how I arrived here, and what I think I am doing.

My background is in Latin and Greek, taught with extreme efficiency at Edinburgh Academy up to the age of fourteen, and not developed as much beyond that as it should have been. But it was sufficient, after boarding school in Scotland, to get me to Trinity College, Oxford, where I went in 1955 after an extremely fulfilling two years of National Service in the Royal Navy, learning Russian. Even if I never attained Peter Oppenheimer's fluency, this was a mind-opening experience, for me as for many others.

As an undergraduate, I was required to study Ancient History – meaning a period each of Greek History and Roman History – and Philosophy, meaning a combination of Plato and Aristotle on the one hand and modern (Oxford) philosophy on the other. In 1957, a year before I took my Finals, there appeared a new edition of Mikhail Rostovtzeff's great *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, edited by Peter Fraser, a Fellow of All Souls. If I am not imagining things, I read quite a lot of it in my last year, and then received a further stimulus when in 1958 the then Camden Professor of Ancient History, Ronald Syme, published his brilliant two-volume work on Tacitus.

Having done very little work before my final year, a combination of ambition and external stimuli such as these books must have helped me obtain a First in 1958 and, a Fellowship at All Souls in the Autumn. Looking back, I see no evidence that I had anything resembling either an advanced Classical training or an extended knowledge of the history of the Graeco-Roman world. But a friend and contemporary suggested

that a thesis could be written on Cassius Dio, the early-third-century-CE Greek author of a history of Rome from the beginning to 229 CE. I was lucky to have Ronald Syme as my Supervisor, and that at All Souls I had the advice and support of Peter Fraser, without which I cannot imagine that I would have completed a doctoral thesis. Modern bureaucratic arrangements are made with no awareness of how devastating and demoralizing a task a thesis is, being so far beyond anything required only just previously from an undergraduate.

More relevant for my eventual arrival at the Oriental Institute was my work on Cassius Dio, a native Greek speaker originating from Bithynia in the northwest of present-day Turkey. This brought me into the world of the Greek East of the Roman Empire, where Latin never took root, and whose culture showed a continuity from the world of Homer to Classical Athens to post-Roman Byzantium. It would not be wrong to see Cassius Dio as the first Byzantine historian.

Thanks to the conquests of Alexander in the fourth century BCE, Greek culture and Greek city life spread for a time to Central Asia and northern India, and on a more lasting basis to the areas of present-day Turkey, the Near East, Mesopotamia (Iraq) and Egypt. So from Alexander onwards, Jewish history was an element in that wider Greek (in some ways 'colonial') culture. This conjunction was expressed in the only example of a large-scale Semitic-language work translated into Greek in Antiquity: the version of the Bible known as the *Septuagint*. Subsequently, the New Testament was written in Greek, as were the two great historical works of Josephus, the *Jewish War* and the twenty-book *Jewish Antiquities*, which begins with the Creation and recounts Jewish history up to the outbreak of the great revolt against Rome in 66 CE.

Jewish history and history-writing were thus integral to the history of the Roman Empire, a topic on which I gave undergraduate lectures in the 1960s. I also attended a class on the Zealots given by the then Reader in Jewish Studies, Cecil Roth. Somewhat unnervingly I was the only member of the class.

When Cecil Roth retired, I attended classes given by his successor, Geza Vermes. Geza entitled his autobiography *Providential Accidents*, a term which would apply perfectly to the circumstances which led to two decades of joint work on the revised English version of Emil Schürer's classic *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*.

Neither of us had any idea what we had committed ourselves to, and the extremely demanding work was made possible only by the exceptional clarity and reliability of the original. If we wished to include fresh evidence, such as a new inscription or papyrus revealing a Jewish community in the Diaspora, or a new text from Qumran, the place where it belonged in the structure could be clearly identified. Even so, the process of revision tested my knowledge and capacities to the limit. It was perhaps just as well we had no idea, twenty years and 2400 pages earlier, what the work would involve.

Meanwhile, Geza had taken over responsibility in 1971 for the *Journal of Jewish Studies*, edited with immaculate efficiency, and beautifully printed in a variety of scripts, from that day to this. David Patterson, driven by a vision and idealism which overrode all obstacles, had founded the Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies in 1972. Yarnton Manor, built in 1611, the year of publication of the Authorized Version, had been acquired in 1974, and an Oxford home established in a house in St Giles'. The *Journal of Jewish Studies* is still based in Yarnton. Then, at the end of the 1990s, the Centre was able to fund the construction of a new top floor in the Oriental Institute in Pusey Lane, and to integrate its academic staff, organizationally and geographically, with the Institute, a development of fundamental importance for the subject.

I had been a Tutorial Fellow at Queen's in 1964 to 1967, and then moved to be Professor of Ancient History at University College London, in succession to Arnaldo Momigliano. This was relevant for the future in several different ways. There were the stimuli of the big-city environment, of being a member of a History Department rather than a Classical one, and of having to cover a much wider syllabus including all of Hellenistic history, in which the two books of Maccabees are of central importance, as well as Late Roman history up to 400 CE. In addition, I found myself teaching a year-long Special Subject for first-year students, centred on the Acts of the Apostles; and attending a small class in which I and a couple of other colleagues were taught Biblical Hebrew by Ada Rapoport-Albert.

When I returned to Oxford as Camden Professor of Ancient History in 1984, the plan to turn to Near Eastern History was already formed, but took some time to fall into place. At first my idea was to cover the whole of the millennium or so from Alexander (fourth century BCE) to Muhammad (seventh century CE). But after one paper called 'The

Problem of Hellenistic Syria', and a crazy but inspiring solitary visit to Jordan and Syria in 1986, I settled for the story of the Near East under Roman rule, with its more limited span from Augustus in the first century BCE to Constantine in the fourth century CE. A foretaste of the eventual book formed my Inaugural Lecture, published in the *Journal of Jewish Studies* in 1987. The book itself, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC–AD 337*, was published by Harvard University Press in 1993. Its aim was to compare the history, social structure and culture of the contrasting regions of the Near East, given that the area under Roman rule stretched from southern Turkey to the Red Sea and from the Mediterranean (eventually) to the Tigris. Each area was influenced by Greek culture, and Greek was in use everywhere. But Semitic languages were also employed, in the form of varieties of Aramaic (Syriac, Palmyrene, Jewish Aramaic and Nabataean) as well as Hebrew.

Were distinctive language-use patterns the sign of a distinctive culture and history, independent of Graeco-Roman culture? The only clear example, in my view, is provided by Jewish culture, with the inheritance of the Bible, and the creation in this period of works such as the Mishnah, Tosefta and Midrashim.

I had intended to leave the history of the Roman Near East at that, thinking that the period between Constantine's conversion to Christianity in the fourth century CE and the preaching of Muhammad in the seventh was too complex and demanding. But I found myself returning to it – for instance, in a survey of the papyrology (documents preserved on perishable materials) of the Near East with Hannah Cotton and Walter Cockle, in the *Journal of Roman Studies* 1995. A period of leave at the Australian National University at Canberra in 1997 included a first attempt to learn Syriac, the Christian Semitic language of culture from the Late Antique Period, which still survives. This led me to undertake a survey of language, religion and culture published in the Australian journal, *Mediterranean Archaeology*, in 1998.

Having gone back on the decision that the Late Roman Near East represented too much of a challenge, I was extremely pleased on retiring in 2002 to join the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit, and to have an office which I and my long-term secretary share happily with two other retired scholars, Norman Solomon and Glenda Abramson. This has been greatly helped by a Leverhulme Emeritus Fellowship for 2002–4, and since then by a British Academy grant.

In order to push forward from the Near East of the first two centuries CE to that of the next three I needed some wider background in the history of the Empire. The opportunity to develop this was offered by the Sather Lectures, given in Berkeley in 2003. In these I discussed the reign of Theodosius II which lasted from 408 until he fell off his horse in 450, still aged less than fifty. His was the longest sole reign of any Emperor. It was marked by deep Christian piety, the composition of a major new law-code, the *Theodosian Code*, and by the creation of a new form of historical evidence, the vast verbatim records of Church Councils held in 431 and 449, which also incorporate long series of contemporary documents. My book based on the lectures, *A Greek Roman Empire*, was published in 2006, along with the last of three volumes of my papers, edited by Hannah Cotton at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Guy Rogers at Wellesley College, Mass., *The Greek World, the Jews and the East.*

The stage is thus set for an attempt to portray the complex social and religious history of the Near East in the period when Christianity became dominant, when the major rabbinic works of piety and biblical scholarship were composed, when synagogues with elaborate mosaic floors were built, and when both Christianity and Judaism began to influence the Arabs of the frontier zone, who at this point began to identify themselves as the descendants of Abraham and Ishmael.

There are huge problems in mastering the relevant material, let alone in rendering it coherent. A significant proportion of the extensive Christian material is either written in Syriac or preserved in Syriac translations from Greek. So it is a big advantage that the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit is a secular non-denominational body, located in the context of the Oriental Institute. I am lucky to have as my colleague Alison Salvesen who works on the history of the Bible in its various versions, above all Greek and Syriac, and to be able to read Syriac texts each week with David Taylor. I may never become a fluent reader of Syriac, but this monotheist literature in a Semitic language, which both parallels contemporary rabbinic writings in Hebrew and Aramaic and contrasts strongly with them, is no longer a wholly 'closed book' to me. A paper of mine on the Syriac acts of the Second Council of Ephesus of 449 will be published next year. It is based on a manuscript written in a monastery in Syria in 535, less than a century after the events recorded.

There are some fifty dated Syriac manuscripts from the pre-Islamic period, some of them entire codices, or books.

It would be wonderful if there were similar early manuscripts of even some of the massive output of Jewish religious writing produced in Palestine (the official Roman name for this area) in these centuries. But none of the relevant manuscripts are earlier than the Middle Ages. In addition, few of the texts have been edited, discussed or translated at a high level. As they stand, they are also resolutely 'non-historical', not identifying their authors, not locating themselves in space or time, and not offering extended narratives related to a wider historical context. This major problem will be addressed in a volume on the historical use of rabbinic texts which is to come out of the conference entitled 'Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late-Roman Palestine' arranged by Martin Goodman, and held in the British Academy in the spring of 2008. My own contribution is a long introductory paper on the Palestinian context, focused on the other groups who inhabited Palestine in Late Antiquity – Greek-speaking Christians, Samaritans and nomadic Arabs, or Saracens.

As a practical contribution to the topic, a supplementary volume, edited by myself, Eyal Ben-Eliyahu and Yehudah Cohn (who completed a thesis under Martin Goodman's supervision in 2006), will attempt to provide a basic guide to this Jewish material. It will list known manuscripts, languages (Hebrew, Aramaic or both), character – biblical commentary (Midrash), legal reasoning (Mishnah, Tosefta, Talmud), religious poetry (*piyyutim*), mystical texts, and so forth – and then modern printed editions, commentaries and translations into European languages. This modest volume, which we hope will be short enough to be a paperback, will attempt to answer a simple question: what Jewish writing is there from Late Antiquity, and how do I get access to it?

We hope that the combination of the major conference volume and the supplementary one will make a serious contribution to our understanding of these texts and their social setting. But the problem still remains of writing the history of the Jewish community in Palestine, not to speak of integrating that history with that of the surrounding Christian population in Palestine itself. Thereafter, one needs to integrate the history of Palestine with that of the other provinces of the Near East. These were the context of the evolution of an even more

extensive Christian literature, in which Greek and Syriac coexisted, with translations being made in both directions.

It is too early to say what shape an integrated book on the Late-Roman Near East may take. For the moment the procedure adopted is to publish a series of articles dealing with particular topics and bodies of evidence. Various such papers have either appeared already or are due to do so in the next year or so. For me, the Near East between Constantine and Mohammed is a field of inexhaustible interest, and I am fortunate to have arrived in the most stimulating and most enjoyable environment – the Unit itself and the wider Oriental Institute – in which to study it.

Three Anglo-Jewish Portraits and Their Legacy for Today: Moses Marcus, the Convert; Abraham Tang, the Radical Maskil*; David Levi, the Defender of Judaism*[1]

DAVID RUDERMAN

My fascination with Anglo-Jewish history emerged by chance, but has been profound enough for me to write two books on the subject. My appreciation of the richness, diversity and significance of the history of Jewish cultural history on English soil continues to grow and deepen. There is a long tradition of Jewish historical writing, exemplified by the work of the Jewish Historical Society of England. But modern historians have barely begun to take pre-twentieth-century Anglo-Jewish history seriously. The drama of modernity seems still to be regarded as a German story, beginning with Mendelssohn and continuing into Eastern Europe. Historians such as Todd Endelman and David Katz have made major contributions to our subject, but in so doing have sometimes revealed their own biases.

We are often told that Anglo-Jews lack intellectual traditions, that intellectual history was for them of little importance, and even that the process of their modernization is a social history of unconscious assimilation and acculturation. I disagree. I wish to argue for the independent drama of Anglo-Jewish history in modern times, for the relevance and significance of this history for modern Jews, especially those in the British Isles and in America, and for the idea that the Jews of England were also thinkers, as well as merchants and craftsman. It seems to me, moreover, that their articulations of Jewish identity are relevant to our own self-understanding and self-fashioning.

The portraits of three British Jews who lived in the eighteenth

[1] An extended version of this paper was presented in London as a Catherine Lewis Public Lecture, 3 June 2008.

century that I wish to offer here are presented more fully in my two books on Anglo-Jewry.[2] What appears here is therefore only a brief summary of my more extensive treatments of them there. I selected these individuals in particular because their lives, achievements and struggles, as well as the colour and diversity of their interests and their complex relationships to Judaism, are of compelling interest to a biographer. In writing about them, and in using the title 'Anglo-Jewish portraits', I am admitting a debt to Cecil Roth. Several years ago I gave his memorial lecture and expressed admiration for his ability to spot the unusual and the uncanny, and to tell Jewish history for the sheer joy of the telling and for transmitting human drama. His excitement for Italian and well as for British Jewish history is infectious. But I am also an historian in search of a usable past. Jewish history is a conduit in our own search for who we are and what we stand for. Without our history, we stand naked before the immediate.

The subject of my first portrait is Moses Marcus, who converted to the Anglican Church in 1723 and published a book to justify his apostasy. His mother was Freudchen, the daughter of Glückel of Hameln and his father, Marcus Moses, also known as Mordecai Hamburger (*c.* 1660–1735), the richest Jew in England.

Mordecai, a precious-stones dealer from Hamburg who moved to London on his marriage in 1699, was unimpressed by the local rabbinical leadership and sought to set up his own synagogue in his home, close to the existing Ashkenazi and Sephardi synagogues, despite the slight this implied. He gained further notoriety in 1706 by challenging the legality of a conditional divorce granted by the chief rabbi to a rival trader who was so deeply in debt that he was planning to flee to the West Indies. The divorce, which was designed to free the wife to remarry should the husband not return, outraged Mordecai Hamburger, who had no talmudic training, but who saw this as supporting a man about to default on his debts. When Hamburger protested he was put under a ban which might have ruined him, since it prevented anyone in the Jewish community from talking to him. This brought shame not only on Jews of London, but on those of Hamburg, so

[2] David Ruderman, *Jewish Enlightenment in an English Key* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2000) and idem, *Connecting the Covenants: Judaism and the Search for Christian Identity in Eighteenth-Century England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2007).

German rabbis became involved, pronouncing the ban illegal. The ban was eventually overturned, but Hamburger's adventures were not over. A few years later he lost his fortune and left for Madras in 1712, returning in 1721 still a wealthy man and rejoining the community he had helped found. This, the second Ashkenazi synagogue in London, was known as the Hambro synagogue, after the place of origin of most of its members.

His eldest son, Moses Marcus, was sent during his father's absence to study in a yeshivah in Hamburg. There he encountered by chance Anglican missionaries, who were obviously motivated to win over this trophy child for the Church by his parents' status. His mentor in the process of his conversion was a formidable Hebraic and Latin scholar of Prussian origin who had been born David Wilcke (1685–1745), but who, after he reached England in 1712, called himself Wilkins, and became successively librarian at Lambeth Palace and chaplain to William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury (1657–1737), himself formerly at Christ Church, Oxford.

The circumstances of his conversion were complex. He wrote to his parents and told them he loved them and would never convert, whereupon his father sent him to Amsterdam for a year to recover his equilibrium. From there he sued his father for withholding funds for his upkeep, and converted nevertheless. In 1724 he published a book in London entitled *The Principal Motives and Circumstances that Induced Moses Marcus to leave the Jewish, and embrace the Christian Faith with a short Account of his Sufferings thereupon.* This added to his notoriety, since it challenged the well-known defence of the oral law by Haham David Nieto of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in Bevis Marks, in his *Matteh Dan* or 'The Rod of Judgment' (published in Hebrew and Spanish in 1714).

Moses apparently emerged from his struggles with his family as a nominal Christian, constantly in search of money and recognition in Christian society, attempting to offer his knowledge of Judaism to any interested Christian student. From then on Moses's life – a window into the world of Jews and Christians at the beginning of the eighteenth century – reveals a liminal space of a convert between two faiths, seeking to secure acceptance in the high Christian society of London.

He barely managed to keep himself and his family by teaching languages and publishing books on Judaism meant for Christian consump-

tion. A begging letter to Sir Hans Sloane, the benefactor of the British Museum, reveals a remarkable network of supporters, patrons and students and offers us a road map into his social network, which includes high churchmen such as Daniel Waterland (1683–1740), Zachary Pearce (1690–1774), Benjamin Hoadly (1676–1761) and others. Marcus wrote a manual on Jewish ceremonies, and in 1729 translated into English the Christian Hebraist Johann Carpzov's *Defence of the Hebrew Bible*, which criticizes William Whiston's rejection of the Jewish version of the Old Testament, and thereby defends the integrity of the biblical text. Here he reveals his dual loyalty – a Christian by faith, but a Jew tied ethnically to his community. His conversion does not dislodge his loyalty to the Hebrew text and to the Jewish people. His story seems to be emblematic of many others who followed similar paths of radical assimilation, but who retained something of their Jewish identity.

My second subject is Abraham ben Naphtali Tang (*d.* 1792), perhaps the most original scholar and thinker in Anglo-Jewry at the end of the eighteenth century. He was a grandson of Abraham ben Moses Taussig Neu-Greschel of Prague, who signed his name using the initials of his surname and place of origin – hence 'Tang'. His son settled in London and married the daughter of R. Nathan Apta of Opatow, rabbi of the Hambro synagogue. His teacher was Moses Minsk, rabbi of Hevrat Sha'arei Zion in London.

Tang has been hardly studied, although the late Sidney Leperer devoted a doctoral dissertation to him. Leperer, who had not seen all of his works, labeled him a *Maskil*, 'proponent of Enlightenment', as Roth had done, and as I do also in my title. But if we mean by that that his thinking was an echo of that current in Germany, the designation is misleading. It would be more accurate to see him as a unique intellectual emerging from the soil of England, writing in Hebrew and in English. His largest work, *Behinat ha-Adam*, is an unfinished discourse on the universality of God based on the writings of the French Protestant Bible scholar Samuel Bochart (1599–1667), the English theologian Edward Stillingfleet (1635–99) and the philosopher John Locke (1632–1704). His translation into Hebrew of Voltaire's 'Chinese Catechism' of 1764 – the entry in his famous philosophical encyclopedia in which he bases faith on reason – was among Tang's most unusual accomplishments. He offers in his Hebrew writing a critique of rabbinic culture and kabbalah.

His interest in ancient mythology and history and his method of applying these to the study of ancient Judaism and the rabbis were unique. For Tang, the rabbis operated in a political universe, and one must understand their actions accordingly. His Hebrew translation of William Congreve's *Mourning Bride* and the art and diagrams in his manuscripts all add colour to his complex self-portrait as an enlightened Jew.

Among Tang's other works were an English commentary and translation of the ethical tractate of the Mishnah, *Pirke Avot* (1772), together with the commentary by Moses Maimonides; and a pamphlet entitled: *A Discourse Addressed to the Minority* (1770). He attributes the first of these to 'a primitive Ebrew', and sets out to show how Jewish teachings are deist at their core and propound the priority of morality over ceremonial life, assuming the rationality and the primacy of inward duties. The second work is a defence of the English radical John Wilkes (1725–97) and his critique of the undemocratic way in which he was removed from parliament. In publicly identifying with Wilkes he demonstrated an emotional attachment to his British homeland, an argument probably unmatched in the writings of other Jews at that period.

My final portrait is that of a particular hero of mine, David Levi (1740–1801), who made himself the consummate public intellectual and spokesman of London Jewry. From the appearance of his first book in 1782, *A Succinct Account of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews*, until the end of the century, he flooded the market with publications in English designed to educate a Jewishly illiterate public and to defend the integrity of Judaism before deists and Christian millenarians alike. These included translations of the Sephardi and Ashkenazi prayer books (1789 and 1794 respectively, but often reissued), a Hebrew grammar (1785–7) and *Dissertations on the Prophecies of the Old Testament* in three volumes (1793 and 1800). In addition he wrote two responses to the attempts of Joseph Priestly (1733–1804) to convert Jews (1787), as well as ripostes to Richard Brothers's (1757–1824) messianic pretensions and to Thomas Paine (1737–1809), the Anglo-American radical (1789, 1797). He was well known in the Christian community and elicited many comments from Christians. His literary friends, such as the bookseller George Lackington (1768–1844), and Henry Lemoine (1756–1812), supported him and praised him as their peer.

Levi was a conventional traditionalist who supported a version of what we would call Orthodox Judaism, and simultaneously respected orthodox Christians over Unitarians such as Priestly. His defence of Judaism, and especially his attempts to correct what he saw as misrepresentations of the Bible by contemporary Christian translators such as Benjamin Kennicott (1718–83) and Robert Lowth (1710–87), became legendary. Bludgeoning his Christian opponents by ridiculing their tendentious readings of Scripture, he seemed to relish a fight. He could be compared with Jewish public intellectuals such as Menasseh ben Israel (1604–57) in Amsterdam or Moses Mendelssohn (1729–86) in Berlin, were it not for the brashness and temerity of his polemical style. While they preferred measured caution, perhaps out of deference to their Christian elite society, Levi, who lived among those with a relatively higher level of tolerance towards its Jewish minority, could abandon inhibitions. He even dared speak on behalf of the English nation as a whole in condemning Thomas Paine. Levi consciously pressed the culture and power-structure of Christian society to allow Jews to take full advantage of the free speech that democracy permits. A philo-Semitic Christian cleric named Anselm Bayly (1718/19–94) complained that Levi had gone too far in his outspokenness, suggesting that toleration implied servility and meekness, rather than brashness and unfettered speech. When Levi broke the rule of being 'a good Jew', and became the primary Jewish dissenter of his day, his self-confidence as a public Jew marked a kind of threshold to the modern era.

In the final analysis, these three Anglo-Jews of the eighteenth century—a convert, a deist, and an apologist and educator—offer us a wide and colourful panorama for understanding the diversity, the dynamism and the creativity of Jewish life on English soil. For Jews as well as others, memory has always been 'redemptive', that is, by enriching our knowledge of the past, we deepen and ennoble ourselves. And who more than contemporary Jews living in the British Isles could appreciate the complex ambivalence of Moses Marcus shuttling between Christianity and Judaism; or the intellectual excitement of Abraham Tang in the new radical political world he had discovered in London; or the temerity and commitment of David Levi to defend his people and their intellectual legacy at all costs? May their memory be also our blessing!

THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL
A. N. STENCL LECTURE IN YIDDISH STUDIES

The Early Modern Yiddish Book and the Fostering of an Ashkenazi Identity[1]

SHLOMO Z. BERGER

Any reference to Ashkenaz, Ashkenazim or Ashkenazi culture is usually combined with geographical details, topographical boundaries and the recognition of a regional division of the Jewish people. It is also customary to use the adjective 'ethnic' when explaining the differences in ritual and customs between Ashkenazim and Sephardim. Yiddish is recognized as the Ashkenazi language par excellence, although it is usually assumed to have influenced Ashkenazi life substantially only from the middle of the nineteenth century, when modernizing and secularizing forces swept through the Eastern European *shtetl*. As use of the language was elevated from the unconscious to the conscious level, it was transformed into a subject of study, a question of political consideration, and an issue of self-determination. It was accorded the status of a national language, and Eastern European Ashkenazim took pride in possessing their own vernacular.

The history of Yiddish is in fact far longer and broader than this common view suggests, however. *Loshn Ashkenaz*, 'the Language of Ashkenaz', as it was known among its speakers until the beginning of the twentieth century, was spoken from the beginning of the second millennium. It was employed as a medium for writing and reading from the shores of the North Sea in Amsterdam to Lublin in Eastern Europe, and from Hamburg-Altona in northern Europe to Venice on the Adriatic coast, becoming a pan-European Jewish language long before modern ideologists dubbed it the national language of Eastern European Jews and annexed its past to their own purposes.

While it is now common to praise Yiddish for its literary corpus – the modernist novel and lyrical poem, sophisticated storytelling and emo-

[1] Professor Shlomo Z. Berger, of the University of Amsterdam, delivered this Sixteenth Annual A. N. Stencl Lecture in Yiddish Studies on 28 February 2008.

tional songs, a commitment to tradition coupled to innovation and experiment – Yiddish was also a language of ritual, custom and profound religious experience from early modern to modern times. Several giants of modern Yiddish literature employed this earlier tradition as a basis for their modern interpretations of Jewish life. The bestselling Bible commentary, *Tsene Rene*, lies at the heart of Tevye the Dairyman's world and his idiosyncratic exegesis and serves as Sholem Aleichem's literary raw material. But Tevye, as a typical Ashkenazi Jew, was formed long before the nineteenth century. The use of Yiddish as a vernacular, combined with the distribution of books in that language once printing was invented, played an important role in that formative process.

It is not my intention to describe the history of Yiddish in early modern times, yet one characteristic of the language should be highlighted here. Yiddish, as a vernacular, never enjoyed the privileged position of Hebrew, even among its own speakers. The Ashkenazi masses did not usually speak, write, or even read Hebrew. Men recited Hebrew prayers in synagogue, but many did not fully understand what they were saying. Ashkenazim nevertheless continued to value Hebrew as the predominant Jewish language. They considered Hebrew to be the marker of their Jewish identity, and the Hebrew alphabet to be sacred. Yiddish occupied a different status from, and fulfilled other functions than Hebrew, which enjoyed a universal and timeless position. Yiddish was confined within local and temporal boundaries. Its use satisfied needs created by particular situations that were connected with the lives of Jews in exile in various European communities. Hebrew was the language of the past and the messianic future, while Yiddish was the language of the here and now. Since it was a vernacular, and therefore not culturally valuable *per se*, speakers and writers of Yiddish enjoyed relative freedom in their usage of the language. As a result Yiddish eventually benefited and helped create an Ashkenazi culture.

The boundaries between Hebrew and Yiddish were not hermetically sealed. Synagogue practice suggests the existence of a bilingual situation or even a form of diglossia in which each language was employed in a different and parallel sphere. Several areas of division between the languages may be mentioned, although none represent fully separated regions of activity: spoken and written language, private and public,

formal and informal, religious and secular, female and male, low and high.

Contrary to the popular perception of a division between Hebrew as a carrier of high and Yiddish of low culture, some texts were composed in both languages. These testify to the particular values attached to each language, and symbolize the specific roles of Hebrew and Yiddish within early modern Ashkenazi society. The genre known as the debate song (*shirei viku'ah*), of which thirty-seven texts survive, is a good example. A particular instance of this genre, the debate song between wine and water, the earliest known version of which dates from 1699, comprises parallel Hebrew and Yiddish versions that were composed by the same person – Eliahu Lo'entz – probably at the same time. It is clear that Lo'entz did not translate his Hebrew version into Yiddish, but composed them both concurrently. None the less, scholars have noted that the Yiddish version also forms a sort of commentary on the Hebrew text, suggesting a functional division between the languages.[2] Bilingual poems of this kind testify to the spread of Yiddish among the Ashkenazi population throughout the European continent. The popular definition of Hebrew and Yiddish – the one a written language and the other a spoken vernacular – does not convey the whole picture as is clearly manifested by the widespread distribution of printed books in Yiddish.

It is generally assumed that only some 250 years elapsed between the time people began to speak Yiddish (or a Jewish dialect of German) and to write it. The first known Yiddish written text dates from 1272, and comprises one verse jotted in a *makhzor* for Passover from the German city of Worms. A century later, in 1382, a corpus including several poems on biblical themes, as well as an adaptation of a German epic poem, was written down in a manuscript found in the Cairo genizah. Manuscripts of Yiddish texts proliferated during the ensuing centuries, so that when printing was invented there already existed a small yet interesting literary corpus of prose and poetry. But the invention of the printing press constituted a sort of a 'big bang' for Yiddish and Ashkenazi culture.

Book history demonstrates the profound impact of printing. From the sixteenth century on, two interconnected effects influenced the course of modernization throughout the Continent. Printing and the

[2] A. Simon, *Viku'ah hayayin vehamayim lerabi Eliahu Lo'entz: shir viku'ah du-leshoni* (MA Thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006).

concomitant reduction in the prices of books enabled the written word to reach and influence larger sections of the population. Although more than another century was needed before levels of literacy began to increase, the potential was present from 1500 onwards. The widening distribution of books also made it possible to diffuse ideas on a much greater scale, in this way facilitating the dissemination and fixing of ideas.[3] Following Benedict Anderson's reasoning, well-distributed books made possible the creation of the modern national state or, as he dubs it, 'imagined communities'.[4] This process was double-edged, since it could both serve the causes of modernization and democratization, and be wielded as an instrument of control by political and religious institutions.

Yiddish books were vital tools for forming Ashkenazi consciousness, for establishing men and women's interpretation of life in exile, and for introducing a pan-European mode of life in the early modern period, between the sixteenth and the late eighteenth centuries. Joseph Davis has claimed that the triumph of Rabbi Moshe Isserles's commentary on the *Shulhan Arukh*, known as the *Mapah*, or 'tablecloth', which made possible that text's transformation into the primary Ashkenazi guide to Jewish Law, can be related to the formation of a cohesive group known as Ashkenazim. This group was based not on a code of Law, but on a shared language.[5] The use of Yiddish that linked individuals and communities was employed by the printers of the *Shulhan Arukh* as a stratagem to sell the book. The *Shulhan Arukh* is, of course, a Hebrew work, but Yiddish speakers also demanded – and were eventually offered – an ever-growing supply of books in Yiddish. The act of speaking Yiddish was strengthened by widespread printing activity.

The Yiddish book industry was never a segregated field of activity, so it is more accurate to speak of an industry based on texts written in every possible Jewish language employing the Hebrew alphabet, among which books in the Hebrew language have always predominated. No accurate statistics are available, but a superficial survey of catalogues shows that Yiddish books amounted to only ten percent of all

[3] Elizabeth Einsentein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 1983) esp. 42–91.

[4] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London 1983).

[5] Joseph Davis, 'The Reception of the *Shulhan Arukh* and the Formation of Ashkenazic Jewish Identity', *AJS* 26 (2002) 251–76.

the volumes produced. An example of this can be extracted from a unique advertising poster printed in Amsterdam around 1760. The printing and book-dealing family Proops, the largest publisher of Jewish books in Amsterdam for almost two centuries, announced the sale of 350 books, of which 35 were in Yiddish.

Nevertheless, the number of Ashkenazi readers of Yiddish was far greater than the number of those reading Hebrew, and it can be assumed that the distribution of Yiddish books among Ashkenazim was far wider than that of Hebrew books. While Yiddish books were produced for the masses, those in Hebrew were addressed to an intellectual and rabbinic elite. The trajectory required to be followed by those aiming to build up a scholarly reputation was to deliver a sermon in Yiddish but subsequently to print that sermon in a Hebrew version. A rabbinical ruling would be informally communicated in Yiddish and later printed in a volume of Hebrew *responsa*. Still the Yiddish book remained by far the more popular.

The extent of such popularity can be gleaned from some of the features of Yiddish books. There are relatively few published in folio format, more in quarto and most in octavo and smaller formats. To be salesworthy, Yiddish books had to be cheap, and the need to reduce costs can be seen in almost every stage of Yiddish book production. Authors were never paid for their texts, and frequently financed the publication of their own books. We have no information on the fees demanded by translators, correctors and other agents, but it may be assumed that no one earned much from book publishing. In many cases the publisher was a book dealer who earned his living by selling the books he produced.

The Yiddish readership was not affluent, so publishers tended to produce books that could be sold cheaply. But the production of cheap Yiddish books reflected not only a commercial but also a cultural concern. Serving a non-canonical language and literary corpus, publishers knew that Yiddish books would not earn them prestige and fame. Rather, such books were produced because publishers assumed there to be a demand that had to be supplied as a service to their Ashkenazi brethren. Yiddish book production therefore belonged to the practical level of a larger intellectual enterprise. The commercial success of a Yiddish book would depend on widespread distribution and successful efforts to convince the public that this was an essential work for house-

holds to possess. Competition was strong. Two Yiddish translations of the Bible were issued in Amsterdam in 1678 and 1679, each edition running to 6000 copies. But both folio-format books were among the biggest commercial flops of the period. The Ashkenazi Yiddish-reading public must have had misgivings about purchasing translations of the Bible without the Hebrew original text.

The title pages and prefaces of some Yiddish books boast that the printer used new ink, good paper and new typesetting, all of which suggests that most of the others were produced using poor or second-hand material. Ashkenazim regularly reported that the books they were reading fell apart in their hands, although this may reflect the fact that books regularly passed from person to person and had many readers besides the one who originally purchased the copy.

The fact that Yiddish books were cheap also resulted in many of those catalogued in libraries being no more than booklets. Not only were these cheaper than larger books, but the publication of small and miniature texts testifies to the sort of literature that publishers thought worth printing and which the public would purchase and read. The small size of these publications tells us nothing about their quality and importance, although the publication of booklets in two genres may clarify the range of considerations and their effect on the manner in which Ashkenazim evaluated their own culture and environment.

We possess booklets containing just one short poem. Such works, in booklets of 4 to 8 pages, might lament a tragic event in one Ashkenazi community or praise the salvation of another, and perhaps function as prayers which could be recited at such religious commemorations as *Purim koton* or *Yom Kippur koton*. Others served as historical records that informed the public about the position, sufferings and celebration of different Ashkenazi communities. They include stories on events such as the pogroms of 1648–49 or the difficult winter in Amsterdam in 1783. Major catastrophes and trivialities appear side by side, both enjoying success with the reading public. Longer poems were also published, and these are much more substantial pieces of literature. They include *Megiles Vintz*, which described riots against Jews in Frankfurt am Main, followed by their expulsion and return during the 1610s.

Another genre appearing in such booklets is the story or *ma'aseh*. The *Mayse-bukh* of 1602 is an early anthology of tales, which earned a respected position within the Yiddish literary corpus. But in print this

genre mostly took the form of booklets, and these remained popular until the end of the nineteenth century or later. They were cheap and satisfied a reading public keen for juicy stories, although not all were sensational. Some were drawn from rabbinic literature and conveyed a Jewish moral. Booklets, which played a paramount role in forming the outlook of Ashkenazim, were widely circulated and became the literary staple of Amsterdam and Lublin Jews. The length of the text and its formal aspects mattered less than the quality.

More substantial publications which also played a role in fostering Ashkenazi identity belonged to the sphere of tradition and religion. Scholars setting out to define the Yiddish book usually start by enumerating Hebrew prayer books that also include Yiddish texts. The Yiddish elements may be minimal, consisting of passages raising questions of custom, providing advice regarding ritual, or merely outlining the modes and forms of prayer. Over time, such texts were expanded and later came to include full translations of prayers. These were necessary because public liturgy was performed in Hebrew only, and many Ashkenazim did not understand the Hebrew language and needed help in the form of Yiddish translations. It is usually assumed that Yiddish renditions of the *Sidur* were read at home as a sort of *lernen*, a tool for engaging with the study of Torah. But we possess one Yiddish translation of the prayer book published in 1721 which includes the following suggestion: if purchasers were to bind it together with a Hebrew prayer book, both works could be used jointly during synagogue services. Users would then be able to glance at the Yiddish text to grasp what they were saying in Hebrew. One doubts the practicality of handling such a volume for simultaneously following prayers in two languages. But it was intended to help the Ashkenazi Jew to avoid the pitfall suggested by the dictum, noted on the title page, *Tefilloh lelo kavonoh keguf lelo neshomoh*, 'praying without intention is like a body without a soul'. The publication of this volume testifies to the transformation of individual Jews into an Ashkenazi Jews. Yiddish became an instrument of Ashkenazi identity formation.

Adherence to Jewish belief and law also received an Ashkenazi character with the publication in Yiddish of *Muser sforim* or 'ethical works'. These were based on biblical and rabbinic literature and introduced a revolution – albeit of an evolutionary kind – into the lives of Ashkenazim. Fearing that the masses would be unable to follow intellectually

challenging rabbinic debates on Jewish law, publishers attempted to tackle questions of belief, ritual and custom more informally. These texts taught the reader how to lead a righteous and pure Jewish life by stressing its spiritual side, outlining the individual's duty of responsibility to self and others, and the importance of the abstract or psychic effects of following Torah. Sophisticated ideas and technical legal terms were transformed into maxims of popular ethics, and lofty ethical notions into practical moral dicta. In many cases, such books explicated themes with the help of fables and stories, making them accessible to a wider readership. Ethical books adopted forms from medieval Hebrew literature. But while the Hebrew genre constituted only a fraction of the overall Jewish literary corpus, the Yiddish ethical book became a powerful instrument in the formation of Ashkenazi perceptions of Jewish tradition. Three such seventeenth-century bestsellers are worth mentioning: *Sefer Lev Tov*, *Brantshpigel*, and the ultimate Yiddish bestseller, the *Tsene Rene*, which takes the form of a commentary on the Torah, *megiles* and *haftoyres*, but provides moral guidance throughout.

The success of this genre cannot be attributed only to the quality of the writing in such bestsellers, but also to the already mentioned practice of publishing concise tracts in miniscule booklets. The printing of big ideas on a small scale, restricting discussions to few questions within a concise text that might be easily read, helped ensure the genre's widespread popularity. Such booklets were presented as practical solutions for people looking for spiritual guidance but lacking the time, energy or capacity to tackle larger books. The booklet's humble format may have emphasized the magnitude of the spiritual guidance, suggesting that a concentrated text might touch a human heart like a spear or an arrow.

Alongside prayer books and ethical tracts, a new and genuinely Yiddish liturgical and practical genre became central to the Ashkenazi book canon: the supplication literature for women known as *tkhines*. These prayers, which were intended for women at specific moments in their lives, would not necessarily have gained popularity without the active involvement in their dissemination by the publishing industry. The fact that such books and booklets were made available created a readership for this genre of writing. Printers indicated that this was an independent genre by tending to use a standard text for the title pages, and then to introduce minor variations for each edition. On the one

hand, publishers cut costs in this way, particularly in the case of miniscule booklets. On the other hand, however, printers demonstrated sensitivity towards the genre and its readers by using this approach. Title pages forged a tradition for editions of *tkhines*. Besides supplications one finds the *bentsherl*, books or booklets containing blessings for various occasions, and also *minhogim*, or 'customs', works describing and explaining the traditions and customs performed in different regions of the Ashkenazi world. All such books deepened the Ashkenazi sense of the world and its particular meanings.

Printing Yiddish books for people who either bought or borrowed copies had a further important result: the formation of Ashkenazi libraries, of which there were at least two kinds: a household library which contained books purchased by members of the family, and a virtual library of books that an Ashkenazi temporarily had in his possession and which helped form his intellectual and aesthetic sensibilities. A household library might include a prayer book in Hebrew and Yiddish, a *bentsherl*, a volume of *tkhines*, an ethical treatise, and perhaps a booklet describing the rules of Jewish slaughter. Families keen to educate their offspring might have one of the many Hebrew grammars in Yiddish, while others might possess a *mayse* or two. Families with slightly more money might invest in an edition of the *Tsene Rene* or another bestseller printed in folio, which would be considered a family asset. Families active within their own community would purchase a copy of the community's regulations, or *takanot* as well as the *takanot* of the charitable society of which they were members. During the 1680s Amsterdam Ashkenazim might consider buying an issue of the Tuesday or Friday newspaper, the *Dinstogishe kurantn* or the *Fraytogishe kurantn*.

The overall picture suggests the practical Jewish orientation and occasionally down-to-earth nature of such libraries. In much the same way as publishers applied commercial logic to their ventures, so too did households bear economic considerations in mind when purchasing a book. Whether or not the book to be bought was of a practical, educational nature or an investment for the family was an important concern. Aesthetic questions were secondary, or not as important as they became in later centuries.

Aesthetics may have played a greater role in the so-called Ashkenazi virtual library. But the important feature of this library is its accidental

nature. While some people look for books they wish to read or consult, others – some of whom do not habitually buy books – merely come across books that are offered to them, become available, or are encountered in other households. Such a virtual library therefore includes books covering a larger spectrum of genres and subjects.

Such distinct types of assemblages reflect two layers of the general Ashkenazi library. Purchased books formed the core of the Ashkenazi Jew's engagement with Yiddish texts. But a second layer included books that one did not own, but which one read and which played a role in forming one's Ashkenazi-Yiddish world view. One's own household library functioned as somebody else's virtual library and vice versa. Both were responsible for the creation of a Yiddish literary corpus that affected the life of Ashkenazim.

Modern scholars such as Max Erik have attempted to sketch a history of Yiddish based on other premises. Erik, a secular Soviet student of Yiddish letters, wished to show that the genius of Yiddish had fewer links with the rabbinic tradition of the Ashkenazi ghetto than with European literature and especially the mainly German tradition of the *shpilman* or troubadour. Erik concluded that when Ashkenazim turned to ethical books, from 1600 onwards, this represented a retreat to the ghetto. But he may have dismissed the lion's share of the Yiddish literary corpus too easily. Based on antiquated notions of what constituted 'high literature', he ignored the general picture of Yiddish letters. Later scholars, more aware of the connections between high and low literature and culture in general, and aware of the emergence of the study of book history, are able to propose a more accurate evaluation of the Yiddish literary corpus.

Ashkenazim did not read texts. They read printed books which became available on the market. Details of the form in which these books were presented influenced the message, including the length of the text, its letter type, paper and ink quality, the price and the availability of copies to the reading public. Books are cultural artefacts and their presence in someone's library indicates their availability to family members or to wider circles of readers. The fact that a book was in Yiddish also had an effect, each additional Yiddish book legitimizing the use of Yiddish and augmenting its prestige. As Yiddish earned a position within Ashkenazi culture and society, it helped establish the notion of the Ashkenazi.

Bibliographical note

This paper is based on a series of articles I have written on Yiddish book history over a number of years, 'An Invitation to Buy and Read: Yiddish Paratexts in Amsterdam 1650–1800', *Book History* 7 (2004) 31–61; 'Bibles and Publishers: Yiddish Paratexts in Amsterdam', in Dauven K. *et al.* (eds) *Paratext: The Fuzzy Edges of Literature* (Amsterdam 2004) 127–38; *Yiddish and Jewish Modernization of the 18th Century*, The 12th Annual Lecture of the Braun Family Chair of the History of the Jews in Prussia, Bar-Ilan University 2006, 25pp. [in Hebrew]; 'Yiddish on the Borderlines of Modernity: Language and Literature in Early Modern Ashkenazi Culture', *Jahrbuch des Simon-Dubnow-Institut* 6 (2007) 113–22; 'Yiddish Book Production in Amsterdam 1650–1800: Local and International Aspects', in Y. Kaplan (ed.) *The Dutch Intersection. The Jews and The Netherlands in Modern History* (Brill-Leiden 2008) [forthcoming]; 'Functioning Within a Diasporic "Third Space": The Case of Early Modern Yiddish', *JSQ* 15 (2008) 68–86; 'Selling Books in 18th-century Amsterdam: An Advertising Sale Poster', *Zutot: Perspectives on Jewish Culture* 5 (2008) [forthcoming]; 'Hayyim ben Jacob Druker: A Typesetter, Editor and Printer in Amsterdam and Early Yiddish Book Culture' in I. Bartal *et al.* (eds) *Khut shel khen. In Honor of Chava Turniansky* [in Hebrew, forthcoming]. These will also serve as the basis for a book currently being completed, to be entitled *Yiddish Booklore in Amsterdam 1650–1800: A Study of Paratexts.*

Athens, Jerusalem and Oxford[1]

JONATHAN JACOBS[2]

This is a discussion of some recent trends in philosophy and the place of Jewish philosophy within them. Overall, there are grounds for thinking that Jewish philosophy and its connections with other areas of Jewish Studies have some very positive prospects, and here I attempt to explain why that is so.

Approaches in English-language philosophy prevailing during the middle part of the twentieth century came to motivate (as philosophical approaches do) growing counter-currents. In consequence there have been changes in the directions and even the character of philosophical inquiry. To be swift with this – much too swift, but at least acknowledging the oversimplification – the prevailing analytical methods of mid-century, often closely tied to specific conceptions of linguistic analysis, were found wanting. One result was the emergence of a broader conception of philosophical analysis. Another was that the history of philosophy was increasingly taken seriously in a philosophical manner, not just as part of the history of ideas.

There has always been interest in Classical Philosophy. But it was regarded by many philosophers as part of Classical Studies, and therefore distinct from philosophy proper. In the 1940s few English-language philosophers used resources from Aristotle, Plato or the Stoics to pursue their work on the problems of philosophy, even where one might think them clearly relevant, such as in ethical theorizing. That situation has changed dramatically. In ethics one can hardly participate in current debates without knowledge of Aristotle, along with Hume and Kant, and, increasingly, Spinoza. Likewise metaphysics, epistemology and other areas. Much of the most important contemporary philosophy involves deploying extensive resources from the history of philosophy to

[1] I would like to thank Peter Oppenheimer, President of the Centre, for his many suggestions on reading drafts of this essay. In each case they improved the essay and were helpful guidance to its author.

[2] A report on Professor Jacobs's stay at the Centre will be included in the next issue of the *Report*.

make progress in current debates. While there are still significant methodological differences between philosophy and intellectual history, the range of what counts as philosophy with a role in contemporary analytical engagement has been very broadly extended.

A further result is that many thinkers who had for years been regarded as unimportant or of interest only to specialists are now being energetically studied and included in the standard treatment of philosophical issues. This applies first of all to medieval thinkers. Study of the period was always sustained in Catholic curricula, but medieval philosophers are increasingly recognized as sophisticated thinkers whose work speaks to a broader philosophical audience than previously thought. And not just Christian philosophers. Works on, and anthologies of, both Jewish and Muslim philosophers feature in bookshops' and publishers' catalogues. Examples are the Cambridge University Press's *Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (2003) and *Companion to Maimonides* (2005), the Hackett edition of Saadiah's *Book of Doctrines and Beliefs* (2002) and a Cambridge volume of *Medieval Jewish Philosophical Writings* (2008) including not just Saadiah, Maimonides and Gersonides, but Isaac Albalag and Moses of Narbonne among others. The study of medieval philosophy now pays more attention to thinkers in accord with their importance in their own time, helping to make Maimonides, al-Ghazali, Gersonides and al-Farabi, for example, more widely studied. Augustine and Aquinas have not shrunk in importance, but (like Hume, mentioned above) are being placed in a richer, more complex context.

Coming to the early-modern period, the suggestion that Spinoza was an important figure in arguments about the nature of the liberal polity would twenty years ago have been given short shrift. Yet that is precisely the current view. The change has two sources. First, the ethical and political thought of the early-modern period is now generally appreciated in regard to issues such as (a) the nature of political legitimacy, (b) the character of the liberal polity and the rule of law, (c) the nature of moral motivation, (d) the contours of practical rationality and (e) the respective roles of sensibility, cognition and volition in morally right action. British Moralists such as Hutcheson, Shaftesbury, Butler, Reid and Adam Smith feature conspicuously in this development, along with Hume, who has long been a key figure, but who is now placed in a richer context especially in regard to antecedents who influenced him.

Secondly, recent developments have also brought recognition of the role of Jewish and Hebraic sources with respect to many central normative issues. For a long time, it has seemed, when people used the expression 'Judeo-Christian' – as in 'Judeo-Christian heritage', or 'values' – the 'Judeo' signaled an historical origin, but not a rich self-sustaining body of conceptions, convictions and perspectives.

This attitude was prominent in Enlightenment thought. Kant, for instance, viewed the history of Israel as a paradigm not of universal values and ideals, but of particularism and a narrowness of moral vision. He wrote:

> The Jewish faith was, in its original form, a collection of mere statutory laws upon which was established a political organization; for whatever moral additions were then or later appended to it in no way whatever belonged to Judaism as such. Judaism is really not a religion at all but merely a union of a number of people who, since they belonged to a particular stock, formed themselves into a commonwealth under purely political laws, and not into a church; nay, it was intended to be merely an earthly state so that, were it possibly to be dismembered through adverse circumstances, there would still remain to it (as part of its very essence) the political faith in its eventual reestablishment (with the advent of the Messiah).[3]

By contrast, Kant interpreted the essence of Christian faith as both holy and rational. Citing Luke, 'For, behold, the kingdom of God is within you' (Luke XVII, 21–2), he commented 'Here a kingdom of God is represented not according to a particular covenant (i.e., not Messianic) but *moral* (knowable through unassisted reason)'.[4] The Jewish notion of covenant with God is replaced by something like a covenant between persons, constructed by reason, with all of the resources for that in our own rational agency. The only grace is rationalistic grace.

Regarding Christianity as the (universal) religion of (universal) reason was one way in which the Enlightenment was ungenerous to Jews and Judaism. There were different versions of this view, but the general point is that for a great many people Christian theism, without pressing delicate and difficult theological issues, was regarded as

[3] Immanuel Kant, *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone*, translated by Theodore Greene and Hoyt Hudson (New York: Harper and Row 1960) 116.

[4] Ibid. 127.

shaping the reasonable person's fundamental moral convictions. Whatever was distinctively 'Judeo' in 'Judeo-Christian' was mainly historically rather than normatively important. Judaism seemed theologically anachronistic. The moral anthropology of the Judeo-Christian heritage had largely been shorn of its Hebraic sources.

Today, on the other hand, scholars from several disciplines are looking again, or even for the first time, at the significance of Hebraic sources for Western ethical, political and legal thought. In particular the Bible is being reconsidered in ways that highlight its crucial position in the moral anthropology of the West. I shall say a little bit about the substantive issues and then remark on some trends in contemporary work concerning those issues.

English thought of the early-modern period is an excellent example of the significance of Hebraic sources. Several influential Protestant thinkers, such as Hobbes, Locke, Grotius, Harrington and Milton, derived their conceptions of political legitimacy, the rule of law and the form of the power of the state from their understanding of Scripture. The history of Israel was historically and normatively paradigmatic. Granted, there is lively debate over the extent to which these appeals were genuine rather than rhetorical, but we should keep in mind that 'rhetorical' here does not mean 'merely rhetorical'. The idiom of debate about politics was richly informed by the idiom of the Bible in ways that were thought to speak to contemporary issues and in an authoritative manner. Scripture was a source of insight as well as argument.

One important contribution of these early-modern thinkers, Hobbes, Locke and Grotius in particular, is that they developed conceptions of natural law that differed significantly from medieval conceptions. Thus, in Thomist natural law teleology is central. Natural law concerns principles by which human beings can attain perfection through the exercise of practical reason. By contrast, early-modern notions of natural law emphasized covenant and relations of obligation, a quite different conception of the function and form of law. While participants in a covenant are understood to participate through reason, rationality itself subscribes to a 'law of God', as Hobbes put it.[5] 'The *word of God*, is then also to be taken for the dictates of reason and

[5] *Leviathan*, ed. Michael Oakeshott (New York: Collier Books 1973) 284 (Chap. 33).

equity, when the same is said in the Scriptures to be written in man's heart; as *Psalm* xxxvii. 31; *Jer.* xxxi.33; *Deut.* xxx.11, 14, and many other like places.'[6] And according to Locke, reason is the 'common rule and measure God has given to all mankind'.[7] It is '[w]ant of a common judge with authority'[8] that puts us into a state of nature.

The biblical model involves another feature found in much modern natural-law-based political theory, namely the institutionalization of authority aimed at the interest of the parties to the covenant. To be sure, Aquinas had already regarded natural law as aimed at the good of the community; but he did not anticipate the early-modern view that without law and a recognized enforcing authority there is a tendency to disorder and insecurity.

Hobbes famously made security and order primary considerations for agreeing to the constraints of the civil condition. The Noahide covenant requiring the establishment of courts and magistrates and the Deuteronomic ordinance to 'establish judges and magistrates in all your settlements' (16:18) were canonical sources and (putatively) historical precedents for taking steps to leave the state of nature. Hobbes wrote:

> The final cause, end, or design of men, who naturally love liberty, and dominion over others, in the introduction of that restraint upon themselves, in which we see them live in commonwealths, is the foresight of their own preservation, and of a more contented life thereby; that is to say, of getting themselves out from that miserable condition of war, which is necessarily consequent, as hath been shown (chapter 13), to the natural passions of men, when there is no visible power to keep them in awe, and tie them by fear of punishment to the performance of their covenants, and observation of those laws of nature set down in the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters.[9]

James Harrington was a thinker who explicitly took the covenant at Sinai to be the model of lawgiving and of establishment of legitimate authority, both secular and ecclesiastical. Moreover, he saw in the Israelite example the basis for a republican form: 'but if all and every one of the laws of Israel, being proposed by God, were no otherwise enacted than by covenant with the people, then that only which was

[6] Ibid. 307 (Chap. 36).

[7] *The Second Treatise of Government*, ed. Thomas Peardon (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill 1952) 8. (sec. 11).

[8] Ibid. 13 (sec. 19).

[9] Ibid. 129 (Chap. 17).

resolved by the people of Israel was their law; and so the result of that commonwealth was in the people'.[10] Like Hobbes, Harrington saw no distinction between the power of the state and ecclesiastical authority. '[I]n Israel the law ecclesiastical and civil was the same; therefore the Sanhedrim, having the power of one, had the power of both.'[11] This is a far better arrangement than one in which a religious authority (e.g. the Papacy) denies 'liberty of conscience unto princes and commonwealths' and 'the magistrate, losing the power of religion, loseth the liberty of conscience which in that case hath nothing to protect it'.[12] 'Now whether I have rightly transcribed these principles of a commonwealth out of nature, I shall appeal unto God and to the world. Unto God in the fabric of the commonwealth of Israel, and unto the world in the universal series of ancient prudence.'[13]

Harrington appealed to both the theological significance and the historical and practical example of Israel becoming a nation in a certain land. Adam Sutcliffe remarks that Harrington 'recast the decline and loss of divine favour of the Jews as an essentially political narrative of the corruption of their republican institutions' rather than as a narrative showing the need for a single political sovereign.[14]

> The Jewish experience is thus firmly placed at the centre not only of Harrington's republican idealism but also of his understanding of the historical processes of change and decay. He attempts much more insistently than Hobbes to bridge the gulf between divine and human history, and to show how the sacred polity of ancient Israel can legitimately and realistically be used as a model in revolutionary seventeenth-century England.[15]

Locke argued that avoiding the state of war 'is one great reason of men's putting themselves into society and quitting the state of nature'.[16] Indeed, confronting the objection that 'there are no instances to be found in history of a company of men independent and equal one amongst another that met together and in this way began and set up a

[10] James Harrington, *Oceana*, edited by J. G. A. Pocock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992) 26–7.
[11] Ibid. 39.
[12] Ibid. 40.
[13] Ibid. 25.
[14] Adam Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003) 54.
[15] Ibid. 54.
[16] Ibid. 14 (sec. 21).

government', Locke's reply consists largely in a synopsis of key episodes in Judges 9, 10 and 11, and I Samuel; 'And thus, in Israel itself, the chief business of their judges and first kings seems to have been to be captains in war and leaders of their armies'.[17] As a pressing matter of national affairs the people organized governance aimed at security. Moreover, this is a precedent that should be familiar to nearly everyone.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were intense disputes over the nature and locus of sovereignty, over how to interpret the Hebrews' insistence on a monarch and whether the rule of judges was indicative of well-ordered politics or was an object lesson in the slide into insecurity and disorder. Many of the most influential theories borrowed heavily from biblical history to fashion and authorize their conceptions of law, nationhood, sovereignty and covenant – the main elements that combine to constitute politics and life in the civil condition.

For Hobbes the experience of the Hebrews at Sinai was a lesson in the rightness of undivided sovereignty. 'Aaron being dead, and after him also Moses, the kingdom, as being a sacerdotal kingdom, descended by virtue of the covenant, to Aaron's son Eleazar the high-priest: and God declared him, next under himself, for sovereign, at the same time that he appointed Joshua for the General of their army.'[18] And 'Therefore the civil and ecclesiastical power were both joined together in one and the same person, the high-priest; and ought to be so, in whosoever governeth by divine right, that is, by authority immediate from God.'[19]

In Hobbes's view even those laws of the Decalogue that are laws of nature, laws fully intelligible to reason, require a sovereign in order to be effective as laws. That is by virtue of '[t]he maintenance of civil society depending on justice, and justice on the power of life and death, and other less rewards and punishments, residing in them that have the sovereignty of the commonwealth'.[20] There are two points here. First, for Hobbes the Old Testament teaches that obedience is founded on the power of the sovereign and ultimately on God's commandments. Secondly, Hobbes' Erastianism led him to endorse the notion that Moses was a civil authority propounding the Law as God's commands.

[17] Ibid. 63 (sec. 109).
[18] *Leviathan* (see note 5) 346–7 (Chap. 40).
[19] Ibid. 347 (Chap 40).
[20] Ibid. 325 (Chap. 38).

Many, but not all theorists also appealed to the Bible on justice. Those who did otherwise tended to deploy scriptural resources focused on the character of law and obligation while excluding the Jewish emphasis on lovingkindness as a dimension of the Law. Their focus was confined to what would motivate a rational agreement to limit one's natural liberty, and what would make for the legitimacy of a sanctioning authority. This omitted such notions as, 'He doth execute justice for the fatherless and widow, and loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment' (Deuteronomy 10:18); and 'He guideth the humble in justice; And He teacheth the humble His way. All the paths of the Lord are mercy and truth Unto such as keep His covenant and His testimonies' (Psalm 25: 9–10).[21] Still, what was compelling about Scripture as a source was what many saw as its robust constitutionalism, which could be (and was) treated as a model of institutionalized, comprehensive law, enforced by the state.

It is being increasingly recognized that the Hebrew case had particular authority, and provided normative resources relevant to all rational agents. Sutcliffe remarks:

> The Jews were central to Selden's theory of law. It was through their historical relationship with God that the natural law basis of justice was originally revealed; and it was uniquely in their earliest polity that all laws – both the 'natural' core and its 'civil' elaboration – were divinely ordained. The essence of Jewish law was universal, but its theocratic totality was unique.[22]

And with regard to Hobbes he writes:

> The Israelite commonwealth thus stands as the original and perfect paradigmatic example of the Hobbesian commonwealth. As God's 'Lieutenant', Moses, under God, exercised sovereignty over the Hebrews, overseeing all matters just as Hobbes had argued in the first half of *Leviathan* that a sovereign should. Hobbes also stressed that the basis of Moses' authority was in accordance with his general theory of contractualism: as with 'all other princes', Moses' rule was 'grounded on the Consent of the People, and their Promise to obey him'.[23]

[21] According to Maimonides, the fact that we are commanded to create the institutions and practices to preserve justice is itself an expression of lovingkindness: 'It is an act of mercy that God commanded "judges and officers thou shalt appoint to thee in all thy gates."' See Moses Maimonides, *The Guide for the Perplexed*, translated by M. Friedlander (New York: Dover Publications, Inc. 1904) III:35, p. 330.

[22] Sutcliffe (see note 14) 48.

[23] Ibid. 50.

One of the important issues powerfully exemplified by the history of the people Israel is the tension between universality of moral norms and particularity of the covenanted nation. While the particularism of nationhood as understood in the Bible may seem an endorsement of partiality, it could at the same time be said that a theory of natural law appealing to a historical case widely acknowledged as genuine and profoundly important has an advantage unavailable to rival theories. The former supplies a level of certainty, relevance and normative authority unavailable to the latter. In the political culture of Western Europe in the early-modern period some nations were reconstructing political institutions at the level of constitutional change, not merely regime change. The giving of the Law and its function as a constitution was a paradigmatic solution of a problem, that of realizing universal norms of rational political order in and for particular distinct nations and national communities.

It is in fact a mistake to assume that particularism necessarily involves morally suspect partiality. In exploring this issue Steven Grosby has argued that 'the Hebraic tradition contains from its biblical beginnings heterogeneous orientations: the particular, national orientation; and the universal orientation of monotheism. The first includes the recognition of the distinctiveness of the nation (for example, Deuteronomy 30:9 and 30:19–20, "choose life, so that you and your children may live…in the land")'.[24] 'Alongside this, the second, universal orientation is the recognition of the commonality of humanity, conveyed through monotheism.'[25] Judaism's concern with the nation is not antithetical to moral universalism. It is a way of cultivating and enacting norms and ideals that can only be actualized by a national community. The values that make the nation a locus of a life of righteousness are not themselves less than universal.

Today the texts and topics just described are being explored with increasing energy and a focus that bodes well for Jewish Studies. The journal *Hebraic Political Studies*, founded in 2005, publishes work that examines 'the political concepts of the Hebrew Bible and rabbinic literature, the significance of reflections on the Hebrew Bible and Judaic sources in the history of ideas, and the role of these sources in the

[24] Steven Grosby, 'The Biblical "Nation" as a Problem for Philosophy', *Hebraic Political Studies* 1:1 (Fall 2005) 7–23, see p. 10.

[25] Ibid. 11–12.

history of the West. The journal aims to evaluate the place of the Jewish textual tradition, alongside those of Greece and Rome, in political history and the history of political thought.'[26] There are contributions from political scientists, biblical scholars, professors of law, philosophers, intellectual historians and literary scholars. Some recently published books reflecting the same trend are David Goldblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism* (2006); Stephen Smith, *Spinoza's Book of Life: Freedom and Redemption in the Ethics* (2003); Charlotte Fonrobert and Martin Jaffe (eds) *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature* (2007); Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (2005) and David Novak, *The Jewish Social Contract: An Essay in Political Theology* (2005). My own forthcoming *Law, Reason, and Morality in Medieval Jewish Thought* (on which I worked while a Visiting Scholar at the Centre) is a study of the ways in which medieval Jewish thinkers illuminate central issues in moral theorizing.

Overall, growing regard for the history of philosophy, and increasing contact between different disciplines and sub-fields are creating opportunities for Jewish Studies to connect more fully with other areas, such as philosophy of law, political theory, the history of ethical theorizing and conceptions of justice and rights. They could also promote the forging of new connections within Jewish Studies – which is, after all, a complex fabric of disciplines, methodologies and specializations, and the more relations of mutual reinforcement among them, the better. If the overall upshot is that Jewish Studies is strengthened and reaches a wider audience, this would be a very welcome development. And there are reasons for optimism on both counts.

[26] From the journal's website.

Hebrew Printing and Communication Networks Between Livorno and North Africa, 1740–1789

FRANCESCA BREGOLI

The Tuscan port of Livorno had in the eighteenth century the second-largest Jewish community in Western Europe after Amsterdam, numbering approximately 5000 souls. Livornese Jewry, also known as *Nazione Ebrea*, had enjoyed exceptional liberties and privileges since 1591, when Ferdinand de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, issued a charter, later known as *Livornina*, concerning 'merchants of any nation', aiming to create a maritime-trade centre on the Tyrrhenian coast. Privileges granted specifically to Jews and judaizing *conversos* (Jews baptized in the Iberian Peninsula and their descendants) show that he intended to attract this population in particular, reputed to include astute merchants and to control large capital. Livornese Jews were considered subjects of the state. They were not confined to a ghetto, and their community benefited from a high degree of administrative and jurisdictional autonomy.[1]

In 1650 Yedidiah Gabbay established the first Hebrew print shop in Livorno. From then on the town came to be regarded as one of the main centres of Hebrew printing. It is generally assumed that Hebrew presses in Livorno produced books throughout the eighteenth century,[2] but it is possible that this perception was influenced by the global and pervasive reach of nineteenth-century Livornese imprints, which indeed survive in remote Sephardi communities such as Cochin, in southern India. This image of an early golden age of Livornese Hebrew imprints is imaginary, however. The Gabbay press closed in

[1] There is a rich literature on the Jewish community of Livorno. For a first overview, see Renzo Toaff, *La Nazione Ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa (1591–1700)* (Florence 1990), and Jean Pierre Filippini, *Il porto di Livorno e la Toscana (1676–1814)* (Naples 1998) 3 vols.

[2] Jean Pierre Filippini, 'La nazione ebrea di Livorno', in Corrado Vivanti (ed.) *Storia d'Italia. Annali 11. Gli ebrei in Italia. Vol. II. Dall'emancipazione a oggi* (Turin 1997) 1047–66, esp. 1053.

1657, after which Hebrew printing re-emerged in Livorno only in 1740. Furthermore, its development until the 1780s was slower and more complex than was previously believed.

The port did play a major role in the distribution of Hebrew texts as early as the 1740s, yet production lagged somewhat until 1780, although the pressure of demand throughout the Mediterranean and among Sephardi communities elsewhere did tend to counteract the initially sluggish and intermittent output of the print-shops. The fact that goods exported by Livornese Jews were not subject to customs duties supported the expansion of this business, which transformed the port into a hub for the diffusion of Jewish culture in the Mediterranean and especially in the Maghreb region.[3]

Antagonism arose between Livornese Jewish booksellers who vied for the North African market.[4] In 1764 the Livornese merchant Abraham Moses Attias struck a deal with the Jerusalem rabbi and fundraising emissary Jacob Sornaga, who was about to continue his efforts in the Barbary region. Attias decided to entrust him with a crate of Hebrew books to be sold in North Africa on his behalf.[5] But the itinerant rabbi embarked on the same ship as another Jewish bookseller based in Livorno, Isaac Achris, who was similarly carrying a quantity of books,[6] and a dispute ensued between the two men over Sornaga's crate. What if the books, once the sealed container was opened, were the same as Achris' merchandise? The bookseller insisted that the captain prevent the rabbi's crate from being brought on board. Common acquaintances eventually appeased the belligerent Achris and it was agreed that Sornaga could sail to Barbary with the crate, provided the books would be sent back to Livorno if they turned out to be of the

[3] On the status of Livorno as a free port, see the classic work by Paul Masson, *Ports francs d'autrefois et d'aujourdhui* (Paris 1904) 160–83; on Jewish merchants and the exemption from custom duties, see Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, 'Reti toscane e reti internazionali degli ebrei di Livorno nel Seicento', in *Zakhor* 6 (2003) 93–116.

[4] On Livornese Jewish merchants in North Africa, see Jean Pierre Filippini, 'Les juifs d'Afrique du Nord et la communauté de Livourne au XVIIIe siècle', in J. L. Miege (ed.) *Les relations intercommunautaires juives en Méditerranée occidentale, XIIIe-XXe siècles* (Paris 1984) 60–9; *idem*, 'Gli ebrei e le attività economiche nell'area nord africana (XVII-XVIII secolo)', in *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* 7 (1999) 131–49.

[5] Early modern 'Barbary' referred to the entire area of the Maghreb now including Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia.

[6] Isaac Achris attempted to establish a Hebrew printing house in Livorno between 1766 and 1767 together with a Christian partner, Giuseppe Gaetano Corsani, but their plans never came to fruition.

same genre and quality as those in Achris' possession. As the ship reached its North African destination, however, Isaac Achris confiscated Rabbi Sornaga's crate. More than two years later, on 30 September 1766, Abraham Attias complained to the Livornese Jewish court that the crate had been returned to the Tuscan port, but that most of its content was gone.[7]

This episode exemplifies the complex nature of the Hebrew book trade between Livorno and the Maghrebi Jewries. While the records do not explain why Achris did not want Attias' crate on board, the bookseller clearly reckoned his own business would be damaged by the competition. The affair also opens a window onto broader questions related to the North African demand for Livornese Hebrew editions and more largely the issue of communication among Mediterranean Sephardi communities through the circulation of people and publications.

Jean Pierre Filippini has claimed that the reputation enjoyed by the *Nazione Ebrea* of Livorno among North African Jews should be associated, among other things, with the development of Hebrew printing in the Tuscan port.[8] North African Jewry did not have local Hebrew print shops during the eighteenth century, only one book having been printed in Tunis in that century. This was the *Sefer Zera' Yitshak*, a talmudic commentary by the former chief rabbi of Tunis, Isaac b. Jacob Lombroso (d. 1752), issued by Joshua ha-Cohen Tanuji in 1768.[9] Generally, communities in the Maghreb either imported printed books – whether legal, liturgical, kabbalistic or other – or else relied on manuscripts. In turn, a sizable proportion of eighteenth-century Livornese book-production was destined not for the Tuscan or Italian market, but for North Africa.[10]

At least thirty-five of the Hebrew books and pamphlets printed in

[7] Archivio della Comunità Israelitica di Livorno (ACIL), *Tribunale dei Massari*, 1766, inc. 90. Abraham Attias requested that Isaac Achris pay him back the cost of the books, as well as damages and expenses.

[8] Filippini, *Il porto* (see n. 1) 3:49. The cultural connection between the Tuscan port and Tunis was explored in David Cazes, *Notes bibliographiques sur la littérature juive-tunisienne* (Tunis 1893). The commerce between Livorno and North Africa was already well established in the seventeenth century: see Michele Cassandro, *Aspetti della storia economica e sociale degli ebrei di Livorno nel Seicento* (Milan 1983) 63–83.

[9] Cazes, *Notes bibliographiques* (see n. 8) 14–17.

[10] A study of the holdings in a selection of Jewish libraries in Italy might reveal the extent to which Italian Jewish readers acquired books intended for the North African market during the eighteenth century.

Livorno between 1740 and 1789, representing more than one-fifth of the total output, were commissioned by clients originally from the so-called 'Barbary States' – particularly the cities of Tunis and Algiers.[11] Although the twenty-two works containing approbations by North African rabbinical courts were not limited to that market, it is a reasonable surmise that they were intended primarily for the communities of Tunis, Algiers or Djerba. Most of these editions were brought to print by Maghrebi Jews visiting the Tuscan port. Information provided by authors and editors in their introductions shows that these projects were often self-financed. In other words, most of the costs were covered by external patrons, donors or clients. The majority of the benefactors who helped defray the printing costs were Tunisian or Algerian, suggesting that these publications were backed largely by North African money.

The relationship between Maghrebi clients and Livornese entrepreneurs grew with the development of Hebrew publishing in the port.

[11] 1) *Sefer Yavin Shemu'a*, by Shimon ben Tsemach Duran (Meldola, 1744); 2) *Sefer Lehem Yehudah*, by Judah Ayash (Meldola, 1745); 3) *Sefer Shut Bet Yehudah*, by Judah Ayash (Meldola, 1746); 4) *Sefer 'Omer Hashkahah*, by Abraham b. Jacob Gabishon (Meldola, 1748); 5) *Sefer Peri Tsadik*, by Raphael Tseror (Meldola, 1748); 6) *Sefer Bene Yehudah*, by Judah Ayash (Santini, 1758); 7) *Sefer Pi Tsadik*, by Maimon Yapil (Santini, 1759); 8) *Sefer Bene Shemuel*, by Moses Adawi (Santini, 1759); 9) *Sefer Toledot Yitshak*, by Isaac Hadad (Santini, 1761); 10) *Sefer To'afot Re'em*, by Mordecai Barukh Caravalho (Santini, 1761); 11) *Mahzor*, for Tunis community (Attias, 1762); 12) *Sefer Magen Avot*, by Simon bar Tsemah Duran (Attias, 1762); 13) *Sefer Karne Re'em*, by Isaac Hadad (Attias, 1765); 14–18) Five letters and responsa concerning an inheritance dispute between the Tunisian Joseph Nataf with the children of his uncle Solomon Nataf (two of these printed by Carlo Giorgi, 1770 and 1771); 19) *Sefer Hokhmat Mishkan*, by Nehoray ibn Azubib (Carlo Giorgi, 1772); 20) *Sefer Korban Aharon*, by Aaron b. Abraham Muati (Carlo Giorgi, 1773); 21) *Sefer Tosafe ha-Rosh*, by Asher ben Yehiel (Gio. Vincenzo Falorni); 22) *Sefer Hok Natan*, by Nathan b. Abraham Burgil (Gio Vincenzo Falorni, 1776–8); 23) *Sefer Magen Giborim*, by Eliezer ben Shemuel de Avila (Gio. Vincenzo Falorni, 1781); 24) *Sefer Yakhin u-Voaz*, by Tsemah b. Solomon Duran (Castello and Saadun, 1782); 25) *Sefer Ets Ha-hayim*, with writings by Judah ibn Hanin and Masaud ibn Janun (Castello and Saadun, 1783); 26) *Sefer Mateh Yehudah*, by Judah Ayash (Castello and Saadun, 1783); 27) *Sefer Shevet Yehudah*, by Judah Ayash (Castello and Saadun, 1783); 28) *Sefer Zera Ya'akov*, by Jacob Hayim ben Samuel Ben-Naim (Castello and Saadun, 1784); 29) *Sefer Yeshu'ot Ya'akov*, by Jacob Ben-Naim (Castello and Saadun, 1784); 30) *Sefer Magen Avot*, by Simon b. Tsemah Duran (Castello and Saadun, 1785); 31) *Sefer Migdanot Natan*, by Elijah Hay b. Nathan Burgil (Castello and Saadun, 1785); 32) *Sefer Yeter Ha-baz*, by Nehorai Dharmon (Castello and Saadun, 1787); 33) *Sefer Shufre de-Ya'akov*, by Jacob Maarekh (Castello and Saadun, 1787); 34) *Sefer Limmude Adonay*, by Judah b. Jacob Najar (Castello and Saadun, 1787); 35) *Sefer Ma'amar Mordekhay*, by Mordecai Dharmon (Castello and Saadun, 1787).

The first North African Livornese edition, the legal treatise *Sefer Yavin Shemu'a* by the fifteenth-century rabbinical authority Simon ben Tsemach Duran (known as *Rashbats*), was published in 1744, only four years after the rebirth of Hebrew printing in Livorno. But the linguistic expertise of workers in the Livornese Hebrew printing industry was not always up to handling North African texts, alien North African scripts causing problems for compositors and correctors. A note in the *Sefer Yavin Shemu'a*, included by one of the most prolific Livornese correctors, Moses Meldola, suggests the novelty of this editing enterprise. He begins with an introductory disclaimer common among Hebrew printers: 'And now, if you should perhaps find in this book any error or mistake, do not put the blame on me [...]'. The reasons are new, however, and attributable to the fact that 'additionally the script of the work was entirely Arabic script [*ve-'od ki ha-mikhtav shel ha-hibbur kulo mikhtav 'aravi*] and the workers do not know the letters in general and particular [*ve-hapo'alim enam makirim tivan klal ve-'ikar*] ...'.[12]

North African Hebrew cursive, heavily influenced by Arabic, was difficult for an untrained eye, which is perhaps why some works by North African authors were corrected by Algerian or Tunisian scholars apparently working independently of the usual staff at Livornese Hebrew print shops. Moses Adawi, in the introduction to his *Sefer Bene Shemuel*, a commentary on passages in the Talmud and the *Mishneh Torah* (Santini 1759), thanked various members of the affluent Nattaf family from Tunis, and 'In particular the wise Joseph b. [...] Samuel Nattaf [...], who today resides in Livorno, [and who] was of further help to me for the printing expenses ... *and additionally worked as the editor for my book and cleared it of mistakes* ...'.[13] Most North African texts printed in the Tuscan port, however, were corrected and composed by local workers.[14]

[12] I would like to thank Joseph Hacker, who discussed this passage with me, and Matt Goldish, who supplied me with a sample of handwriting by the seventeenth-century rabbi Jacob Sasportas, of Moroccan origin. Sasportas' son Abraham observed in the *Sefer Ohel Ya'akov* (Amsterdam, 1737) that hardly anybody could decipher his father's Arabic-influenced Hebrew handwriting.

[13] Similar arrangements were made for the *Sefer Magen Avot* by Simon b. Tsemah Duran (Attias, 1762), and the *Sefer Shufre de-Ya'akov* by Jacob Maarekh (Castello and Saadun, 1787).

[14] Among them were Moses Meldola, his younger colleague Moses Hay Milul, and even an editor of Ashkenazi origin, Moses b. Jonah of Zlazisz; their names are familiar from other Livornese Hebrew books.

Twenty-five of the thirty-five books and pamphlets contained halakhic commentaries or *responsa*. The absence of liturgical imprints is remarkable: in the years between 1740 and 1789 only one *mahzor*, printed in 1762, was explicitly designated for the use of the Tunis community (*ke-fi minhag k"k tunis*), although some of the liturgical Ladino imprints from Livorno could also have been meant for Maghrebi communities.[15] With rare exceptions, the works consisted of legal writings by North African authors, most of whom were either living or recently deceased.[16] Some publications seem to have played a role in strengthening family and communal ties. When the texts were not brought to print by the authors themselves, the task was often taken up by male relatives – sons, brothers, nephews or grandchildren.[17] The celebrated Algerian rabbi Judah Ayash (1690–1760) had three halakhic manuscripts published in the Tuscan port during his lifetime, while two more were brought by his son Moses Jacob after Ayash's death.[18]

The first collection of sermons printed in Livorno, the *Sefer Pi Tsadik* by the Algerian rabbi and kabbalist Maimon Yafil (Santini, 1759), was also commissioned by North African patrons. Yafil's son Abraham recounted in his introduction how the printing came about. For many years he had preserved his father's works, which included talmudic interpretations, sermons on the Bible and the writings of the Sages, and a commentary on the Book of Proverbs, awaiting an opportunity for

[15] The Ladino spelling in at least three editions from this sample is distinctively North African. The *Sefer Ma'amar Mordekhay* (Castello and Saadun, 1787), containing biblical commentaries and sermons by Mordecay Dharmon, also included an edition of the Passover Haggadah.

[16] Only two editions in my sample are by late-medieval authors. Beside the *Sefer Yavin Shemu'a*, the other work is the *Sefer Tosafe ha-Rosh*, a collection of commentaries on the talmudic tractates *Yevamot* and *Ketubbot* by the prominent medieval talmudist Asher ben Yechiel (1250–1328), printed by Giovan Vincenzo Falorni in 1776. The unsigned introduction mentioned that the manuscript was found in the rabbinical *estudio* of the city of Fez, in Morocco, 'where Hebrew printing was unknown'. In fact, two books were printed in Fez at the beginning of the sixteenth century by Samuel b. Isaac Nedivot: the *Perush ha-Berakhot ve-ha-Tefillot*, by David ben Yosef Abudarham, 1516; and the *Sefer Yoreh De'ah* by Jacob ben Asher (Rosh), 1517.

[17] There are examples of women who brought books to print in honour of husbands and deceased relatives while in Livorno, a phenomenon not found among North African editions between 1740 and 1789.

[18] Ayash was able to rely on the hospitality of a local benefactor, Moses Hayim b. Raphael Abraham Franco, during his stay in Livorno in 1745 and 1746. After his death in 1760, his son, Jacob Moses Ayash, who left Algiers and became an emissary for Jerusalem Jews, brought to print another two of his father's works amid his fundraising travels. In the Tuscan port he too was hosted by a wealthy Livornese, Eliezer Hay Shaltiel Recanati.

publication: 'They were in my house, stored in a box, so that they would not decay and no damage would occur to them'. When the generous David b. Abraham Muati decided on his deathbed to donate some money to have Yafil's writings printed for the atonement of his soul, Abraham took up the task of editing and prepared his father's works for publication.[19] It was he who selected what to print: 'I got out of my treasure trove [...] the sermons [...] and the commentary on the Book of Proverbs, and composed everything in a unified edition...'. In order not to burden the donor, 'so that he should not incur in any extra expenses', Abraham decided to leave out his father's talmudic commentaries. But, Abraham Yafil concluded: 'When the print enterprise began, they realized that the costs were too high and abandoned the printing of the Commentary on Proverbs'. This arrangement illustrates the fluidity of the author-function in eighteenth-century Hebrew literature, the fundamental role of the editor for the production of Hebrew printed books, and the monetary concerns that shaped editorial choices.

By and large, North African patrons of Livornese editions belonged to a social group composed of itinerant rabbinical and para-rabbinical personnel.[20] The intermediary role of Rabbi Jacob Sornaga, mentioned earlier, who also signed approbations (*haskamot*) to two Livornese Hebrew editions in 1762 and 1767, illustrates the mobility of many professional or semi-professional figures involved at all levels of Hebrew-book production for the North African market. They served not only as booksellers and negotiators, but as middlemen, editors and, most obviously, as customers. North African Jews who brought their own manuscripts and those of ancestors to be printed in Livorno did not relocate permanently to the Tuscan port, but moved from community to community, their travels mapped by their book approbations and introductions. Their missions, in general, had a transitory character.[21]

[19] The book was eventually brought to print in Livorno by Aaron b. Abraham Muati, a brother of the by-then deceased donor.

[20] Evelyne Oliel-Grausz, 'La circulation du personnel rabbinique dans les communautés de la diaspora sépharade au XVIIIe siècle', in Esther Benbassa (ed.) *Transmission et passages en monde juif* (Paris 1997) 313–34.

[21] This phenomenon has a parallel in the Eastern European Jewish patronage of Amsterdam print shops, studied by Shlomo Berger: Eastern European clients went to Amsterdam to print works in Yiddish, and returned home after publication (see pages 29–39 for the Stencl lecture by Professor Berger in this volume).

The Algerian Rabbi Abraham Tubiana, for instance, who brought to print three important works for the Castello and Saadun firm in the 1780s,[22] was active at different times in North Africa and Tuscany, travelling frequently between different communities. During the 1770s he was in Algiers, but in the early 1780s he travelled to Livorno and then back to Algiers. He seems to have been admitted into the Jewish community of Livorno in 1781, but eventually returned to Tunisia, where he was living in 1787. It seems that this printing-oriented Mediterranean mobility did not give rise to permanent migrations. Even those North African patrons who were legally admitted to the Jewish community of Livorno and gained full Tuscan citizenship and the protection of the government often went back to their lands of origin. Tubiana's return to the Maghreb illustrates the multi-directional movement patterns common among North African Sephardim involved either in trade or in the religious sphere.

To conclude, Hebrew printing provides an entryway to issues of mobility and short-term migration in Mediterranean Sephardi culture. The circulation of customers, editors and booksellers between Livorno and the Maghreb, which made possible the production and distribution of North African Livornese editions, facilitated the creation of a cultural bridge between Livornese and Maghrebi Sephardim. In the words of Fernand Braudel, it is not the water that brings together the Mediterranean regions, but the circulation of people, the links created by their movement, and the networks that make these possible.[23] But the cultural unity of Sephardi Jews in the Mediterranean is not uncontroversial. What kind of common ground did North African exports of Hebrew books bring about, if any? What types of Jewish communities did this system of circulation foster?[24]

[22] These were the *Sefer Yakhin u-Voaz*, a collection of legal commentaries and *responsa* by Tsemach b. Solomon Duran (1782); the *Sefer Ets Hayim*, containing kabbalistic works by the Tunisian authors Judah ibn Hanin and Masaud ibn Janun, as well as some of Tubiana's own writings (1783); and the *Sefer Magen Avot* by Simon b. Tsemach Duran, a commentary on *Pirke Avot* (1785), to which he also provided an introduction.

[23] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1995) 1:276.

[24] Francesca Trivellato has argued convincingly from her study of commercial networks that the lives of Sephardi men and women cannot be reduced to a single process of acculturation, because of their links to diaspora groups traversing various geopolitical and cultural lines: Francesca Trivellato, 'The Port Jews of Livorno and their Global Networks of Trade in the Early Modern Period', in *Jewish Culture and History* 7 (2004) 31–48, esp. 47–8.

The mid-seventeenth-century editions printed by Yedidiah Gabbay already showed a Mediterranean ambition, illustrated by approbations from rabbis in Jerusalem and Hebron to the *Berit Abraham* by Abraham Gedalya (1656). The evidence from the second half of the eighteenth century points to new Western directions, suggesting that communication and exchanges between Livorno and the Maghreb were at least bi-directional, if not multi-directional. They entailed complex relations with centres in the Ottoman Levant, linking protagonists along interconnected lines of allegiance, patronage and dependence.

Livornese editions for North African Jews illustrate connections between Mediterranean Jewish communities, supplementing current research on demographic and socio-economic aspects of the Sephardi Diaspora pursued by such scholars as Jonathan Israel, Evelyne Oliel-Grausz and Francesca Trivellato. Thereby they underscore the fact that the *Nazione Ebrea* of Livorno, like any other Sephardi community of the early-modern period,[25] should not be studied in isolation.

[25] Evelyne Oliel-Grausz, 'Networks and Communication in the Sephardi Diaspora: An Added Dimension to the Concept of Port Jews and Port Jewries', in *Jewish Culture and History* 7 (2004) 61–76; *idem*, 'Cours et parcours maritime des Séfarades', in *Les cahiers du Judaisme* 7 (2000) 14–28.

Political Culture of Polish Jewry: *A* Tour d'Horizon

FRANÇOIS GUESNET

Until it was divided by its neighbours Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1772, 1793 and 1795, Poland was host to the largest Jewish community of its kind in Europe, roughly three-quarters of a million strong, living in towns and villages all over the country. Moreover, Polish Jewry had possessed a political structure which transcended local or regional frameworks. The Council of Four Lands (*va'ad arba aratsot*), a semi-annual convention of community and regional representatives, was an institution ensuring supra-communal and regional autonomy.[1] The Council's formal task was to administer the Commonwealth's taxes on the Jewish communities. But the representatives, who convened during large fairs, dealt with numerous other matters besides. This political authority was unique in European Jewish history for its important official status, its quasi-legislative function and its long existence – community representatives first met in the late sixteenth century and the Council was abolished only on the introduction of a per-capita tax in

[1] The first pioneering study of the Council was Mojżesz Schorr, 'Organizacja Żydów w Polsce od najdawniejszych czasów az do r. 1772 (głownie na podstawie źródel archiwalnych)' [The Organization of the Jews in Poland from the Oldest Times Until 1772], *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 13 (1899) H. 1, 482–520; H. 2, 734–75 and Louis Lewin, 'Neue Materialien zur Geschichte der Vierländersynode', *Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft* 3 (1905), 4 (1906), 9 (1916). Concerning the dissolution of the Council see Jakub Goldberg, 'Żydowski Sejm Czterech Ziem w społecznym i politycznym ustroju dawnej Rzeczypospolitej' [The Council of Four Lands in the Social and Political Structure of the Former Polish Commonwealth], in Andrzej Link-Lenczowski (ed.) *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Wroclaw 1991) 44–58, and Jakob Goldberg, 'Der Vierländer-Rat der polnischen Juden und seine Beziehungen zu den jüdischen Gemeinden und Juden in Deutschland im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in Karl Erich Grözinger (ed.) *Die wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen den jüdischen Gemeinden in Polen und Deutschland vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 1992) 39–52. See also Wolf Feilchenfeld, 'Die innere Verfassung der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Posen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', *Zs. der Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen* 11 (1896) 122–37, especially 125. An important source for Schorr was Philipp Bloch, 'Die Generalprivilegien der polnischen Judenschaft', *Zs. der Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen* 6 (1891) 139–74, 387–416.

1764.[2] The following discussion of the political culture of Polish Jewry has a wider relevance due to demographic developments and migrations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As a result of these, the historical origins of approximately four-fifths of Jews alive today are East European. Few phenomena in the political and cultural world of Ashkenazi Jewry during the past 200 years can be understood without considering the impact of eastern European and thus Polish Jewry.[3]

The term 'political culture' here refers to 'the fundamental principles of a given social group concerning the political world and the operational and instrumental ideas connected herewith' (Karl Rohe).[4] The concept is obviously of special value in analysing political collectives below the state level.[5] To understand what constituted the 'political world' of Polish Jewry, one has to consider its distinctiveness in terms of religion and language. These Jews spoke Yiddish in a Slav environment, while using Hebrew for religious and administrative matters. Jewish communities were set apart politically by their dependency, comparable to that in Central Europe, on privileges granted from the thirteenth century onwards by regional aristocrats and later by Polish kings. Economic cooperation gave rise to interdependence between princes and kings on the one hand, and Jews on the other. The fact that these relations had a clear legal basis does not mean that Jews were safe or their lives stable – conflicts arose especially with Christian burghers of Polish towns and with the clergy supporting them. The numerous agreements

[2] The Council's constitution and influence have been repeatedly studied. Its protocols were first published in 1945 by Israel Halperin in Jerusalem and again with comments and an overview of research by Israel Bartal, *Pinkas va'ad arba aratsot* [Protocols of the Council of Four Lands], preface Shmuel Etinger (Jerusalem 1990). A recent analysis is Gershon Hundert, *Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century. A Genealogy of Modernity* (Berkeley 2004) 211–31.

[3] The term 'Polish Jewry' is here applied to communities in the Polish Commonwealth prior to the first partition in 1772. This definition is justified by the fact that the following analysis refers to the pre-partition Commonwealth. For a thought-provoking reflexion on the use of this term between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries see Scott Ury, 'Who, What, When, Where and Why is Polish Jewry? Envisioning, Constructing, and Possessing Polish Jewry', *Jewish Social Studies* 6 (2000) 3, 205–28.

[4] Cited by Andreas Dörner, 'Politische Kulturforschung und Cultural Studies', in Othmar Nikola *et al.* (eds) *Politische Deutungskulturen. Festschrift für Karl Rohe* (Baden-Baden 1999) 93–110 (citation p. 95). This definition is based on the concept of civic culture proposed by Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Princeton 1963).

[5] Klaus von Beyme, *Die politischen Theorien der Gegenwart* (Wiesbaden 2000, 8th ed.) 222–34, especially 226.

(*ugody*) between the municipal Christian elites and the Jewish leadership are a dramatically under-researched topic in this connection.[6]

Nevertheless, this kind of 'alliance with the central power'[7] made it possible to claim political and legal protection in the frequent conflicts which arose. While Jewish communities in German-speaking areas were banned from urban centres after the persecutions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and experienced a dramatic demographic decline, Polish Jewry formed part of urban agglomerations. In addition, the privileges granted by Zygmunt III in 1551 gave Jewish communities in Poland independence in electing community administrations and hence jurisdictional autonomy. Such autonomy was a prerequisite for Polish Jewry's self-perception as a politically independent entity within the Polish Commonwealth, a perception whose significance is illustrated by the following example.

Stanisław August Poniatowski, the last Polish king, encouraged a wide range of modernizing efforts.[8] The Polish Commonwealth had lost ground by comparison with its neighbours – Prussia, Austria and Russia – in the realm of state administration and the ability to conduct coherent political and military action. Moreover, the aristocracy, which controlled the councils – diets – of the nobility, could easily hamper fiscal initiatives. These diets, in which each member held a veto, could not function as modernizing agents. State modernization began with fiscal reform in 1764, followed – after the first partition of Poland in 1772 – by the introduction of a Commission of National Enlightenment (*Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*) in 1773, charged with reforming educational institutions. In 1788, under the threat of further territorial loss, all social orders – estates – were invited to Warsaw to discuss state reform and defence against external threats. This diet, the Four Years' Sejm

[6] For an example of such an agreement see the *ugoda* of the small town Kamionka in the Lviv region, signed in 1589 and renewed in 1766, *Confirmatio iurium et privilegiorum Iudaeis oppidi Kamionacensis in terra Leopoliensi siti servientium*. See Jacob Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges in the Polish Commonwealth* (Jerusalem 1985) 1:117 f.

[7] This term was used by Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (Frankfurt am Main 1979) 184. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *'Diener von Königen und nicht Diener von Dienern'. Einige Aspekte der politischen Geschichte der Juden* (München 1995) deals with the historic dimension of the political option he calls the 'royal alliance'.

[8] Gottfried Schramm, 'Reformen unter Polens letztem König. Die Wandlungsfähigkeit eines Ständestaates im europäischen Vergleich', *Berliner Jahrbuch für osteuropäische Geschichte* 1 (1996) 203–16.

(*Sejm Czteroletni*), led to the first constitution on the European continent, that of 3 May 1791.[9] The best that can be said of this is that it opened the way to constitutional changes which would guarantee religious tolerance for all faiths, while reserving a privileged place for the Catholic Church.[10] It preserved the privileges of the nobility and the aristocracy, so did not ensure legal equality for all. Nor did it address the injustices of serfdom or the inferior position of the town burghers. Yet it preserved the strong position of the estates against the king, thus refusing to follow most European nations on the path to absolutism.

The status of the Jews was intensely debated during deliberations on this constitutional project, much as before the French Revolution.[11] On one side, burghers and clerics claimed that Jews had gained too much wealth and influence, and that a constitutional and legislative response was called for. Several proposals for the legal emancipation and/or social and religious reform of Polish Jewry were published, some influenced by legislation on the subject in revolutionary France that led to Jewish emancipation.[12] Most were formulated by Gentiles or by *maskilim*, Jewish supporters of Enlightenment. On the other side, Jewish communities sent large numbers of delegates to Warsaw to intervene with the king or with members of the Diet, either personally or by taking advantage of direct access to the press and printers in the capital, publishing comments and counter-proposals by return.[13] The clashes of opinion are well illustrated by the dispute between a Gentile reformer, Mateusz Butrymowicz, who proposed legal changes to de-autonomize

[9] Jerzy Kowecki (ed.) *Konstytucja 3 Maja 1791. Statut Zgromadzenia Przyjaciół Konstytucji* (Warszawa 1991). See also Samuel Fiszman (ed.) *Constitution and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Poland. The Constitution of May 3, 1791* (Bloomington 1997).

[10] *Konstytucja 3 Maja 1791*, 42.

[11] Cf. François Guesnet, 'Strukturwandel im Gebrauch der Öffentlichkeit. Zu einem Aspekt jüdischer politischer Praxis zwischen 1744 und 1881', in Martin Schulze Wessel and Jörg Requate (eds) *Europäische Öffentlichkeit: Transnationale Kommunikation seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main 2002) 43–62.

[12] These are documented in *Materiały do dziejów Sejmu Czteroletniego* [Materials Pertaining to the History of the Four Years' Sejm] (Wrocław 1955–68, 6 vols); vol. 2 (edited by Janusz Woliński, Jerzy Michalski *et al.*) records petitions of the municipalities, including numerous anti-Jewish proposals; vol. 6 (edited by Artur Eisenbach *et al.*) is devoted to the deliberations concerning the status and reform of Polish Jewry.

[13] This activity has been first analysed by Jakub Goldberg, 'Pierwszy ruch polityczny wśród Żydow polskich. Plenipotenci żydowscy w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego' [The first political movement among Polish Jews. The Jewish plenipotentiaries in the Period of the Sejm], Jerzy Michalski (ed.) *Lud żydowski w narodzie polskim* [The Jewish People Amidst the Polish People], (Warszawa 1994) 45–63.

and de-Judaize the Jews, and Herszel Jozefowicz, the Jewish author of a riposte to these proposals.[14]

Butrymowicz, a noble member of the Sejm, argued in his pamphlet, *Sposób uformowania Żydów polskich w pozytecznych krajowi obywatelów*, that Polish Jews should acculturate to Polish society by giving up central features of their religious practice and cultural traditions.[15] He described negative Jewish characteristics and qualities, in line with the enlightened discourse of his time, not as essentially Jewish but as a result of their living conditions, and therefore as capable of 'embetterment'. In order to become 'useful citizens' he considered it essential for Jews to be acculturated to the surrounding Polish society.[16] Likewise the *kahal* – the Jewish community and its administration – must cease to be a state within a state with its own municipal jurisdiction and administration. In accordance with the Enlightenment concept that religion falls within the private sphere, Butrymowicz conceded the case for Jewish judges in religious matters, but not in civil affairs.[17] He emphasized the link between a given *res publica* and the rule of one law.[18]

Herszel Jozefowicz, who wrote the riposte to Butrymowicz's proposals, was a rabbi in the provincial capital of Chełm, and one of the previously mentioned Jewish plenipotentiaries sent as lobbyists to Warsaw during the deliberations of the Four Years' Sejm.[19] Between 1788 and 1792 a total of 120 of these so called *shtadlanim* (intercessors)

[14] In the following analysis I employ the Polish spelling of names in the sources used.

[15] *Materiały* vol. 6 (see note 12), no. 7, 78–93. This proposal, entitled 'Method for turning the Jews into inhabitants useful for the country', served as a blueprint for a shorter legal proposal, presented by Butrymowicz in the autumn of 1789, published under the title of *Reforma Żydów*, see ibid. no. 12, 118–128.

[16] Ibid. p. 79.

[17] This is close to the arguments of Christian Konrad Wilhelm von Dohm, *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (1786: Nachdruck Hildesheim 1973), or of de Clermont-Tonnerre, member of the revolutionary Assemblée Nationale in France, who denied Jewish communities the right to maintain judges, see 'Opinion de M. Le Comte Stanislas de Clermont-Tonnerre, député de Paris. Le 23 décembre 1789', in *La Révolution Française et l'émancipation des Juifs*, Bd.7: 'L'Assemblé Nationale Constituante. Motions, Discours et Rapports' (Paris 1968), (no pagination).

[18] Cf. Artur Eisenbach, 'Postulat Asymilacji Żydow i jego implikacje w dobie stanisławowskiej' [The Postulate of Jewish Assimilation and its Significance during the Reign of Stanislaw August Poniatowski], *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (Warszawa 1984) H. 3–4, 3–30 (especially pp. 21–3).

[19] 'Myśli stosowne do sposobu oformowania Żydow polskich w pożytecznych krajowi obywatełow', *Materiały* (see n. 12) no. 9, 98–105.

passed through Warsaw.[20] Surprisingly perhaps, Jozefowicz did not deny most of Butrymowicz's claims concerning the cultural and political status of Polish Jewry – that Jews were too different in religion, language, habit and other aspects of everyday life, that Jewish judges had too wide a scope of jurisdiction, and that the communities' administration, the *kahal*, had too much power over Jewish inhabitants of towns located, after all, in Poland. But he rejected the corollaries. He declared that Butrymowicz as a noble undoubtedly had many important tasks to care for – perhaps too many to enable him to understand the conditions of Jewish existence in Poland. Hence he exaggerated unworthy conduct by Jews, and did not realize to what extent Jews in Poland were 'good, benevolent and thankful towards the country'.[21] Their economic activity, far from being harmful, was highly beneficial, not least to the Polish nobility who often had Jewish business associates.[22] Nowhere were Jews more productive than in Poland, knowing and practising handicrafts and even building Catholic churches.[23] Jozefowicz rejected all proposals to reform religious customs, as the Jews 'would not be able to live in conformity with the Bible and would no longer deserve the name of Israelites of the old covenant'.[24] As for Butrymowicz's proposal that Jews dress like Gentiles: 'It is true that we do not have a divine law prescribing our clothes, but why change it? If we are so unworthy of trust and deserve a bad reputation, then it should be best that we dress differently from Christians in order to be easily recognizable.'[25] Finally, as regards Jewish legal autonomy, Jozefowicz denied that its abolition would make Jews more law-abiding. Rather, it deserved to be broadened. He employed a military metaphor: 'If one wishes to lead a large number of soldiers, one should begin with the officers ... therefore in each *województwo* two assessors should be selected from among the rabbis and community elders, who shall supervise the proper execution of all decrees of the Republic'. In other words, not only should existing Jewish legal autonomy be perpetuated;

[20] Goldberg (see n. 13) 46–50.

[21] Myśli stosowne (see n. 19) 100.

[22] Jerzy Michalski, 'The Jewish Question in Polish Public Opinion', in Adam Teller (ed.) *Studies in the History of the Jews in Old Poland. In Honor of Jacob Goldberg, Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. XXXVIII (Jerusalem 1998) 123–46, 134.

[23] Myśli stosowne (see n. 19) 102.

[24] Ibid. 103.

[25] Ibid.

it should be complemented by a new form of legal supervision at a higher administrative level, such as existed until then only on the level of individual communities.[26] Jozefowicz stoutly defended the way the status of Jews distinguished the Polish Commonwealth from other nations: 'God showed special generosity towards this *Rzeczpospolita* [Commonwealth] making it so vast and settling such a great number of us [the Jews] within its frontiers'.[27]

Despite their different conclusions, these authors provide a fairly homogenous picture of the political and legal status of the Jews in the Polish Commonwealth. Both describe the breadth of Jewish autonomy based on privileges granted through the highest political authorities – the king and the aristocracy. Both consider the independence of Jewish judges and the rule of Jewish law within Jewish communities to be core features of this autonomy. Agreeing that Polish Jewry was legally and culturally distinct, they diverge on whether this situation should be changed or preserved. In any event, given the number of Jews living in the Commonwealth and the scope of their economic activity, their status is of central significance for the political future of the Polish Commonwealth.

One is struck first by the confidence with which the rabbi from Chelm defends the *de facto* political autonomy of Jews, and secondly by the way both authors consider the status of Jews in a reformed *Rzeczpospolita* to be an issue which cannot be resolved by the Diet or the king alone, but which has to derive from mutual understanding. Butrymowicz states: 'I think there is no other way to achieve this [reform] than to call a Sejm commission and to ask the Jews that they choose from among the elders constituting their government in religious matters [*zwierzchność*] who should be responsible for establishing the preconditions for concluding a lasting and eternal agreement [*concordatum*] between the two hitherto struggling nations [*narody*]'.[28] This is strikingly close to Herszel Jozefowicz's recognition that in order to find 'a regulation which should last for centuries, the assembled estates should convene a commission [*deputacya* in Polish] to gain knowledge and to decide on all difficulties and circumstances, and which, after hearings and discussions, should report to the estates for a decision'.[29] In short, it is necessary to conclude not a *contrat social* among individuals with

[26] Ibid. 104. [27] Ibid. [28] Sposób (see p. 65 above and n. 15) 85.
[29] Myśli stosowne (see n. 19) 104.

equal rights and duties, as in the enlightened and absolutist nation-states of western Europe, but a *contrat de sociétés* between two distinct political entities.

Butrymowicz and Jozefowicz were ambivalent about the relationship between these entities. Both saw the need for eventual agreement between the Diet representing the Gentile side and Jewish delegates their own communities. But the legal basis for these negotiations remained unclear. Did the two sides together form the *Rzeczpospolita*? Did the Gentile side consider the Jews as strangers, however privileged? Both authors envisaged the agreement as a lasting one, tacitly accepting Jews and Gentiles as separate political entities, bound by a contract that confirmed their separateness. But for Butrymowicz this coexistence should give way to the forced acculturation of the Jews. Both authors viewed the Diet as the main political agent: the body choosing the *komisya* or *deputacya* (almost synonymous terms) that would discuss the results of negotiations and decide about an eventual agreement. Most of the *shtadlanim* sent to Warsaw by local communities or regional assemblies of communities during the Four Years' Sejm represented traditional Jewish hierarchies. These tended to immunize Polish Jewry against outside influences, such as demands for integration and/or de-Judaization, or the marginal voices of Polish-Jewish *maskilim*. Their main aim was to preserve the status quo and to defend the legal, political and hence religious and cultural autonomy of their communities.

Jewish political culture on the eve of the partitions of Poland therefore relied on the institution of the autonomous community and the political prerogatives linked to this community's privileges in matters of jurisdiction. Jewish representatives like Herszel Jozefowicz viewed Polish Jewry as a distinct political and cultural entity within the *Rzeczpospolita*, not as part of the Commonwealth, but, through God's will, linked to it. The desire to preserve the status quo was far from politically passive, since the traditional Jewish elites, seeing their own position to be politically dependent on the good will of those in power, were capable of a high degree of activity.[30]

Nonetheless, the main factors leading to change stemmed as much from the Jewish community as from the Gentile world. The abolition of

[30] François Guesnet, 'Politik der Vormoderne – Shtadlanut am Vorabend der polnischen Teilungen', *Jahrbuch des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts/Simon-Dubnow-Institute Yearbook* 1 (2002) 235–55, here 249–51.

the Council of Four Lands in 1764, mentioned at the outset, showed that the *Rzeczpospolita* realized the need to modify certain features of pre-absolutist state administration, thereby preparing for an end to royal or aristocratic prerogatives as the basis for political separateness of Jewish communities. Petitions to the Four Years' Sejm from Jews in Wilno and other towns pleaded for an end to the prerogatives of the *kahal* and for equality of all citizens regardless of religion. A typical argument was that 'as we pay our taxes to the public treasury as individuals, each and every one has the right to be protected by the government' – especially against the power of the Jewish hierarchy.[31] An unnamed author stated in the official publication of the Diet (the *Journal Hebdomadaire de la Diète de Varsovie*) of May 1790 that 'chacun de nous est aussi un individu, et par conséquent, il semble qu'il aye des droits à ce qu'accorde la loi naturelle'[32] – a position thoroughly remote from the efforts of Herszel Jozefowicz and other representatives of the traditional hierarchy to preserve the community's autonomy, based on the will of God and royal privileges rather than on concepts like natural law.

More influential than the direct use of Enlightenment ideas was their indirect effect through changes in the general political framework, especially the partition of Poland and the annexation of large numbers of Jews by the absolutist states of Austria, Prussia and Russia.[33] The three powers reacted differently to their new Jewish population and its political culture. Austria and Prussia went to great lengths to gain control of the reluctant Jewish communities, rewarding integrationist efforts by individuals and fighting corporate autonomy.[34] In Galicia the process took a rather tortuous course. Maria Theresia issued a *Judenordnung* for the new province in 1776 designed to replace the autonomous communities

[31] 'Odpowiedź ze strony Żydów wileńskich na zaskarżenie dekretu Komisyi Skarbu Lit. Od kahału wileńskiego Stanom Sejmującym podane' [Reply from the Vilna Jews to the charges by the Lithuanian Fiscal Commission, given by the Community Board to the Estates in Session] (first months of 1789), *Materiały* (see n. 12) 6:105–13, citation 112. Hundert (see n. 2) 112–18, doubts the social substance of this long-lasting conflict in the Jewish community of Wilno.

[32] 'Les Juifs aux représentants des villes de la Pologne' (30 May 1790), *Materiały* (see n. 12) 6:188–190, citation 189.

[33] For the partitions of Poland cf. Michael M. Müller, *Die Teilungen Polens 1772 – 1793 – 1795* (München 1984).

[34] Peter Baumgart, 'Die Stellung der jüdischen Minorität im Staat des aufgeklärten Absolutismus', *Kairos. Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie*, NS 22 (1980) 226–45.

by a High Council (*Oberster Rat*) with wide executive powers over all Galician communities. It was a failure and was abolished in 1786. Joseph II chose a more balanced approach with his *Toleranzpatent* for Galicia from 1789. Local communities would hold significant administrative prerogatives, their funds secured by new taxes. These administrative bodies, designed along Enlightenment lines, were supposed to execute state policies on the local level. They therefore did not express Jewish political culture, but rather the state's need for a local body to enforce its policies towards the Jews. These policies reflected a conservative though enlightened ideal of allowing Jews their religious practices, while forcing them to adopt German family names, to use German as an administrative language and to avoid distinctive clothing. The *Toleranzpatent* offered partial civil rights, especially 'municipal citizenship and access to the local public service in towns to the groups of the Jewish poupulation which had the necessary property qualifications'.[35]

In Prussian Polish territories the new administration in 1797 ended all rabbinical jurisdiction beyond the purely religious sphere (although this is hard to define), forbade communal intercession with the provincial administration and proscribed the election of community elders. However, the new rulers also abandoned the principle that members of a given community were collectively liable for community debts – an issue originating mostly in the seventeenth century, and which in Russia continued to haunt Jewish communities until the Great War.[36]

So-called enlightened rule in former Polish territories of Prussia therefore went straight to the core of the political culture of Polish Jewry in significantly reducing its autonomy. Unlike the progressive form of decorporation demonstrated by revolutionary France, Jews were not offered the status of emancipated *citoyens* to compensate for this loss. In 1812 Prussia offered citizen's rights to Jews who demonstrated the will to become loyal and acculturated Prussians and who disposed of some wealth, echoing Josephinian legislation. After long deliberations, the *Toleranzedikt* of 1812 was in 1833 extended to the former Polish province of Greater Poland that had not been under Prussian rule in 1812. At its core was an offer of naturalization as Prussian citizens for Jews of a certain wealth in exchange for demonstrated loyalty to Prussian rule and

[35] Artur Eisenbach, *The Emancipation of the Jews in Poland, 1780–1870* (Oxford 1991) 56.

[36] Andrzej Wojtkowski, *Polityka rządu pruskiego wobec żydow polskich od r. 1793 do 1806* (Poznań 1923) 23f. This policy was later reversed.

German as language of everyday use. Although regional and central authorities had not considered Greater Polish Jews desirable new citizens, the patriotic insurrection in the neighbouring Kingdom of Poland in 1830 had demonstrated the need to win over as many constituencies as possible, including the Jews.

Sophia Kemlein has shown that this conditional emancipation of Jews in Greater Poland was decisive in motivating former Polish Jews to identify with German culture and the Prussian state – a development which, although not completed, was almost irreversible by the end of the 1840s.[37] An important transforming factor in the political culture of Jews in Greater Poland was the demographic decline caused by migration towards the provincial capital, Poznań (Posen), the emerging metropolis Berlin and the United States. Important communities shrank within a few decades to a few dozen families or less, unable to guarantee basic features of a Jewish community.[38] For the first decades of Russian rule in Congress Poland – an administrative entity that had been formed in 1815 by the decisions of the Congress of Vienna in the central Polish provinces around Warsaw (hence its name) – and in the Pale of Settlement in the western part of the Russian Empire (corresponding roughly to contemporary Lithuania, Belorussia and Ukraine), communal institutions remained untouched. In Congress Poland the so-called 'synagogue supervision' (*dozór bozniczy*), introduced late in 1821, officially replaced the *kahal*, outlawed early in 1822. Equally unsettling for the traditional community structure was the proscription of Jewish confraternities, the *hevrot*. Members of the *dozor* were elected by higher tax-paying community members and considered as executing purely administrative functions rather than as representing their respective communities. In most communities the notables who had previously held office in the *kahal* and the *hevrot* accepted the non-prestigious function of synagogue supervisor, although they based their authority on their informal position. No administrative measure was able to dismantle the traditional *hevrot*, and they continued their activity throughout the nineteenth century. Membership in the burial societies especially constituted a major source of communal authority.[39]

[37] This irreversibility was especially clear during the Polish uprising in the Posen province in 1848, see Sophia Kemlein, *Die Posener Juden 1815–1848. Entwicklungsprozesse einer polnischen Judenheit unter preußischer Herrschaft* (Hamburg 1997), e.g. 318 f.

[38] Ibid. 185–8.

[39] Izaak Levitats, *The Jewish Community in Russia, 1772–1844* (New York 1943) passim; Guesnet (see n. 20) 333–412.

This shift in authority from the *kahal*, or leadership of the corporate community, to the illegal confraternities is illustrated by a decision of the elders of the burial society of Zamość, proclaimed shortly after the abolition of its *kahal*. 'Regarding the humiliaton of the dignity of the *kahal*, in that they are now called synagogue supervisors, which is the reason why some of its members now fear that they have lost their power and authority, we declare that the members of the synagogue supervision hold the same power as the former *kahal*.'[40] What constitutes from one standpoint an acknowledgement of state legislation – the synagogue supervisors being in charge of communal affairs – confirms at the same time that communal authority rests with those able to decree who is in charge of the authorized institutions.

In Russia the *kahal* was not abolished until 1844, when many of its functions were taken over by the municipal administration. Moreover, whereas in Prussia and Austria the politics of according piecemeal citizenship rights to the upper echelons of Jewish society led to growing identification of these elites with the state's policies, this barely occurred in Congress Poland or in the Russian Empire.[41] Jewish elites on the local level generally remained true to the notion of communal autonomy, which was possible only because of the coexistence of state-sponsored administrative bodies with an informally approved local leadership.[42] This coexistence is probably the most significant feature distinguishing the development of the political culture during the nineteenth century in Russia and the Kingdom of Poland from that in Prussia and Austria. Two factors played a crucial role in the emergence of this differentiated leadership in the eastern provinces of the former Polish commonwealth. The first is the great authority of the 'holy community' (*kehilah kedoshah*) based on autonomous legislation and preserved by a shared

[40] Ephraim Kupfer, 'Pinkas Bractwa Pogrzebowego i dobroczynnego w Zamościu', *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* 2:8 (1951) 47–80, citation 69; see also François Guesnet, *Polnische Juden im 19. Jahrhundert. Lebensbedingungen, Rechtsnormen und Organisation im Wandel* (Köln, Wien 1998) 398.

[41] Eli Lederhendler discusses the dialectics of identification with and distance from government policies among traditional and enlightened Jewish elites in 'Modernity Without Emancipation or Assimilation? The Case of Russian Jewry', in Jonathan Frankel *et al.* (eds) *Assimilation and Community. The Jews in Nineteenth-century Europe* (Cambridge 1992) 324–43; cf. Guesnet (see n. 40) 223–9.

[42] Eli Lederhendler, *The Road to Modern Jewish Politics. Political Tradition and Political Reconstruction in the Jewish Community of Tsarist Russia* (New York, Oxford 1989) 46–83.

respect for Jewish law and religious observance. Using a variety of strategies and instruments, gentile authorities – in most cases supported by a small segment of enlightened Jews – sought to complement traditional communal functions and institutions by state-controlled equivalents: the 'consistoires' in France, regional boards in Galicia, the synagogue supervision in the Kingdom of Poland and the ill-famed crown rabbis in the Kingdom and in Russia. A multiplicity of leadership, based on Jewish and non-Jewish sources of authority, duly unfolded.

The second factor was the challenge of Hasidism. This consisted not only in religious and spiritual competition to Rabbinism. During the first half of the nineteenth century the movement gradually gained a foothold in many Polish and Russian communities, and Hasidic leaders claimed their share in political leadership as well.[43] In those regions where the Hasidic movement acquired substantial communal backing, unexpected alliances could emerge as the result of the ever more complex communal structures. For instance, assimilationists and Hasidim in Warsaw successfully joined forces in 1870 in order to remove Jakob Gesundheit, the local chief rabbi and inveterate enemy of both movements, from his functions.[44]

To summarize (and necessarily generalize): the political culture of Polish Jewry gradually faded in the Prussian part of the former *Rzeczpospolita*, due to the diminishing size of Jewish communities and strong positive incentives to identify with the partitioning power. In the provinces annexed to the Russian Empire (the 'Pale of Settlement'), the formal abolition of the *kahal* in 1844 was reinforced in its transformative consequences by the de-legitimization of informal communal authorities through compliance with government policies, especially with the legislation on military service of 1827.[45] The clearest continuity

[43] Important new studies now complement the classical interpretation of the rise of Hasidism by Raphael Mahler, *Hasidism and the Jewish Enlightenment. Their Confrontation in Galicia and Poland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia 1985); cf. Glenn Dynner, *Men of Silk: The Hasidic Conquest of Polish Jewish Society* (Oxford, New York 2006), and Marcin Wodzinski, *Oświecenie żydowskie w Królestwie Polskim wobec chasydyzmu* (Warszawa 2003), Moshe Rosman, 'Hasidism as a Modern Phenomenon – The Paradox of Modernization Without Secularization', *Simon-Dubnow-Institute Yearbook* VI (2007) 215–26.

[44] 'Ya'acov Gesundheit', *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (New Haven, London 2008) 1:591.

[45] Michael Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicolas I and the Jews. The Transformation of Jewish Society in Russia, 1825–1855* (Philadelphia 1983) 13–35, 123–55, and Iokhanan Petrovskii-Shtern, *Evrei v russkoi armii, 1827–1914* (Moskva 2003) 31–70.

of the communal and corporate ethos within Jewish communities was thus located in the Kingdom of Poland not least because of the intensity of religious and spiritual competition between Hasidism and traditional rabbinic elites. Here, state-sponsored institutions of communal representation were not held in high esteem. In many instances, however, they offered Jewish partisans of acculturation and reform some leverage in Jewish matters, an influence otherwise hard to exert due to their numerical weakness. Thus, in these central regions of eastern European Jewish settlement, political competition revolved more around communal hegemony and small-scale intervention on behalf of these communities, and much less around larger projects, e.g. legal emancipation. In the case of the Kingdom of Poland, a partial emancipation was indeed enacted in 1861. However, this resulted less from Jewish lobbying than from the political assessment of the Russian administration that such legislation might secure Jewish loyalty to the Tsarist regime in a period of unrest.[46]

Jewish political culture in eastern Europe thus unfolded in different arenas and had other foci than in western parts of the Continent. It was more self-absorbed and less influenced by the prospects of acculturation or emancipation. An example will illustrate the contrast. As part of an ongoing struggle for hegemony in Warsaw in the early 1850s, a small group of wealthy Jews, following the Prussian model of acculturation, proposed new rules for electing the synagogue supervision. These envisaged that only board members of four philanthropic and educational institutions in Warsaw would be eligible for the position of synagogue supervisor, institutions that had been founded and were still controlled by the proponents of these new rules. The rules would therefore have given power over the largest Polish-Jewish community to a small minority. A group of observant notables thereupon intervened with the central government and called for preservation of the existing election procedures. 'The free choice of its representatives by the community should be preserved; these representatives should be respected and trusted individuals of moral dignity... Although the promotion of education and philanthropy is important, the community expects from the government that it should above all not damage the dignity and the religious freedom that our people has enjoyed for 3167 years, and that

[46] Eisenbach (see n. 37) 479–84.

the government should respect the supreme laws protecting this freedom.'[47] The political culture of those signing this letter is clear not only from its thoroughly unsubservient tone, but from the way it calls on the government to respect the community's inherited practices, linked to the founding events of the people of Israel, the Exodus from Egypt and the covenant at Sinai. This argument is consistent with the concept of the 'contract of societies', according to which the Jews of Poland (like all other Jews) are subject to non-Jewish legislation only on condition that Jews themselves agree on the respective spheres of influence. Whereas the Jewish political culture of central or western Europe was characterized by adherence to the concept of nation state, that of Polish Jews clung to the idea of an autonomous entity entitled to be master of its own fate.

The contrast continued into the early twentieth century. Western Jewries had fought relentlessly for emancipation and integration throughout the nineteenth century and gradually acquired legal guarantees. The anti-Semitic movement that gathered impetus from the 1870s onwards and culminated in the Dreyfus Affair (1894 onwards) challenged the very foundations of this civil existence. Paradoxically the only common ground remaining at that time among 'Western' Jews concerning their shared political culture was the view that there was no such thing as Jewish politics. This made the fight against the existential threat of anti-Semitism – and all other spheres of political agency – still more difficult.

In eastern Europe, by contrast, Jewish politics unfolded with an impressive intensity between the 1870s and the Great War, leading to the establishment of a rich and varied – and perhaps even over-factionalized – political landscape. Besides the notables who followed traditional lines of political action, such as intervention with influential Gentiles or relying on the 'royal alliance' with the state's elites, a new Jewish intelligentsia emerged with access to the (Jewish and non-Jewish) public. The new political leadership derived its political legitimacy not from communal consensus, but mainly from two modern currents of thought. One was the national movements of 'small nations' (Miroslav Hroch) and their claims for autonomy and self-determination. The other was the concept of democratization in

[47] Guesnet (see n. 20) 403–10, quote 407 f.

general. What democratization meant for the Jews of eastern Europe was open to debate. Did it imply social revolution within the Jewish community or as part of the general struggle for a homeland in Palestine; or was it a matter of personal cultural autonomy? In any case, the debate was a heated one and took place widely within the evolving Jewish public sphere, based on the press and on a rapidly growing system of parties and associations.[48]

The development of the political culture of eastern European Jewries in the later nineteenth century was enhanced by the fact that there had been no process of national realignment of political loyalty so characteristic of western European Jewish communities with respect to their home countries. The political framework of a specific nation state was one aspect of Jewish political agency, but not an objective in itself. A good example of this Jewish political culture in action was the *Comité des Délégations Juives* and its interventions during the Paris peace conference in 1919, which produced significant results concerning the cultural autonomy of Jewish minorities in Poland, Lithuania and Czechoslovakia.[49] These did not produce, as Jewish negotiators had wished, substantial autonomy for the respective Jewish communities. But Jewish political life in these countries burgeoned, displaying a wide range of parties and tendencies and a wealth of differentiation unknown in regions lacking the same political culture and traditions.

[48] These general trends have been analysed and presented by Jonathan Frankel, *Prophecy and Politics. Socialism, Nationalism, and the Russian Jews, 1862–1917* (Cambridge 1981) by Lederhendler (see n. 45) and Ezra Mendelsohn, *On Modern Jewish Politics* (New York, Oxford 1993).

[49] Cf. Erwin Viefhaus, *Die Minderheitenfrage und die Entstehung der Minderheitenschutzverträge auf der Pariser Friedenskonferenz 1919* (Würzburg 1960) 74–99.

A Discovery of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Monastery of Montecassino

MALACHI BEIT-ARIÉ

In the spring of 2008, while staying at Yarnton Manor and conducting – at the suggestion of Dr Piet van Boxel, the Centre's Librarian and Curator of Hebraica at the Bodleian – a course on Hebrew Codicology in the University, I was also invited to deliver a keynote lecture at a conference organized by Cassino University in Italy.

The one-day conference was on new technology in medieval manuscript studies, and my contribution was to present the codicological database created by the Hebrew Palaeography Project. This, known as *SfarData*, is a computerized database, sponsored by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, of all the codicological variables in every one of the thousands of dated Hebrew medieval manuscripts worldwide. The data includes physical, technical, scribal and textual features, as well as images of selected pages of each manuscript. The database has a retrieval system comprising a large number of measurable attributes, allowing elaborate data access, quick sorting and endless querying, linking, classification, clustering and statistical presentations. It is a pioneering enterprise in manuscript studies of any script, supplying us with a precise tool for the typological characterization, historical study and palaeographical identification of undated manuscripts on the basis of codicological features that they share with other manuscripts which do bear dates.

Cassino University, about half-way between Rome and Naples, is located below the hill on which stands the Montecassino Monastery. I took the opportunity to visit this most ancient European abbey, perhaps now better known for the battles fought there in the Second World War. It was founded in about 529 by St Benedict, author of the Order that formed the foundation of Western monastic life. Montecassino reached the peak of its prosperity and influence in the second half of the eleventh century, when its famous *scriptorium* became instrumental for the preservation of Western civilization by producing and preserving

thousands of Latin manuscripts. The rich manuscript collections in the Montecassino library, as well as most of its rare printed books, were saved when the huge monastery was reduced to rubble on 15 February 1944 by an American bombing raid. The buildings were later reconstructed and the library returned from its place of refuge.

I was in for an exciting surprise when the young librarian, one of the few Benedictine monks now living in the vast monastery, showed me two Hebrew manuscripts and two reused Hebrew fragments rediscovered among the collection of Latin manuscripts. The manuscripts were previously unknown. That is to say, they were not recorded by the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the Jewish National and University Library. Since its foundation in 1950 (at the instigation of Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, who one would have thought had other priorities at the time), this library has assembled copies of over 80,000 manuscripts and hundreds of thousands of fragments written in Hebrew characters scattered through hundreds of national, university, municipal and monastic libraries and private collections all over the world.

Both Hebrew manuscripts were of Spanish origin. One codex, numbered 503 in the monastery collection, contains a vocalized biblical miscellany for liturgical use, including the Pentateuch, *haftarot* and the

five *megillot* (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther). It was written in about 1300 in a square Sefardic type of script on 262 parchment folios in a large quarto format. The other codex, numbered 510, is a compilation of mathematical materials including two different manuscripts, each written in a Sefardi semi-cursive script by a different hand. The writing materials attest both to its Spanish production and to its date. The codex is constructed of mixed quires (gatherings) of parchment and paper; the outer and the inner folded bifolia (sheets) of each quire being of parchment and the central bifolia between them of paper. This was typical of Jewish scribes in Byzantium, Italy and Spain who used expensive, durable parchment sheets for enveloping and protecting the cheaper but more vulnerable paper ones. This particular codex, however, is a rare example of early, pre-watermarked paper manufactured in Spain from the late thirteenth century. The first manuscript of this codex (folios 1–132) comprises Euclid's *Elements*, the most widely circulated mathematical work in Hebrew in the Middle Ages, and Theodosius' *Spherics* translated into Hebrew from Arabic in Provence in the thirteenth century. The second manuscript contains a unique copy of *Sefer ha-Middot* on arithmetic and geometry attributed to Abraham Ibn Ezra (folios 133–144), published by Tony Lévy in *Aleph*, 6 (2006).

In addition to these codices, two fragments of Hebrew manuscripts were found interpolated in secondary use in Latin manuscripts. Two conjugated folios (a palimpsest bifolia) contained extracts from a large halakhic manuscript of *Hilkhot Afasi* – Isaac b. Jacob Alfasi's popular digest of the Talmud, composed in North Africa in the eleventh century – with a marginal commentary written in Ashkenazi square and semi-cursive script in France or Germany in about 1300. These had been scraped and reused as two oversized folios of a giant illuminated Latin choir book of the sixteenth century, formerly kept in the private collection of the monks at Montecassino. The Hebrew text remains partly legible and contains passages from tractates *'Eruvin* and *Yevamot*.

The other fragment is a folio bearing part of the book of Kings from a very large Hebrew manuscript produced in Spain probably around 1200, and reused centuries later for rebinding a Latin book printed in Naples in 1749.

These discoveries just go to show that you never know what you may find in old monastic libraries.

THE ACADEMIC YEAR

Michaelmas Term 2007

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

Topics in Biblical History *Professor Hugh Williamson*

The Study of Ancient Israelite Religion *Madhavi Nevader*

Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Israel: The Iron Age (1200–332 BCE) *Dr Garth Gilmour*

Isaiah 6–9 *Professor Hugh Williamson*

Isaiah 52–55 *Professor Hugh Williamson*

Selected Psalms *Professor Hugh Williamson*

Biblical Hebrew Language (Second Year) *Professor Hugh Williamson*

Biblical Hebrew Language (Third Year) *Professor Hugh Williamson*

The Qumran Forum
(*Convened by Professor Geza Vermes*)

Are There Two Historical Layers in the Pesher Habakkuk? *Professor Hanan Eshel*

The Observance of the Ninth of Av in the Second Temple Period in the Light of the Dead Sea Qinnot *Professor Philip Alexander*

Rethinking Canonical Processes in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls *Professor George Brooke*

The Sons of Aaron in the Dead Sea Scrolls *Dr Charlotte Hempel*

Fifty-nine Years With the Dead Sea Scrolls *Professor Geza Vermes*

The Glassware at Khirbet Qumran: What Does it Tell us About the Qumran Community? *Dennis Mizzi*

The Relationship Between the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees *Dr Esther Eshel*

Introduction to Jewish Life, Thought and Worship
Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Jewish Liturgy *Dr Jeremy Schonfield*

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

Jewish-Muslim Relations Through the Ages *Dr Adam Silverstein*

Introduction to Yiddish Literature *Dr Joseph Sherman*

Modern European Jewish History *Dr David Rechter*

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

Seminar in Modern European Jewish History
(*Convened by Dr Francesca Bregoli, Dr Abigail Green, Dr François Guesnet and Dr David Rechter*)

Creating National Holocaust Commemorations: Militants, Memories and Meanings *Rebecca Clifford*

German-Jewish Responses to Anti-Jewish Violence: The *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* and the Pogroms in Germany and Russia, 1881–2 *Dr Sonja Weinberg*

Political Culture at the Borderlines of Modernity: Shtadlanut in European Jewish History *Dr François Guesnet*

'Romanian for Study – German for Pleasure': Jewish Politics and Public Opinion in Czernowitz, Bukovina, 1918–40
Professor Susanne Marten-Finnis

The 'Jewish Question' in Late-Eighteenth-Century Livorno
Dr Francesca Bregoli

Challenging Cultural Hegemony: Jewish Studies, Liberal Protestantism and Antisemitism in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany *Professor Christian Wiese*

Modern Jewish Culture and the Big City
Professor Joachim Schloer

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

Questions of Jewish Identity in Modern Yiddish Fiction
Dr Joseph Sherman

Modern Hebrew Poetry *Dr Jordan Finkin*

The Holocaust in Contemporary Hebrew Literature
Dr Tali Argov

Seminar in Jewish Studies
(*Convened by Dr Piet van Boxel*)

Why an Aramaic Translation of Job (11Q10) at Qumran?
Sally Gold

Second-century BCE Omens from Maresha (Marisa)
Dr Esther Eshel

Shooting Crows With a Cannon: Shaul Tshernikhovsky's Translations and Hebrew Canonicity *Dr Jordan Finkin*

The Rehov Synagogue Inscription and Rabbinic Judaism
Professor Fergus Millar and Eyal Ben Eliyahu

Language Class: Biblical Hebrew *Dr Timothy Edwards*

Language Class: Modern Hebrew *Dr Tali Argov*

Modern Hebrew Ulpan *Dr Tali Argov*

Language Class: Yiddish *Dr Haike Beruriah Wiegand*

Yiddish Ulpan *Małgorzata Sochańska*

The David Patterson Seminars

(*Convened by Dr Piet van Boxel*)

How Can We Learn the Political History of the Hasmonean State from the Dead Sea Scrolls? *Professor Hanan Eshel*

'A Quiet Kitten With Sharp Claws': Rokhl Auerbach's Journalism in the Yiddish Press *Dr Helen Beer*

Problems in Defining an Achaemenid Religious Policy
Professor Amélie Kuhrt

The Turkish Cavalry at Swarzędz, or: Jewish Political Culture After Napoleon *Dr François Guesnet*

The Greek Bible and its Historical Context *Dr Sarah Pearce*

Mediterranean Enlightenment: Jewish Culture in Livorno in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century *Dr Francesca Bregoli*

The Wiles of Women: An Example of the Translation of Wisdom Literature in Medieval Spain *Dr César Merchán-Hamann*

Moses Mendelssohn's Discussion with Spinoza *Professor Reinier Munk*

Hilary Term 2008

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

Elementary Biblical Hebrew *Professor Hugh Williamson*

Advanced Biblical Hebrew *Professor Hugh Williamson*

Genesis 1–11 *Professor Hugh Williamson*

Isaiah 40–45 *Professor Hugh Williamson*

Proverbs 1, 7–9 *Professor Hugh Williamson*

I Samuel 20–22 *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Nehemiah 2, 4–6 *Professor Hugh Williamson*

Biblical Hebrew Prose Composition *Dr Alison Salvesen*

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

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*)

Reconstructing Ancient Judaism from the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Sectarians and the Temple in Jerusalem
Professor Martin Goodman

A Marriage Contract from Maresha (176 BCE) and the Jewish Ketubah *Dr Esther Eshel*

The Value of Economic Documents for Understanding the Bar Kokhba War *Professor Hanan Eshel*

Philo as a Philosopher in Rome *Professor Martin Goodman*

Walled Cities Since the Days of Joshua the Son of Nun and the Roman Pomerium *Dr Eyal Ben Eliyahu*

Dio Chrysostom on the Essenes *Dr Joan Taylor*

Were Tefillin Phylacteries? *Dr Yehudah Cohn*

The Dual Strategy of Rabbinic Purity Legislation
Dr Vered Noam

Septuagint *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Varieties of Judaism in the Late Second Temple Period
Professor Martin Goodman

A Survey of Rabbinic Literature *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Targum Texts *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Introduction to Talmud *Dr Norman Solomon*

Midrash *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Reading the Psalms from King David to David Kimhi
Dr Timothy Edwards

Judaism and Islam: Medieval Intellectual and Cultural Traditions
Ronald Nettler

Late Antiquity: Eastern Perspectives
Dr Adam Silverstein and Dr Teresa Bernheimer

European Jewry from the Spanish Expulsion to the Enlightenment
Dr Francesca Bregoli

Introduction to Yiddish Literature *Dr Joseph Sherman*

Russian and East European Jewish History Until World War One
Dr François Guesnet

Modern Hebrew Texts: Gordon to Shammas *Dr Jordan Finkin*

Israel: State, Society, Identity *Dr Raffaella Del Sarto*

Is Modern Hebrew Literature Jewish? *Dr Jordan Finkin*

The Dialogue of Hebrew Literature with the New Testament
Dr Tali Argov

Seminar in Jewish Studies
(*Convened by Dr Piet van Boxel*)

Thinking about Montefiore and his World
Dr Abigail Green

'Chasing a Bird off the Rooftop': Kabbalistic Symbolism in Yair Hurvitz's Poetry *Dr Tali Argov*

Language Class: Biblical Hebrew *Dr Timothy Edwards*

Language Class: Modern Hebrew *Dr Tali Argov*

Modern Hebrew Ulpan *Dr Tali Argov*

Language Class: Yiddish *Dr Haike Beruriah Wiegand*
Yiddish Ulpan *Małgorzata Sochańska*

The David Patterson Seminars

(*Convened by Dr Piet van Boxel*)

The Limits of Consensus: Israel's Contested Identity Between Regional Conflict and Peace-making *Dr Raffaella Del Sarto*

The Importance of Medieval Karaite Sources for the History of the Hebrew Language *Professor Geoffrey Khan*

British Jewish Preaching During the Great War
Rabbi Professor Marc Saperstein

Bible and Archaeology: Past, Present and Future
Professor Avraham Faust

A Ladino Prayer Book for Women, from the Sixteenth Century
Professor Ora Schwarzwald

Job and his Wife, and Other Syriac Dialogue Poems
Dr Sebastian Brock

The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Priestly Mystical Tradition of the Chariot *Professor Rachel Elior*

Why is this Knight Different?: The Old Yiddish Romance of Sir Vidvilt, Gawain's Son *Dr Michael Wenthe*

Special Lectures

The Sixteenth Stencl Lecture in Yiddish Studies

The Early Modern Yiddish Book and the Fostering of an Ashkenazi Identity *Professor Shlomo Z. Berger*

Trinity Term 2008

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

Biblical Hebrew (first year) *Professor Hugh Williamson*

Biblical Hebrew (second year) *Professor Hugh Williamson*

Biblical Hebrew (third year) *Professor Hugh Williamson*

Habakkuk 1–2 and the Habakkuk Commentary from Qumran *Professor Hugh Williamson*

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

- Josephus on John Hyrcanus I *Dr Gaia Lembi*
- Rules for Restoring Lacunae in Qumran Manuscripts *Professor James Charlesworth*
- Lucian, Petronius and the Genre of the Talmud *Professor Daniel Boyarin*
- *Seder Olam* Within the Twin Contexts of Jewish Historiography and Jewish Exegesis in the Hellenistic-Roman Period: The Earliest Rabbinic Work? *Professor Chaim Milikowsky*
- Reconstructing Herod's 'Stoa Basileia' *Dr Orit Peleg*

The Catherine Lewis Master Classes: Between Early Judaism and Christianity *Professor Peter Schäfer*

- Jewish Cosmology in Rabbinic Literature
- Why did Baby Messiah Disappear?
- Enoch, Metatron, Jesus and the Unity of God
- Origins of Early Jewish Mysticism

Hebrew Codicology *Professor Malachi Beit-Arié*

- Introduction: Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library
- Colophons
- Writing Materials
- Quiring and its Geo-cultural Typology
- Maintaining the Order of Codex Quires, Bifolia and Folios

Ruling Techniques and their Geo-cultural and Chronological Typology

Line Management: Comfort of Copying Versus Comfort of Reading

Seminar on Jews and Judaism in the Early Modern Period
(*Convened by Dr Joanna Weinberg*)

Philo-Semitism and Millenarianism in Early Modern Europe *Dr Howard Hotson*

Curriculum and Intellectual Life Among Spanish and Ottoman Jewry: The Supercommentaries on Rashi's Commentary on the Torah *Professor Joseph Hacker*

Hebrew Poetry and Spinozist Hermeneutics: A Jewish-Christian Polemic in Eighteenth-Century Italy *Dr Francesca Bregoli*

The Rabbinical Scholarship of Johannes Drusius the Elder (1550–1616) *Dr Theodor William Dunkelgrün*

Cardinal Bellarmine Reads Rashi *Dr Piet van Boxel*

Can One Speak of a Trans-Regional Jewish Culture in Early Modern Europe? *Professor David Ruderman*

Books and Their Readers: Towards Hispano-Jewish Continuity After 1492 *Dr Eleazar Gutwirth*

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

Entangled Biographies: A Social History of Jewish Intellectuals in Interwar Romania *Camelia Craciun*

The Croatian God Mars: The Experience and Memory of the Great War in Croatia, 1918–1929 *Paul Newman*

Expulsions of Religious Minorities in the Eighteenth Century: Medieval Vestige or Harbinger of Modernity? *Dr François Guesnet*

Rethinking Eastern Europe: Family Structures, Social Systems and Wellbeing in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth *Dr Mikolaj Szoltysek*

Politics, Church and Society in Early-Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Hungarian Protestant Theology *Márton Zászkaliczky*

Anti-Semitism and the 1956 Revolution in Hungary: The Making of a Documentary *Dr Martin Mevius*

Performing History: The Vienna Burgtheater as a Political Instrument in 1930s Austria *Dr Robert Pyrah*

Anglophiles in Balkan Christian States, 1862–1920 *Dr Slobodan Markovich*

Seminar in Jewish Studies
(*Convened by Dr Piet van Boxel*)

The Qumran Caves: A New Perspective *Dennis Mizzi*

Miriam's Mothers, Miriam's Daughters - Prophetesses in the Ancient Near East and in the Hebrew Bible *Jonathan Stökl*

Language Class: Biblical Hebrew *Dr Timothy Edwards*

Language Class: Modern Hebrew *Dr Tali Argov*

Modern Hebrew Ulpan *Dr Tali Argov*

Language Class: Yiddish *Dr Haike Beruriah Wiegand*

Yiddish Ulpan *Małgorzata Sochańska*

The David Patterson Seminars

(*Convened by Dr Piet van Boxel*)

Conversos as New Christian Hebraists in Sixteenth-Century Spain *Dr Javier del Barco*

Folk Religion, or the Religion of Folk? The Archaeology of Cult in Israel and Judah in the Biblical Period *Dr Garth Gilmour*

The Odes of Solomon: Jewish, Gnostic, Jewish-Christian or 'Christian'? *Professor James Charlesworth*

A Woman of Valour (Proverbs 31:10–31) and her Medieval Jewish Interpreters *Dr Esperanza Alfonso*

Forging Consensus in Holocaust Commemoration: The Uses (and Abuses) of the Righteous Among the Nations *Dr Rebecca Clifford*

How Did the Jews Count their Years and How Did the Rabbis Lose 160 Years? *Professor Chaim Milikowsky*

Isaac Rosenfeld, Saul Bellow and New York Jewish Intellectuals: A Reassessment *Professor Steven Zipperstein*

Private Collections and Public Libraries in Sixteenth-Century Salonica – Their Impact on Intellectual Fermentation *Professor Joseph Hacker*

Special Lecture

The Catherine Lewis Public Lecture (*held at the Inner Temple Hall, London, 3 June 2008*)

Three Anglo-Jewish Portraits and Their Legacy for Today: Moses Marcus, the Convert; Abraham Tang, the Radical *Maskil*; David Levi, the Defender of Judaism *Professor David Ruderman*

MSt in Jewish Studies, University of Oxford

Fourteen students studied at the Centre this year, all of whom graduated in July 2008.

The Faculty

Courses and languages presented in the MSt programme were taught by Fellows and Lectors of the Centre: Dr Garth Gilmour, Research Associate, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University; Professor Fergus Millar, Emeritus Professor of Ancient History, Oxford University; and Madhavi Nevader, Oriel College. Dr Jordan Finkin served as Course Coordinator, and Martine Smith-Huvers, Student Registrar, administered the course with the assistance of Sue Forteath.

Courses

Students studied Biblical or Modern Hebrew or Yiddish. In addition, they selected four courses from the list below and submitted dissertations. The following courses were offered during the 2007–2008 academic year:

- A Survey of Rabbinic Literature *Dr Joanna Weinberg*
- European Jewry from the Spanish Expulsion to the Enlightenment *Dr Francesca Bregoli*
- Introduction to Talmud *Dr Norman Solomon*
- Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Israel: The Iron Age (1200–332 BCE) *Dr Garth Gilmour*
- Is Modern Hebrew Literature Jewish? *Dr Jordan Finkin*
- Israel: State, Society, Identity *Dr Raffaella Del Sarto*
- Jewish and Christian Bible Translation and Interpretation in Antiquity *Dr Alison Salvesen*
- Jewish History 200 BCE to 70 CE *Professor Martin Goodman*
- Jewish Liturgy *Dr Jeremy Schonfield*

- Jewish-Muslim Relations through the Ages *Dr Adam Silverstein*
- Judaism and Islam: Medieval Intellectual and Cultural Traditions *Ronald Nettler*
- Modern European Jewish History *Dr David Rechter*
- Questions of Jewish Identity in Modern Yiddish Fiction *Dr Joseph Sherman*
- Reading the Psalms from King David to David Kimhi *Dr Timothy Edwards*
- Russian and East European Jewish History up to World War One *Dr François Guesnet*
- 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, intermediate and advanced) *Dr Timothy Edwards*
- Modern Hebrew (elementary and intermediate) *Dr Tali Argov*
- Yiddish (elementary, intermediate and advanced) *Dr Haike Beruriah Wiegand*

The Students

This year the students came from Canada, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Poland, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

Luisa Banki (*b.* 1984), who graduated in Comparative Literature from Ludwigs-Maximillians University, Munich, has a particular interest in Yiddish language and literature. Her undergraduate studies included courses on Jewish History and Culture, and she participated in the Vilnius University summer Yiddish programme where she strengthened her Yiddish language skills. She took the MSt in the hope that it would help deepen her critical understanding of Jewish literature, and provide a transition to her doctoral studies. Her dissertation was entitled 'In the Shadow of the Modern: Aspects of Dovid Bergelson's *Nokh alemen*'. Luisa passed the MSt with distinction.

Michél Dallaserra (*b.* 1980), who studied English and Political Science at Carl-von-Ossietzky University in Oldenburg, where he also attended some courses in Jewish studies, was encouraged by one of his lecturers to study at Leo Baeck College in London. He graduated there in Hebrew and Jewish Studies before coming to Oxford to explore his special interest in Rabbinic Literature in general and Midrash in particular. The MSt also enabled him to learn Modern Hebrew, making it possible for him to read scholarly articles and books by Israeli academics. His dissertation was entitled 'Bringing the Bud into Bloom: An Introduction to Jacob ben Isaac's *Kaftor va-Ferah*'.

Anna Fadlallah (*b.* 1980) has a Master's in English Literature from Warsaw University, where she is now writing a doctoral thesis on twentieth-century children's literature. She aims to compare the portrayal of society and culture in prewar and postwar Britain, focusing on representations of Jewishness. She previously translated testimonies of Holocaust witnesses and survivors for a project entitled 'A Chronicle Reportage: Europe According to Auschwitz: Theresienstadt', and aims to prepare a section devoted to Jews from Greece during the Second World War. Her dissertation was entitled 'Attitudes to Childhood in the Memoir of Gluckel of Hameln'.

Hannah Margaret Hemphill (*b.* 1980) graduated in Philosophy at Taylor University in Indiana, and completed a Master's in Theological Studies at the University of Notre Dame in 2005 and an MLitt in Philosophy at the University of St Andrews in 2003. She spent 2006–7 at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and regarded the MSt as an introduction to 'PhD studies in medieval theology ... and to understanding the shared medieval heritage and influences of Christian, Jewish and Islamic thought'. She hopes to make a 'fruitful contribution to the ongoing religious dialogue, based on mutual understanding and respect'. Her dissertation was entitled 'Faith and Reason in the History of Interpretation of the Aqedah'.

Deborah Jacobs (*b.* 1983) has degrees in Jewish Studies from the Freie Universität Berlin and in Theology from the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (2007). Her main interests are the Hebrew Bible

and its translation and interpretation in antiquity, and she came to Oxford to focus especially on the Septuagint and Targumim. The small classes in Oxford made it possible to study with particular intensity, and she found the MSt provided a firm foundation for doctoral studies and for her planned career in academia. Her dissertation was entitled 'Abraham as a Diaspora Jew?'

Mihály Kálmán (*b.* 1984) studied linguistics, majoring in Russian-Jewish Studies and Arabic, at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, where he also took courses in Hebrew, Yiddish and Aramaic, and discovered a particular interest in the history and literature of Russian-Soviet Jewry. He applied for the MSt course since its Yiddish language option would deepen his understanding of these aspects and broaden his horizons in Jewish history and culture. His dissertation was entitled 'Jewish Self-Defence in Eastern Europe between the Odessa Pogrom and World War One'.

Daniel Sebastian Nicolae (*b.* 1982) graduated in Theology at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, and from the Freie Universität, Berlin, with a Vordiplom in Islamic Studies in 2006. He completed an MSc in Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Edinburgh in 2007, and applied for the MSt programme in order to engage more fully with Jewish literature, the later Second Temple Period and the Jewish roots of Christianity. He is particularly interested in the links between Jewish and Islamic thinkers throughout the Middle Ages, and the way Arab philosophy and scriptural interpretation influenced Jews such as Maimonides. He went on to undertake doctoral studies at Oxford. Daniel's dissertation was entitled 'Jewish Physicians at the Court of Saladin'.

Robin Jessica Nobel (*b.* 1982) graduated in Religious Studies and English at McGill University, Montreal, where she also received a Master's in English Literature. She pursued extra-curricular Yiddish classes, and participated in the YIVO Summer Program in Yiddish in 2006, 'motivating her to pursue this passion' in further graduate studies. She applied for the MSt in order to deepen her understanding of Jewish literature, history and religion, hoping eventually to carry out research for a PhD in Comparative Literature, focusing on Yiddish

literature. Her dissertation was entitled: '"A page plucked from a holy book" Displacement in Kadia Molodowsky's Post-Immigration Poetry'.

Agnieszka Magdalena Oleszak (*b.* 1978) completed one Master's degree in Applied Linguistics specializing in Foreign Language Didactics at the Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland, and another in Social and Cultural Studies, with an emphasis on Polish-Jewish Relations and Gender Studies, at the Europa Universität Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder) in 2005. She has taught Polish to undergraduate and graduate students, given an MA course module on Gender Issues in Jewish History, and organized several conferences and workshops on gender equality and related topics. Aga has been accepted as a DPhil candidate at Oxford University. Her MSt dissertation was entitled 'The Representation of Women in the Writings of Samson Raphael Hirsch'.

Daniel Zachary Purisch (*b.* 1985) graduated in Philosophy and Music from the University of Southern California in 2006. He is interested in the historical development of Semitic languages and scripts, the history of Israel and the theology of covenant, and has since moved on to doctoral research. Daniel hopes that his roots in both the Jewish and Christian traditions will enable him to play a role as facilitator of understanding between them. His dissertation was entitled 'Abraham ibn Daud's *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel during the Second Temple Period*: An introduction to its purpose'. Daniel passed the MSt with distinction.

Or Moshe Rogovin (*b.* 1977) completed an MA in Comparative Literature at the University of Washington in Seattle in 2006 and is currently enrolled in a doctoral programme there. In his dissertation he carried out a comparative study of early-twentieth-century east-European Jewish literature in Hebrew, English and Yiddish. He came to Oxford to acquire a command of Yiddish and to advance his knowledge of related topics such as Jewish history, philosophy and liturgy. Or plans a career in researching and teaching Jewish literature and culture. His MSt dissertation, entitled 'Chelm Revisited: Art as Commemoration in Y. Y. Trunk's *Chelemer khakhomim*', was awarded the prize for the best dissertation.

Huda Salih (*b.* 1984), who has a first-class honours degree in Arabic with Modern Hebrew from Oxford (2007), was drawn to the MSt course by its combination of linguistic, literary, theological and historical components. Its interdisciplinary diversity and flexibility appealed to her and helped develop her interest in Modern Hebrew literature and language. Her MSt dissertation was entitled 'Questions of Identity in Modern Iraqi Jewish Literature: The Failure of Arab-Jewish Identity in *The Other One* by Shimon Ballas'. Huda passed the MSt with distinction.

Avram Richard Shannon (*b.* 1981), who graduated in Ancient Near Eastern Studies at Brigham Young University in 2007, had begun studying archaeology, but developed a strong interest in Biblical Hebrew. The culture and history of his Jewish forebears inspired him to study their writings and primary sources. The MSt course offered to extend this knowledge and to help him fulfill his ambition to teach at university level. His dissertation topic was 'Upon the King: Ideology and Literary Composition in I Samuel'.

Kathryn Anne Spicksley (*b.* 1985) began studying Philosophy and Theology at Oriel College, Oxford, changing to straight Theology after becoming fascinated with the Hebrew Bible. She took several courses on this and wrote an extended essay on ecstatic prophecy with special reference to Ezekiel. Kathryn was attracted to the MSt in Jewish Studies as a means of increasing her knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, and of moving beyond this to look at later aspects of Jewish culture and history. Her dissertation was entitled 'Observations on the use of the Hebrew Bible in the Fictional Works of Israel Joshua Singer'.

End-of-Year Party

The end-of-year party was held at Yarnton Manor on Wednesday 18 June 2008, attended by the students and their guests, as well as the fellows, teachers, staff and their partners. The President, Peter Oppenheimer, expressed gratitude and good wishes on behalf of the Centre to Dr Timothy Edwards, Lector in Biblical Hebrew who is leaving to work for a Christian charity, and to Dr François Guesnet,

Research Fellow in Russian Jewish History who is moving to University College London. Dr Piet van Boxel did likewise to Michael Fischer, Assistant Librarian, who is returning to Germany.

Acknowledgements

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

MSt in Jewish Studies, 2007–2008

Front Row (left to right)

Dr Jordan Finkin (COURSE COORDINATOR), Dr Joseph Sherman, Professor Fergus Millar, Dr Francesca Bregoli, Mr Peter Oppenheimer (PRESIDENT), Dr Timothy Edwards, Dr Raffaella Del Sarto, Dr François Guesnet

Second Row (left to right)

Professor Martin Goodman, Dr Joanna Weinberg, Dr César Merchán-Hamann, Agnieszka Oleszak (Poland), Robin Nobel (Canada), Luisa Banki (Germany), Anna Fadlallah (Poland), Dr Jeremy Schonfield

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Dr Piet van Boxel, Rinske Scholten, Hannah Hemphill (USA), Avram Shannon (USA), Dr Haike Beruriah Wiegand

Back Row (left to right)

Daniel Nicolae (Germany), Mihály Kálmán (Hungary), Daniel Purisch (USA), Or Rogovin (Israel), Mrs Martine Smith-Huvers (STUDENT REGISTRAR), Dr Garth Gilmour

Absent

Michél Dallaserra (Germany), Deborah Jacobs (Germany), Huda Salih (UK), Kathryn Spicksley (UK)

The Qumran Forum

During Michaelmas Term 2007 Professor Geza Vermes FBA ran the Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period while Professor Martin Goodman FBA was on sabbatical research leave. The programme, in which Qumran specialists from Britain and Israel participated, was entitled 'The Dead Sea Scrolls After Sixty Years'. Seven sessions were arranged on successive Tuesdays, except for 30 October which coincided with an international Qumran symposium held at the University of Birmingham which was attended by several members of the Oxford seminar.

The seminars, which generated lively debate, included the following events: Professor Hanan Eshel of Bar-Ilan University lectured on 'Are There Two Historical Layers in the Pesher Habakkuk?'; Professor Philip Alexander FBA of Manchester University, delivered a paper on 'The Observance of the Ninth of Av in the Second Temple Period in the Light of the Dead Sea Qinnot'; Professor George J. Brooke of Manchester University spoke on 'Rethinking Canonical Processes in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls'; Dr Charlotte Hempel of the University of Birmingham on 'The Sons of Aaron in the Dead Sea Scrolls'; Professor Geza Vermes described 'Fifty-nine Years with the Dead Sea Scrolls'; Dennis Mizzi of Wolfson College, Oxford, spoke on 'The Glassware from Khirbet Qumran: What Does it Tell us on the Qumran Community?'; and Dr Esther Eshel of Bar-Ilan University lectured on 'The Relationship Between the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees'.

The David Patterson Seminars

A Woman of Valour (Proverbs 31:10–31) and her Medieval Jewish Interpreters *Dr Esperanza Alfonso*

'What a rare find is a capable wife; her worth is far beyond that of rubies', begins the tenth and last *parashah* ('section') of the book of Proverbs, an alphabetical acrostic describing the *eshet hayyil*, or ideal wife. She is depicted as an industrious, forward-thinking, wise and pious woman, whose husband relies fully on her as she provides for her household, gives alms to the poor and looks cheerfully to the future.

Readings of this text have evolved to fit changing historical, social and intellectual conditions. The early Rabbis interpreted the *eshet hayyil* allegorically as a symbol for the Torah, while later aggadic midrashim preferred literal approaches, identifying her qualities and deeds with those of specific biblical women. The tension between the literal and the allegorical survived among commentators both in the East and in the Iberian Peninsula until the late twelfth century. Yefet ben Eli's viewpoint was predominantly literal, while Sa'adia Gaon advocated an allegorical-philosophical reading. Combinations of *nigleh*, 'revealed', and *nistar*, 'esoteric', approaches became prevalent later. But although medieval post-Maimonidean authors show a clear preference for the *nistar*, they by no means suppressed the *peshat*, 'plain meaning'. Interest in the *peshat* can be seen in explanations of difficult words and glosses, in the attention commentators paid to the completeness of the *parashah* and in their examinations of how the *parashah* was connected to the rest of the book. Authors' concern for the literal meaning of this text can be seen from portrayals of the ideal wife in contemporary literary prose wrtings.

'A Quiet Kitten with Sharp Claws': Rokhl Auerbach's Journalism in the Yiddish Press *Dr Helen Beer*

Rokhl Auerbach (1903–76), best known for her work in the Warsaw Ghetto and on the Aryan side of Warsaw, was one of Emanuel Ringelblum's clandestine *Oneg Shabes* group. This was committed to

documenting the destruction of Polish Jewry and recording its literary and cultural life in Yiddish (see R. Auerbach, *Varshever Tsavoes* [Warsaw Testaments] 1974). She also ran a large soup kitchen in the ghetto at Ringelblum's request (see R. Auerbach, *Baym letstn veg* [On the Last Road] 1977). After the War she was central in retrieving buried material in and around Warsaw and in helping to organize the gathering of diaries, memoirs and survivor testimonies for the Jewish Historical Institute. Following her immigration to Israel in 1950 she was instrumental in promoting the recording of survivor testimonies at Yad Vashem.

Auerbach was born in Galicia and studied philosophy and psychology at the University of Lemberg (Lvov). She began writing for the Polish and Yiddish press in the 1920s and continued to contribute to the Polish-Jewish press and Yiddish journals after her move to Warsaw in 1933. Her little-known pre-war journalism, which ranges over literary and theatre criticism, psychology, pedagogy and Yiddish cultural issues, reflects a new secular expression that is intended to be deeply humanistic and essentially Yiddish. It is modern, provocative and outspoken, combining scholarly rigour with human empathy in a distinctively lively manner. In an almost feminist way she presents lesser-known women writers in Yiddish to a wider readership, and she is ready to grapple with subjects straddling fields such as literature, philosophy and visual art, for instance in writing about Dvora Vogl's cubist poetry. As war approached, her articles displayed increasing pessimism.

Rokhl Auerbach's journalism of the interwar period offers a picture of her times, of Yiddish culture and of the author herself. Her entire output deserves closer attention than it has so far received.

Mediterranean Enlightenment: Jewish Culture in Livorno in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century *Dr Francesca Bregoli*

The conventional view that the privileged, ghetto-free Livornese Jews of the second half of the eighteenth century integrated smoothly into the surrounding society needs to be corrected. The self-perception of the Livornese Jewish intellectual and mercantile elite who engaged in lay scholarship was that they strove to be part of a neutral cultural sphere animated by humanistic and rationalistic values inspired by

Enlightenment thought. Jewish merchants sought to enter into a neutral socio-political sphere by force of wealth, property ownership and refined taste. The facts, however, often belied the ideals of equality and inclusion entertained by these groups.

The seminar focused on two cases. The medical student Angelo de Soria in 1755 promoted a reform effort concerning Jewish attendance at the University of Pisa. But although his reformist attempts enjoyed brief success, in the absence of long-term support from the Livornese Jewish lay leaders they failed to produce enduring social change. The brothers Aghib and Abudaram in 1790 lobbied for the admission of Jews into one of the principal cultural institutions in the town, but their efforts were again not backed by the Jewish authorities, and failed. For its part, the Tuscan government preferred to preserve social separation between Jews and non-Jews.

It seems that the privileged status of Livornese Jews fostered their acculturation, their identification with their Tuscan motherland, and their sense of security as members of a useful minority group and as subjects of the Tuscan state. Yet, at a time when other European absolutist states were beginning to dismantle corporate groups, both the Jewish authorities and Tuscan government sought to maintain the corporate nature of the *Nazione Ebrea*, out of a concern for social and political control as well as for economic reasons. Thus, as long as Livornese Jews maintained their privileged status, they would be denied individual civic rights and no real political integration would be possible.

Job and his Wife, and Other Syriac Dialogue Poems
Dr Sebastian Brock

Jewish Aramaic and Syriac writers were heirs to the ancient Mesopotamian literary tradition of the Precedence Dispute, a genre which still enjoys popularity in the literatures of the Middle East. Some surviving examples in Jewish Aramaic (in the Palestinian Targum tradition) deal with the same biblical topics as their Syriac counterparts, such as the Dispute of the Months and that between Abel and Cain. While many Jewish Aramaic disputes are only partially preserved, those in Syriac are both more numerous - some fifty are known - and usually complete. Most Syriac examples are in poetry and

on biblical topics, and feature two protagonists who, after a brief introduction, speak in alternate verses. The ancient idea of precedence is usually replaced by an argument with theological overtones, such as faith versus reason. Topics taken from the Peshitta - the Syriac translation of the Hebrew Bible - include Cain and Abel, Abraham and Isaac (Genesis 22, also featuring Sarah), Joseph and Potiphar's wife, Benjamin and Joseph, and - for a long time only known in part - Job and his wife. Since a double alphabetic acrostic is usually present, most poems run to at least forty-four short verses, the majority taken up by the dispute between the speakers. But copyists frequently provided only every alternate verse, since each manuscript was intended for the use of one of two choirs present, the other speaker's verses appearing in the 'pair'. The poem on Job and his wife was known only in manuscripts containing Job's words until only a few months prior to the lecture, when the lecturer located a manuscript, copied as recently as 2002, which at last provided the wife's voice and made it possible to reconstruct the poem in its entirety.

The *Odes of Solomon*: Jewish, Gnostic, Jewish-Christian, or 'Christian? *Professor James Hamilton Charlesworth*

The *Odes of Solomon* are an early collection of forty-two psalms or odes pseudonymously attributed to King Solomon. Most probably they were composed in Syriac or Aramaic-Syriac somewhere in western Syria, which at times included Galilee, before 125 CE. Over the past century the debate on these odes has focused on their character.

Their theological category has been discussed probably more widely than that of any other ancient document. A. Harnack contended that they were composed by a Jew and redacted by a Christian. They have been judged to be Gnostic (Bauer), Jewish-Christian (Danielou), Jewish (Menzies, Bacon) and perhaps Essene (Testuz), or Patristic (Quasten). They have been included within collections of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, the New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the Gnostic Literature (with the *Pistis Sophia* in which they are excerpted) and Patristics.

These numerous terms or categories have been inappropriately defined in diverse, usually mutually exclusive ways. Over the past thirty years scholars have concurred that Gnosticism was preceded by

a world-wide philosophy or religion defined as gnosis (seeking salvation through knowledge), that Jewish thought influenced some forms of Gnostic thought, and that Jewish-Christianity was an amorphous category and not to be summarily relegated as heretical. There is wide agreement that the odes should not be branded simply as Gnostic (Charlesworth, H. Chadwick, Emerton, Murray, Lattke).

Most scholars are rightly reticent to label documents that predate the defeat of Bar Kokhba in 135–6 as 'Jewish' or 'Christian', because there are insufficient criteria to distinguish between these two intimately related categories. While most scholars concur that we can distinguish the Jewish substratum and Christian expansions in the *Ascension of Isaiah* and the *Testament of Adam*, as well as the Christian preface and appendix – and Christian additions in Latin manuscripts – of the *Fourth Book of Ezra*, we find it more difficult to isolate the putative Jewish original of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. We observe that while the obviously Christian words appear to be interpolated, the Greek tradition is already Christianized and that precursors to the testaments, even if not themselves 'testaments', appear in some manuscripts preserved in the Qumran caves.

Even though the forty-two odes seem to originate with one person, the individual was most likely a Jew who became a follower of Jesus. As a result, some may be originally Jewish and others Christian. While a hundred years ago some scholars claimed that the author was incipiently docetic (or heretical) and others that he was orthodox, such categories are anachronistic and inappropriate in this early period of history.

The complex relationship with the Qumranic *Thanksgiving Hymns* (the Hodayoth formula, found in the Psalter only in 118:21, appears in Ode 5:1) and the *Rule of the Community* (cf. 1QS 3.19 and Ode 18:6) has indicated to some experts that the author, before he became a 'Christian', was an Essene or close to that Jewish sect (Carmignac, Charlesworth, Licht [cf. Murray]).

Attempts to prove that the odes are dependent on the Gospel of John have not been convincing to most scholars, although these documents share numerous *termini technici*, ideas and a conceptual world-view. Although R. Bultmann imagined that the author of the Gospel of John was influenced by the type of thought found in the odes, it is unlikely that the odes directly influenced this Gospel. Most scholars who have focused on the *Odes of Solomon* and the Gospel of

John concluded that these poems and John come from the same area, community or even school (Charlesworth and Culpepper). Challenging are such thoughts as these:

> The Son is the cup,
> And the Father is He who was milked;
> And the Holy Spirit is She who milked Him. (Ode 19:2)

Are the *Odes of Solomon* to be categorized as 'Jewish', 'incipient Gnostic', 'Jewish-Christian', or 'Christian' – and how are we representatively to define such modern categories and are they mutually exclusive? How are the odes related to early Jewish liturgies and hymns, such as the *Hodayot*, the *Angelic Liturgy*, the *Qumran Pseudepigraphic Hymns*, the *Amidah* (Eighteen Benedictions), the *More Psalms of David* (Pss 151–5) and the *Psalms of Solomon*? How are they related to gnosis and what are the earliest representatives of this phenomenon? How are they related to Jewish-Christian documents and how should such texts be defined? Are they reflected in the writings of Ignatius of Antioch? Why is it necessary, in exploring such issues, to put 'Christianity' within quotation marks?

Finally, what do the odes disclose about the intersection of distinguishable sociological phenomena or theological texts and the emergence of what will be called Christianity? Is it likely that some odes could be Jewish, others influenced by gnosis or the earliest forms of Gnosticism (as in the *Hymn of the Pearl*, the *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Gospel of Truth*), and that others reflect the type of thought known from the Gospel of John (which Käsemann contended is incipiently Gnostic)? What other questions and issues should be included in the search for a better understanding of the provenance and historical matrix of these mystical odes?

Forging Consensus in Holocaust Commemoration: The Uses (and Abuses) of the Righteous Among the Nations

Dr Rebecca Clifford

With the creation of official Holocaust commemorations in many European countries in the 1990s and early 2000s, the Righteous Among the Nations – those non-Jews who saved Jews during the war – have increasingly become the focus of commemorative attention. In

formerly-occupied countries where the question of collaboration with Nazis has led to lengthy and acrimonious debates, the Righteous are often invoked as symbolic counterweights to the painful issue of national complicity in the Holocaust. A key challenge in commemorating the Holocaust in such countries is to find a suitable way to acknowledge the state's complicity in the wartime persecution of Jews; in this context, the figure of the Righteous can emerge as a heroic symbol in apposition, if not in opposition, to the image of the state as persecutor. This use of the figure of the Righteous can also have a strong political rationale, particularly where there is still political capital to be made of the legacies of war-era fascist and anti-fascist movements.

In Italy, where an official Holocaust memorial day was created in 2000, the figure of Giorgio Perlasca has assumed a prominent role in the commemoration. Perlasca, an Italian citizen who saved an estimated 5000 Jews in Budapest in 1944, was also a convinced fascist – which is what has made him such a symbolically potent and politically useful figure. From its inception, there has been a tension in the new commemoration between those who hope to use it to unpick the myth of fascist benevolence, and those who want to use it to uphold this myth. Figures such as Perlasca have assumed a pivotal role, tempering (and in some ways deflecting attention from) debate over fascist crimes, and giving politicians and state representatives – including those on the self-professed 'post-fascist' right – a way to participate in the commemoration without having to tackle difficult questions concerning the state's responsibility for the persecution of Italy's Jews.

Conversos as New Christian Hebraists in Sixteenth-century Spain
Dr Javier del Barco

The expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 led to the conversion of a significant number who did not abandon the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. These conversions, whether voluntary or forced, suddenly supplied Spanish universities with a cadre of learned Hebrew and Aramaic scholars who were able to work there as New Christians. This overlapped with a movement of intellectual reform within the Christian scholarly milieu, by then strongly influenced by Humanism and Erasmus' thought. Interest in the original languages of the Bible

as a tool to serve Christian exegesis grew significantly, and Cardinal Cisneros, the principal supporter of this tendency, collaborated with several *conversos* on two challenging projects: creating a new university in Alcalá de Henares, and editing a pioneering polyglot Bible. The role of these *conversos* was crucial to the rise of Christian Hebraism and to the formation of some of the principal collections of Hebrew manuscripts in Spain, such as those of El Escorial and the Complutensian University. Alfonso de Zamora was the most prolific and interesting Hebrew scholar of the early sixteenth century.

The Limits of Consensus: Israel's Contested Identity Between Regional Conflict and Peace-Making ***Dr Raffaella Del Sarto***

Israel's domestic politics are closely related to issues of regional conflict and peace-making. The major fault-lines within Israeli society concern the question of what and where Israel as a state and as a society is, or is supposed to be. Such 'limits of consensus' have important political implications, as they result in fragmented domestic politics and restrict the 'governability' of Israel. During the years of the Oslo process, Israel's contested identity undoubtedly affected the ability of governments to engage in peace-making, since peace-making touches on the essence of Israel's identity-questions and demands difficult choices. External factors additionally affect the decision-making capacity of Israeli governments, and suicide bombings limit their room for manoeuvre even further. Hence, Israel is facing a serious dilemma: moving towards peace and a different regional order aggravates Israel's domestic identity conflicts, which in turn put a strain on the decision-making capacity of Israeli governments. Yet postponing crucial foreign-policy decisions may increase internal cohesion, but will leave Israel's identity-questions unresolved—along with the conflict.

The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Priestly Mystical Tradition of the Chariot ***Professor Rachel Elior***

Professor Elior traced to 29 November 1947 an assumption that she claims still incorrectly influences scholarship concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls. She described how Professor Eliezer Sukenik (1889–1953) suggested, in the hours before the United Nations voted for the

establishment of the State of Israel, that Hebrew manuscript fragments found in Qumran, that he had been shown briefly by the Assyrian Metropolite in the Old City of Jerusalem, should be understood within the historical context known from the works of Philo, Pliny the Elder and Josephus Flavius. Sukenik decided that the newly discovered text should be linked with the Essenes, a group described by Josephus (who wrote in the late first century CE) as living in the second century BCE at the same time as groups known as Sadducees and Pharisees. No Hebrew or Aramaic documents mention this sect, and the Greek and Latin writings that do allude to them fail to explain why this otherwise unidentified group chose to live celibate lives in the desert remote from the rest of the Jewish community.

Sukenik's fragments were only a tiny fraction of a library of 930 sacred writings which the lecturer linked not to Essenes, but to levitical priests, the descendants of Zadok, the keepers of the sanctuary (Ezekiel 44:15), and their allies (Heb. *anshei beritam*). These sacred texts in Hebrew and Aramaic were written by more than 500 different hands during the last centuries before the Common Era. They do not mention the name Essene. But the term *kohanim Bnei Zadok*, 'levitical priests of the House of Zadok', frequently occurs, as do expressions containing the word *Zedek* ('righteousness'). Most of the scrolls are concerned with exclusively priestly traditions of the Temple service, priestly dynasties, angels depicted as priests serving in the heavenly temple and a liturgy performed by priests and angels. They also describe the workings of the sevenfold and fourfold Temple solar calendar of 364 days, as well as Temple sacrifices, rosters of priestly watches and heavenly paradigms of Temple worship timed according to this calendar. The pattern of holy time known as 'chariots of heaven' (I Enoch 75:3, and chaps 72–82) is joined by a priestly-prophetic tradition of the holy place known as the 'vision of the chariot' (I Enoch 14:8–25; Ezekiel 1 and 10; *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Ecclesiasticus 49:8). This relates to the heavenly pattern of the chariot of the cherubim in the holy of holies in the Temple (I Chronicles 28:18). The priestly context of the Qumran library is clear from the titles of scrolls such as *The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, *The Temple Scrolls*, *The Scroll of the Priestly Watches*, *The Scroll of Blessings*, *The Psalms Scroll*, the calendar of Sabbaths at the beginning *of Miqsat Maase haTorah*, the priestly history of sacred altars of sacrifice in *The*

Book of Jubilees and the history of the founders of the priesthood in the *Book of Enoch* and *The Testament of Levi.*

The lecturer argued that this priestly theme must be viewed in terms of the confrontation during the Hasmonean period (1–2 centuries BCE) between the deposed biblical Sadducees (*kohanim Bnei Zadok*), who had served as high priests for nearly a thousand years (I Chronicles 6:1–15; Ecclesiasticus 50:1; 51:9), and the usurper Hasmonean priests (*kohanim Bnei Hashmonai*) appointed by the Seleucid kings Alexander Balas, Demetrius II and Antiochus VII (I Maccabees 10:18–20; 14:38), and who seized the high priesthood between 152 and 37 BCE.

The completed publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls (*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, 39 volumes, Oxford: Clarendon, 1955–2002) confirms the need to abandon the Essene theory. This theory disregards the dispute between two priestly dynasties of *Beit Zaddok* (who called themselves 'sons of light') and *Beit Hashmonai* (described by their opponents as 'sons of darkness'). The deposed priests of the House of Zadok, who became known in the writings of their opponents after the destruction of the Temple as *Sadducees* and who determined the priestly solar calendar of 364 days (I Enoch 74:10; 75:2; Jubilees 6:32; MMT [DJD X, p. 7–8]) starting in the spring (Exodus 12:2), were confronted by rabbinic Sages known as *Pharisees* ('interpreters'), who replaced this calendar with a lunar one beginning in the autumn. The ancient hereditary priestly hegemony was confronted by a leadership of Sages chosen for their merit and proficiency in the oral tradition. The Sages opposed the continued writing of sacred texts and prohibited even the documentation of blessings and prayers. They ignored the priesthood in their chronicle of the transmission of Torah (Mishnah Avot 1:1) and initiated a lunar calendar based on human observation. In canonizing the Hebrew Bible in the two first centuries after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple they marginalized writings that expressed interest in the sacred status of the priests of the house of Zadok and their angelic counterparts, angelic teachings, writing additions to the sacred Written Torah, and in preserving the solar calendar. Such works were declared *Sefarim Hitzonim*, 'apocryphal works', and their study prohibited (Mishnah Sanhedrin 10:1).

This huge library has been neutrally named the Dead Sea Scrolls or 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert', terms which may be geographically accurate, but which offer little insight into their priestly contents.

Acknowledging these origins may help us understand the last stages of the biblical world, and provide a context for the decline of the Hasmoneans and the emergence of the Sages after the fall of the Second Temple.

How Can We Learn the Political History of the Hasmonean State from the Dead Sea Scrolls? *Professor Hanan Eshel*

A text found in cave 4 at Qumran (4QTest) helps verify events in 104–103 BCE, when the two sons of John Hyrcanus I, Antigonus and Aristobulus died within one year. It is written on a single sheet of parchment by the same scribe as the Community Rule (1QS), and contains three biblical passages and an elaboration of Joshua's curse on anyone who tries to rebuilt Jericho (Joshua 6:26). This last passage resembles a *pesher* (a contemporary form of biblical exegesis), since the author both claims that Joshua's curse has been fulfilled and expands on the evils committed by the 'Man of Belial' and his sons, relating them to bloodshed in Jerusalem.

Archaeological finds at the Hasmonean winter palace at Jericho show that this agricultural estate and royal residence were built by John Hyrcanus I, who reigned in 135–104 BCE. Josephus reports that both his sons, Antigonus and Aristobulus, died in 104–103 BCE under what appeared to be unnatural circumstances.

The three biblical passages preceding the *pesher* deal with prophecy, government and priesthood, reflecting Josephus's description of John Hyrcanus as a prophet, ruler and high priest. But the fourth paragraph suggests that John Hyrcanus I departed from the ideals described in the biblical passages, and even, since John Hyrcanus's sons died after he had rebuilt Jericho, that Joshua's curse applied to him. The biblical passages cited in 4QTest therefore describe the ideal that John Hyrcanus failed to embody.

Bible and Archaeology: Past, Present and Future *Professor Avraham Faust*

Biblical archaeology is currently in crisis. Some practitioners seek to free the archaeology of ancient Israel from the biblical text that dictated the discipline's agenda for many years, in order to focus on

the historical and historiographical study of the biblical period. Yet despite advances in archaeological theory, the issues being pursued remain those that have always interested biblical archaeologists: the deeds of kings, military campaigns and major destructions. Doubts over the historicity of the Bible have led to its near elimination from most current archaeological discourse, but the agenda of biblical archaeology is still driven by biblical historiography.

The lecturer proposed a new accommodation between 'Bible' and 'archaeology'. An archaeological and anthropological agenda independent of the biblical text would open a much wider range of social and cultural questions, while using the Bible to answer these questions would restore its centrality to the archaeological discourse of the period. Biblical texts and ancient material artifacts can both be regarded as cultural documents providing access to people of the biblical period, including their worldviews, cosmology, perceptions of landscape, ideology and symbolism. Studying them together will eventually result in a better understanding of biblical political history.

Folk Religion or the Religion of Folk? The Archaeology of Cult in Israel and Judah in the Biblical Period ***Dr Garth Gilmour***

The archaeology of religion during the period of the monarchy in ancient Israel and Judah has been the subject of intense research and debate over recent years. The evidence recovered from the ground has mounted significantly, revealing a pattern that appears initially to be at odds with the biblical text. A multiplicity of different attitudes, deities and influences characterizes the period, while the Temple-centred cult offered in the Hebrew Bible as the ideal, if not the norm, is difficult to identify in the archaeological record. While few go so far as to suggest that the First Temple did not exist, for historical and political reasons little if any archaeological evidence for it has been found. At the same time, there is overwhelming evidence for Egyptian and Assyrian religious and cultural influences, along with local developments of earlier Canaanite practices. Small incense altars, larger sacrificial altars, shrines, standing stones, figurines, inscriptions, stands, seals and medallions are just some of the finds that point to the need for a radical change in our understanding of ancient Israelite religion. No longer is it legitimate to consider these practices as unorthodox or private. The evidence from

archaeology makes it clear that this 'folk religion', as it has been termed, should rather be seen as mainstream and the norm, or the 'religion of folk'. Indeed, for much of the period of the monarchy, the Temple and its associated practices appear to have been just elements in a broad spectrum of religious exercise in both Israel and Judah.

The Turkish Cavalry at Swarzędz, or: Jewish Political Culture after Napoleon *Dr François Guesnet*

How did the end of the *ancien régime* in West and East, the social, political and military turmoil of the Napoleonic period and the resulting advent of modernity in Europe, affect Jewish perceptions of their own strategic and political options? Anecdotal reports describe an astonishing demonstration of allegiance to Napoleon by members of a small community in the transitional region of Greater Poland in 1806, who dressed up as Turkish cavalry and greeted the French emperor on horseback. This can be seen as a traditional demonstration of loyalty, striving to establish a resilient bond with the monarch. But the *levée en masse*-character of the undertaking, the military symbolism and the reference to the Ottoman Empire equally suggest that this innovative ceremony expresses an attempt to establish political strategies for Jewish communities facing new political frameworks, expectations and hopes (and fears). In contrast, hasidic legends about the French emperor stress the hostility of hasidic leaders towards Napoleon and the innovations with which he would be associated.

In order to describe the scope of this reassessment, the lecturer discussed adaptations of archetypes of Jewish political agency reintroduced through translations from non-Jewish sources: the translation of Menasseh ben Israel's *Vindiciae Judaeorum* (1655) by Moses Mendelssohn in 1782, based on an English enlightened periodical of the early eighteenth century; the translation of Philo's *Legatio ad Gaium* into Hebrew by Mordechai Aharon Ginsburg (1836), based on the German version from the late eighteenth century; and, finally, *Shalom Esther* (1843), Meir Letteris' adaptation of Racine's play Esther (1689), based on the biblical book of Esther. A common denominator of these texts is their stress on earlier models of Jewish political agency as potential orientations in the complex new situation of the early nineteenth century.

The Importance of Medieval Karaite Sources for the History of the Hebrew Language *Professor Geoffrey Khan*

Our knowledge of the history of the Hebrew language has been improved in recent years by the discovery of various medieval manuscripts written by Karaite Jews. Some of the most important advances have been made in the field of the pronunciation of biblical Hebrew. The Hebrew vowel signs (*niqqud*) were created in the early Middle Ages by the Tiberian Masoretes to represent graphically a reading tradition of the Bible that had been transmitted from antiquity orally for many generations. This 'Tiberian pronunciation tradition' was lost in the later Middle Ages and Jewish communities began to relate the Tiberian vowel signs to different types of pronunciation. Medieval Karaite sources allow us to reconstruct the original Tiberian pronunciation tradition. A corpus of Hebrew Bible manuscripts written by Karaites in Arabic transcription is particularly important for reconstructing the length of vowels. The transcriptions show, for example, that all stressed vowels were pronounced as 'long', including those described as 'short' in current textbooks of Hebrew, such as *patah* and *segol*. Vowels in open syllables were also pronounced long. Another source, known as *Hidāyat al-Qāri*, 'The Guide for the Reader', by the Karaite scholar Abu al-Faraj Harun (first half of the eleventh century), describes in detail the consonants and vowels of the Tiberian pronunciation. This reveals that the vocalic *shewa* in the original Tiberian pronunciation was realized not as a central vowel [ə] but rather as a short [a], identical to an unstressed *patah* and *hataph patah*. The letter *resh* was pronounced either as an emphatic alveolar or as uvular, depending on context. All this is contrary to what we find in standard textbooks of Hebrew.

Problems in Defining an Achaemenid Religious Policy *Professor Amélie Kuhrt*

A central issue in the study of the formation of Judaism is the restoration of the Jerusalem Temple and the return of Judean exiles from Babylonian captivity. According to the book of Ezra this occurred on the orders of Cyrus the Great of Persia, following his conquest of the Babylonian empire in 539 BCE. Many even today believe that this

reflects a unique Persian policy of 'religious toleration' that contrasts with Assyrian and Babylonian attitudes towards the religions of subjects, and subsequently with those of Seleucids and Romans. But does the evidence support this view, or merely reflect the experience of the Judean community and the authors of related biblical and associated works? In order to test this it is necessary to examine the evidence for Persian religion in the Achaemenid period, the co-option of non-Persian gods to legitimize Achaemenid conquest, Persian government involvement in local cults, and worship by individual Persians in the provinces of non-Persian deities. Research on these issues suggests that while it is possible that the Persian authorities responded to a request from the Jewish community to be permitted to use their own funds to rebuild the Jerusalem temple, there is no evidence to support the notion that the Achaemenid regime introduced a novel 'religious policy' of which the community in Judah was a beneficiary.

The Wiles of Women: An Example of the Translation of Wisdom Literature in Medieval Spain *Dr César Merchán-Hamann*

It was reported in 1253 that 'it pleased Prince Don Fadrique to have translated from Arabic into Castilian' a work entitled *El libro de los engaños y los asayamientos de las mujeres* ('The Book of Wiles and Tricks of Women'), 'to warn those who are deceived, of the wiles of women'. The prince, *Infante* Don Fadrique, was the brother of Alfonso X the Learned, or the Wise, king of Castile and Leon (1221–84), and translating Arabic works into Castilian rather than the more usual Latin was a political gesture.

When the Provençal Hebrew translator Abraham Bedersi described to a friend in 1295 how 'we long for our own works and not for the *Tale of Sendebar*', and when Kalonymos ben Kalonymos wrote in his *Igeret ba'alei hayyim* ('Letter Concerning Animals') in 1316 that it was not to be confused with the likes of '*Kalilah and Dimnah* or *Mishlei Sendebar* or *Hariri* or similar works', they were referring to the same text.

The *Sendebar* originated from India or Persia and became known in Arabic versions that have survived only in renditions into Hebrew and Spanish. It is one of several Arabic works whose translations decisively influenced the development of medieval Western narrative.

The plot of the *Sendebar* is well known. A childless old king prays

with his wife for an heir. When a son is born the king has him educated by a sage named Sindibad or Sendebar, who says the prince must stay silent for a week when he reaches the age of twenty, in order to avoid death. But during the week of silence one of the royal wives suggests to the prince that they assassinate his father and steal the throne, and he cannot resist angrily berating her. When he falls silent again, the same wife, aware that if he speaks again she will be lost, goes to the king and accuses the prince of having attempted to seduce her. The king orders his son's execution, but his advisors warn the king by means of stories against acting hastily, and of the tricks and guiles of women. The wife in turn tells stories about the consequences of weakness and indecision. After seven days the prince at last speaks and the wife is punished.

The structure of the Hebrew and Spanish versions has remained largely intact, but since Hebrew lacked a community of active speakers, it depended more than vernacular languages on the use of set phrases mostly from the Hebrew Bible. The role of echoes such as these varied, but a significant number have a literary function. Particularly relevant are those from the book of Esther, which is read liturgically during the Festival of Purim. This coincided with Lent chronologically and shared its carnivalesque aspects, including the performance of lewd and humorous plays. The numerous allusions to that book would have been immediately recognizable and would have activated those connotations, affecting the performance and social uses of the text.

How Did the Jews Count their Years and How Did the Rabbis Lose 160 Years? *Professor Chaim Milikowsky*

Methods of counting years in use today throughout much of the world are based on religious narratives such as the creation of the world, the birth of Jesus or the Hegira. The use of the Hegira began soon after the flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medinah, believed to have occurred in 622 CE, while Christians started to count years from the supposed birth of Jesus only long after that event, and Jews first calculated time from the supposed date of creation still later.

The Jewish era of Creation could be used only when complex exegetical questions had been resolved. It was necessary to calculate,

for instance, how many years the Children of Israel spent in Egypt, how much time passed between the Exodus and the building of the Temple, and how long the First Temple stood. The era of Creation entered common usage only when rabbinic hegemony was established and the answers given to these questions in the work entitled *Seder Olam* were accepted by all.

The present calculation of the Jewish calendar, known as *Anno Mundi*, is based on the rabbinic view that Persian rule lasted fifty-two years. But the Ptolemaic Canon and other documents show that the period from Cyrus's conquest of Babylon until Alexander's conquest of Persia lasted an additional 160 years. Yet since the rabbis had no access to these documents, they had no choice but to base their chronology of the Second Temple and Persian period on biblical exegesis, which can now be shown to be erroneous.

The Greek Bible and its Historical Context *Dr Sarah Pearce*

A review of the criteria for establishing the chronological, cultural and political context of the translations and compositions of the Greek Bible corpus has been carried out by the Arts and Humanities Research Council's Greek Bible Project. Criteria have until now included two main categories of data. External criteria comprise the papyri on which they are written, and citations and allusions to them in literary or epigraphic sources. Internal criteria comprise supposed historical allusions and terminology apparently associated with a particular milieu or period, as well as common procedures of translation which suggest links between different books.

It is necessary to examine where we stand without the internal criteria in order to throw light on the external criteria. This will help date Jewish writers thought to show knowledge of books of the Greek Pentateuch, and help analyse the chronology of other books of the Greek Bible corpus whose date is currently based on their relation to the Greek Pentateuch.

The standard view is that the books of the Pentateuch were translated into Greek in Alexandria in the third century BCE, which chimes with the legend set out in the *Letter of Aristeas* and other ancient sources describing how the Jewish Scriptures were translated in Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphos (281–246 BCE). This dating is

based also on the evidence of Papyrus Rylands 458 (fragments of Deuteronomy dated by their editor in 1936 to the mid-second century BCE); fragments of Demetrius 'the Chronographer', normally assigned (but not without controversy) to the late third century BCE; and fragmentary Greek Bible manuscripts from Qumran, of which the only serious contender for a second-century-BCE date is a tiny scrap on which only the word 'red', from 'the Red Sea', survives.

The external evidence for this dating is therefore fragile, suggesting that although it may not be necessary to abandon the consensus, the context may not be proved on the basis of external criteria alone. In particular, the dating of Papyrus Rylands 458 might usefully be reopened, with scrutiny of the associated documents found with the Deuteronomy fragments. A review of the original arguments for its early date in the light of more recent research is also desirable. More emphasis might also be laid on the potential of the linguistic content for understanding the world in which they were created. The Greek of the Pentateuch represents an identifiable stage in the development of the Common Greek of the Hellenistic world, and this, as Jenny Dines of the Greek Bible Project observes, is probably the strongest argument for a third-century-BCE date for the Greek Pentateuch.

British Jewish Preaching During the Great War
Professor Marc Saperstein

When war broke out in Central Europe, many Western Jews felt uneasy about the idea of a British alliance with Tsarist Russia against Germany and Austria. On Shabbat, 1 August 1914, the Revd Jacob Phillips of Manchester called on the public to urge the government to maintain a position of neutrality: 'Great Britain had no share in the quarrel … British blood must not be shed and British homes bereaved simply for maintaining the so-called "balance of power". It would be a crime and a grave disaster for England to be drawn into the vortex of the quarrel between Austria and Serbia.'

Once Britain committed to the war effort, such feelings were muted. Nevertheless, the pulpit message of many British preachers strikingly contrasts with the nationalistic fervour revealed by French, German and Austrian rabbis at the beginning of the war. Morris Joseph, preaching at the West London Synagogue on 15 August, said:

'We resume our Sabbath Services this week in circumstances all but unparalleled in the history of mankind. ... The lust to destroy and slay ... is a terrifying paradox, a cruel blow to our optimism and our most cherished ideals. It makes us doubt the value, the reality of our civilization, the stability of righteousness, the fixity of purpose of God himself.'

The destruction and loss of life in unimagined dimensions took a serious toll on optimistic assumptions about human progress and traditional religious belief in divine providential control over history. Many preachers acknowledged such doubts and tried to remove God from responsibility by shifting the blame to human failings.

The secular New Year was an occasion for national days of prayer proclaimed by the Crown. Some preachers on such occasions expressed consternation over the practice of praying to God for victory, in full awareness that the churches and synagogues of the enemy nations were filled with worshippers praying for their own triumph. Asher Green appears to be questioning the premise of a national day of prayer while preaching in Hampstead Synagogue on 1 January 1916: 'In such circumstances many of the appeals to God have seemed but mockery and blasphemy, while there are times when the oft-repeated prayers of intercession convey repugnance instead of comfort, and their well-intentioned sanctity fades away before their well-defined sacrilege.'

Patriotic fervour occasionally erupted in popular hostility toward those of German or Austrian birth. Strong condemnations of such xenophobia is evident in published sermons delivered on Rosh Hashanah 1918 by the Chief Rabbi Joseph H. Hertz and Orthodox Rabbi Hermann Gollancz of the Bayswater Synagogue: 'War itself is cruel enough. Must you render the conditions still more cruel? War accentuates with sufficient bitterness the divisions existing between man and man. Why, then, in time of war, aggravate these dangers, and in one and the same country set class against class, race against race, and sex against sex?'

Adding to this general dismay was the consciousness that Jews in enemy armies were fighting and killing each other in unprecedented numbers, an excruciatingly painful way of demonstrating their patriotism. The devastation of the war and the disillusion with its results led many preachers to a pacifist conclusion that war was the worst possible option and could never again be justified.

A Ladino Prayer Book for Women, from the Sixteenth Century *Professor Ora Schwarzwald*

Seder Nashim, the Ladino prayer book written in about 1550–65 in Salonika by Rabbi Meir Ben Benist, is unique for combining the prayers for the whole year with a serious consideration of rabbinical laws pertaining to women's religious duties. It is shorter than a book for the use of men since women are obliged to recite fewer prayers, and since it is meant for domestic rather than for synagogue use. In two introductions, one in Hebrew written in cursive lettering, and one in Ladino, the editor explains how fathers or husbands must teach women to fulfill certain religious duties, how their duties, prayers and blessings should not lead them to neglect their duties as wives and mothers, and how issuing the work in Ladino written in Hebrew square vocalized letters will enable them to understand the instructions and the prayers.

The book, which includes detailed instructions for women's daily religious conduct, contains a version of the prayers that has been shortened according to rabbinical rulings. Abbreviated passages include the early morning blessings and the Passover *Haggadah*, the latter suggesting that women may themselves have officiated at such Passover gatherings. The editor omitted certain midrashic debates that seemed not directly connected to the story of Exodus.

Why is this Knight Different? The Old Yiddish Romance of Sir Vidvilt, Gawain's Son *Dr Michael Wenthe*

The romance of *Ritr Vidvilt* (Sir Vidvilt) or *Kinig Artis Houf* (King Arthur's Court), the only Arthurian romance in Old Yiddish and one of only two known Arthurian works produced by medieval Jews, tells a story of cultural and political transit across boundaries of lineage and geography, as centered in the person of its eponymous hero. In its earliest extant version, comprising over 4200 lines in rhymed couplets from the late Middle Ages, *Vidvilt* tells of the conception and youthful exploits of its titular hero, literally Sir 'As You Wish', a knight who blends the heritage of his father, Arthur's nephew Sir Gawain, and his mother, princess of a remote and magical land. Vidvilt's first knightly test is to journey to Arthur's court to seek his father, absent since

before his birth. His efforts to prove his worth incognito, without claiming the privileges of kinship, attest to his desire to create his own identity, despite the equivocal name his father gave him. Vidvilt's welcome at Arthur's court turns on the revelation that this seeming stranger is actually near kin to the king. As such, the main character is himself a figure for his own text, a Jewish version of an originally Christian narrative told in a language that blends divergent cultural sources into a hybrid unity to render the familiar surprisingly strange—or to reveal the foreign to be native after all. Accordingly, Vidvilt's determination to spare most of his foes, transforming them into friends and new subjects of King Arthur, points to the poem's generally humane drive to turn outsiders into insiders. At the same time, the poem's matter and its very existence testify to an interest in cultural accommodation that must negotiate the tension between adaptive Jewish appropriation of majority culture and concessive assimilation to Christian majority norms.

CONTINUING ACTIVITIES

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library

This academic year has seen consolidation and new developments. Important progress has been made in making the collections available to readers, with a substantial part of the catalogue of the Louis Jacobs Collection now online and a promising beginning made with integrating the Coppenhagen Collection in the University online catalogue. A major development in the relationship between the Leopold Muller Memorial Library and libraries within the University of Oxford has been the implementation of a joint acquisitions policy.

Library Staff

Roy Cohen, who was a Hebrew cataloguer for over three years and completed a Master's degree in Librarianship and Information Management at the University of Brighton, left in January 2008 to take up the position of library manager at Ohalo College, Katzrin, in the Golan Heights. He was a committed member of staff and catalogued a substantial part of the Kressel and Elkoshi collections.

At the end of this academic year the Assistant Librarian, Michael Fischer, returned to Germany. Having come to Yarnton as a library assistant four years ago, he completed a Master's in Librarianship at the University of London and became Assistant Librarian. He made an outstanding contribution to cataloguing the Foyle-Montefiore Collection, ordering and processing acquisitions, dealing with readers' queries and attending to the daily running of the Library.

At the beginning of the academic year Ms Rinske Scholten joined the Library as cataloguer of the Coppenhagen Collection. Ms Scholten's Master's in Jewish Studies from the University of Kampen (the Netherlands) equipped her well to start the online cataloguing of this extraordinary collection on Dutch Jewry. The Library profited in no small measure from her expertise, but she returned to the Netherlands in September 2008.

Fortunately the position of Assistant Librarian was pre-filled with the appointment on 1 July of Milena Anna Zeidler. Ms Zeidler, who has been in Oxford since October 2006 when she began the MSt in Jewish

Studies at the Centre, graduated and has a Master's in Political Science and International Relations from the A. Mickiewicz University in Poland, and spent a year in Budapest gaining another Master's degree in History and Jewish Studies at the Central European History, Budapest. She worked for Stanford University at Oxford in an administrative role, and hopes to pursue doctoral studies in Jewish history.

Acquisitions Policy

This academic year has seen an important development in the integration of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library into the library services of the University of Oxford. As mentioned in last year's *Report*, the Centre's Librarian, Dr Piet van Boxel, was appointed Hebrew Curator of the Bodleian Library and coordinator of acquisitions in the field of Hebrew and Jewish Studies throughout the University. Cooperation between the Leopold Muller Memorial Library, the Bodleian Library and those departmental libraries of the University covering various aspects of Hebrew and Jewish studies has resulted in the 'one-book-in-Oxford' strategy – a new, more focused acquisitions policy for all libraries concerned. The libraries involved are those of the Oriental Institute, the Theology Faculty, the Taylor Institution, the Middle East Centre and the History Faculty, as well as the Sackler and Bodleian libraries.

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library will continue to provide the necessary support for courses in the University's MSt programme, which is offered by the Centre. In addition, an acquisitions policy based on the unique holdings of the Library will be pursued. Such is the importance of the Kressel Collection – acquired by Lord Young of Graffham and David Lewis in 1974 when the library was first established – that one focus of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library under the new integrated policy will be Modern Hebrew literature, hitherto purchased by the Bodleian Library.

Collections acquired or expanded over the past five years which have significantly enhanced the library provisions of the University of Oxford are the Foyle-Montefiore Collection, containing the personal library of Leopold Zunz which is important for the study of modern Jewish European history; the library of Rabbi Louis Jacobs, the most complete collection of rabbinic and hasidic literature in Europe; the Coppenhagen Collection, an unparalleled library on Dutch Jewry; and the Catherine

Lewis Yizkor (Holocaust Memorial) Book Collection, the largest in Europe. The Leopold Muller Memorial Library will build on these holdings and focus on acquiring Modern Hebrew literature, rabbinic writings, Jewish thought, *Haskalah*, Dutch and German modern history, and Holocaust memorial books. A shared acquisitions policy for Yiddish material has been established with the Taylor Institution Library.

A subject so far not sufficiently covered in the Oxford library holdings is Jewish liturgy, and the acquisition of publications in this field will also be the responsibility of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library. One copy of periodicals will be purchased where an online version is available. The cost of acquiring electronic resources will be shared by the Bodleian and the Centre's library. By joining the one-book-in-Oxford strategy, focusing on specific areas of Jewish Studies, the Leopold Muller Memorial Library has become an integral and indispensable part of OULS (Oxford University Library Services), offering a unique contribution to the holdings of the University.

Haskalah project

The Library has recently embarked on a research project based on the Foyle-Montefiore Collection. This is being undertaken by Professor Shmuel Feiner of Bar-Ilan University, a Visiting Fellow at the Centre from February to June 2007, and his research assistant, Dr Natalie Goldberg. Professor Feiner made extensive use of the Foyle-Montefiore Collection during his stay and discovered that it contains unique material on the Jewish Enlightenment, in which he is an expert. In his own words:

> From the moment I entered the Leopold Muller Memorial Library I found myself in the midst of an astonishing treasure for any historian of the Jewish people in modern times – the recently acquired Foyle-Montefiore Collection. I found in this enormous and exciting collection many publications in Hebrew and in German telling the dramatic story of the emergence of modern Jewish culture – nothing less than a record of the Jewish cultural revolution of the eighteenth century.

Professor Feiner suggested selecting unique and rare items for an exhibition, to be accompanied by an annotated catalogue and a symposium on the Jewish Enlightenment. Foyle-Montefiore holdings will be displayed alongside related publications from the Bodleian Library, and the exhibition will be a joint event. The trustees of the Foyle Founda-

tion awarded a grant of £14,000 to fund the research and publication of the catalogue, which will be sent to all major Hebrew and Jewish Studies libraries worldwide.

Donations and Long-term Loans

The Library's holdings have been enriched by several valuable donations over this year, which are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

An endowment in memory of the late Sir Isaiah Berlin enabled the Library to purchase books on Jewish history that are listed on page 196 of this *Report*.

The Hans and Rita Oppenheimer Fund – a permanent endowment of the Centre in memory of Hans and Rita Oppenheimer who perished in Bergen-Belsen and of their respective parents who died in Sobibor – is dedicated to acquiring books related to the Holocaust. Works purchased this year are likewise listed on page 196 of this *Report*.

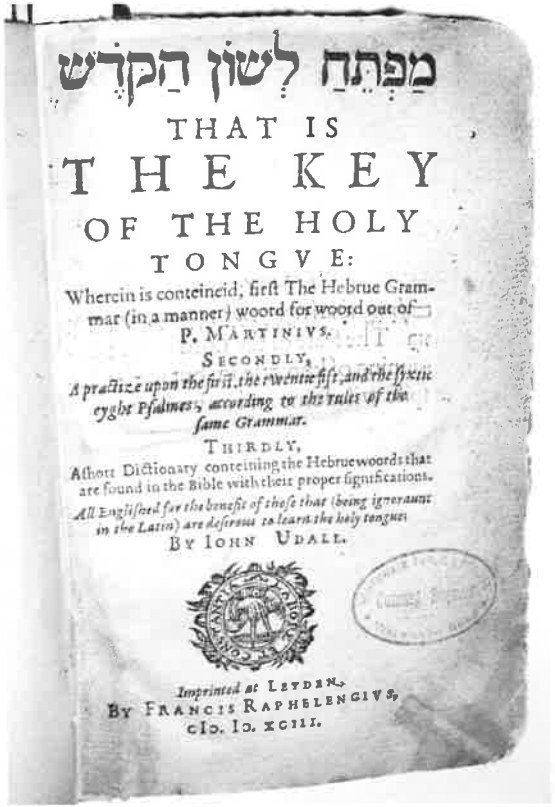
Thanks to the Catherine Lewis Foundation, the Yizkor Book Collection has been enriched by eight volumes.

In addition to Mr David Lewis's ongoing support as Chairman of the Library Committee, and his help in particular with respect to cataloguing the Coppenhagen Collection, the Library is most grateful to him for depositing three very valuable new acquisitions on long-term loan. One of these is a copy of the richly illustrated work by Johan Christoph Georg Bodenschatz, *Aufrichtig teutsch redender Hebräer, welcher gründlich zeiget den Ursprung und die Schicksaale des jüdischen Volcks, wie auch deroselben Kirchenweesen, Gottesdienst, Glauben-Articuln* ['Faithful rendition of the Hebrews, which presents thoroughly the origin and destiny of the Jewish people, also worship, articles of faith of same'], (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1756). The second work is the first edition of Christian Gerson, *Chelec Oder Thalmudischer Judenschatz / ist ein Capittel des Judischen Thalmuds* [German translation of the final chapter of the talmudic tractate of Sanhedrin], (Helmstadt, 1610), bound together with *Der Juden Thalmud* ['The Jewish Talmud'], (Erfurt, 1659). The third work is John Udall's *Mafte'ah Leshon ha-Kodesh, that is The Key of the Holy Tongue* (Leiden, 1593), the first Hebrew grammar in English.

With regard to the cataloguing project of the Coppenhagen Collection the support of the Dorset Foundation is also gratefully acknowledged.

Aufrichtig
Teütsch Redender
Ebräer,
Welcher
Gründlich zeiget den Ursprung und die Schicksaale
Des Jüdischen Volcks
Wie auch
Deroselben Kirchenwesen, Gottesdienst, Glaubens-
Articuln Lehrsätze, übrigen Gebrauche
Und besondere Lebensarth ꝛc. ꝛc.
Alles
Aus ihren eigenen und anderen Schrifften umständlich darge-
than auch mit 30. saüberen Kupffern erläuteret
Und in IV. Haupt-Theil abgefasset
Von
Johann Christoph Georg Bodenschatz
dermahligen Pfarrern in Uttenreuth.
FRANKFURT und LEIPZIG
Verlegts Martin Göbhardt Buchhändler von Bamberg 1756.

Plate 1 Title-page and frontispiece of Bodenschatz's survey of Jewish life (1756).


מַפְתֵּחַ לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ

THAT IS

THE KEY

OF THE HOLY

TONGVE:

Wherein is conteineid, first The Hebrue Grammar (in a manner) woord for woord out of P. MARTINIVS.

SECONDLY,

A practizze upon the first, the twentie first, and the sextie eyght Psalmes, according to the rules of the same Grammar.

THIRDLY,

A thort Dictionary conteining the Hebrue woords that are found in the Bible with their proper significations.

All Englished for the benefit of those that (being ignerannt in the Latin) are desirous to learn the holy tongue.

BY IOHN UDALL.

Imprinted at LEYDEN,
BY FRANCIS RAPHELENGIVS,
CIↃ. IↃ. XCIII.

Plate 3 Title-page of Udall's *Key to the Holy Tongue* (1610).


CHELEC

Oder

Thalmudi-

scher Jüdenschatz/

Ist ein Capittel des Jüdi-

schen Thalmuds/ dessen fürnem-

ster Inhalt in der Vorrede an den

Leser/ und im letzten Regi-

ster zu finden.

Der werthen Christenheit zu einer

Prob fürgestellet/ vnd trewlich

verdeutschet/ Durch

CHRISTIANVM GERSON

von Recklichhausen/ gebornen Jü-

den/ vnd getaufften widergebornen

Christen.

Helmstadt

Gedruckt durch Jacobum Lucium/

In Verlegung Melchior Behms.

Anno 1610.

Plate 2 Title-page of Gerson's translation of *Perek Helek*, the last chapter of the talmudic tractate *Sanhedrin* (1610).

Journal of Jewish Studies

The regular publication of the *Journal* has continued under the editorship of Professor Geza Vermes FBA and Dr Sacha Stern. Dr Charlotte Hempel of Birmingham University is now the book-reviews editor.

Volume 58, no. 2 (Autumn 2007) includes a variety of studies from the First Book of Esdras (T. J. Sandoval) and the rhetoric of Josephus (D. Saddington), through rabbinic texts (O. Amitay, C. Bakhos, D. A. Bernat, R. Kiperwasser) and the medieval *Sefer Yetsira* (D. Freedman), to the more recent topics of the slave trade in Crimea (M. Kizilov) and American Yeshiva students (Y. Finkelman).

Volume 59, no. 1 (Spring 2008) is mainly devoted to antiquity, with essays on Jewish philosophers presented by Theophrastus (M. L. Satlow), Qumran topics (A. P. Jassen, Y. Cohn), Second Temple period ritual baths (Y. Adler), Josephus on 1 Samuel (M. Avioz), prophetic oracles relative to the great Jewish revolt against Rome (A. J. Tomasino) and a note on Varus, the Roman governor of Syria (H. Eshel). The issue concludes with Fergus Millar's weighty review article surveying and supplementing volume 4 of the *Cambridge History of Judaism*.

Both issues contain substantial book-review sections.

As a result of the electronic revolution, libraries are increasingly interested in having immediate access to the latest issues of the *Journal*. The *Journal of Jewish Studies Online* is now therefore offered both to institutional and individual subscribers together with a free print copy. The keyword project conducted by Margaret Vermes has made substantial progress, in close collaboration with Alinda Damsda of University College London. Richard Buckner of Oxford University Computing Services is producing the necessary software, which will in due course enormously enhance the searchability of the digitized *Journal*.

European Association of Jewish Studies

The European Association for Jewish Studies is the sole umbrella organization representing this field of university studies in the European continent. Its main aims are to encourage and support Jewish studies at university level in Europe, and promote an understanding of Jewish culture and civilization and its impact on European society over many centuries. The EAJS was founded as a voluntary academic association in 1981. The Secretariat has been based at Yarnton since 1995. It is currently administered by Dr Garth Gilmour, and managed by the EAJS Secretary, Dr Sacha Stern (University College London).

Ongoing projects of the EAJS include its journal, the *European Journal of Jewish Studies*, published by Brill; the EAJS website; and an on-line Directory of Jewish Studies in Europe (www.eurojewishstudies.org), as well as regular international colloquia and congresses. The first stage of a new EAJS project, the Funding Advisory Service, has recently been completed.

Looted Art Research Unit

Over the past year the Unit has embarked on a number of new partnerships with museums and libraries in the USA and Europe with the purpose of identifying Nazi-confiscated cultural property and, where possible, of ensuring its return to its rightful owners or their heirs. The most recent such project is with the Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg (Nuremberg Municipal Library).

The Library holds some 10,000 books taken illegally by Nazis from Jews and other victims of persecution. Most reached the private library of Julius Streicher, built up by him from confiscated collections all over Europe with the assistance of Nazi agencies and individuals in occupied countries. The other source is the library of the anti-Semitic newspaper, Der Stürmer, published by Streicher from 1923 until 1945.

The books were handed over to the Jewish Community of Nuremberg by the US Occupation Forces at Pleikersdorf in the 1950s, and placed on permanent loan in the Municipal Library. The collection was catalogued in the late 1950s, but nothing was done to identify the rightful owners until 2000.

Since then, a single librarian has succeeded in identifying more than 3700 former owners from over 400 locations, with the help of inscriptions, stamps or ex libris. These provide only fragmentary information and extensive research was necessary to clarify the exact identities. The Library supplied the Unit with a list of 115 owners who had lived in Nuremberg and Franconia. When the list was published on the Unit's Central Registry website at www.lootedart.com, and circulated internationally through Jewish community organizations, genealogical groups and newspapers, there was an immediate response. Families from all over the world made contact by letter, email and telephone.

The Unit's own research showed that many former owners had perished in the Holocaust, but the researchers successfully located surviving relatives of thirty of those families, now living in the USA, Canada, Israel, London and Gateshead. The Unit is assisting them to document their family histories so that the books may be returned to them. The following examples of inscriptions and ex libris illustrate the personal nature of the evidence by which identifications are made.

Inscriptions

Some inscriptions include only a name, while others reflect family experiences.

Plate 1 Adolf Kohn (*b.* 1904) fled to England in February 1939 where he founded the Beth Midrash Lemoroth in Gateshead. His son is currently the Principal.

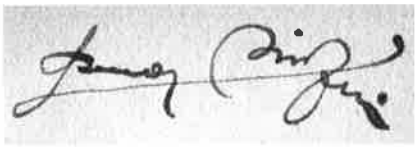


Plate 2 Wilhelm Bing (*b.* 1877), whose signature was found in a copy of *Das Ghettobuch* by Artur Landsberger and Friedrich Feigl, became a manager in the family business, Bing Werke, which was by 1905 the largest toy manufacturer in the world. He was deported to Theresienstadt in 1942 and murdered in Auschwitz in 1944.

Plate 3 Benno Plaut (*b.* 1881), whose signature was found in *Zwischen zwei Welten. Der Dybuk: dramatische Legende in vier Akten* by Rosa Nossig, was the proprietor of the Hotel and Restaurant Plaut, the oldest kosher hotel and restaurant in Nuremberg, founded in 1877. He and his sisters were deported to Izbica in March 1942 where they perished.

Bookplates

Plates 4 and 5 Etta and Artur Goldberger were siblings who lived at 20 Josephlatz, Nuremberg.

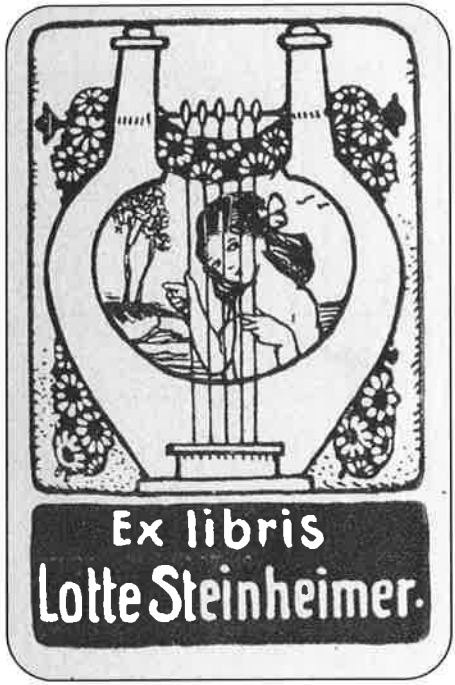
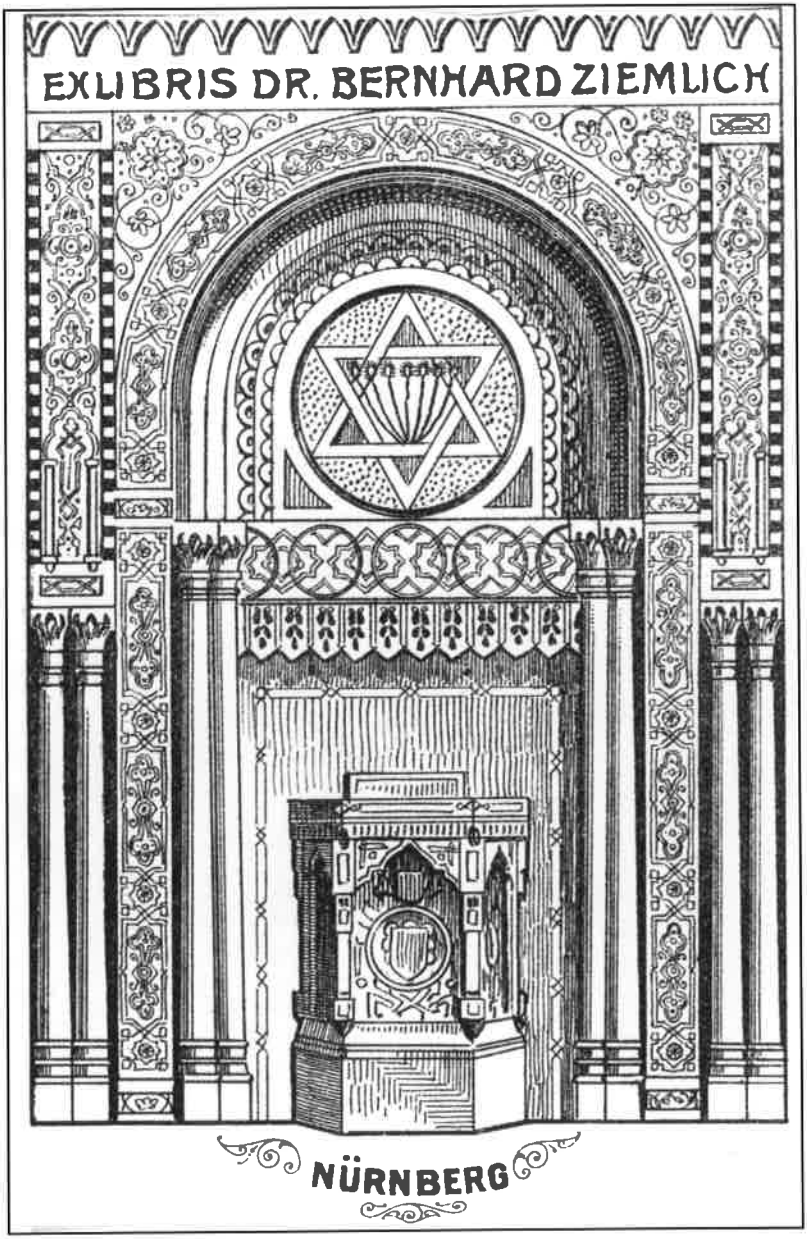


Plate 6 (*right*) Lotte (née Steinheimer) and her husband Hugo Ehrenberger, a judge, who lived at Bucher Str. 20, Nuremberg, were deported to Riga in 1942, where both died. Lotte was 45 years old.

Plate 7 (*facing page*) Rabbi Dr Pincus Bernhard Ziemlich (1849–1907) of Neue Gasse 12, Nuremberg, had a doctorate from Halle and trained for the rabbinate at the seminary in Breslau. He worked first as a substitute rabbi in Munich, before succeeding Rabbi Moritz Levin as senior rabbi of the Jewish community in Nuremberg in 1881. His moderate liberal approach suited the religious views of most of the Jews living there, and his incumbency was a time of growth and consolidation for the second-largest Jewish community in Bavaria. Rabbi Ziemlich, who was respected both in and outside the Jewish community, published the second edition of the Nuremberg Prayer Book, *Avoda Schebalew* (1898), collaborated with the Conference of Bavarian Rabbis (bayerische Rabbinerkonferenz), served on the board of the Association of German Jews (Verband der deutschen Juden) and worked with many charitable organizations. One of his greatest achievements was to defy the request of the municipal school board to remove Hebrew-language instruction from the religious curriculum, and to obtain equitable funding for this teaching from the public authorities. His wife Berta died in 1916. Their two daughters, Emmi and Johanna, had died in infancy in 1888 and 1898. The Unit is attempting to trace family members to whom his books can be returned.


EXLIBRIS DR. BERNHARD ZIEMLICH
NÜRNBERG

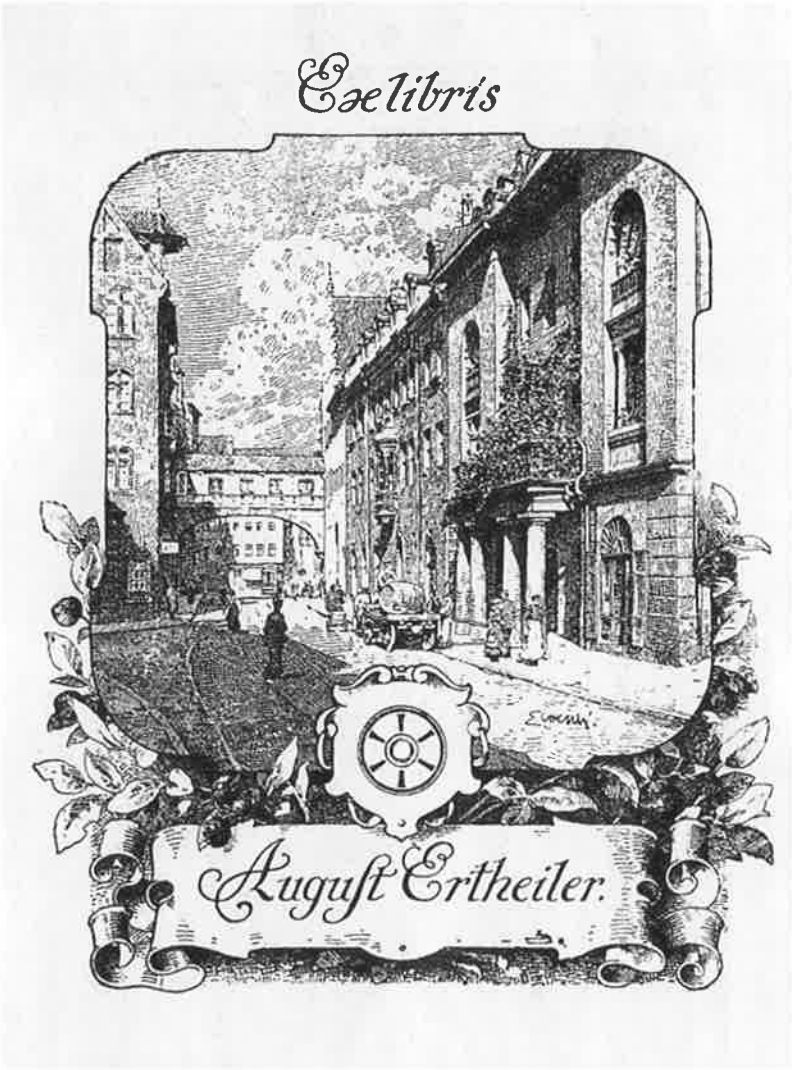


Plate 8 The ex libris of August Ertheiler, a manufacturer who fled Germany for Denmark with his wife and two children, Otto and Rudi. In 1937 he lost his entire family in a train accident.

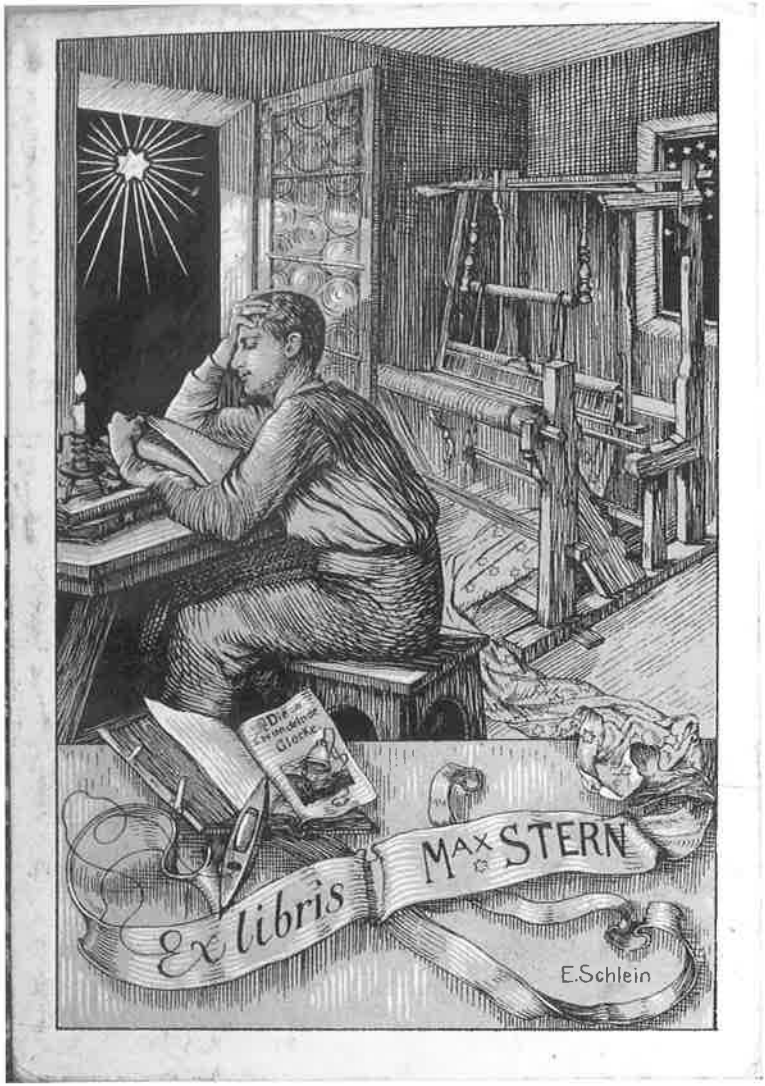


Plate 9 There are five possible candidates for the owner of books containing this ex libris of Max Stern, and research into which was the owner is still incomplete. One of them was a businessman who died in 1929; another a merchant who died in prison in 1942; and a third a lawyer who survived the Nazis because of a mixed marriage. The Unit regularly faces such problems of identity in tracing rightful owners.

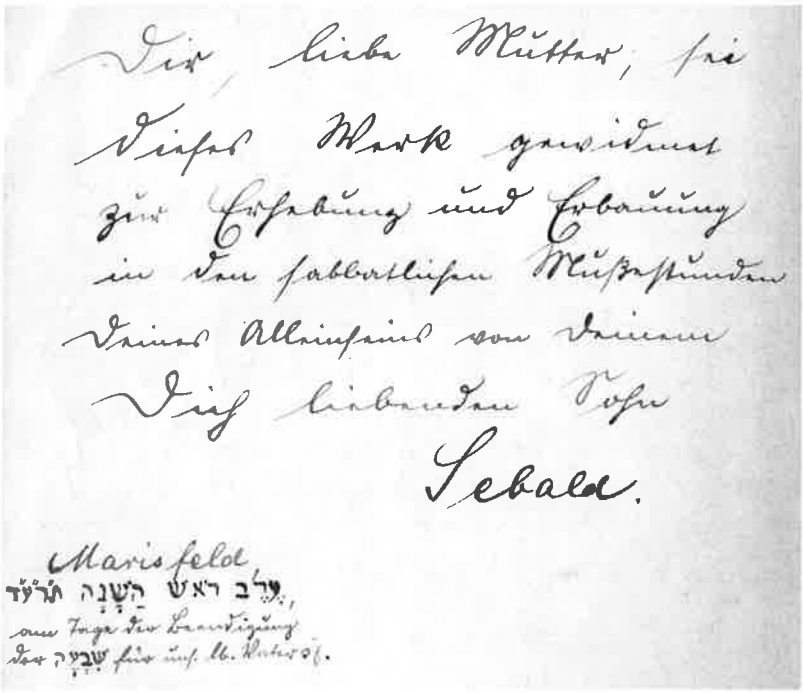


Plate 10 Sebald Müller (1892–1941), the last cantor of the main synagogue in Nuremberg, where he trained the synagogue choir and led religious services, was deported with his wife, daughter and mother-in-law in November 1941 to Riga, where all were murdered. His fifteen-year-old son arrived in England on a Kindertransport three days before the outbreak of war, and was the only family member to survive. Twelve volumes from Sebald Müller's substantial library on music, Hebrew and Jewish studies have been identified and are to be returned to his son. One is a prayer book inscribed to his mother after his father's death in October 1913: 'My dear Mother, This book is dedicated to you. To uplift and edify you in your solitary hours of leisure on Shabbat. From your loving son. Sebald.'

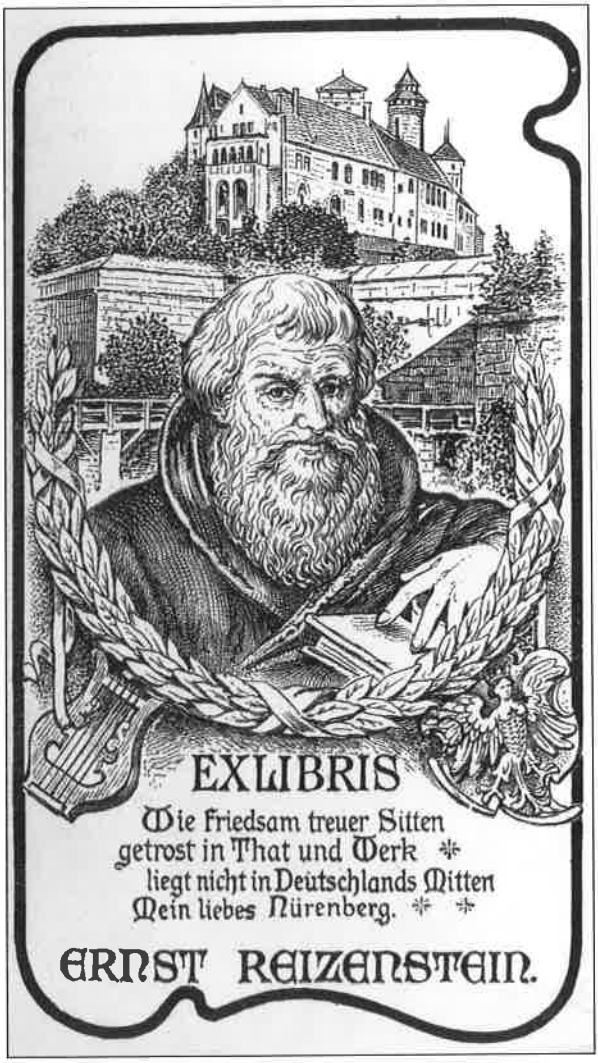


Plate 11 Ernst Reizenstein (*b.* 1866), managing director of the Behringersdorf Brewery in Nuremberg, aware of his imminent deportation, committed suicide on 6 July 1942 at the Jewish Hospital in Fuerth. His only daughter, Luzie, deported to Theresienstadt on 10 September 1942, survived and worked as a nurse in Chicago until her death in July 1956. Nine books on Jewish art and culture belonging to him will be returned to his heirs. All contain this ex libris, designed by the well-known Nuremberg artist Otto Wirsching.

Neues

Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch

vom 1. Mai 1898

für die Hochzeitsfeier

des Fräulein

Else Forchheimer

mit

Herrn Rechtsanwalt

Dr. Sigmund Dormitzer.

Plates 12 and 13 Else and Sigmund Dormitzer, a prominent Jewish couple in Nuremberg, presented a copy of this commemorative volume to each guest at their wedding in 1905. It contains photographs of and tributes by each person present. Sigmund was murdered in Theresienstadt in 1943. Else reached London where she was active on the Central Council for German Jewry. The book will be returned to their heirs.

Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies

The Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies, an associated institute of the Centre, this year published volume 20 of *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, edited by Gabriel N. Finder, Natalia Aleksiun, Antony Polonsky and Jan Schwarz, a volume focusing on 'Making Holocaust Memory'. The reconciliation of Jewish and Polish memories of the Holocaust is *the* central issue in contemporary Polish–Jewish relations, yet this is the first volume to examine Poles' and Jews' shared yet divisive memory of the Holocaust in a comprehensive way, and to present important new research on the subject. It contains fourteen papers. Several are concerned with the period immediately after the war, including the activities of the Central Jewish Historical Commission in Poland, children's search for identity and the Jewish collaborators who were put on trial. There are also papers on Holocaust memorialization in Ukraine, Israeli Holocaust memory and the development of Holocaust education in Poland since 1989. The 500-page volume – which is dedicated to the memory of Chris Schwarz, founder and director of the Galicia Jewish Museum in Cracow, who sadly died in 2007 – also includes papers on other subjects in Polish–Jewish studies, including two on the synagogues of Poznań (Posen).

In November a one-day international conference convened by Professor Jonathan Webber was held to launch the volume and to open up discussion on the whole question of Holocaust memory in Poland. The conference, which was co-sponsored by the Polish Cultural Institute and held at the Polish Embassy in London, was welcomed by the Polish ambassador, H. E. Barbara Tuge-Erecińska. Other speakers included Ya'akov Finkelstein, the Cultural Attaché at the Israeli Embassy in Warsaw (who spoke about the work of the Embassy in Poland to foster Holocaust memory and the memory of pre-Holocaust Jewish life in Poland); Robert Kuwalek, the first director of the new memorial and museum on the site of the Bełżec death camp, which opened in 2004; and Jonathan Webber on the work of the photographer Chris Schwarz in Poland (which had started out in the 1990s as a research project of the Centre, led by Professor Webber). The conference concluded with the screening of the acclaimed BBC film 'Holocaust—A Music Memo-

rial Film from Auschwitz', introduced by Peter Maniura, the film's executive producer and the head of Classical Music Television and Performance at the BBC. The conference was full to capacity, and there was lively discussion throughout, particularly following the film.

The Website of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies

The number of visits to the website of the Centre over the past year has fluctuated between 3500 and 5000 per month, slightly more than in the previous year. The greatest number of visits takes place during the summer months, when students download the application forms and guidance notes from the site. The next most popular pages – analogously - are the details of visiting fellowships available at the Centre. The library pages are also consulted on a regular basis, as is the faculty section. The news bulletins and newsletters continue to be available in downloadable PDF format.

Eye Division installed Adobe's Contribute software in late 2007, a content-management system that enables Centre staff to update the site themselves, without having to call on the web-designer. This has been particularly useful for ensuring that information on lectures and seminars is made available prior to the start of each term, as soon as relevant arrangements are finalized. Likewise the latest MSt application form and information pertaining to the following academic year may be uploaded to the site as soon as they are published by the University, ensuring that prospective students have access to them quickly and conveniently.

You may visit the Centre's website on-line at www.ochjs.ac.uk

Fellows' Reports

Dr Francesca Bregoli

Dr Bregoli, who has completed her first year as the Lehmann Junior Research Fellow in Jewish Studies, continued her research on intellectual networks in the Mediterranean through the lens of Hebrew printed books. She continued work on a book on Jewish acculturation in eighteenth-century Livorno.

In November 2007 she gave a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'Mediterranean Enlightenment: Jewish Culture in Livorno in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century'. She also discussed the failure of Jewish civil inclusion in Livorno in the Seminar on Modern Jewish History convened by Dr Abigail Green, Dr François Guesnet, Dr David Rechter and herself. In December she delivered a paper at the annual meeting of the Association of Jewish Studies in Toronto, entitled '"Two Jews Walk into a Coffeehouse": The Jewish Question in Late Eighteenth-Century Livorno'.

In Hilary Term Dr Bregoli taught a course for the MSt programme entitled 'European Jewry from the Spanish Expulsion to the Enlightenment'. She also presented a seminar on 'Printing Licences and Jewish Acculturation: Hebrew Printing in Eighteenth-Century Livorno' in the Seminar on the History of the Book convened by Professor Ian Maclean, and discussed 'Jewish Coffeehouses, Sociability and National Separation in Eighteenth-Century Livorno' as part of the Enlightenment Workshop convened by Dr John Robertson. In the spring she lectured at the University of California, Davis, and at Queens College, City University of New York.

In Trinity Term she gave a paper on 'Hebrew Poetry and Spinozist Hermeneutics: A Jewish-Christian Polemic in Eighteenth-Century Italy', to the Seminar on Jews and Judaism in the Early Modern Period convened by Dr Joanna Weinberg.

A summary of the David Patterson Seminar she delivered appears on pages 104–5 of this *Report*, and a paper on aspects of her research work on pages 51–9.

Dr Raffaella A. Del Sarto

Dr Del Sarto is the Centre's new Pears-Rich Fellow in Israel Studies, a joint post with the Middle East Centre at St Antony's College. She became a Faculty member of the Oriental Institute, and is also associated with the RAMSES[1] Mediterranean Studies network through the European Studies Centre at St Antony's. Dr Del Sarto prepared and taught courses on Israeli society and politics, gave undergraduate tutorials on 'Formation of the Israeli State and Society', supervised two MPhil students in Modern Middle Eastern Studies writing theses relating to Israel, and examined MPhil theses in Modern Middle Eastern Studies.

In January she presented a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'The Limits of Consensus: Israel's Contested Identity between Peace-Making and Regional Conflict', a summary of which appears on page 110 of this *Report*. She gave a talk on 'Israel, Egypt, Morocco: Contested State Identities and Regional Security' at the Middle East Centre of St Antony's, and one on 'The Interplay of Conflicting Logics in the EU's Mediterranean Policy' at a conference on 'Mediterranean Unions: Visions and Politics' – which she also co-convened – held at the European Studies Centre. Dr Del Sarto chaired a conference session on 'Israel and the Great Powers, 1948–2008' at the Centre for Jewish Studies of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and attended a Pears Foundation Round Table on Israeli Arab Issues also in London. She attended two conferences on relations between the European Union and the Middle East, including Israel, and wrote a chapter entitled 'Borderlands: The Middle East and North Africa as the EU's Southern Buffer Zone', to appear in D. Bechev and K. Nicolaïdis (eds) *The Present of the Past: Borders, Conflicts, and Memory in the Mediterranean* (I. B Tauris).

Dr Jordan Finkin

Dr Finkin, who continued to teach undergraduates and graduates in various aspects of modern Hebrew literature, took over as Course Coordinator for the MSt programme.

In August 2007 he presented a paper entitled 'The Dark Side of Babel: Perets Markish's Urban Poetics', at the seventh Mendel Friedman Conference in Yiddish, held in Yarnton, describing his continuing

[1] 'Réseau d'Excellence des centres de recherche en sciences humaines et sociales sur la Méditerranée'.

research into the poetics of Perets Markish. In October he lectured on 'Is There a Modern Hebrew Poem Itself? Canons Past and Present', as part of the 'Israel at 60' series arranged by the Centre for Jewish Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. In December he gave a lecture on 'The Sacco-Vanzetti Poem as a Crucible of Yiddish-American Identity' at the Association for Jewish Studies Conference, and one on 'Authentic *Yiddishkeit* for Christians and the *Jüdischer Sprach-Meister*' at the Modern Language Association's Annual convention, both in the United States. In May 2008 he presented a paper entitled 'David Fogel's Metaphorical Landscape' as part of a seminar series for Cambridge University's Centre for Modern Hebrew Studies.

Dr Finkin spent part of the year preparing an edition and translation of the early-eighteenth-century West Yiddish *Jüdischer Sprach-Meister*. He also completed a monograph on Jewish discourse, and submitted it for publication.

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Dr Freud-Kandel delivered a lecture series entitled 'Introduction to Jewish Life, Thought, and Practice' for undergraduate and MSt students in the Theology Faculty and the Oriental Institute of the University during Michaelmas Term, and a course on 'The Emergence of Modern Religious Movements' for students of the MSt in Jewish Studies programme. She also provided tutorials to a variety of students.

She was involved in marking the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs' *We Have Reason to Believe*, the work which sparked off the so-called Jacobs Affair. In this context she gave a paper entitled 'What does Mainstream Orthodoxy in Britain Believe?', at an event entitled 'Is There Still Reason to Believe? Rabbi Louis Jacobs' Legacy Fifty Years On'.

Her research focused on the Zionist writings of Chief Rabbi Lord Jakobovits and their place in his general theology. She was on maternity leave for much of the academic year.

Professor Martin Goodman

Professor Goodman demitted office as Chairman of the Faculty Board of Oriental Studies at the end of September 2007 and was on sabbatical research leave in Michaelmas Term.

He delivered a number of lectures in Britain and the United States on or around the subject of his book *Rome and Jerusalem*, as well as lectures, seminars and conference papers on a variety of other subjects during the year. In October 2007 he was Stulman Visiting Professor at Brown University and lectured at Harvard and at Yale on 'Rome and Jerusalem: The Origins of Antisemitism'. In November he gave the PACE (Project on Ancient Cultural Engagement) Lecture at York University in Toronto, and delivered a paper at a conference on 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Jerusalem Temple' held in Birmingham. In December he lectured on 'Rome and Jerusalem' at the Center for Jewish History in New York, and on 'Jewish Identity in Antiquity' to a seminar at Columbia University convened jointly with the Jewish Theological Seminary. During the same visit to New York he spoke on the origins of Hanukah to a general audience at Beth Shalom Synagogue.

During Hilary and Trinity terms he convened the weekly graduate seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period, and in Hilary Term presented two papers to the seminar, one on 'Reconstructing Ancient Judaism From the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Sectarians and the Temple in Judaism' and another on 'Philo as a Philosopher in Rome'. In March he co-convened with Professor Philip Alexander a major international conference at the British Academy on the use of rabbinic texts for the history of late-Roman Palestine. In April he gave a paper to a conference in Jerusalem on 'Josephus on Paradise, Gardens and the After-life'. He also delivered the Romano Lecture at Binghamton University, New York, on 'Rome and Jerusalem', and gave the concluding remarks at a conference held at the Center for Advanced Judaic Studies in Philadelphia on 'Jewish and Other Imperial Cultures in Late Antiquity'. In May he lectured on 'Rome and Jerusalem' to the Jewish Historical Society of England and the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society in Manchester, and gave a talk on 'Jews in the Diaspora in the Roman Period' to the Oxford Jewish Congregation. He also delivered the Kaufmann Lecture on 'Religion and the Revolts Against Rome', at the Inner Temple on behalf of Leo Baeck College, London, and gave a paper on 'Paradise, Gardens and the After-life' to the London Forum on Judaism in Late Antiquity held at University College London. In June he gave a paper on 'Sectarianism and the Temple in the Late Second Temple Period' at a conference on Sectarianism in Jewish History held at University College London, and

spoke on 'Rome and Jerusalem' at Godolphin and Latymer School.

Professor Goodman divided his research between the Dead Sea Scrolls, Philo and Paradise, and developed plans for a new research project on tolerance of variety within Judaism both in antiquity and in more recent times.

Dr François Guesnet

Dr Guesnet became the Centre's Research Fellow in Russian-Jewish History in late 2007, and also a member of the Faculty of Oriental Studies and of the History Faculty. He planned and delivered a new course on 'Russian and East European Jewish History' for the Centre's MSt programme, and taught a two-term course entitled 'The Jews in Poland' at University College London, when Professor John Klier tragically died. He also co-convened (with Dr David Rechter, Dr Abigail Green and Dr Francesca Bregoli) the Seminar on Modern Jewish History in Michaelmas Term 2007, and supervised one MA, one MSt and one PhD thesis.

He presented three lectures on Jewish political intercession (*shtadlanut*). One of these, on 'Political Culture at the Borderlines of Modernity: Shtadlanut in European Jewish History', was at the Seminar in Modern European Jewish History, Oxford; another on 'The Turkish Cavalry at Swarzędz, or: Jewish Political Culture After Napoleon' as a David Patterson Seminar (a summary of which appears on page 115 of this *Report*); and a third, entitled 'Expulsions of Religious Minorities in the Eighteenth Century: Medieval Vestige or Harbinger of Modernity?', at the Seminar on East and East-Central European History. He lectured on 'Jewish Intercession in East and West in the Nineteenth Century' at an international conference on 'Jewish History from Within' at the Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden, Hamburg. Another paper, on 'Jewish-Gentile Relations in the Early Modern Period: Constitutive Aspects in Comparative Perspective', was presented at an international conference on 'The Fourth Estate? Legal Status of the Jews in Early Modern Europe', organized by the Center for the History of Eastern European Jews, Vilnius, Lithuania, which he also co-organized. He delivered the opening remarks at an international conference entitled 'Antisemitism and Islamophobia: Comparisons, Contrasts, Connections' at University College London; and organized a panel at the Asssociation of Jewish Studies meeting in Washington

DC on 'Networks in European Jewish History', together with his OCHJS colleague Dr Francesca Bregoli, Dr Matthias B. Lehmann (University of Indiana) and Cornelia Aust (University of Pennsylvania).

His most recent research project is an investigation into the establishment of Jewish communication networks in Tsarist Russia and beyond at the time of the anti-Jewish violence of 1881–2. He plans to examine the development of contacts between Russian Jews and French intellectuals culminating in the founding of the 'Comité de Secours pour les Israélites de Russie' (headed by Victor Hugo) and to what degree Jews from Russia were involved in shaping the committee's activities. He also began organizing a workshop for a new inter-university 'Working Group on Jewish Politics and European Societies', focusing on Jewish and non-Jewish responses to anti-Jewish violence in late Tsarist Russia. He was invited by a Polish research-group to head a project on 'Jewish Self-Government in the Polish Lands', covering the Jewish presence in Eastern Europe from the Middle Ages to the contemporary period.

He edited *Zwischen Graetz und Dubnow: Jüdische Historiographie in Ostmitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Proceedings of an International Workshop held at Potsdam University in 2005 and published late in 2008 in the *Geschichtswissenschaft und Geschichtskultur im 20. Jahrhundert* series of the Akademische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig). Besides writing the introduction to the volume, he contributed a chapter entitled 'Geschichte fürs Volk. Ein vorläufiges Porträt des Historikers Ezriel Natan Frenk'. His paper 'Sensitive Travellers. Jewish and Non-Jewish Visitors to Palestine Between the Wars' appeared in the *Journal of Israeli History*.

He was honoured to be invited to contribute to the next volume of the *Cambridge History of Judaism*, as well as to edit a number of volumes on Jewish Studies and East European Jewish history. Colleagues at the Center for East European Jewish History in Vilnius asked him by to edit a volume on Jewish political culture from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries.

He served as peer reviewer for the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, Vienna, and evaluated multiple-year research projects for the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Dr Guesnet was offered a position at the Department for Hebrew and Jewish Studies at University College London, in succession to the

late Professor John D. Klier, and thus regretfully leaves the Centre after just one year. He looks forward to continuing the academic discussion that has been initiated with colleagues in Oxford.

A paper on Dr Guesnet's recent research appears on pages 61–76 of this *Report.*

Ronald Nettler

Ronald Nettler, Emeritus Fellow of the Centre, continued teaching for the MSt in Jewish Studies, as well as for the BA in Arabic and the MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies. He also continued his research into medieval Jewish-Islamic interaction in mystical trends, and into modern Islamic religious thought.

Dr David Rechter

Dr Rechter convened his regular Seminar on Modern European Jewish History together with his colleagues Dr Francesca Bregoli, Dr Abigail Green and Dr François Guesnet. Speakers in Michaelmas Term included both Dr Francesca Bregoli and Dr François Guesnet, Dr Rebecca Clifford (Worcester College, Oxford), Professor Susanne Marten-Finnis (University of Portsmouth), Professor Joachim Schloer (University of Southampton), Dr Sonja Weinberg of Zurich and Professor Christian Wiese (University of Sussex). In Trinity Term he also convened a History Faculty seminar at Oriel College on East and East-Central Europe, with Professor R. J. W. Evans and Dr Natalia Nowakowska.

Dr Rechter delivered a paper on his Bukovina project to a conference at the Austrian Embassy in London on 'Jews and the State in Austria from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century', and a talk on 'The Politics of Jewish Autonomy in Habsburg Austria' at a conference in Hamburg on 'Jewish History From Within' at the Institute for the History of German Jewry. He also chaired a session on interwar Romanian Jewry at a conference on 'Greater Romania's National Projects' held at Oxford Brookes University.

Besides continuing his usual teaching of Modern Jewish History to students of the faculties of Oriental Studies and History, he acted as Tutorial Secretary for Hebrew and Jewish Studies in the Faculty of Oriental Studies. He continued his research on the history of Habsburg Bukovina Jewry, and worked also on a source reader on 'Jewish Politics and the Jewish Question in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century

Europe', in collaboration with Dr Simon Rabinovitch at the University of Florida, Gainesville.

Dr Alison Salvesen

Dr Salvesen, who was acting Chair of the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit at the Oriental Institute during Michaelmas Term, also taught her regular MSt course entitled 'Jewish and Christian Bible Translation and Interpretation in Antiquity', and gave classes on Philo and Josephus for the MPhil course in Judaism and Christianity, and on 1 Samuel to MSt students in Theology. In Hilary Term she delivered classes on Targumim and on the Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran. She was on research leave in Trinity Term and continued her work on early Jewish Greek versions of the book of Exodus.

In July 2007 Dr Salvesen attended a colloquium organized by 'The Greek Bible in Byzantine Judaism' project at Cambridge, at which she spoke on medieval glosses in a fifth-century Greek biblical manuscript now in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, which derive from the tradition of Jewish Bible translation. In the same month she attended meetings of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament in Ljubljana, Slovenia. There she delivered a paper on Syriac writers' treatment of King David's adultery with Bathsheba in 2 Samuel 11–12. This paper stemmed from her collaborative work on the translation of the Syriac Peshitta books of Samuel and on the reception history of the Bible in Syriac. In sessions of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, at the same conference, she presented work on the book of Exodus for the international Hexapla Project, carried out jointly with the project's database programmer.

In November Dr Salvesen braved a Paris public-transport strike to deliver a paper at the annual Francophone Table Ronde des Etudes Syriaques, which this year focused on Syriac Old Testament versions.

In June 2008 she travelled to Aleppo in Syria for a conference hosted by the Syrian Orthodox Church on the polymath Bishop Jacob of Edessa, the 1300th anniversary of whose death fell on 5 June. She gave a paper entitled '"Did Jacob of Edessa Know Hebrew?" Revisited', in which she concluded that although Jacob did not write or speak the language, he was familiar with certain Hebrew words that he probably picked up from a Jewish informant.

Dr Joseph Sherman

Dr Joseph Sherman, the Centre's Woolf Corob Fellow in Yiddish Studies, convened the seventh Mendel Friedman Conference in Yiddish, the theme of which was 'Yiddish in the 1920s'. Some dozen international specialists from Germany, Poland, the United Kingdom and the United States met at Yarnton Manor on 28 and 29 August 2007 and presented a variety of research papers on previously unexplored areas in this field.

Over the summer of 2007 he completed his translation of David Bergelson's 1913 modernist novel *When All is Said and Done*, to be published by Yale University Press in its New Yiddish Library Series in the autumn of 2009.

Dr Sherman presented a paper entitled 'From Monologue to Multivocality: The Beginnings of Modern Yiddish Literature' at the annual meeting of the Sir Robert Taylor Society at St Peter's College in September 2007, and another entitled 'Profession and Practice in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* and Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*' in the seminar series, 'Shakespeare in the Orient' at St John's College in February 2008.

The volume *Writers in Yiddish*, which Dr Sherman edited for the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* series (Joseph Sherman [ed.] *Writers in Yiddish: Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 333* [Detroit and New York: Thomson-Gale, 2007]), was honoured with the 2007 Judaica Reference Award given by the Association of Jewish Libraries at their annual convention in Cleveland Ohio in June 2008.

He served the second of his three-year tenure on the Modern Language Association's combined selection committee that awards the Aldo and Jeanne Scaglione Prize and the Lois Roth Award for a Translation of a Literary Work. He has also been reappointed for a new five-year term as Honorary Research Fellow of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. He continues to serve as co-editor of *Slavic Almanac*, published by the University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Dr Adam Silverstein

Dr Silverstein took up his Fellowhip in Jewish-Muslim Relations in October 2007, also becoming a University Research Lecturer in Oriental Studies and a College Lecturer at The Queen's College.

He taught courses on 'Jewish-Muslim Relations' to undergraduates and to postgraduate students on the Centre's MSt programme in Michaelmas Term, as well as other undergraduate courses in Oxford. He also taught undergraduates and postgraduates at the Centre for Jewish Studies, University College London, in Hilary Term. His 'further subject' option course on the 'Jews of Islam' to students of Islamic Studies in Oxford in Trinity Term proved popular: out of a range of twenty options, four of the eight Islamic Studies finalists chose this course. He also supervised undergraduate and postgraduate theses relating to the history of Jewish-Muslim relations.

Dr Silverstein delivered, together with Dr Teresa Bernheimer, a series of eight seminars entitled 'Late Antiquity: Eastern Perspectives' under the auspices of the newly created Oxford Centre for Late Antiquity. The proceedings will be published by Oxbow in the 'E. W. Gibb Memorial Series'.

He also promoted Jewish-Muslim relations as an academic discipline among the broader public. He is the senior member of the student society 'MuJewz' (Muslims and Jews) and has presented informal talks on Jewish-Muslim relations to non-academics, including one on 'The Legal Status of Jews under Islamic Rule' to the Oxford Jewish Congregation.

Dr Silverstein continued research into relations between Jewish and Muslim cultures from the seventh to the tenth centuries, presenting his findings in four lectures. He delivered one paper entitled 'The Quranic Pharaoh' at the International Quran Conference held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; and another entitled 'Jews and News: The Interaction of Private and Official Communication-Systems in Jewish History' at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. He lectured on 'Haman's Contribution to Jewish-Muslim Relations' at Manchester University, and on 'The Early Islamic State' at the History Faculty, Oxford.

Dr Joanna Weinberg

Dr Weinberg devoted her sabbatical leave in Michaelmas Term to organizing an international conference on Elijah Levita, held at Yarnton Manor, at which she also presented a paper, and to continuing research for the Jackson Lectures which she will deliver together with Professor Anthony Grafton of Princeton University at Harvard University in

December 2008 and which will be published as a book by Harvard University Press. The lectures will be devoted to an examination of how one of the most erudite Protestant scholars of the late Renaissance, Isaac Casaubon, read Hebrew and Jewish texts of all sorts, as well as books of Jewish interest.

In Hilary and Trinity terms she provided doctoral supervision, and also taught 'A Survey of Rabbinic Literature' for the MSt in Jewish Studies, as well as undergraduate and graduate courses on Midrash, medieval Jewish exegesis, and medieval Jewish thought and history. She delivered four lectures on the formation of Rabbinic Judaism for the Faculty of Theology, and in Trinity Term launched a new weekly Seminar on Jews and Judaism in the Early Modern Period.

In April she gave a paper at the Renaissance Society of America's annual meeting in Chicago, and in June a paper on 'The *Fortuna* of Azariah de' Rossi's *Light of the Eyes*' in the international conference on 'The Jewish Book in a Christian World', held at Antwerp.

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. In addition, she was appointed external examiner for the MA in Jewish Studies at University College London.

Professor Hugh Williamson

Professor Williamson delivered a paper on Proverbs 1:10 at the Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament in Ljubljana in July 2007, and was honoured to be invited to give the inaugural annual Wellhausen Lecture at the Göttingen Academy of Sciences in December, when he spoke on the interpretation of the Trisagion in Isaiah 6:3. The Academy later elected him a Corresponding Member. In Oxford he continued to lecture on biblical language and history, as well as on a wide variety of biblical texts. His continuing external responsibilities included chairing the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society, serving as secretary of the executive committee of the international Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database Project, serving on the editorial Boards of *Vetus Testamentum* and *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, and chairing the Humanities Group of the British Academy.

Visiting Scholars' Reports

Dr Esperanza Alfonso

Dr Esperanza Alfonso, a 'Ramon y Cajal' Research Fellow in the Department of Hebrew and Aramaic Studies at the Universidad Complutense in Madrid, was a Skirball Fellow at the Centre from 14 January to 14 July 2008. She carried out research on medieval Hebrew commentaries on the book of Proverbs, benefiting from access to manuscripts and early printed editions held in the Bodleian and Muller libraries in Oxford and the British Library in London.

She especially appreciated the seminar on Hebrew codicology organized by the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit and taught by Professor Malachi Beit-Arié, as well as meetings of the seminar on Jews and Judaism in the Early Modern Period, convened by Dr Joanna Weinberg. Dr Alfonso delivered a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'The Virtuous Woman of Proverbs 31:10:31 and her Medieval Jewish Interpreters', focusing on late-medieval interpretations of the tenth *parashah* of the book of Proverbs. Her lecture is summarized on page 103 of this *Report*.

Professor Malachi Beit-Arié

Professor Malachi Beit-Arié of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who stayed at the Centre as a Kennedy Leigh Fellow from 2 April to 2 July 2008, was engaged in completing his definitive summary of forty years' research, entitled *Historical and Comparative Typology of Hebrew Medieval Codices Based on the Documentation of the Extant Dated Manuscripts in Quantitative Approach*. This will be available initially through the *SfarData* online database. He delivered a course on Hebrew codicology during Trinity Term, organized by the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit of the University and held at the Bodleian Library. Dr Piet van Boxel, Hebraica and Judaica Curator of the Bodleian, who coordinated the course, made it possible to refer to original medieval manuscripts during the sessions. The course attracted scholars and PhD candidates from Cambridge, London and Manchester.

A description of a recent discovery appears on pages 77–9 of this *Report*.

Dr Javier del Barco

Dr Javier del Barco of the Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC), Madrid, stayed at the Centre as a Skirball Fellow from 14 January to 14 June 2008. He worked on a critical edition of Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary to the Minor Prophets (Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah in particular), collating manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, the British Library and elsewhere, and researching the author's sources. He also completed a study of Hebrew Bibles in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, to be published by Brepols in the series entitled 'Manuscrits en caractères hébreux conservés dans les bibliothèques de France'.

Dr del Barco delivered a David Patterson Seminar (summarized on pages 109–10 of this *Report*) entitled '*Conversos* as New Christian Hebraists in Sixteenth-Century Spain', and prepared for publication a paper entitled 'Series of Woes in Pre-Exilic Prophecy: A Computer-Assisted Study on Syntax and Semantics', which had originally been delivered as a lecture at the International Conference on Bible and Computers in El Escorial in June 2006. It will appear in a volume of essays issued by Gorgias Press.

Professor Yuval Dror

Professor Yuval Dror, Head of Tel Aviv University School of Education, stayed at the Centre from 31 August to 10 September 2007, after a month spent at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. He completed the index to the Hebrew version of his book entitled *'National Education' Through Mutually Supportive Devices: A Case Study of Zionist Education*, that he had written during his 2004–5 stays in the Centre, and which was published in English by Peter Lang and in Hebrew by the Magnes Press, Jerusalem. He began work on two articles he was invited to write for publication in books, one about privatization in Israeli education from the pre-State period to the present, and the other examining the contribution of the late Professor Arieh Lewy of Tel Aviv University to the history of Jewish and Israeli education. He particularly benefited from access to the Kressel Collection in the Leopold Muller Library.

Dr Esther Eshel

Dr Esther Eshel of the Bible Department of Bar-Ilan University, who stayed at the Centre as a Kennedy Leigh Fellow between 17 September 2007 and 17 December 2007, completed most of a book on the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20) to be published in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (DJD)* series by the Oxford University Press. She also wrote an article entitled 'The Aramaic Levi Document, the *Genesis Apocryphon* and Jubilees: A Study of Shared Traditions', and another on 'The Dream Visions in the Noah Story of the *Genesis Apocryphon* and Related Texts'. She delivered lectures at the Oxford Forum for Qumran Research, the Seminar in Jewish Studies, and the Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period.

Professor Hanan Eshel

Professor Hanan Eshel of the Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology Department of Bar-Ilan University, stayed at the Centre as a Kennedy Leigh Fellow between 17 September 2007 and 17 December 2007. He delivered a course on 'The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism' at the Oriental Institute during Michaelmas Term, and was able to complete a book entitled *From Qumran to Masada*. He also wrote an article on the Hebrew Scrolls discovered at Masada, another on the Warren Cup in the British Museum, and a third on a Moabite inscription found recently in the Kingdom of Jordan. He delivered lectures at the Oxford Forum for Qumran Research and to the Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period.

A summary of the David Patterson Seminar he delivered while he was at Yarnton appears on page 113 of this *Report*.

Professor Avraham Faust

Professor Avraham Faust of Bar-Ilan University stayed in the Centre as a Kennedy Leigh Fellow from 14 January to 30 April 2008. He completed the first phase of his study of social structures in the province of Judah in the formative Persian period, focusing on the sixth century BCE, known as the Neo-Babylonian period or period of the Exile. An analysis of the evidence reveals patterns of continuity and change in areas such as settlement, demography, society and culture during the Iron Age, and he examined the processes that might have produced such patterns.

Professor Faust presented a number of lectures. Besides a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'Bible and Archaeology: Past, Present and Future', he delivered a paper entitled 'Between Assyria and the Mediterranean World: The Prosperity of Judah and Philistia in the Seventh Century BCE in Context' in Sheffield. He also presented one on 'The Extent of Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah: A New Examination', to the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society in London, and spoke on 'The Archaeology of the United Monarchy: A Different Perspective' in Copenhagen.

A summary of the David Patterson Seminar he delivered in Yarnton appears on pages 113–14 of this *Report*.

Professor Stephen Geller

Professor Stephen Geller of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, stayed at the Centre from 12 May to 4 July. He continued work on his textual and literary-critical commentary on the Book of Psalms, to be published in the Hermeneia Series of biblical commentaries by Fortress Press, and also prepared an article on the views of nature and ecology in the Hebrew Bible, assessing their relationship to ancient Near Eastern and to later Jewish and Christian ideas. He carried out research for a new course at the Jewish Theological Seminary on ancient Israelite art and iconography, focusing on the light these shed on the development of biblical religion.

Professor Orit Ichilov

Professor Orit Ichilov of Tel Aviv University stayed at the Centre from 12 October 2006 to 12 September 2007. She completed the first draft of a book in English entitled *The Retreat from Public Education*, wrote the opening chapter to another in Hebrew entitled *The Retreat from Public Responsibility for Education in Israel*, and prepared a chapter on 'Citizenship Education in Israel - A Contested Terrain' for publication in J. Arthur, I. Davies and C. Hahn (eds) *Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*.

She delivered a number of lectures. One entitled 'Civil Knowledge of High School Students in Israel: Personal and Contextual Determinants', was presented at the Second International Research Conference of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), The Brookings Institution, Washington DC.

Another, on 'The Challenges of Citizenship Education in a World of Conflict and Change', was read at the Centre for Citizenship and Human Rights Studies, School of Education, Leeds University. A third, on 'Citizenship Education: A Bridging Device or Contested Terrain?', was given at the Department of Educational Studies, University of British Columbia, Vancouver. A fourth, entitled 'Civic Knowledge of High-School Students in Israel: Personal and Contextual Determinants', was presented at the thirtieth Annual Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, Portland, Oregon.

Professor Ichilov published 'Educating Citizens in a World of Conflict and Change' in Javier Calvo de Mora Martinez (ed.) *New Schooling Through Citizenship Practice: Contents and Process* (Granada: University of Granada Press, 2007, pp. 29–41), and 'Civil Knowledge of High-School Students in Israel: Personal and Contextual Determinants', in *Political Psychology* 28(4) (2007) 417–40.

Professor Yaacov Iram

Professor Yaacov Iram of Bar-Ilan University stayed at the Centre from 2 July to 31 August 2007. Although the origins of higher education in the West lie in religious institutions, the nineteenth century saw religious matters excluded from previously religiously oriented bodies such as Harvard and Yale. The private religious universities that emerged in the United States, Latin America, Africa and Eastern and Central Europe in the twentieth century differ from the earlier ones in their plurality of institutional structure and diversity of religious affiliation.

His research project entitled 'Religious Universities: International-Comparative Perspectives' followed an international conference on 'The Role of a Religious University', the results of which are to be published by Bar-Ilan University Press. In this he explores the development, status and role of Christian, Moslem and Jewish religiously oriented institutions of higher learning, primarily colleges and universities. He defines a religious university, following O'Connell (2000), as an institution of higher learning that continues to be influenced by its religious founders in terms of institutional identity, statement of mission, governance, administration, criteria for recruitment and appointment of faculty, as well as curricula and campus atmosphere or spirit. The project covers the nature and future of religiously informed scholarship, trends of disengagement from distinctive religious identity, and

whether and how the diverse educational missions of religious institutions of higher learning might be sustained.

Professor Iram also completed a chapter on 'College–University Dialogue: from Confrontation to Cooperation'. He was particularly grateful for access to the Bodleian, Educational Studies and Leopold Muller libraries.

Professor Terry Lovat

Professor Terry Lovat of the University of Newcastle, Australia, stayed at the Centre between 20 December 2007 and 20 January 2008. He completed three refereed publications: 'Islam and Ethics', to appear in M. Gray and S. Webb (eds) *Value Perspectives in Social Work* (London 2008); 'Improving Relations with Islam Through Religious and Values Education', for publication in K. Engebretson (ed.) *Religious and Values Education in Cross-Cultural Contexts* (working title; Dortrecht); and (with N. Clement) 'The Pedagogical Imperative of Values Education', to appear in the *Journal of Beliefs and Values.*

He presented his 'Quality Teaching, Values and Service Learning: The Troika of Effective Social and Citizenship Education' as the keynote address at the Social Education Association of Australia Conference, January 2008; and spoke on 'Islam and the West; A Common Heritage?' to military personnel about to be deployed in the Middle East, January 2008.

He also updated 'Values Education: The Missing Link in Quality Teaching and Effective Learning', in D. Aspin and J. Chapman (eds) *Values Education and Life-long Learning* (New York, pp. 199–210); 'Practical Mysticism as Authentic Religiousness: A Bonhoeffer Case Study', *Australian E-Journal of Theology, 6*; 'Islam as the Religion of "Fair Go": An Important Lesson for Australian Religious Education', *Journal of Religious Education* 54 (pp. 49–53); and (with I. Samarayi), 'Restoring Justice to Islam: An Historical, Theological and Artistic Exploration', in M. S. Becker and J. N. Schneider (eds) *Human Rights Issues in the Twenty-first Century* (New York).

He carried out research on new projects comparing notions of mysticism in Judaism, Christianity and Islam. His Islam project (ARC Research Grant) particularly benefited from access to the Centre's library and from academic contacts in Oxford and elsewhere.

Dr Daniela Mantovan-Kromer

Dr Daniela Mantovan-Kromer of the Hochschule für Jüdische Studien (Heidelberg), who stayed at the Centre from 12 February to 1 September 2007, completed a book on the Yiddish author Der Nister. In March she delivered a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'Rewriting the Gospels from a Jewish Perspective: Sholem Ash's Yiddish Novel *The Nazarene*' (a summary of which appeared in the *Report* for 2006–2007, p. 105). In May she presented a paper entitled 'Transgressing the Boundaries of Genre: The Children's Stories of the Soviet Yiddish Writer Der Nister (1884–1950)', as the fifteenth Annual A. N. Stencl Lecture in Yiddish Studies (published in the *Report* for 2006–2007, pp. 25–48).

Dr Mantovan-Kromer carried out research on Yiddish Soviet literary criticism of the 1920s, and outlined her findings in an article entitled 'Criticism in the Moscow-based Yiddish Journal *Stronl*', presented at the seventh Annual Mendel Friedman Conference held at Yarnton Manor in August 2007. Her examination of Modernism in Yiddish poetry, published in Italy, was based partly on material published in the Journal *Sovetish Heymland*, available at the Centre's library and the Taylor Institution.

Dr Marie Turner

Dr Marie Turner of Flinders University and Catholic Theological College of South Australia stayed at the Centre from 7 January till 19 May 2008. She completed a book entitled *God's Wisdom or the Devil's Envy? Creation and Death Deconstructing in the Wisdom of Solomon*, to be published by the Australasian Theological Forum in 2009. She also finalized an article on 'God as Wisdom', published in *Compass Theology Review* in 2008; another entitled 'The Spirit of Wisdom in All Things', to be published in the Society of Biblical Literature's *Exploring Ecological Hermeneutics* collection; and a third on 'Shifting Centres in Ecclesiastes 1', presented in the Ecological Hermeneutics section of the International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Auckland in July 2008. This will be included in a proposed Ecological Commentary on the book of Ecclesiastes spearheaded by Professor Norman Habel.

The main focus of her research at the Centre was the Hebrew text of

Ben Sira 51:13–20, 11QPsa, discovered in Cave 11 at Qumran in 1965. By comparing the Hebrew and Septuagint texts of the same poem she revealed a theology of creation based on the reciprocal love between wisdom and humankind. She was also able to examine a manuscript journal, held in the Bodleian Library, in which Jerome Salter records a visit to the ancient Christian site of Colossae in 1668. This is of interest to her colleagues at Flinders University who are examining the hitherto unexcavated tell at Colossae near Honaz in present-day Turkey.

Following her time at the Centre she was invited to join the South Australian Council of Christians and Jews.

Dr Michael Wenthe

Dr Michael Wenthe of the American University, Washington, DC, stayed at the Centre as a Victor and Sylvia Blank Fellow from 1 February to 31 June 2008. He carried out research into the literary and cultural context of the Old Yiddish romance of King Arthur, which is found in German in the early thirteenth century and in northern Italy later in the Middle Ages, before being printed in the seventeenth century.

He focused on materials relating to the medieval German context, the growth of Ashkenazi culture in northern Italy and the production and reception of Yiddish books in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of particular interest is the seventeenth-century ottava rima version of the Old Yiddish romance, whose unique exemplar, held in the Bodleian Library, lacks a complete modern edition. In working on that version he consulted comparable literary works in Old Yiddish, such as two other ottava rima romances, Elia Levita's *Bovo-Bukh* and the *Pariz un Vyene*, as well as other works of romance and chivalry. The variety of early Yiddish books and booklets held in the Oppenheimer Collection at the Bodleian Library enriched his sense of the early Yiddish book as cultural phenomenon and material object.

He also examined another text, not directly related to the Arthurian material, but remarkable for its mixture of bizarre incident and its promotion of marriage – elements also to be found in the Arthurian romance. He expanded his research to take in questions raised by this other text, and hopes to produce a translation and edition to accompany his larger work.

A summary of the David Patterson Seminar he delivered in Yarnton appears on pages 122–3 of this *Report*.

Publications

Centre Publications

Journal of Jewish Studies, edited by Professor Geza Vermes and Dr Sacha Stern, volume 58:2 (2007)

Journal of Jewish Studies, edited by Professor Geza Vermes and Dr Sacha Stern, volume 59:1 (2008)

Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 2006–2007, edited by Dr Jeremy Schonfield (2007)

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BREGOLI, FRANCESCA, 'Jewish Modernity in Eighteenth-Century Italy: A Historiographical Survey', *Simon-Dubnow-Institute Yearbook* 6 (2007) 67–78

—— review of Stephanie B. Siegmund, *The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence: The Construction of an Early Modern Jewish Community.* Stanford University Press (2006), in *AJS Review* 32 (2008) 185–7

DEL SARTO, RAFFAELLA A. (with NATHALIE TOCCI) 'Italy's Politics without Policy: Balancing Atlanticism and Europeanism in the Middle East', *Modern Italy* 13:2 (2008) 135–53

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—— 'Jews and Christians in the First Centuries'. *Farmington Papers*, Number WR4. Oxford: Farmington Institute for Christian Studies (2008)

—— 'Explaining Change in Judaism in Late Antiquity', in A. Houtman, A. de Jong and M. Misset-van de Weg (eds) *Empsychoi Logoi-Innovations in Antiquity. Studies in honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst.* Leiden: Brill (2008) 19–27

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—— entries on 'Jozef Berkowicz', 'Mathias Bersohn', 'Jacques Calmanson', 'Chaim Davidson', 'Eastern Prussia', 'Epstein family', 'Gdansk/Danzig', 'Ezriel Natan Frenk', 'Yaacov Gesundheit', 'Leon Hollaenderski', 'Judyta Jakubowiczowa', 'Berek Joselewicz', 'Kaliningrad/Königsberg', 'Izaak Kramsztyk', 'Louis Lubliner', 'Dov Berush Meisels', 'Orgelbrand family', 'Mathias Rosen', 'Isaak Rülf', 'Abraham Stern', 'Szereszewski family', 'Joel Wegmeister', in Gershon David Hundert (ed.) *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press (2008) 2 vols

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—— review of Simone Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum. Kulturelles Kapital und sozialer Aufstieg im 19. Jahrhundert.* Hamburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (2004), in *Shofar. A Quarterly Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 26:2 (2008) 187–8

—— review of Michael Stanislawski, *A Murder in Lemberg: Politics, Religion, and Violence in Modern Jewish History.* Princeton: Princeton University Press (2007), in *Slavic Review* (2008) 458–9

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—— 'I. M. Weissenberg and the Comic Grotesque', *Slavic Almanac* 13:2 (2007) 116–29

—— translator, 'A Debt' by I. M. Weissenberg, *Midstream* 53:4 (July/August 2007) 17–22

—— translator, 'When All is Said and Done' [*Nokh alemen*]: Part 2, Chapter 1, by David Bergelson, *Pakn Treger: Magazine of the National Yiddish Book Center* 54 (summer 2007) 32–41

—— 'Sholem Asch' (vol.1:74–7), 'Ayzik-Meir Dik' (vol. 1:405–7), 'Isaac Bashevis Singer' (vol. 2:1752–4), in Gershon Hundert (ed.) *The YIVO*

Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe New Haven and London: Yale University Press (2008) 2 vols

—— 'Isaac Bashevis Singer et la tradition littéraire yiddish', *Les cahiers du judaïsme* 23 (summer 2008) 28–39

WEINBERG, JOANNA, 'Sur les épaules des rabbins: l'étude de l'antiquité dans les écrits d'Azariah de' Rossi', in *Les cahiers du judaïsme* 22 (2007) 49–55

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*Dissertations Submitted at the Centre, 2008**

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BANKI, LUISA. *In the Shadow of the Modern: Aspects of Dovid Bergelson's* Nokh alemen. 51 pp.

DALLASERRA, MICHÉL. *Bringing the Bud into Bloom: An Introduction to Jacob ben Isaac's* Kaftor va-Ferah. 60 pp.

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ROGOVIN, OR. *Chelm Revisited: Art as Commemoration in Y. Y. Trunk's* Chelemer khakhomim. 48 pp.

SALIH, HUDA. *Questions of Identity in Modern Iraqi Jewish Literature: The Failure of Arab-Jewish Identity in* The Other One *by Shimon Ballas.* 52 pp.

SHANNON, AVRAM R. *Upon the King: Ideology and Literary Composition in 1 Samuel.* 25 pp.

SPICKSLEY, KATHRYN A. *Observations on the use of the Hebrew Bible within the fictional works of I. J. Singer.* 50 pp.

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